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For David Wilson

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Introduction

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Alice Rose O., a governess from Hove, suffered a series of episodes of debilitating mental illness. In 1901, when she was 30 years old, she was committed to Holloway Sanatorium in Virginia Water by her brother. The Sanatorium was intended to provide accommodation for the middle-class mentally ill. As such, it was opulently decorated and furnished. Visitors were greeted by an impressive exterior and an extravagantly decorated entrance hall. There was a range of communal dayrooms – a hall as well as several dining rooms. The asylum tried to offer meals of a high standard and great efforts were made to make the day rooms and wards seem domestic. Male and female patients were kept separately and on the women's side, walls were papered in delicate patterns. There were curtains and drapes, drawing-room-style furnishings and a plethora of ornaments. It was as if the trappings of a genteel home had been transported into the asylum wholesale. The decoration and furnishing of Holloway Sanatorium typifies the way in which domestic material culture and practices could be used to transform institutional environments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But it did not have the desired effect on Alice Rose O. In an unsent letter to her cousin, written in 1903, she described the asylum as 'hell' and pleaded to be allowed to come home.[1] She was dismissive of the asylum's domestic rituals, describing the carefully arranged tea as 'just like a workhouse'. She drew a sharp contrast with her 'beautiful home' and found fault with the asylum table cloths which were 'not as good as our kitchen ones'. Alice Rose's experience was one of failed domesticity that registered in a jarring contrast between her own home and the institution.

In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England, more people than ever before lived in spaces and places outside conventional family homes and households. The expansion of the military, the relief of the poor, the punishment of criminals, the treatment of the mentally and physically ill, and the education of children all gave rise to an expansion in institution building

on the part of the government and private and charitable bodies. The best known of these are carceral institutions: workhouses and prisons, created to discipline the poor and the unruly. The Poor Law of 1834 created a centralised system of poor relief, triggering the nationwide building of workhouses. From mid-century there was a gradual tightening and extension of control over the prison network. Lunatic asylums were made compulsory for every county and borough in 1845. Medical hospitals, of increasing specialisation, multiplied. Reformatories and industrial schools were established. The public schools expanded and many schools and colleges were founded for women's secondary and higher education. Individuals and independent organisations were at least as active as governments in founding institutions. Religion also drove their creation. There was a surge in the building of religious houses, missions and university settlements. All this created a mass of new residential buildings as well as laying out or controlling older ones in new ways.

The fashioning of these new material worlds was driven by many factors including medical and educational needs, a growing awareness of hygiene, the practical demands of accommodating large numbers together and the need to balance budgets. But the home was often a central reference point. Domesticity was deployed in these new spaces, and an ongoing relationship with home was central to inmates' experiences within them. Domestic objects, practices and relationships were transported into the institutional environment, often with mixed results. *At Home in the Institution* explores these processes by examining three different types of institutional space: lunatic asylums (as they were known to contemporaries); schools for the middle classes; and common and charitable lodging houses.

These contrasting spaces and places were chosen for this study as they had varying aims, modes of organisation and dealt with very different social groups. Taken together they show the reach and range of domesticity, and the disparate contexts in which it was conceived. Asylums, although carceral, were often preoccupied with domestic ideals – this was a part of moral therapy, the main treatment for patients at this time. Boys' schools are of particular interest as historians have often seen them as deliberately anti-domestic, prising young men away from overly feminised homes.[2] Girls' schools had a complex relationship with domesticity – it was an overwhelming part of the female identity that they sought to both escape and accommodate. Lodging houses, meanwhile, show how domesticity was evoked in attempts to create spaces for the working classes. Common lodging houses were privately run businesses that provided shelter on a nightly basis for the very poor, usually for a few pence and often in a shared dormitory. From the mid-century, the government increasingly tried to control them through legislation and inspection. Model lodging houses were built by various charities, religious groups, semi-philanthropic companies and the London County Council (LCC) to provide decent accommodation for

those struggling to live in the capital. In all three institutional types, domesticity was played out through deliberate attempts to control the material world, to order it, to clean it, and to organise life around it.

This book is not just about the interiors that were created by the authorities, but also the way in which inmates responded to them. A new story can be told about these men and women through their material life. Patients, deprived of personal possessions, could negotiate the stark material world of the asylum and sometimes derived consolation through small things. School children and poor lodgers claimed a sense of self by naming places and spaces or hoarding treasured secrets in lockers. In schools, lodging houses and asylums, inmates exchanged and sometimes made things, creating alternative material subcultures. To a certain extent, institutional space was colonised and personalised by its inhabitants through decorative acts. Spatial organisation also had major implications for day-to-day relationships and emotional ties amongst residents. Living in shared spaces such as dormitories had an important impact on group dynamics. Emotional experience was shaped by spatial provision: having a cubicle could make a great deal of difference to the life of a schoolboy or lodger. Finally, this study tackles the difficult question of inmates' own perceptions of home, and the relationship between these and their responses to the new material worlds and institutional forms of domesticity. This did not necessarily have the desired effect on inmates. Many, like Alice Rose O., were only able to comprehend the institution in relation to previous understandings of home.

The book begins at Victoria's coronation, shortly before a series of landmark campaigns and legislation fundamentally altered the institutional landscape in England and Wales. An 1808 Act enabled the building of lunatic asylums by county authorities, but it wasn't until the Lunacy Act(s) of 1845 that counties and boroughs were compelled to provide for pauper lunatics. In 1850 there were 24 county and city institutions for the insane; by 1910 there were 91.[3] These establishments were maintained through the poor relief system, and for the most part housed 'pauper' lunatics who were unable to pay for their keep. At the same time, there were a growing number of 'private' patients, who had personal resources or family members who were willing to support them. They were sometimes housed in public asylums as 'private' patients, but more often in hospitals or licensed houses. This was also the point at which doctors were starting to use moral therapy and non-restraint more widely, important new developments in patient treatment that were closely linked to the creation of domestic wards and day rooms. *At Home in the Institution* looks at seven of these establishments, which were for the most part built and expanded in the second half of the nineteenth century, and housed thousands of patients.

In contrast to asylums, schools for the children of the middle and upper classes were well established by the beginning of the nineteenth century, but they too saw a period of challenge, reform and expansion. In the early years

of the century, public boarding schools for boys were managed very loosely by schoolmasters and often saw violent schoolboy rebellions.[4] They were gradually brought under control by individual headmasters, of whom Thomas Arnold at Rugby is best known.[5] Arnold re-organised life at Rugby, lodging boys in houses under the charge of masters and instituting discipline through a sixth-form prefect system. There was an increasing demand for public-school education from the ever-swelling middle classes, and a number of new, inno-vatory schools were set up – modelled on the older public schools, but with more effective discipline.[6] Change in the older schools was also spurred on by the Public Schools Act of 1868, which granted more power to headmasters and allowed further reform and expansion later in the century.[7] Girls' board-ing schools, in contrast, were less entrenched at the beginning of the century.[8] But from the 1850s, influenced by the campaign for female higher educa-tion, Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale established the North London Collegiate School and Cheltenham Ladies College. These pioneering secondary schools expected girls to reach the same educational standards as boys. The North London School, and many others, were set up as day schools but often ended up offering pupils accommodation. Spurred on by their success, the Girls' Day School Company, founded in 1872, established a large number of schools across the country.

The third set of institutional spaces in this book, lodging houses, were pro-foundly altered by legislation at mid-century. Common lodging houses, and the criminal types they were supposed to harbour, greatly concerned com-mentators and sanitarians. In 1851 and 1853, the Common Lodging Houses Acts forced keepers to register their houses, abide by hygiene regulations and submit to regular inspection by the police or local authorities. As a result about 3,000 were registered with the London Metropolitan Police. At the same time, charitable groups and self-help societies sought to solve the problem of housing the poor in London. One of their answers was the model lodging house – an institution run on tight rules and regulations that provided inmates with the material resources to secure privacy and cleanliness. Early small-scale efforts at mid-century were followed up later on with the establishment of lodging houses for men on a mass scale – including the Rowton Houses and the LCC houses that accommodated thousands of working men. The book as a whole ends with the First World War, which brought about wholesale disruption to many of the institutions considered here, and provides a convenient place to end.

Domesticity beyond the home

During the nineteenth century, the ideal of domesticity became more power-ful and important to the British middle and upper classes. The celebration of the home was driven by a growing Evangelical culture that placed a strong

emphasis on domestic virtues, increasing middle-class affluence, and a surge in popular print culture.[9] Enshrined in literature and poetry, the house was imagined as a haven from the toil of the industrial world.[10] The performance of domestic virtue through family relationships, particularly between husbands and wives, was stressed. According to John Ruskin, home was embodied in the ideal wife. 'And wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her.'[11] This was accompanied by increasing middle-class spending power, and a new range of domestic goods on the market. Specialist furniture shops opened up in the West End. Parlours and drawing rooms filled up with occasional tables, drapery and doilies. As Deborah Cohen argues, in the second half of the century the Victorians broke free from their earlier religious constraints on consumption.[12] But this was not a purely material enthusiasm – decoration and furnishing carried an emotional freight. The idea of comfort was often central to the decoration of the Victorian home.[13] This went further than well-upholstered furniture. It also carried specific moral overtones, denoting not just physical relief but security. This new material culture allowed the well off to develop ever more elaborate codes and rituals that communicated their social status. Civilisation lay in the correct layout of the dining room table and the removal of the ladies to the drawing room after dinner.[14] Such was the importance of the routines and daily activities of the home that by the end of the century a new term, 'domesticities', appeared in the dictionary, under domestic affairs or arrangements.[15] The location of domesticity in these small rituals allowed it to be applied beyond the family home, and to people who lived alone as well.[16] This book takes domesticity to mean the relationships, material culture and everyday practices that were commonly shared in nineteenth-century homes.[17] As we will see, the influence of these ideas went far beyond the four walls of the middle-class house.

To a certain extent, the hierarchical gendered power structure of the ideal home was played out in institutions. Ideas of gender and family roles underpinned the political system in this era, and shaped debate and legislation.[18] Patriarchy and paternalism played an important role in structuring the authority of government.[19] This family hierarchy was also increasingly deployed in institutional contexts. The French agricultural colony at Mettray, founded in 1839, organised inmates into families and had a strong influence on British ideas about how criminal and pauper children should be dealt with and helped create the system of cottage homes.[20] Institutional discipline in industrial schools drew on a bourgeois idea of patriarchal hierarchy: superintendents were father figures, inmates were obedient children.[21] This was also often the case in the institutions explored in this book. Medical superintendents, headmistresses, public-school housemasters and lodging-house managers often cast themselves as father and mother figures. While the construction of such gendered hierarchies actively reinforced the idea of male superiority and authority,

they could also buttress the power of women in these institutions. If the headmaster of a school or the superintendent of an asylum derived authority from patriarchal status, it was necessary for him to have a wife. Of course, the situation varied hugely between couples, but a prominent wife who was closely engaged with the life of the asylum or school could be a powerful influence. Women who ran institutions alone, such as headmistresses or female lodging-house keepers, also drew on ideas of maternal care and supervision when they exercised authority.

In nineteenth-century political life more broadly, historians have recently shown that women, the feminine (and by association, the domestic), were present and influential in a variety of ways, despite women's exclusion from the vote in this era.[22] But what remains underexplored is the influence of the idea of the home itself and domestic practices on politicians and policymakers, on the process of government and the creation of institutions.[23] In a very suggestive essay on Chadwick's 1842 Sanitary Report, Mary Poovey argues that narratives about the domestic could in themselves be an important form of governance.[24] Following from Poovey's analysis, this book seeks to understand whether and how institutional bodies understood and articulated domesticity, and the ways in which they used it to exercise power. Ideas of home life influenced medical men and inspectors, local authorities, teachers, boards of governors, politicians and philanthropists who established and governed institutions. Asylum doctors, headmistresses and lodging house authorities all hoped, to a certain extent, to use it to civilise and control. They shared a language of domesticity, stressing 'comfort' and 'cheerfulness'. In asylums, this was crucial to attempts at cure. Domesticity was supposed to civilise poor lodgers. Girls' schools garnered legitimacy from domestic social practices. In contrast, headmasters emphasised that boys should not enjoy feminine comforts, but they too drew on domesticity, defining themselves against it.

It was predominantly the domestic ideals of the middle and upper classes that influenced institutional space. The amount of room and the number of possessions that a family had was dictated by what they could afford. During the nineteenth century the middle classes developed distinctive ideas and modes of behaviour, based around homes with many rooms that were furnished and decorated with hundreds of objects.[25] This was quite different from the domesticity that emerged in working-class homes, and has been tracked by Anna Davin, Julie-Marie Strange and Megan Doolittle.[26] It was usually the middle-class home that institutional authorities sought to recreate. Parlour ornaments were transported to asylum wards. Drawing rooms and dining rooms were installed in female school boarding houses. In Rowton Houses, reading rooms were designed with 'cosy corners', a staple of domestic advice manuals for the middle classes. The rituals of the home were also consciously evoked in institutional everyday practices. Asylum patients were made to live according

to standard domestic routines, although this differed by class. Privacy, one of the attributes of middle-class domesticity that set it apart from working-class home life, was crucial, although some inmates were allowed more than others. But how successfully these ideas transferred to inhabitants is questionable. Attempts to create home-like material worlds often failed. Inmates might damage institutional décor, or ignore their surroundings.

Domesticity, however, was not always about control and repression. It could be a source of pleasure and even empowerment, even for those confined against their will. Quintin Colville and Amy Milne-Smith, examining quarters for naval officers and men's clubs respectively, find them comfortably, and even plushly furnished.[27] Elite all-male institutional spaces like these have classically been viewed as masculine territory in opposition to the femininity of the middle-class home.[28] Yet Colville and Milne-Smith suggest that instead we might think of these spaces as parallel to the domestic world, with their own particular social and material rituals that allowed these wealthy men to feel at ease.[29] My own work on student rooms in universities has shown how young men and women often took considerable pride and pleasure in them.[30] David Hussey and Margaret Posonby's recent examination of single people who made themselves at home in almshouses in the early nineteenth century also suggests that the use of personal objects could successfully create a sense of home.[31] Sometimes material culture *was* a means of control, and was alienating – particularly for asylum patients, and pupils and lodgers also felt this at times. But it could also be appreciated by inmates, or used when they decorated their rooms or created their own daily rituals.

Domesticity and home do not necessarily mean the same thing. Here, domesticity is viewed as a shared set of cultural practices encompassing relationships, behaviours and things. There were powerful discourses of domesticity, but it was also bound up in everyday activities. In contrast, home is often taken to stand for an emotional attachment to a particular place. An early twentieth-century dictionary offered this definition: 'The place of one's dwelling or nurturing, with the conditions, circumstances, and feelings which naturally and properly attach to it.'[32] Home was a strong shared idea, but it was something that every person experienced individually, and distinctly. Of course, whether an inmate was 'at home' in an institution was dependent on their own personal views and feelings. Being 'at home' is ultimately constructed on an individual basis and can be informed by a variety of factors – such as the subject's upbringing, their class background and their previous experiences of family life. This book aims to construct a common story of inmate experiences, while striving not to lose sight of the individual differences and reactions that determine the experience of being 'at home'. The nineteenth-century middle classes often imagined home as a physical space. Autobiographies can conjure up warm pictures of the Victorian family home, with children safe and

protected in the nursery.[33] As Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling point out, though, not all houses are homes, and it is sometimes unhelpful to conflate physical space with the idea of home – this can be separate, and given that a sense of home is often created by the interaction of an idea or an emotional attachment to a particular material space, then it makes sense to study this process.[34] Looking at institutional life allows us to see what happened to people who did not have a physical home, or had it taken away. Those with less control over their immediate physical environment might imagine and articulate home differently. Studies of contemporary homelessness suggest that it is possible to feel at home, or at least temporarily comfortable on the streets, by seeking out a particular space or forming bonds of companionship.[35] Being at home might ultimately become a retreat into the body itself.[36] This book is particularly interested in what happened to inmates' feelings about home when they entered the institution and whether it was possible to transfer a sense of emotional attachment to these places.

Material life

In asylums, schools and model lodging houses the decoration of rooms, the hanging of art and the selection of furnishings were laden with cultural meaning. *At Home in the Institution* draws on the recent growth in historical studies of material culture – that is the cultural meanings and significance attached to material objects by contemporaries.[37] Asking questions about decoration and goods allows us to explore both institutional intentions and lived experience. What did it mean when authorities made choices about how rooms should be decorated or what should be provided for inmates? Why were asylum day rooms often rich in ornate, parlour-like decoration? What did the stipulation of regular whitewashing in common lodging houses signify? How should we interpret the portraits of headmistresses that adorned girls' schools? And why were schoolgirls, but not schoolboys, allowed curtains in their dormitories? This project began as a study of institutional interiors, but it soon became clear that a more expansive definition of the physical world was needed, especially when it came to small things that could make a big difference to inmates. So it focuses on the idea of material life, which is taken to be both design, decoration and furnishing of institutional interiors and also the objects inmates brought in or were provided with. To allow for this, the definition of the material world used here is broad. Ephemeral goods, such as food, are included as they could be especially important.

The spatial and the material have often been treated separately, but to understand the operation of the material environment we need to look closely at its spatial aspect. The two worked together. The physical structures and spatial arrangements of institutions could be crucial in controlling inmates. As many

historians have noted, the spatial organisation of patients by class, gender and condition became increasingly important in the nineteenth-century asylum.[38] It was fundamental to workhouse and prison regimes.[39] And it is argued here that it was also used to attempt to control school pupils and lodgers. For Foucault, surveillance was a major tool used to discipline bodies within institutions.[40] He acknowledges that constant surveillance was not possible; some places were watched, but others were not. Instead, inmates were induced to believe that they were constantly spied on by a process of 'panopticonism' (based on Bentham's design for the panopticon, a centralised prison).[41] Chris Otter emphasises that nineteenth-century institutions like schools and hospitals were designed so patients and pupils could be viewed – plate glass was instrumental in allowing passing teachers or nurses to see through doors.[42] 'But these calculated perceptual economies had their limits'[43] For Otter, the illumination of the modern city (including its institutions) worked towards the creation of liberal freedoms for individuals.[44] Surveillance was indeed crucial to institutional operation. But the material forms under consideration here were too diverse to be bound by a single idea or blueprint that created one version of either discipline or freedom. Instead, surveillance was used in varied ways for different ends. In the asylum, watching could be essential to the safety of suicidal patients. In public schools, dormitories were deliberately kept apart from the gaze of housemasters, as peer groups of boys were supposed to become self regulating. In contrast, shared bedrooms for girl pupils were often built with viewing holes for teachers and prefects.

The agency of the material world – the controlling capacity of locked doors, barred windows or walled airing grounds – was an essential part of the institutional environment. Historians of governmentality have recently emphasised the need to study materiality as an integral part of historical causality.[45] The physical properties of things are a force in their own right.[46] Drawing on De Certeau, Frank Trentmann extends this argument, arguing that we should also pay attention to the incorporation of the material world into everyday practices of its users, and consider how this could disrupt the intentions of authorities.[47] Looking at structural material things, such as the installation of running water in Victorian London, connects governmental intentions with the realities of politics played out in everyday life.[48] Materiality was certainly an important controlling force within institutions. New technologies such as electric light helped regulate spaces. The material and spatial world was used in combination with daily practices and rituals that tried to organise the bodies of inmates. Patients rose and dressed, were given meals at regular times and were set to work at gender-appropriate tasks. Schools too had tightly planned days and rules – pupils moved through set spaces and were allowed certain things. Model lodging houses for men were increasingly timetabled – entry into cubicles at night was conducted through a series of timed entries. Here

the material came together with space, time and the body to create a distinctive institutional world. But the built environment also often prevented the realisation of strict discipline. Asylum buildings were often not fit for purpose and poorly maintained. Moreover, inmates often created their own meanings and practices through their physical surroundings that were far from the intentions of architects and institutional authorities.

Crucially, this book argues that while the material world was used to control inmates, it could also create opportunities for them. The agency of objects can work in more than one way. When examining the very poor or other marginalised groups, looking at what people did with things can help us understand how they exercised agency in their own right. As the anthropologist Daniel Miller puts it: 'however oppressed and apparently culturally impoverished, most people nevertheless access the creative potential of the unpromising material goods around them'.[49] Sara Pennell, drawing on the archaeologist James Deetz's seminal work, *In Small Things Forgotten*, notes that a critical focus on small objects can reveal a wealth of information about their users.[50] If the voices of the poor are lost, sometimes their things can tell us something of their lives. This means that as well as looking at the architectural structures that institutions created, such as wards, classrooms, lodging-house dining rooms and dormitories, and their layout and decoration, it is essential to consider the portable and the peripheral. Throughout the book there is a running concern with small things, clothing, and food, that people were allowed to have or could just afford within the limitations of the institutional environment. However limited an individual's control, the material world was almost always open to self fashioning – from the schoolboy carving initials on a desk to the pauper lunatic who made himself a distinctive set of buttons to decorate his asylum dress.

Space should not just be seen as a conduit of control, or freedom, although these are both important facets of it. The meaning of space is not only created by the architects who design it or the authorities who try to determine how it should be used, but also by the people who live in it. As feminist social geographers have posited, we need to see space as something that can be socially constructed by a range of different actors. Doreen Massey, for example, views social space as created by the relationships of the individuals within it, with the unique meaning of each place resting on these interactions.[51] Sometimes institutional authorities deliberately used the built environment to try to create particular relationships between inmates – but inmates often used space in their own way, or rooms brought people together in ways that were unintended by authorities. The architectural critic Thomas Markus argues that as well as being a controlling force, space also creates bonds: 'Spaces can be linked so that communication is free and frequent, making possible dense encounters between classes, groups and individuals. These are the basis for community, friendship and solidarity.'[52] The organisation of space can create relationships

between individuals – both enmities and affections. It can be the bedrock on which emotional bonds are built. As I have argued elsewhere, the distinctive spatial organisation of the Victorian middle-class home played an important part in determining the character of family relationships. This book applies this logic to institutional space, examining the impact of the spatial arrangements of asylums, lodging houses and schools on the way their inmates interacted with each other, on their relationships and on their emotional lives.

Institutions and power

This book is not the first to suggest that it makes sense to examine different types of institution together. Erving Goffman, in his sociological study of the asylum, coined the term 'total institution', defined as 'a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life'.[53] Goffman's category encompassed many forms of social organisation, including post offices, stations, prisons and nunneries. A little later, Foucault wrote of the collective social role of institutions in *Discipline and Punish*, suggesting that they emerged as part of a wider societal shift in attitudes towards punishment. The workhouse, the asylum and the school were part of a new means of establishing control through confinement, discipline and moral management.[54] Michael Ignatieff and others have questioned the wisdom of placing disparate organisations together.[55] Clearly, Goffman's very broad definition was in need of qualification. But it does make sense to compare establishments managed by the same authorities.[56] Recent work has again put institutions side by side, showing that comparison can be productive.[57] This book continues this, arguing that while these institutions did have spatial and material forms in common there was no single model for their construction. Rather than looking for a shared material culture, institutional types are compared to shed light on the variety of contexts in which domesticity could operate.

Asylums, lodging houses and schools are part of a story of the gradual and partial growth of the nineteenth-century British state. The role of government in caring for the sick, providing education and monitoring housing was quite limited in this period and existed alongside widespread philanthropy and a large body of independent associations and organisations.[58] Policy throughout the century remained dominated by the idea of *laissez faire* – that the state should intervene as little as possible in the lives of respectable citizens.[59] For the most part, moral and social intervention was confined to the very poor and usually took place through local agencies.[60] The institutions here are representative of some of the areas that did see a growth in government activity. Public asylums, although established by the actions of central government,

were by managed by local boards of visitors and patients were admitted through the Poor Law system. The most directly state-controlled space in the study is the common lodging house. The Common Lodging Houses legislation was part of new methods of government that included the establishment of police forces and inspectorates.[61] As Tom Crook has pointed out, this makes them a particularly interesting site from the point of view of the operation of governmental power.[62] These private establishments, regulated by government from the outside, allow us to see a different kind of institutionalisation. But the state played a limited role in society as a whole partly because of the presence of a wide range of other social agencies and authorities. In fact, the majority of institutions in this book were independent. Registered private hospitals and semi-philanthropic lodging houses were usually run by boards of governors, trustees or companies.[63] Unlike some other European states, Britain had no national education system until late in the century and schools for the middle and upper classes remained largely autonomous. Indeed, the 1868 reforms strengthened the power of headmasters to act in their own right.[64] Of course, while the public schools were outside of government per se, as Patrick Joyce as recently argued, they had a strong connection to the state in that they produced the men who later took up the reins of power.[65]

Drawing on later Foucault, some historians argue that the main development of power in nineteenth-century life did not occur solely through the state itself, but instead through the emergence of cultural hegemony, the governance of the self, and the establishment of norms.[66] Within an increasingly governed culture, institutions are imagined as beacons of normative behaviour. For Joyce, hospitals, workhouses and asylums, often located on the margins of the city centre, were 'exemplifications of order and discipline.'[67] Many asylums, schools and model lodging houses did try to impose ideal behaviour on their inhabitants. These ideas were often linked to shared, middle- and upper-class ideals of gender and class, the family and domesticity. Much of this book, however, is about the failure of authorities to inculcate these norms, and the distances between the priorities of institutional authorities and the actual experiences of inmates. Judith Butler has drawn attention to the way in which gendered norms are constituted – through their repeated performance. According to Butler, the creation of values and identity through ongoing performances also leaves them open to be being re-made or subverted by the performers.[68] Butler's ideas can also be applied to everyday life in institutions. Certainly the performance of institutional routines was open to disruption by inmates, and some were aware of the significance of domestic discourses and capable of using or modifying these to achieve their own ends.

At Home in the Institution explores the institutional spaces thought suitable for different classes and groups: elite boys; middle-class girls; pauper and wealthy patients; the very poor and working-class men. Asylums, lodging houses and

schools helped construct contemporary social hierarchies of class and gender. The idea that the asylum was a means of controlling the unruly industrialised working classes is debated.[69] But the notion that it was a means of social control remains pervasive, especially when it came to gender.[70] Common lodging houses and semi-philanthropic institutional lodging houses for working men have received less attention. But when they are written about, they are often seen as instruments of class oppression.[71] Schools for upper- and middle-class girls and boys, meanwhile, also had a powerful social role. Historians have long viewed public schools as a means of middle-class promotion.[72] Depicted as the cradle of elite masculinity, these bastions of power turned out robust and 'manly' citizens ready to rule country and empire.[73] In contrast, feminist historians have sometime shown the new schools for girls as an empowering and liberating force, a milestone on the path to female emancipation.[74] This book offers a new take on how these institutions exerted power and constructed social identities by looking at their material life. Asylums for the middle classes and elite boys' schools, for example, claimed social power through the construction of elaborate interiors. Gendered identities were fashioned and reinforced in the female wings of asylums and the day rooms of lodging houses for working-class single men. All three constructed material hierarchies according to class, gender, illness or simply ability to pay. However, ultimately the argument here moves beyond the idea of institutions purely as a means of social control. Instead, the exploration of the material world allows an understanding of attempts made at exerting control within institutions, alongside the other motivations, how these actually worked out in practice, and the degree to which inmates were able to assert their own agency and autonomy.

Scope and sources

This book focuses on London and the South East of England. Concentrating on a defined geographical area helps show how disparate institutions were interlinked. Local government authorities were often in charge of more than one institution. This was most clearly the case with the LCC which took over the management of London's asylums in 1882, and was responsible for registering common lodging houses from 1892. Local educational and philanthropic initiatives often had the same people behind them. For example, the governing body of Winchester High School for Girls included the Headmaster of Winchester College.

   Asylums and schools for the middle and upper classes were spread across the nation, and almost any area could have been chosen for fruitful investigation. This study looks at examples within the metropolis as well as those in the south-eastern and southern counties. Dominated by the capital, the southern regions did not have the same kind of coherent and articulated identities found

in the north of England. Nonetheless, regional networks, and a sense of place, both had a powerful role to play in conditioning the nature of institutional life. In the case of lodging houses, the situation is different. The concentration of large numbers of the urban poor in London produced greater numbers of common lodging houses than elsewhere, and they are exceptionally well documented. The size of the population, coupled with the extreme difficulties involved in housing the poor towards the end of the century, meant that the capital was also the site of the most extensive attempts to establish model lodging houses. For these reasons, Chapters 5 and 6 are based on London.

This book aims to deepen our understanding of the material life of institutions. In order to do this coherently, it looks at a relatively small number of establishments in detail. The historian embarking on a study of either lunatic asylums or elite schools faces a mountain of archives. Therefore, contrasting institutions have been selected to tell a broad story about these two organisational types. Chapter 1 draws material from four quite different public asylums, including Broadmoor, the first institution built specifically for criminal lunatics. Mental health provision for the middle and upper classes is the subject of Chapter 2, which compares two registered hospitals with a licensed house managed by a family of doctors. Chapter 3 examines five contrasting schools for boys, including medieval foundations and the freshly built, and looking at provision for different social classes. The fourth chapter turns to schools for girls, scrutinising day alongside boarding establishments, including the early co-educational school Bedales.

Common lodging houses, scattered hither and thither across London, necessitated a different approach. Individually, they were often smaller in size than the other institutions. They are investigated through the accounts of contemporary observers and legislators, as well as court records. To gain a sense of the material realities of these places, four London streets have been investigated in detail through the Metropolitan Police Records and the National Census. Again, there were fewer model lodging houses than schools or asylums, and the investigation has been confined to large-scale establishments for single working men in London with good surviving records. The efforts of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes, the LCC and Rowton Houses Ltd. were selected because their archives offer enough depth allow a consideration of the changing material world over time.

For the project overall, building up a detailed picture of a smaller number of organisations also allows us to uncover their individuality and the importance of place in creating their identity, something which became very important to some of their inhabitants, particularly public-school boys. Alongside conventional sources for the study of the interior – such as plans, illustrations, photographs and inventories – institutional records, including government committee minutes and rules and regulations, have been mined for evidence

of decision-making processes. Analysis of individual institutions is placed in the context of cultural representations and the broader discussions of doctors, teachers, policy makers and philanthropists to see how they tapped into nationwide trends.

Uncovering the ways in which institutional environments were negotiated by their inmates has been a major challenge. In doing so, this book follows recent trends in cultural history that have sought to move away from a focus on cultural representations and dominant discourses and instead to consider the reach or throw of such representations.[75] Such histories depart from a supposed dichotomy between representation and reality and instead increasingly explore the connections between the two through experience, practice and emotional life.[76] Autobiographies, memoirs, letters, diaries and other personal documents are used to show how inmates reacted to the spaces and goods around them. From the late nineteenth century, school archives were active in collecting and compiling personal documents relating to pupils. Elite alumni often occupied high positions in society and penned memoirs in later life. Their words survive in abundance. The voices of the confined insane are notoriously harder to reach. However, recent studies have demonstrated how patient casebooks can be used to show the everyday operations of asylums and also give a glimpse of patients' experience.[77] This book follows these interpretations and also draws on caches of patient letters.[78] The thoughts and feelings of the often transitory inmates of common and model lodging houses also evade historians. There was a faded literary class, of struggling writers and poets, who frequented these places and sometimes earned a living by writing about them. A handful of autobiographies record experiences there. It is also possible to find out something of their everyday practices from detailed witness depositions in court records. This book uses these records to illuminate the small ways that inmates negotiated the institutional material world.

1
Public Asylums

In 1889, George E., a patient described as 'feeble minded' in his late nine-teenth-century notes, was transferred from Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum to Brookwood, Surrey's second county lunatic asylum. He had been at Broadmoor for 24 years, presumably as a criminal patient, after setting fire to a barn and a rick in 1864.[1] By the 1880s, the asylum authorities did not con-sider him dangerous, and this was the second attempt to get him back into the county system. Unusually, E. left a record of his feelings about his transfer as he wrote a letter back to Dr Nicholson, the medical superintendent at Broadmoor. The letter conveys a powerful attachment. He professed warm feelings for Dr Nicholson, Dr Orange (the former superintendent) and the head attendant. It is clear that over his long stay he came to think of Broadmoor as a home. He compared the move to emigration to Australia or America, and described it as 'being amongst strangers in a strange land'. He had been homesick, he said, but the new doctor at Brookwood had helped him with brandy and arrowroot. He also derived some consolation from the social set up at Brookwood: 'I gets down to meals along plenty of company about 50 or more. The living is very good here.' He appreciates the efforts that have been made for his entertain-ment: 'fine gold fish here, canary birds, flower pot good plants in them'. And he was impressed by the interior, particularly the floor: 'I thought the floor was wet when I come in it is done over with like oil cloth.' Letters written by patients were usually read before they were sent. Writing inmates would have been very aware of this, but it is unlikely that E. was compelled to write back to Broadmoor. If we take the letter at face value, it shows that one patient was able to feel at home in the asylum, and how material provisions there helped him do this.

From 1845, the government made it compulsory for all counties and bor-oughs to construct and maintain lunatic asylums. While earlier legislation enabled local authorities to build, relatively few did so. In the years that followed, asylums were put up thick and fast. In 1850 there were 24 county

and city asylums, housing 7,140 patients. By 1910 this had shot up to 91 institutions, which attempted to care for 97,580 inmates.[2] Some county asylums provided for private patients, but the majority were paupers, usually referred by Poor Law Guardians.[3] These new institutional material worlds were built and managed by local authorities (local magistrates or quarter sessions before 1890, and by county or county borough councils after that).[4] But the government also tried to control them centrally, through the Lunacy Commission that inspected and reported on all asylums, hospitals for the insane and licensed houses in England and Wales on a yearly basis.[5] The treatment E. received was typical of the ideal in public asylums in the second half of the nineteenth century. The idea that the insane could be helped by 'moral treatment' – and participation in normal routines and behaviours – was popularised by Samuel Tuke at the Quaker asylum the Retreat in York in the late eighteenth century.[6] Moral treatment involved an attempt to return to normal domestic routines – the asylum environment therefore had to provide spaces for work, for entertainment and for religious consolation. Asylums were built with workshops, entertainment rooms and chapels, as well as wards and dayrooms. The material environment could itself support the right kind of behaviour through domestic rituals – as John Conolly, the resident physician at Hanwell, put it:

> he [the patient] is then led to the day-room, and offered good and well prepared food. The very plates, the knife and fork, and all the simple furniture of the table, are cleaner by far than what he has lately been accustomed to, or perhaps in his miserable struggling life he never knew before.[7]

This mode of treatment was gradually more widespread during the first part of the nineteenth century. The idea that patients should be kept in freedom from restraint also started to take hold among medical practitioners, and was pioneered at the Lincoln Asylum in the early 1830s.[8]

Historians have debated the meaning of these changes in treatment, and their relationship to domesticity. It has been argued that the creation of a domestic regime, modelled on the family, in the asylum, was a means of exerting control. Michel Foucault argues that institutional organisation could draw on the power structures of the family, and authorities might take on something of the parental role.[9] For Andrew Scull, the entire project of asylum building was one of domestication, of 'attempts to transform the company of the deranged into at least a facsimile of bourgeois family life'.[10] The growing influence of domesticity on asylum decoration and the role that furnishings and goods were expected to play in routines associated with moral treatment are both well established.[11] Their disciplinary role has often been emphasised.[12] This chapter explores how and why domesticity became important to the creators

of asylums, and the roles both material things and patients were supposed to perform to bring about a return to health. Moving away from an emphasis on discipline and control, instead I suggest that we need to pay attention to the way in which asylum authorities positioned their regimes in opposition to carceral institutions, and the emphasis they placed on the importance of the emotional role of the environment. Considering the material world reveals the restraints and constrictions on domesticity within the asylum when it was played out in everyday material practices.

This chapter explores the material life of four different asylums in the south east of England. Hanwell Asylum was set up by the Middlesex Justices, empowered by 1808 legislation. Built in 1831 it initially accommodated 300 patients, but expanded rapidly in the decades that followed.[13] By 1840 there were almost 1,000 inmates.[14] The asylum was built on a variation of the corridor plan – it was arranged in a square courtyard of two-storey buildings with pavilions at the centre and each end. Long wings on each side were added later.[15] Viewed from a distance, it would have been imposing, and perhaps forbidding. In contrast, Brookwood, opened in 1867, was described by doctor and authority on lunacy Joseph Mortimer Granville as 'a cheery hamlet of almshouses'.[16] This was perhaps overstating it – the large asylum was built in a three-storied block with nearby laundry and workshop blocks linked by covered walkways.[17] Further wards were added in 1872 and a new female annex, Florence House, was opened in 1888.[18] In 1869 there were 244 male and 291 female patients,[19] the total gradually expanding to just over 1,000 in the early 1880s.[20] Nonetheless, the exterior of the building, with its English vernacular style chimneys and gables, was more domestic looking than Hanwell. Shortly before this, in 1863, Broadmoor, England's first purpose-built asylum expressly for criminal lunatics, had been opened near Crowthorne in Berkshire. The building consisted of four separate blocks for male patients and one for females, and was designed to house around 400 men and 100 women.[21] Broadmoor inmates had been found not guilty due to insanity at trial (and were known as Her Majesty's Pleasure patients), or had become insane in prison, or were declared so after further investigation.[22] The HMP patients were expected to stay almost indefinitely and this made their position quite different from public asylum patients, who, ideally only remained in the institution for a short period. Finally, the chapter considers Long Grove Asylum, opened in 1907. Long Grove was one of the huge asylums created by the LCC on the periphery of the capital in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and formed part of the Epsom Cluster, a group of five large hospitals in Surrey. Unlike the other asylums in this chapter, it was massive from the first, housing 2,013 patients in its first year.[23] It also differed in that its plan, in part, followed the new villa system with eight detached villas as well as a main building for patients and administration.

From domesticity to medicalisation

By the early nineteenth century, authorities on lunacy stressed the need for comfort and cheerfulness in the asylum. Philanthropist and mental-health reformer Samuel Tuke argued in 1819 that four major objectives secured the 'welfare and comfort' of patients; one of these was that accommodation should be made as 'cheerful' as possible.[24] Comfort was a watchword for both W.A.F. Browne, in his *What Asylums Were, Are and Ought to Be* (1837) and William Ellis, Conolly's predecessor at Hanwell.[25] It was to be secured through cleanliness and good order, and the provision of decent food, bedding, clothing, and occupation. But it did not mean elaborate décor. When Hanwell was built, the Committee of Visiting Justices specified that day rooms 'should be fitted up with a cheerful and neat appearance'.[26] The planned building was quite austere, however. The interior was to be plain, but good quality. Most of the rooms were to be paved, internal walls twice limed in white, and the doors, shutters and frames painted oak colour.[27] There were 200 iron bedsteads, copied from the county House of Correction.[28] The 12 day rooms were to have tables made of dry elm or beech, with iron legs and seats set into the floor.[29] A sense of the asylum as domestic came not from homely furnishings, but from its alignment with the idea of the household family, in the early modern sense of a community living under one roof rather than held together by blood ties.[30] This is prevalent in the early nineteenth-century literature on how asylums should be constructed.[31] This idea continued to influence Brookwood and even the massive Long Grove later in the century. It was often played out through the role of the superintendent's wife, and by placing couples in charge of wards, or villas for patients.[32]

From the 1830s and 1840s, there was a growing emphasis not just on basic decencies, but a material environment that resembled a middle-class home of the period. Some new or reformed facilities had paid attention to decoration earlier in the century, especially if they were keen to attract private patients.[33] Len Smith argues that the ethos of non-restraint and growing emphasis on everyday therapeutics led to more domestic things being brought into wards and galleries.[34] From the 1850s asylum decoration became increasingly domestic. This was due in part to the fact that more asylums were built. But it was also because a nationwide organisation was set up that tried to impose a common standard on them. As a part of the 1845 Lunacy Act, the Lunacy Commission was established to inspect asylums on a yearly basis. The Commissioners increasingly called for domestic furnishing, and stressed its importance in their early reports on Broadmoor, Brookwood and Hanwell in the late 1850s and 1860s. Some medical authorities spoke about this too, with Opert (1867) calling for day rooms with open fireplaces, curtains, hearthrugs, flower stands and aviaries.[35] The introduction of domestic decoration, furniture and ornaments

to the asylum coincided with a period in which middle-class consumption of domestic goods was increasing. It was at this point that Victorian homes became more lavishly furnished, densely decorated and filled with things. This was partly brought about by rising middle-class incomes and the mass production of goods – but also, as Deborah Cohen suggests, was accompanied by a growing stress on the moral meaning of things, and their power to exert good.[36] The shift in home and asylum furnishing was simultaneous, perhaps indicating a wider sea change in attitudes towards the importance of the material world of the home, or at the very least a shared response to the new availability of these goods.

The interiors of Brookwood epitomised this new trend. Superintendent Thomas Naudald Brushfield was closely involved in choosing furniture.[37] He rejected iron beds on a standard model that a Birmingham manufacturer had supplied to other asylums.[38] The day rooms boasted 80 stained mahogany cane seated chairs, and ten stained mahogany smoking chairs, both French polished, courtesy of William Smee.[39] It was also considered important that patients should be able to see themselves: an early inventory details 113 looking glasses.[40] By 1869, framed pictures, plaster casts, birdcages, statuettes and chimney ornaments were introduced.[41] A series of glowing reports from the Commissioners celebrated these improvements in the 1860s and 1870s.[42] In 1871 they noted: 'the interior of the asylum throughout has an aspect of cheerfulness and comfort. The furniture is much of it of a domestic character, and the corridors and day rooms are well decorated.'[43] Figure 1.1 shows one of the women's galleries in the 1870s, in an album put together by Mrs Brushfield, the superintendent's wife. The gallery is decked out in classic mid-Victorian style – wall papered, ornamented and draped. The female patients may have crocheted the tablecloths.

The increasing use of domestic furnishing within the asylum can be interpreted as a means of control through the material world. Elsewhere in Victorian society, domestic interiors were also expected to inspire correct behaviour. Drawing rooms could create politeness, and encourage the niceties of etiquette.[44] At Brookwood, it was hoped the interior would work along similar lines. The staff manual notes that: 'The patients must not be allowed to sit or to place their feet on the fire-guards. They must be taught and encouraged, when requisite, to occupy the chairs and seats in a proper manner. They are not to be permitted to sit or lie down on the floor, or to crouch in corners.'[45] Mealtimes were particularly important. The correct layout and polite use of cutlery was viewed as a means of instilling behavioural norms. Again the guidelines insisted: 'The tables are to be prepared, and all utensils etc arranged with neatness before each meal … must encourage them to use knives and forks in a proper manner.' In all four asylums, these ideas played out in well-defined daily routines. Patients rose early, dressed or were helped to dress, breakfasted and

Figure 1.1   The female gallery at Brookwood demonstrates the extent of domestic decoration in the 1870s

then spent the day working if deemed well enough. The Hanwell day began at six, with female patients who assisted the laundry maids beginning work at 6.30 am. There was a strict division of labour on a basis of gender. Men were allowed a range of occupations (mainly outdoors and relating to the asylum's upkeep) but there was also an attempt to match their skills to their former professions. Women worked exclusively at needlework and in the wards, laundries and sometimes in the kitchens.

But such decoration and activities were not always seen as primarily about control. Some drew a contrast between the domestic organisation of the asylum and the penal regimes of carceral institutions. Granville, in a report written as part of a fact-finding commission for *The Lancet* in 1877, praised the organisation of Brookwood in particular: 'domestic government is personal, and the dominant thought the wise ordering of a cheerful household, rather than the direction of a penal establishment.'[46] While the daily life of patients should be 'well ordered' there was to be 'neither the measured haste of an oppressive industrial regime, nor the monotony of prison discipline.'[47] Rebecca Wynter's study of Stafford asylum shows that elsewhere, too, asylum authorities deliberately rejected custodialism.[48] Recent work on other institutions stresses the

need to move beyond discipline as a paradigm for understanding institutional action, instead exploring the way in which philanthropic activities were understood by both benefactors and recipients and how the meaning of kindness was shared by different social groups, rather than always being a means of social oppression.[49] Likewise, the language used by the Commissioners was freighted – interiors were constantly described as 'cheerful' or otherwise and there was a clear perception that kindness and sympathy should be extended to asylum inmates.[50] The material world was thus granted emotional power, to raise up patients and improve their condition.

The need to create cheerfulness was behind many of the innovations in the asylum interior in this period, and particularly in the building of recreation rooms at all four institutions. Great efforts were made to amuse the patients, particularly at Brookwood, but all the asylums held regular plays, sporting events, picnics and other forms of entertainment and there was a flower show at Broadmoor.[51] Figure 1.2 shows an *Illustrated London News* image of Twelfth Night celebrations at Hanwell. A long asylum gallery, a potentially disturbing space, has been made to look festive with decorations, and lined with long trestle tables for the patients, giving an image of pleasant traditional festivity. This emphasis on cheerfulness also came out strongly in repeated calls for hearths in wards and day rooms. Some asylums pioneered central heating systems, in which warmth was supplied through large steam pipes. These were sometimes praised on the grounds of safety and efficiency, although they did not always work well.[52] But most authorities stressed that a fireplace was needed. Conolly writes:

> It is impossible to witness a party of lunatics sitting round a cheerful fire in winter, without wishing to see a fireplace in every ward. There is no comfort more missed by the poorest lunatic than that of an open fire, and many incidental conveniences are secured when this comfort is enjoyed.[53]

In 1856, a piece in the *Asylum Journal* declared: 'Not only is nothing so cheerful and exhilarating in appearance as the open fireplace, connected as it is with the associations of the English home, and endeared to all British hearts by the recollections of happy hours spent in the inglenook, or by one's own fireside.'[54] The piece goes on to weigh up the respective merits of practicality and the emotional importance of the open fire, judging both significant in securing patient well-being, noting 'it appears to be by far the most effectual method of securing thorough ventilation'.

While guidelines for asylum staff were not explicitly religious in tone, the effort expended on building chapels at all four asylums underlines the importance of religious practices within asylum life. All four institutions had chapels as part of their original buildings. The Long Grove planning
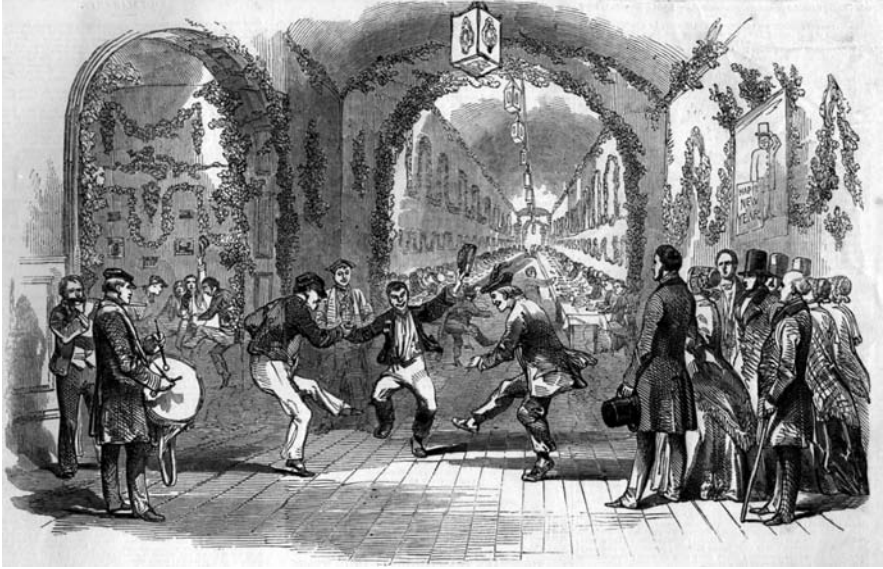
Figure 1.2   This cheerful illustration depicts Hanwell transformed at a time of festivity

committee considered omitting it, but decided against this, worrying that the Commissioners in Lunacy would disapprove.[55] The chapels at Hanwell and Brookwood were rebuilt and expanded in the 1880s and 1890s. Their re-assuring exteriors resembled Anglican parish churches. There were daily prayers or services at Hanwell, Broadmoor and Brookwood.[56] At Broadmoor, there were single sex meetings during the week but the Sunday service was one of the few places were male and female patients were allowed to come together.[57] Staff were also expected to attend, and were fined if they failed to do so.[58] Attendance at chapel was closely monitored by the Commissioners and was seen as important enough to be included in yearly statistics, alongside admissions, deaths and seclusions.

Nonetheless, the domestication of the asylum had its limits. The Commissioners were not the only forces that held sway in asylum management – governing bodies often resisted their recommendations, and their influence varied across different regions.[59] Their powers were complex and limited.[60] Some of the problems involved in creating and maintaining domestic interiors within institutions come out very clearly in the Commissioners' reports for Hanwell and Broadmoor. From the 1850s, the Commissioners were engaged in a power struggle with the Board of Visitors for Hanwell, and found that their advice was repeatedly ignored or flouted.[61] In 1861, the Commissioners worried that: 'It is generally to be observed, in passing through the wards and

ordinary day-rooms, a marked deficiency in the means afforded for encouraging cheerfulness or intelligence among the patients, by relieving the listlessness and monotony of their lives from day to day.'[62] There were stone floors throughout the asylum, even in the epileptic wards, where patients frequently fell down in seizures, causing many accidents.[63] And the dark and poorly ventilated basement wards were seen as unusable.[64] By 1864, the situation had further deteriorated. Discipline was failing – the patients were violent and disorderly on the airing courts, and the female inmates had broken the windows of the basement dormitories.[65] At Broadmoor, wards for well-behaved and high-status patients were singled out for praise from the Commissioners.[66] But the major problem came when the institution dealt with spaces for the difficult and violent. These tended to be convict or 'time' patients – who had been convicted of a crime and become insane in prison, or else had been saved from the death sentence on the grounds of insanity at the last minute but had still been convicted of a crime.[67] These refractory inmates (who were perceived to have less incentive to behave than the HMPs) were confined to Blocks 1 and 6, which were a considerable headache for the Commissioners. They particularly objected to the creation of 'cages' at the end of two galleries in Block 1, where two intransigent patients were separated by bars from floor to ceiling.[68] It was only in the 1870s that a more cordial relationship developed between the Commissioners and the asylum authorities at Hanwell and the cages were finally removed at Broadmoor.[69]

As soon as domesticity began to take hold, critical voices were raised against it, particularly in the pages of medical journals. *The Asylum Journal,* founded in 1853, helped establish an identity and voice for asylum doctors within the increasingly status-aware medical profession.[70] In 1856, one author argued that 'pictures, picnics and pet animals' were all very well, but:

> we do not know of any more painful sight than an admirably constructed and arranged asylum for the insane, replete with domestic comforts, and abounding in evidences of extreme solicitude for the contentment or happiness of inmates, but containing no marks of any medical intentions or operations.[71]

This piece directly criticised the Commissioners' 1855 report, suggesting that asylums were losing their character as places that dealt with disease medically as they were presided over by a commission. The rest of the journal did not always concur.[72] But there does seem to have been a tension between decoration for decoration's sake and hygiene. In 1860 the journal ran a piece on the new Sussex Asylum, suggesting that whitewash should be chosen over wallpaper on the grounds of safety.[73] In 1882, A.R. Urquhart, Superintendent of Perth Asylum ventured to write on asylum decoration for *The Journal of Mental*

Science (a later incarnation of *The Asylum Journal*). His tone was tentative, even defensive: 'I wish to distinctly disclaim any idea of unduly vaunting decorative art, of elevating it into a panacea for the purpose of obtaining high rates of recovery … it is a handmaid of therapeutics and hygiene.'[74] Although he went on to praise asylum decoration, it is rarely mentioned in the journal as a whole, and he viewed it as subordinate to medical intervention.

Towards the end of the century, the Commissioners also began to take a different tone. Brookwood, formerly praised, was now criticised for its small numbers of staff with medical training, lack of attention to hygiene, and old fashioned accommodation that did not allow for 'the separation and treatment of recent curable cases.'[75] New institutions were planned along different lines, more notice was paid to hygiene, and the creation of an explicitly medicalised interior. Long Grove was typical of this trend. Notably, this new asylum was partly planned on the villa system – it had a centralised block with a ward system, but also included outlying villas for chronic, convalescent and working patients. As Long Grove was built on a mass scale from the start, its furniture and furnishings, and even artwork, purchased by committee, were uniform throughout. Smooth surfaces had been seen as important in medical hospitals from mid-century, when it was thought disease was carried by 'miasma' – it was crucial that there should be nowhere for the dust to settle.[76] As germ theory gained hold in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, hygienic interiors became increasingly important in hospitals. By the 1890s, a combination of asepsis and antisepsis was used in most hospitals.[77] Hospitals developed special operating theatres, segregated from other spaces by waiting rooms, with mosaic floor, marble covered skirtings and walls, flush finished windows and doors, and sheet windows.[78] These changes influenced some aspects of the asylum interior, especially in areas explicitly for the physically sick (shown in Figure 1.3). In 1903 it was agreed that Long Grove corridors would be given glazed brick dados and walls, and the wards and day rooms were to be skirted in glazed brick rather than wood. Instead of wallpapering the wards and dayrooms (as at Brookwood where there were clearly no worries about dust), the asylum chose to paint throughout.

But domesticity did not disappear entirely. The point of having a villa system (as at Long Grove and in other asylums) was that it was felt that these smaller scale units would be viewed as less institutionalising, and more homelike.[79] There was still an idea that the asylum should be modelled on the patriarchal household – it was seen as an advantage that the first head of a villa to be appointed came with a wife who cooked for the patients and acted as a charge nurse.[80] As Louise Hide has shown for Claybury and Bexley asylums, patient work at Long Grove was still dictated by expectations around gendered domestic roles – women usually worked in the laundry, and sometimes the kitchen although the gendering of this varied between asylums.[81] It is also

Figure 1.3   The male infirmary at Long Grove resembles the interior of a medical hospital

worth pointing out that this was paralleled by a growing concern with hygiene in middle-class homes in the final two decades of the nineteenth century.[82] Figure 1.4 shows a female day room at Long Grove in 1910. Like the previous image of the male infirmary, it was probably taken as a publicity photograph. (Certainly it is easy to imagine how this decorous and staged space would have looked very different at other times.) The room is a mixture of the medical and the domestic. The floor is varnished wood, but is alleviated by a few rugs, the distempered walls are enlivened with prints and there are quite a few ornaments. The patients sit on Bentwood rockers, chosen especially by the governing committee.[83] Doctors often recommended Bentwood chairs for asylums as they were seen as suitable for invalids, but were also very tough and able to withstand violence.[84] Bentwood rockers were popular in British homes from the 1860s.[85] Here, they help create a partial sense of domesticity in the room. They are a symbolically stabilising but also probably an actually stabilising force, as it would have been hard for disturbed or angry patients to suddenly rise up from them. The image is typical of the balance between modernity, medical care and domesticity that these new interiors struck.

Figure 1.4   This female dayroom at Long Grove reveals how twentieth-century interiors retained some domestic features

Domesticity disrupted

However significant the idea of domesticity was to contemporary asylum authorities, it is important to acknowledge that it did not and could not work for many patients. Responses to the material world of the asylum were, at least in part, conditioned by mental illnesses. Diana Gittins' interviews with twentieth-century patients at Essex Hospital show that many psychotic episodes involved transportation to a 'completely different and private visual landscape in which the visual surroundings of the institution impinge only marginally if at all.'[86] As we cannot ask nineteenth-century patients about their experiences, it is necessary to rely, predominantly, on institutional records. Asylums were legally obliged to make detailed case notes on each individual. These sources represent the views of clerks or doctors, but, read carefully, can also tell us something of how patients experienced the material world. Some reacted similarly to Gittins' interviewees. When Mary C. was brought into Hanwell in 1845, her case notes recorded that 'she is unconscious of surrounding things'.[87] Despite the

intention that asylums should cater for curable patients, at Hanwell there were many suffering from long-term senile dementia who were too ill to be sent back to the workhouse.[88] Older patients suffering from dementia and memory loss might not recognise personal possessions they brought in with them; prized wedding rings and photographs may have gradually lost meaning.[89] For others, the material fabric of the asylum could play an active role in their delusions. Sometimes, delusions relating to the close material world were terrifying.[90] Mary Elizabeth H., a single charwoman from Westminster, was admitted to Hanwell in March 1880, suffering from mania after childbirth and the death of her child. When she arrived she was described as 'excitable, flighty and unsettled', and subject to a number of delusions including one focused on the artwork in the ward: 'She takes a picture in the Ward to be her "husband", stands in front of it, shakes her fist and swears at it.'[91]

The atmosphere of 'normal' domesticity sought by the asylum authorities through decoration and furnishing was constantly disrupted by patients' bodies and behaviour, as they and those around them struggled to cope with their illnesses. As had been the ideal from the eighteenth century, all four asylums assigned difficult and refractory patients to particular wards – so there was an attempt to keep quieter patients undisturbed, and confinement to a single room was used as a last resort. Sedatives could be used to achieve calm, although some doctors were wary of 'chemical restraint' which could damage or addict patients, and it was avoided at Brookwood.[92] Hide suggests that doctors became less reluctant to use both mechanical and chemical restraint in the LCC asylums in the late nineteenth century.[93] But it was not always possible to predict when a patient's condition would worsen – and when their actions might become disruptive. Moreover, the numbers of staff per patient were limited, and not adequate for close surveillance. At Hanwell in 1863, following recruitment difficulties, there was only one nurse per 18 patients.[94] Anne Shepherd finds that at Brookwood there were 10.5 male patients per member of staff and 12.6 female patients.[95] There was an increasing recognition of the importance of staff to patient numbers, and at Long Grove in 1909 it was reported that the ratio was one staff member to 8.9 patients.[96] However, this is still considerably fewer than the numbers recommended in the twenty-first century for effective close surveillance of patients with severe mental illness.[97]

Much as staff may have wanted patients to use chairs in 'the proper manner', wards and day rooms were often peopled with inmates who occupied them in strange, or surprising, ways. In the Brookwood and Long Grove photographs, the patients sit quietly, but casebooks suggest that daily life in most asylum day rooms would have felt quite different. Patients were sometimes found in odd postures, or in attitudes that did not conform to the norms of nineteenth-century femininity (and were perhaps particularly remarked on because of this). The Hanwell casebooks go into some detail.[98] Elizabeth A., admitted in

1860, was to be found: 'in the corner of the gallery with her dress above her head, and hums short discordant noises to herself.'[99] In July 1880, Charles C. at Brookwood was found to be 'somewhat quieter, but moves about the ward in a mysterious manner, and says what he has to in a confidential whisper'.[100] Eccentric inhabitants of wards and dayrooms were frequently present, and, if they kept within certain limits, their oddities went unchallenged – staff may well not have had the time or the energy to try and coerce them into normality. They were as much a part of the interior as the carefully chosen wallpaper and drapery.

Staff were instructed to deal with patients with kindness and consideration. Rules for attendants at Brookwood, published in 1871, make this clear: 'they are all equally held to be not responsible for their words and actions, and require to be treated with the greatest consideration, sympathy, and forbearance … especially by the Ward Attendants, with whom they are constantly associated.'[101] Many staff struggled to live up to this ideal, and institutional records show that there were many instances when they did not. Patients and staff often came into conflict, sometimes violently.[102] And even when this did not occur, the social activities of staff might compromise serenity or peace for patients. Living on site, and working in difficult and challenging conditions, many staff seized pleasure where they could. At Broadmoor, staff were allowed to use the entertainments room in the evenings, but only if the door was closed firmly so patients could not hear noise and laughter.[103]

On entering an asylum, a patient became subject to a regime in which illness and behaviour were dealt with by spatial control. If their condition degenerated, or their actions became problematic, they were swiftly moved. At all four asylums, there were separate wards for difficult patients – and for the wet and dirty – and those who were potentially violent and disruptive were put in single rooms. They would be shifted as they improved or deteriorated. At Hanwell, Brookwood and Long Grove (although increasingly not at Broadmoor) patients who were considered able to cope found themselves placed in shared rooms or 'associated dormitories' as they were known – at Hanwell the initial plans suggested six patients per room, but in reality there were often more than this.[104] Chris Philo has shown that these spaces were recommended by some medical authorities, who believed that it was better for the patients to be in a shared space than to be alone; suicidal patients in particular were thought to benefit from the presence of others.[105] Philo also argues that this system, making the patients effectively self-surveilling, demonstrates Foucault's interpretation of discipline within the asylum. The associated dormitory was probably also used as a means of regulating sexual behaviour, although this was not stated explicitly.[106] Yet it is by no means clear that we can apply ideas of surveillance to the asylum ward uncritically. In some cases, if patients were not to be restrained, constant watching was a very real necessity. At Hanwell in 1868, epileptic

patients were ordered to bathe with the curtains open, presumably so staff could see if they had a seizure.[107] Such needful watching should not necessarily be equated with a deliberate attempt to control patients through surveillance. It is difficult to know how asylums could have functioned without watching suicidal and epileptic patients. What we can see, however, is the unease and discomfort some patients felt in these circumstances. Although clearly a product of illness, it is hard not to read some patient behaviour as a response to the lack of respite from interaction and observation, and a simple desire to be alone. The notes for Sarah L., who entered Hanwell in 1860, state: 'she does not sit in the ward if she is able to get into the gallery or passage, in either place she sits alone and if she can in a corner'.[108] Often, bathrooms were the only places where solitude was possible.

As the numbers of patients in asylums increased over the century, watching them closely became more difficult. Lack of space was often a problem. In 1868, the Committee of Visitors to Brookwood worried that there was too little day space – overcrowding, it was felt, led to diarrhoea, dysentery, fever, excitement, quarrels and bruises.[109] Overcrowding continued to be criticised in the 1880s and 1890s.[110] This was particularly problematic at poorly managed Hanwell, in the 1860s. Sleeping spaces were watched over at night, but, crucially the night attendants could not be present at all times – rather one attendant would tour a set of dormitories, and a sleeping room might be left unviewed for an hour at a time. Patients often disrupted each other, and there must have been many restless nights. Margaret C., admitted to Hanwell in 1860, quickly had to be moved to a single room as 'if she sleeps in a dormitory she gets out of bed and goes round to the beds of the other patients and strips the bedclothes from off them, and is very noisy singing discordantly'.[111] There are numerous instances of this in the records of both later Hanwell and Brookwood.[112] In 1866, Elizabeth W. a 'harmless' patient who had been at Hanwell since 1838, was violently attacked by Mary O'L., another patient in the 'West Centre Basement'. O'L. pulled her from bed and 'beat and kicked, or either knelt and jumped upon her.'[113] W. sustained severe injuries, and died three days afterwards. The Commissioners found that her dormitory was not visited by night attendants, nor did an attendant sleep nearby.

Violent and disruptive patients also damaged the material fabric of the asylum, most commonly through breakage. At Hanwell in January 1863 the Visiting Justices questioned the unusual amount of glass that had been broken in the male wards over the past months.[114] Brookwood, Hanwell and Long Grove all monitored breakages and developed bureaucratic systems for reporting them. At Long Grove in March 1909, the Inspector of Stores reported 1,400 breakages in three weeks.[115] In November 1911, he reported that 1,211 pieces of glass and earthenware had been broken, again in three weeks.[116] Although Long Grove was an immense asylum, such levels of accident suggest

a turbulent material life. Mundane, everyday objects could easily become weapons and great care was necessary. Chamber pots, an essential item and often the only unguarded object in a room, could be very dangerous. Several records in the Brookwood casebooks record their use by violent patients.[117] Sometimes the interior was badly damaged by patients.[118] If repairs were not swiftly made, there was an ongoing effect on the look of the asylum and its atmosphere. At Hanwell in 1863 all the windows in the West Centre Basement Dormitory were broken by female patients, throwing gravel from the airing courts.[119] They remained unrepaired for at least a year. Open or partially boarded windows would have made the ward colder, darker, and the physical manifestation of recent material violence may have contributed to an atmosphere of discomfort and unease.

Breakage may, sometimes, have been a means of resistance (although at other times very ill patients simply didn't know what they were doing). Certainly, among the convicts at Broadmoor, one patient might incite another. In December 1863 when two female inmates attacked the sub-matron, breaking a great deal of glass in the process, another patient nearby, hearing the noise, immediately started to smash glass and china.[120] Elsewhere, patients could also encourage others to be destructive. William W. was brought into Brookwood in May 1880, where he was found: 'noisy insubordinate, and advising the other patients to break windows, resist the attendants &c. Yesterday (Sunday) he converted the ward into a perfect pandemonium.'[121] Windows, often the nearest fragile thing to hand, were a target.[122] But breaking windows may also have been a strategy for resistance that was recognised across different institutions.[123] David Green's study of London workhouses identifies window breaking as a means of expressing dissatisfaction with and even deliberate resistance to the institutional regime.[124] The numerous instances of attempts to damage windows in asylums may be read in the same light –- certainly they offered a very direct means of personal expression within the confines of the institutional world.

Material consolations and dormitory friendships

Those who were aware of their material environment must quickly have realised its limitations. When a patient was brought into the four asylums considered here, they were stripped and subjected to medical inspection, and given a warm bath and a standard set of clothes (although this varied elsewhere – there could be worries over doctors inspecting female patients). Personal clothing and possessions were docketed and locked away (although small personal goods might be released later, if considered safe).[125] The small number of private patients in public asylums might be allowed special privileges, and things were also different for the well behaved and well off at Broadmoor.

The relatively small number of patients at the criminal asylum who were not maintained by the state were granted leave to wear their own clothes, but others here and elsewhere had to wear standard dress, which was not necessarily a uniform, but could nonetheless be uncomfortable and humiliating.[126] Most pauper patients had limited access to or control over their own things. Indeed, rigorous scrutiny of patients' personal items was seen as an essential part of ensuring their safety and preventing escape. At Hanwell ward attendants regularly searched the patients' boxes and clothes.[127] Brookwood had a similar regime – each night all patient clothing was to be folded and placed into lockers, or on a chair in the case of dormitories where it was not allowed to be placed inside.[128] At Broadmoor, lockers were not allowed to be stored in any dormitory at night, except those in privileged Block 2.[129]

There was some recognition, though, that it might be a good idea to keep hold of personal things. Hanwell attendants were instructed to keep any books or 'trifling ornaments on which the patient sets store' and could not cause damage.[130] Property was documented, to protect it against pilfering staff.[131] Patients were given letter writing materials if they asked for them.[132] It was also possible for presents and articles (including consumables such as wine) to be deposited with the storekeeper by friends and relatives that would be distributed at 12.30 and 2.30pm each day.[133] At Brookwood too, patients were often allowed small things, although anything that was thought to be dangerous would have been kept back. A list of goods unclaimed by relatives after patient deaths, made in the early twentieth century, includes a plethora of small goods including books, cigarette cases, combs, a dog chain and dog licence (it's not clear what happened to the dog), letters and a magnifying glass.[134] Patients at Broadmoor had greater opportunities to exchange things. Privately funded inmates had their own money and although they were not actually allowed to handle cash the asylum staff kept a note of accounts and receipts on their behalf.[135] Even pauper patients could accumulate money by making and selling small goods, and were paid for work done for the asylum from 1874.[136] All this created a considerable economy of production and exchange among patients, and it was not hard to secure little luxuries like tobacco and books, or small items – such as photographs and frames – to brighten and personalise interiors.[137] The three other public asylums did not tend to systematise patient earnings in this way, although there were some experiments and from 1908 the LCC Asylums Committee formally rewarded patients who undertook extra work with an additional ration of tobacco.[138]

Patients were allowed to keep birds, and sometimes animals of other kinds, including rabbits and cats. They were an accepted part of the therapeutic interior outlined in the first section. The Commissioners often noted that wards had been decorated with aquaria and birdcages. Birds, it seems, were thought of as the ideal cheerful decoration for wards and day rooms. Domestic bird

keeping was popular in the 1850s and 1860s.[139] They were purchased at all the asylums and were still a favourite at the end of the period. There were bird-cages and aviaries at Long Grove, and in 1909 15 canaries were purchased.[140] But it was at Broadmoor that bird keeping really took off, and patients took an active role in their breeding. In October 1873, the Attendants' Order Book declared: 'the number of birds in the wards is now so great that no more breed-ing can be allowed for the present.'[141] Patients frequently exchanged birds and birdseed.[142] William T., a discharged Broadmoor patient, wrote back from his native America in 1873, fondly remembering a friend and his birds: 'if John W. is with you yet please to remember me to him for I would like very well to have a couple of his birds also I would like to see himself.'[143] And a particularly difficult male patient, who refused to communicate with staff, was allowed to keep a flock of pigeons.[144]

While some patients damaged the interior, others found solace in improving it. Men with a creative streak were encouraged to embellish interiors. Charles D., a 35-year-old artist who was admitted to Brookwood in 1868 was reported to have painted: 'a fair part of the decoration of the recreation hall; it is all his own designing'.[145] Most famously, the artist Richard Dadd, who spent over 20 years at Broadmoor, undertook numerous small artistic tasks there and deco-rated the stage for the central hall.[146] Female patients do not seem to have decorated the asylum walls, but their needlework was often an important part of the interior. At Broadmoor and Hanwell, patients' stitchery supplied basic textiles, as well as some decorative goods. The former's annual report for 1864 noted that production included 629 sheets, 480 pillow cases, 86 table cloths, 17 toilet covers, 12 muslin blinds, five knitted curtains and six shrouds.[147]

Needlework was one of the main tasks female patients were asked to perform – and it was often seen as a signifier of their return to sanity and normative gendered behaviour. But it could also be creative; women often made dolls, or their own idiosyncratic objects.[148] The case notes of Margaret D., who arrived at Hanwell in 1860, report that she 'amuses herself chiefly in making dolls, and toys of rags &c.'[149] Margaret's dolls took on a life of their own, and we hear that she 'frequently goes out to spend the afternoon in other wards where she amuses herself and other patients with her dolls'. In August the following year she was described as 'quiet and cleanly and tidy and very neat'.[150] But her needlework continued to annoy the medical attendant; her case notes state that, she 'does nothing useful, makes dolls dresses in a very grotesque and strange manner'. The eccentric needlework of female patients, often described as 'grotesque',[151] irritated asylum authorities who hoped that female patients would materially contribute to the institution by producing practical items. Nonetheless, there seems to have been no attempt to stop women pursuing their works of choice, which perhaps brought some pleasure and fulfilment.

The extent to which a patient might create a personal space depended on whether they were given their own room, and if they were considered safe and reliable enough to be allowed to have their own things in it. This varied between asylums. At Hanwell and Brookwood, if a patient was doing well they were expected to sleep in an associated dormitory, rather than having their own room. There are reports of some patients decorating cells with prints and ornaments in the 1840s.[152] But most would not have been able to have their own room. At Hanwell in 1861 there were only 130 single bedrooms and 829 slept in dormitories.[153] This ratio was even smaller at Brookwood.[154] At Broadmoor, however, things were different. There were fewer dormitories as it was expected that there would be more refractory and difficult patients than in a 'normal' asylum.[155] Dormitories were gradually phased out during the Victorian period, resulting in most patients having a room to themselves.[156] In 1884, the superintendent and chaplain reported that while there had been 153 single rooms in the male side when the asylum opened, there were now 242.[157] Single rooms for difficult and dangerous patients had little in the way of furnishing – a mattress rather than a bed and a chamber pot.[158] But the room of a well-behaved Broadmoor patient could be positively opulent. Broadmoor notables Richard Dadd and William Minor were even given two rooms.[159] Dr James P., who came to Broadmoor from Fisherton House in 1865, possessed: 'a looking glass, a musical box, medicine bottles, books, hair dye, a fox's tail, hunter's horn'.[160]

The patient casebooks in general leave little evidence of the interaction between patients or their thoughts and feelings about each other, but every now and then reveal the social world in the wards and dormitories of the asylum. Simply having day rooms for the patients, supplied with recreational activities, created a place where inmates could interact. Of course, some patients were withdrawn, quarrelsome and even violent. This sketch of a Broadmoor day room, published in the *Illustrated London News,* shown in Figure 1.5, imagines a spectrum of behaviours among the patients – some are engaged in somewhat turbulent argument and speculation, some play chess and others remain apart from the group as a whole (the withdrawn patient seated on the far right is thought to be Dadd).[161] This illustration of asylum life was probably drawn by someone who had visited Broadmoor, and may give some indication of relationships between the patients. The description of David G., a patient who was brought into Brookwood in 1880, is quite illuminating here. It was noted that: 'He is rather solitary in his habits preferring to be alone reading the bible instead of conversing with others or joining in their amusements'.[162] The statement reveals that there *was* a social life in the asylum day room – involving both conversation and games between the patients.

The associated dormitory system left patients constantly in each other's company, and as we have seen, could be very brutal. While sleeping with other
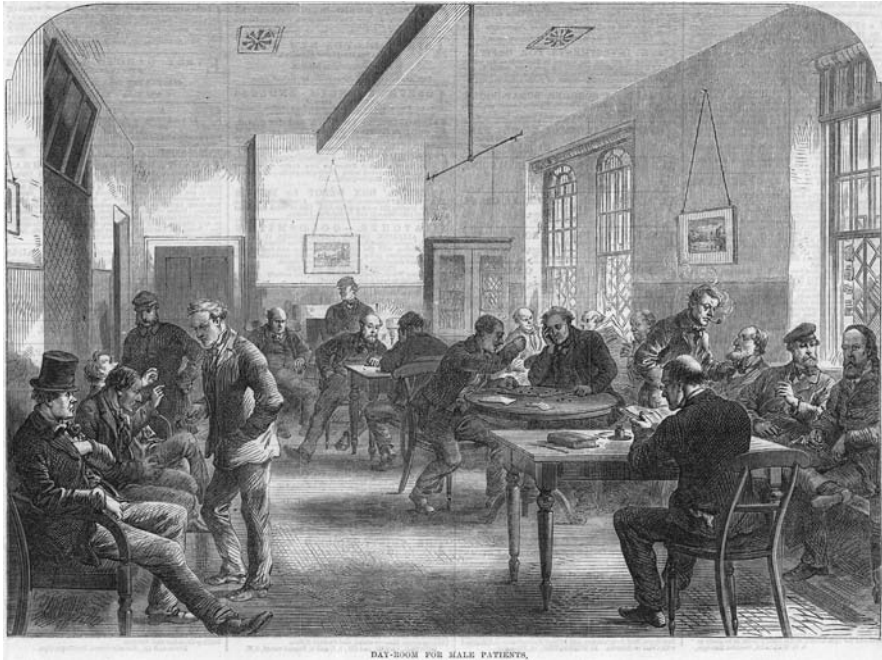
Figure 1.5 This illustration of patient sociability and isolation at Broadmoor offers a view of the range of different interactions between patients

patients on a ward was potentially disturbing, it might be a preferred option. Disruptive patients were put in single rooms, so this may have been feared on account of its association with deterioration in condition. John Weston, a patient at Bristol Asylum and one of the few pauper patients to leave a printed memoir of his experiences, actually preferred sleeping on a ward, finding the solitude of a separate room frightening in contrast.[163] Friendships could spring up between patients. [164] Sarah H., admitted to Hanwell in 1846, was reported to be 'much attached to several of the inmates in the wards'.[165] Male patients could also find friendship, and may even, as Michael Roper has found for the all-male environment on the Western Front, adopted conventionally female roles in caring for each other.[166] Martin W., a baker who had failed in business, was brought into Brookwood in 1880, reportedly suffering from the delusion that his wife had poisoned him.[167] His case notes reveal that he was 'regularly employed sometimes in nursing sick fellow patients & sitting up with them at night'.[168] Sometimes a patient could become very attached to a certain ward. Ed M., a Broadmoor patient, was admitted in 1880, and after he had spent some time in Block 3, the infirmary block, he was moved to Block 5, where patients had more freedom. But his letters home reveal unhappiness at the

move: 'I am in Number 5 Block … and I have to put with all sorts off insulting remarks in the ward and in the Dining Room at meals times.'[169] M. pleaded to be sent back to Block 3. He felt very isolated among the new set of patients, and writes: 'I have to set in the Day Room as you see me wen you came round like a mute none one to speak to and no one to play heney amusements with and cant make a friend.'[170]

To what extent was it possible to feel at home in the asylum? The 'domesticity' of the asylum, in terms of elaborate furnishing and ornament, was the domesticity of the ideal middle-class home, or at least a well-off working-class parlour. Elaborate drapery, ornate plants under glass, frills and furbelows, may have puzzled and alienated very poor patients, as much as putting them at their ease. But some, like George E. were appreciative of the material efforts made on their behalf. Moreover, throughout the period, a small number of patients became attached to the asylum, and were reluctant to leave. Shepherd finds that at Brookwood patients tended to be discharged as recovered within a year, or they became long-term inmates – the recovery rate varied between 30–45%.[171] In 1909, the recovery rate at Long Grove was under 10%, whereas the death rate was slightly higher.[172] Some of these long-stay patients formed an enduring attachment to the institution. Patients who wrote back to Broadmoor often missed the place, and their friendships with the other patients.[173] The inmates who did not want to leave were usually older women who feared the struggle to support themselves when they returned to the outside world. In 1846, Fanny P. 'entertained so great a dread of returning to London, & being thrown on her own resources, that she was permitted to remain in the asylum until today'.[174] Mary M. entered Hanwell in 1847 – and repeatedly became ill when the subject of her discharge was brought up. By June 1849, she was considered quite well but 'reluctant to leave the asylum. She becomes sad when it is spoke of.'[175] In 1890 Mary Ann K., a 62-year-old widow from Englefield Green, was admitted to Brookwood, after feeling suicidal and asking to be taken in.[176] By February 1892 it was reported that she was much improved and 'usefully employed in needlework'.[177] She was clearly better at this point, but in March 30 her notes state: 'she does not appear to like the idea of leaving the asylum'.

The idea of domesticity was central to the construction of the material world of asylums in the second half of the nineteenth century. After 1850, an interior fashioned along the lines of the middle-class home replete with carpeting, wall paper, furniture and ornaments – as well as amusements and pets – was seen as an essential part of treatment. This was accompanied by a domestic routine in which patients were expected to rise, dress, eat and work in a respectable fashion. While this regime might be viewed as discipline for the unruly, some commentators argued that it was entirely different from the penal regimes found in prisons and workhouses. It is clear that the domestic atmosphere that the authorities hoped to achieve was often disrupted or compromised.

The nature of some patients' illnesses could remove them from an awareness of their material circumstances, rendering them futile. Suicidal, epileptic and dangerous patients had to be constantly watched – and some felt this keenly, finding it impossible to feel comfortable. Within this turbulent, battered and patched material world there were some possibilities of consolation. Patients could be allowed to cherish small objects. While inmates were forced together in the associated dormitories and wards, this close spatial relationship could sometimes lead to friendship. For a small minority, usually the old and vulnerable, the asylum genuinely became a home – and offered a respite from the world outside.

2
Asylums for the Middle and Upper Classes

In 1876, Herman C. Merivale was brought as a patient to Ticehurst, an establishment often considered the crème de la crème of privately-run asylums. On arrival he remembered that: 'In my weakened perceptions I at first thought that the mansion was an hotel.'[1] This was an understandable mistake, even allowing for the writer's troubled mental condition. Large private asylums were sometimes built on a grand scale with suites of elaborate day rooms akin to country houses and hotels.[2] Ticehurst opened in 1792, and was expanded and embellished in the decades that followed. By 1867, the institution boasted a Chinese gallery, billiard room, museum and conservatory, as well as a handsome chapel.[3] In the 1870s an aviary and theatre were introduced, and the 1890s saw the arrival of a French chef and a ballroom.[4] Like the superintendents of public asylums, the doctors at Ticehurst hoped that cure could partly be reached by reintroducing patients to domestic regimes. But this was a very different kind of domesticity, built on an idea of social prestige, the polite and formal world of the great country house as well as the new, more anonymous hotels for the wealthy. The well-off would have expected these amenities, but splendour was also meant to distract patients, as well as underlining their status and consoling their relatives. The material world was expected to create a distinctive kind of sociability and behaviour.

Before the mass building of public asylums in nineteenth-century England, care for the insane had been provided mainly through establishments run by individuals or families on a private basis and a relatively small number of subscription-based charitable hospitals that relied on voluntary contributions.[5] These places ranged from the notorious and clearly exploitative, to institutions like the Quaker-run Retreat at York, which as we have seen became a beacon in quality care. The number of private asylums peaked in the 1840s, and declined in the second half of the century as pauper patients were increasingly catered for by county asylums (although in some places paupers were still placed in licensed houses).[6] The Commissioners in Lunacy divided asylums outside the

state into two groups: licensed houses which were privately run and registered hospitals (usually charitable foundations run by boards of governors). The latter often offered free or partly paid for care to some, but also took on paying patients whose high fees subsidised the others. The number of residents in these asylums was considerably smaller than those within the county system. Nonetheless, they remained a significant presence in the landscape of mixed care provided for the mentally ill in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1890, Burdett noted that there were 31 licensed houses in the metropolis and 55 in the provinces, containing 5,457 patients.[7] At the same time there were 20 registered hospitals with 3,611 patients, only 200 of whom had arrived there through the system of poor relief.[8]

This chapter focuses on three institutions that dealt entirely or mostly with the middle and upper classes. Ticehurst was a licensed house that had been privately run by a family of doctors since the late eighteenth century. From the late 1870s, it housed around 70 patients.[9] With fees at £450–500 per year in 1875, it is the most elite institution considered here. The majority of its patients were from the aristocracy and the upper-middle classes. In contrast, Holloway Sanatorium, which opened in 1885 at Virginia Water in Surrey, was a large-scale charitable foundation built using the funds of patent-pill manufacturer and master-advertiser Thomas Holloway, a Victorian entrepreneur who sought to leave his mark on society through beneficence. It had initially aimed to support lower-middle class patients, but it also took large numbers of fee-paying inmates from the wealthy middle and upper classes.[10] Charity recipients were only allowed in if they had the correct social background and education. Bethlem Hospital, a medieval foundation, first based at Bishopsgate and then at Moorfields, was re-established in new buildings in Southwark in 1815. Bethlem had originally been predominantly for paupers, and housed criminal lunatics before Broadmoor opened. From the mid-century it was increasingly perceived as an institution for the impoverished middle classes.[11] In 1851, among male patients, clerks were the largest occupational group.[12] This chapter focuses on Bethlem from the 1870s, when it was increasingly moving towards accommodating patients of a higher social status.[13]

The evolution, and in some cases the founding of these institutions was shaped by the perceived need to make special provision for middle- and upper-class patients, different from those for pauper lunatics. Middle- and upper-class culture was permeated with a pronounced sense of shame and fear in association with madness.[14] There was also a widespread public hostility towards private asylums in particular, and a worry that scheming relatives could easily lock up their kin for financial or personal gain. The campaigns of the Alleged Lunatics' Friends Society (founded 1845), as well as a series of high profile cases and sensational novels all contributed to a growing public belief that there was a need for greater legal control over the certification process.[15] A series of bills

finally resulted in the Lunacy Act of 1890, which specified that the certification of non-pauper lunatics must be witnessed by a magistrate.[16] This sharpened the lunatic as a legal entity, increasing the stigma attached.[17] To avoid certification, Holloway and Bethlem both accepted voluntary boarders, allowing treatment without relinquishing legal rights until absolutely necessary.[18] But perhaps the clearest way in which these institutions struck back against their public perception was in the creation of an elaborate material world; ornate interiors that carried cultural prestige, and a fully developed social life. In this context, the domestic manners and rituals of the middle- and upper-class world took on a new meaning, as institutions and patients clung onto them as a means of support in a changed and difficult world.

The varied structures, organisation and purposes of these three institutions meant that they were planned and built differently. Ticehurst was essentially modelled on a small-scale country estate – there was a central building, 'The Establishment', surrounded by a number of smaller 'villas', all placed in extensive grounds with a chapel and grotto. Planning was on a domestic scale, with many small private rooms, and even the communal dining rooms and drawing rooms tended to be modest. Holloway Sanatorium was constructed as a large central block with long wings for male and female patients extending from each side. Built in the early 1870s, its original design did not meet the Commissioners' requirements and it was not opened until later. It was clearly a foundation designed to make a statement about an enormously wealthy patron. There was an awe-inspiring entrance hall, and a series of large, prestigious rooms for dining and recreation. Bethlem, meanwhile, had been rebuilt in the early nineteenth century. It had an impressive frontage, and a copper coloured dome was added to it in 1844–1845 (this remains today as part of the Imperial War Museum buildings).[19] But the nineteenth-century building was more compact than the previous hospital – with two shorter wings leading from each side of the dome, each containing four stories of galleries with rows of cells. As a patient's condition and behaviour improved, they were promoted upwards. Early nineteenth-century provisions for patients were spartan, and it was only from the mid-century that its interior was improved. All three places had satellite establishments for patients who were viewed as convalescent.[20] These institutions developed new kinds of elaborate interiors, but what of the motivations and models behind them? And what kind of life was created for patients inside?

Domesticity, modernity and magnificence

Elite homes, and particularly country houses, with their impressive buildings, rural settings and landscaped gardens, influenced all three institutions. Ticehurst and Holloway had extensive grounds, and at the former particular attention was paid to landscaping the asylum's 200 acres.[21] The buildings

evolved out of what was essentially a small-scale gentry country house on an estate. The Establishment had a suite of day rooms: a communal dining room, a billiard room, a library, and shared sitting rooms, as well as some private ones. It had four wings, with eight rooms on each floor, linked by short corridors, which created a domestic feel. The scale of the rooms was that of a small elite home. For example, the dining room, contained chairs for only 12 people.[22] As patients would have been able to dine in their rooms, it may only have been used for special social occasions, or for groups of guests. The drawing room is shown in Figure 2.1. At Holloway Sanatorium, the main public rooms – the dining hall, the recreation hall and the sitting and billiard rooms (there was also later, a smoking room) – although larger, were also analogous to the suites of day rooms in upper-middle class houses.[23] The situation was different at Bethlem. When the building had been constructed, the institution was seen as primarily charitable with little need for extensive private accommodation for patients. It was only in the second half of the century that the social profile of the patients altered, and attempts were made to model the asylum environment on high-end homes. Perhaps because the Southwark site had little space for expansion, investment in the interior became important at Bethlem.

Figure 2.1   This drawing room at Ticehurst is typical of the small-scale rooms found in this institution

Asylums in the nineteenth century were often arranged in galleries, and their decoration was a major challenge for authorities. These long and echoing day rooms were the place where many patients spent most of their days. As Mary Guyatt points out, these rooms were the most distinctive part of the asylum interior, and what made it immediately recognisable as an institution.[24] This was not a problem at Ticehurst which was too small to need long galleries. In this publicity shot for Holloway Sanatorium (Figure 2.2), a gallery has been altered to avoid an institutional feel. Within the long corridor a 'room' has been created around an alcove with a window seat which is partly enclosed by a partition wall. Light floral wallpaper, small portraits, and a strategically placed whatnot (a stand with open shelves) create intimacy. The photographer

A GALLERY (LADIES' SIDE).

Figure 2.2   The corridor form of the female gallery at Holloway Sanatorium has been effectively disguised in this photograph

is clearly complicit in the strategy – the camera projects towards the side wall of the alcove and the window, making its focal point this mini-haven of domesticity rather than the corridor beyond. A few books on the table suggest quiet contemplation and an umbrella or parasol leaning on the window seat evokes a walk in the world outside, suggesting freedom rather than confinement.

Making structural alterations to the galleries was not an option at Bethlem. Instead, from mid-century, a series of decorative interventions tried to bring them into line with elite domestic interiors, creating, as the chaplain fondly put it, 'a home of comfort and even luxury'.[25] Some improvements were made in the early 1850s – for example, knives, forks and crockery were used instead of wooden bowls from 1851.[26] Yet there were still complaints that patients in the basement slept on straw.[27] Sir William Hood, appointed Medical Superintendent in 1853, introduced comforts and decoration including carpets, prints, flowers and birds.[28] There were further embellishments in the following decades. As walls were gradually repainted and repapered, cocoa matting in the wards was replaced by carpet, and by the 1890s the walls were plastered throughout.[29] While images published in the *Illustrated London News* in 1860 demonstrate Hood's decorative innovations, a photograph of one of the female wards, shown in Figure 2.3, reveals the almost luxurious interior that had

Figure 2.3   This carefully decorated female gallery at Bethlem shows the efforts that were made in the late nineteenth century

emerged by the early twentieth century.[30] The walls are papered in a fashionable floral design. Occasional tables, ornaments and drapery have multiplied. Benches and upright Windsor chairs have for the most part been replaced by heavily upholstered armchairs, sprung for comfort, sheltering plump footrests. The regal qualities of the Bethlem wards were further underlined when the 11 rooms were re-named in 1904, replacing a numbering system with the Christian names of members of the royal family.[31] This move simultaneously aligned the rooms with the elite and helped personalise institutional space.

Elite institutions for treating mental health disorder created gendered spaces along the lines of those in middle- and upper-class homes. Asylums of all kinds kept male and female patients separate from each other, but Holloway and Ticehurst also both had gendered suites of rooms. Photographs of the drawing room and dining room at 'The Highlands' in 1905, one of the villas at Ticehurst, show that the rooms follow the gendered decorative conventions of the day.[32] As in typical middle-class homes of the era, the dining room, often conceived as a masculine space, is furnished heavily in dark colours. Meanwhile the drawing room is lighter and airier, and decorated with a more feminine floral paper. Likewise, the ladies galleries at Holloway were done out in floral wallpaper, with light and delicate furnishings, draperies, whatnots and ornaments.[33] This contrasted sharply with the ultra masculinity of the billiard room (Figure 2.4). Here, a series of cartoon prints of male figures hang on the walls, and there are leather settles and wood panelling. Hunting trophies are in abundance: four pairs of stags' antlers, three crocodile skins and a bear's head are visible.[34] The galleries at Bethlem, meanwhile, conveyed both gendered identity and a sense of cultured education. There were educational objects from the natural world. The male galleries had a library style, featuring stuffed birds and miniature museums of mineral samples.[35] In the early twentieth century, the Victoria ward, for women, was presented with valuable specimens of china and Madeira figures of female workers, including washerwomen and carriers of wineskins and fruits, displayed in a cabinet.[36]

At Holloway in particular it was thought that, as well as the homeliness of an interior, the liveliness and artistic nature of its design could have a positive effect on mental illness. A pamphlet written in celebration of the Sanatorium, described the intent behind the design: 'cold grey columns and walls, even if enlivened by sculpture, would, it was thought, sit heavily on a mind diseased, and it was resolved to make the principal apartments one blaze of gold and colour'.[37] It was suggested that the interior could stimulate a return of the intellect: 'it is endeavoured above all to avoid leaving a dimmed intelligence opposite to a blank wall.'[38] Of the three establishments, the interiors of the Sanatorium were the most opulent. This reflected the patron's desire to make a bold statement and the influence of the gothic style, which was popular with country house architects at this point.[39] The entrance hall and main staircase

A BILLIARD ROOM.

Figure 2.4   The hunting trophies in this billiard room at Holloway Sanatorium would not have been out of place in an upper-middle-class home

were painted to resemble bright coloured marble, with elaborate patterns of hand-painted tiles. When the institution opened, *The Builder* remarked that 'such a combination of rich colouring and gilding … was not to be found in any modern building in this country, except in the House of Lords'.[40]

The interior also had a key role to play in patient care and the continued importance of moral treatment. While the numbers of asylum inmates increased in the second half of the nineteenth-century, detracting from doctors' ability to offer treatment on an individual basis, the decoration of Bethlem, Holloway and Ticehurst reflected the ongoing importance of a sense of individuality within the institution. One visitor to Holloway in 1895 wrote: 'the furniture, fittings and decorations of the various living rooms were beautiful, and the amount of individual attention bestowed on this department was beyond praise.'[41] A great deal of effort went into making the smaller living rooms in the asylum seem individual and distinctive. When Holloway kitted out his College for women (opened 1886), he ordered uniform furniture en

masse from Maples.[42] But for the asylum he deliberately patronised different, small-scale East London firms who supplied him with various suites of domestic furniture with distinctive individual looks.[43] The variety was striking, and in 1881 a visitor from Mexico remarked: 'there is not one hall, one room, one corridor, and speaking of furniture, not a suite, not a table, or wardrobe resembles each other, all being different in features and style'.[44] Ticehurst rooms were also often furnished in different woods.[45] From the 1870s onwards, decorative advice manuals emphasised the importance of expressing individual taste through the interior.[46] Decorating in a distinctive fashion was thought to show personality, taste and cultural capital. But in the asylum individuality took on a different meaning – it conveyed a recognition that patients needed to feel as if they were being treated as individuals within the institution.

While these private asylums were strongly influenced by middle and upper-class homes, they also developed in tandem with another new large-scale residential space for the elite: the grand hotel. High-status hotels also featured suites of public rooms, including libraries, sitting rooms, billiard and smoking rooms and coffee rooms.[47] Charlotte Mackenzie argues that Ticehurst was increasingly modelled on a hotel.[48] Personal papers show that Holloway looked closely at hotel material culture when he worked on the plans for the asylum.[49] The high-impact entrance hall at the Sanatorium was similar to the halls at St Pancras in London and the Metropole in Brighton, which were both tricked out in coloured marble.[50] Holloway Sanatorium boasted a large dining hall, decorated with a series of paintings in the style of Watteau that formed a frieze with Celtic ornaments (Figure 2.5).[51] A prestige dining room was also a key feature of major hotels, like the Grand at Charing Cross (1880) and the Savoy (1889).[52] The Holloway dining hall was set out with a large number of small tables. This arrangement was similar to a hotel dining room or a restaurant.[53] The Sanatorium also offered what it called a 'table d'hôte' (i.e. a set menu) dinner. Here again, it drew on the language and practices of the hotel – the Grand also offered a five-shilling table d'hôte.[54] Patients were thus able to dine in small groups at separate tables, mimicking the semi-privacy and anonymity of hotel dining, and clearly setting the Sanatorium apart from institutional eating arrangements elsewhere, such as in workhouses or school halls, which were characterised by long tables, shared benches and basic foodstuffs doled out en masse.

The adoption of new technologies could also be a selling point, but this varied markedly between the three institutions. Aristocratic houses were often slow to embrace modernity in this respect.[55] Electric light, and bathrooms, were simply not necessary (and indeed, a little vulgar) as long as servants were available to light gas or candles and to carry water. In contrast, the new hotels were often presented as temples of modernity. The Grand at Charing Cross was an early adopter of electric light,[56] and boasted 'every appliance that science

Figure 2.5   The dining room at Holloway Sanatorium was laid out with individual tables to create hotel-style dining

can suggest in the shape of electric bells, hydraulic lifts and other conveniences'.[57] Ticehurst followed the aristocratic model. There was no rush to install electricity. Although gas was in use in the main building in the late 1860s, the surrounding villas were lit by oil until 1902.[58] In contrast, early publicity for the Sanatorium proclaimed that the entrance, dining and recreation hall were

all lit by electricity.[59] New technologies were also adopted at Bethlem. Gas burners arrived in 1873, and electric light was installed throughout in the early 1900s.[60] At the satellite establishment at Witley in 1895, clever use was made of an electric bell system (presumably developed for domestic use), allowing patients to summon staff in the night.[61] There was an electric lift from 1905.[62] There were good practical reasons for adopting new technologies in an asylum – and electric light was particularly attractive as it eliminated the danger of fire. But publicity material for Holloway in particular played it up to demonstrate the advancement and sophistication of the institution.

While the country house and the hotel were both powerful models, the interiors of Holloway and Bethlem were also shaped by a longstanding tradition of charitable patronage and investment in magnificent hospitals. Both these institutions were, after all, classed as hospitals, not private licensed houses. This made a fundamental difference to their look and feel. Christine Stevenson has shown how early modern hospitals were shaped by the twin needs of medicine and magnificence: demonstrating the power of patrons and sometimes the state.[63] This continued in the nineteenth century. Magnificence still mattered, but for different reasons. At Bethlem, decoration and furnishing were deployed to celebrate the institution's longstanding past and to create new traditions, adroitly playing up links to its earlier history and avoiding the scandals of the first half of the nineteenth century. In the case of the Sanatorium, a very modern patron, made wealthy by an advertising empire, grasped the possibilities offered by the need for modern medical institutions to found a lasting legacy.

Bethlem's early nineteenth-century buildings looked back to the prestige design of Hooke's seventeenth-century hospital at Moorfields, which had a Governors' room in its central hub.[64] This tradition was continued in the nineteenth-century building, where the boardroom was maintained in the central block, and was considered important enough to feature prominently in Bethlem's early twentieth-century photograph album (Figure 2.6).[65] The photograph shows a large table with ten leather-seated chairs, and papers are laid out as if ready for a meeting. Rows of shields, as well as prestige portraits, line the walls and an impressive candelabra hangs from the ceiling. A figure stands towards the back of the room, dressed in a ceremonial robe. The nineteenth-century hospital also elaborated on past traditions and rituals, and celebrated new ones – and the material world had an important part to play in this. The chaplain, who researched the history of the hospital extensively, led the way in promoting the rituals and idea of 'Old Bethlem', often writing on this in *Under the Dome*, the patient magazine. His rather wistful, sentimental ramblings have not always found favour with Bethlem's historians.[66] But his celebration of Bethlem's history, and his role in the invention of nineteenth-century institutional traditions may have been deliberate. In the first decades of the century, Bethlem had been the subject of a public investigation and
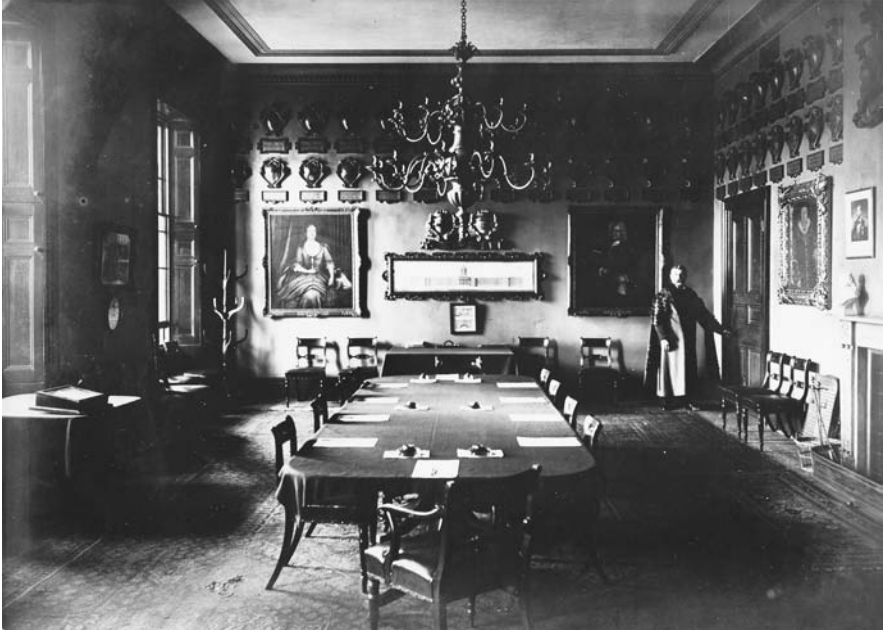
Figure 2.6   The boardroom at Bethlem celebrated donors to the institution and maintained a sense of ritual and tradition

scandal. This recent notoriety had given the institution a bad name, which it still carried later on. By celebrating the historical and outlandish in Bethlem's distant past, the chaplain reminded readers of the longstanding duration of the institution – but he avoided mentioning the period between the late eighteenth century and the 1830s. This celebrated Bethlem's heritage, while conveniently drawing a veil over recent scandal.

In contrast to Bethlem, Holloway Sanatorium was an entirely new project, yet it too tried to acquire some of the prestige and power of a longstanding institutional foundation through elaborate decoration. In many ways Holloway epitomised modernity and its gothic style was typical of grand contemporary buildings, both civic and domestic. Yet its design simultaneously looked back to a tradition of prestige patronage. The interior of the Sanatorium was, quite literally, infused with the character of its founder. There were constant reminders incorporated into the decoration; the initials 'T.H.' and 'J.H.', for Holloway and his wife, were worked into the painted design of the entrance hall. All linen and earthenware was to be marked with 'H.S.', and the logo of the Sanatorium.[67] Holloway, who had made his fortune through advertising, could not resist branding all quilts with the words 'Holloway Sanatorium' in a garter and with his own crest, an image of a goat's head.[68] In his letters, he

compared this with the Midland Hotel (this was probably a reference to the Grand Midland Hotel at St Pancras), which also marked its quilts. But, arguably, the decoration of the Sanatorium had a far more strongly personal flavour than either commercial hotels or public asylums. The piece de resistance was the recreation hall – here, not only was a large statue of Holloway on display, but portraits of the founder and his wife graced the end of the hall as the culmination of a series of portraits of the great and the good, including poets and prime ministers.[69] The emphasis on the individual personality of the founder aligned the Sanatorium with contemporary institutions of medieval lineage, perhaps most notably the public school. The recreation hall, with its portraits and stained glass windows, was similar to the great halls built at Christ's Hospital, Charterhouse and the North London Collegiate School for Girls (see Chapters 3 and 4). There were also impressive halls, colourful windows and recreation spaces at other asylums.[70] Coton Hill, an asylum for middle-class patients opened in Staffordshire in 1854, had impressive suites of rooms.[71] Yet none of these was so infused with the personality and presence of a single donor. With his charitable bequest, Holloway aimed to give himself immortality along the lines of a medieval patron.

Elite rituals, sociability and behaviour

In 1903, Bethlem re-opened after renovation, and this was celebrated by the chaplain in *Under the Dome*: 'we ought to be just now the model of a perfect, harmonious and sympathetic household … we meet together, dear residents, once more in our long drawing rooms amidst palms and birds and pictures. The superb carpet is the same and the arm-chairs are as luxurious.'[72] Endeavouring to create a warm atmosphere, he emphasised the institution's homelike qualities, and its luxurious interior. He even re-christened the galleries 'long drawing rooms'. The chaplain was an optimist. In all three institutions, the desire to create elite domesticity often conflicted with the medical requirements of the institution, and was always cut across by the need to organise treatment. Resources were more readily available than in the public asylums, and there were larger numbers of staff. This made it easier to keep patients quiet, but disruption and breakage often still occurred. Despite their elaborate interiors, the spatial organisation of all three institutions was ultimately geared towards categorising patients on a basis of illness and behaviour. As we have seen, Bethlem was organised vertically, with the worst confined in basement wards. At Holloway, the most ill or unruly men were herded into 'The Retreat.' Even at conventionally domestic Ticehurst, inmates were shunted from villa to villa according to the perceived severity of their condition. All three institutions attempted to re-create the norms of upper- and middle-class domesticity, but their meaning was transformed by their re-enactment within institutional

space. Once taken-for-granted rights, such as spending time alone, or going out shopping, became privileges, jealously sought. Even mundane activities, such as a game of billiards, or stitching a handkerchief, were altered by their performance within the institution. Such ordinary acts were changed by the experience of mental illness itself, but also by the realisation, on the part of some patients, that a sustained and correct performance held the key to the door of the asylum.

The perceived importance of high-end social activities is reflected in investment in large-scale spaces for them – Holloway Sanatorium's impressive hall, the ballroom at Ticehurst, and Bethlem's substantial recreation room, built in the 1890s.[73] The range of social activities on offer is startling. According to early publicity material for Holloway Sanatorium:

> In the great hall, concerts, theatricals, dances and other entertainments are frequently given. The patients walk and drive; arrangements are made for occupation, instruction, and amusements, and every method is used for the amelioration of their condition. The utmost liberty, consistent with safety, is permitted. Arrangements can be made to give patients the benefit of change and sea air.[74]

A new stage was opened by 1892, and theatrical performances vied for attention with concerts, dances, lectures, football and cricket matches, lawn tennis parties and picnics.[75] In the winter of 1895, patients gathered for music and card playing every night, and the tennis courts were flooded for ice-skating.[76] A theatre was established at Ticehurst 1877,[77] and weekly entertainments were provided.[78] Meanwhile, Bethlem patients were treated to concerts, dramatic performances, dances, music, recitations, conjuring, balls, cricket matches and picnics.[79]

As we have seen, paupers in public asylums were also offered a wide range of entertainments in the second half of the nineteenth century and recreation rooms were built there too. However, there were some differences in the activities that were offered to the upper and middle classes. Lawn tennis, for example, hugely popular in well-off homes, was played at Bethlem, Holloway and Ticehurst in the 1890s.[80] But it was not taken up in public asylums until later in the twentieth century.[81] A further difference lay in how far inmates were allowed to pursue leisure outside the asylum. Elite patients were permitted beyond institutional boundaries more often than paupers, and many were allowed outside the asylum grounds.[82] The authorities tried to offer the amusements that might normally be experienced as a part of elite social life. But patients could not simply choose to attend events, and they could not move freely in these spaces – institutions determined exactly how much liberty was allowed. Excursions and attendance at social events were carefully monitored.

Both Holloway and Bethlem operated a system of 'parole'.[83] The term parole is borrowed from the prison system – it highlights how everyday activities were constructed within the context of patient confinement, and the extent to which patients' daily lives were determined by the fact of their incarceration.

A further distinction between treatment for paupers and those from a supposedly higher class lay in the routine domestic practices of the institution. At Holloway, Ticehurst and Bethlem, there was an emphasis on the meals and rituals akin to those of elite homes, or at least those that aspired to gentility. This comes out clearly in daily dining rituals. As we have seen, the large Holloway dining hall offered a 'table d'hôte' dinner. There was always a concern with the quality of food at Ticehurst. At Bethlem, dining arrangements were more rudimentary. After the refurbishment in 1903, the chaplain noted that some patients who were sent to Holloway had chosen to stay there. He implied that they had been won over by the dining arrangements, having 'exchanged our modest dining rooms for the silver and flowers and fine linen of a late dinner at Virginia Water'.[84] Nonetheless the Commissioners were very concerned about the quality and service of food at Bethlem, far more so than at pauper asylums.[85] In 1908 a professional chef was appointed.[86] Not everyone was able to partake in the dinners, however. When the Holloway Sanatorium first opened, only two thirds of the patients were allowed to dine in hall.[87] At all three institutions, the number of patients who made it to social events like dances and balls was lower still.[88] For those who did participate in such elite social rituals, their meaning was transformed by the institutional context. Within the asylum dining etiquette was newly fraught with meaning. Wellness could be demonstrated through socially acceptable behaviour. For example, the case notes for Rose Charlotte A., a 29-year-old clergyman's wife, admitted to the Sanatorium in 1886, praise her for conformity to ideals of class and gender at the nightly table d'hôte. There, it was noted, she 'has never once acted in an unladylike manner.'[89]

There was an attempt to transport the timetable and rituals of the upper-class home into the institution. In certain spaces at set points in the day, men and women came together. This mirrored the gendered rules that governed etiquette at formal aristocratic and upper-class dinners, and the separation of the sexes after dinner, the ladies retiring to the drawing room while the men remained in the dining room to drink port, smoke and chew the fat.[90] Although public asylums allowed male and female patients to come together for social events, more mingling was allowed in establishments for the upper and middle classes. Both men and women ate in the Holloway dining hall, but they were expected to stay on different sides of the room. When Mary H. made a rush to the male side, this failing was reported in her case notes.[91] Sometimes the divide was relaxed. A writer in *St Ann's Magazine,* written and edited by patients at Holloway, welcomed informal tea parties on Wednesdays and Saturdays

noting 'this arrangement made us all feel jollier and more socially disposed than is possible at tea in "hall," where the buffet makes an impassable neutral ground between the sexes.'[92] Patients often praised the more laid-back parties in the evenings at Witley and Hove Villa, where men and women could mix.[93]

Some, however, were discomforted by these staged interactions. At Bethlem, there was no large dining room and male and female patients did not eat together, so fortnightly dances, which were probably held in the recreation room, were the main point of contact. In 1898, *Under the Dome* tried to make light of the awkward exchanges at these events, urging more men to ask women to dance.[94] It is easy to imagine how both sexes might have been reluctant partners. At Ticehurst, interaction was less ritualised, and less regular. The authorities did encourage the women to hold tea parties, however, mimicking the five o' clock teas of middle- and upper-class homes.[95] Merivale chose not to attend, finding the little parties presided over by lady patients too strange to bear.[96] Likewise, when gentlemen at Holloway were allowed into the ladies' day room in the afternoon some women were upset, and took refuge in books and other occupations to avoid them.[97] There were attempts at communication. Some female patients received surprise marriage proposals from the male side.[98] And one male inmate, writing anonymously in the Bethlem magazine, recalled an attempt to converse with the female wing at Witley by performing a melancholy song, in the hope of an answer from 'a feminine piano'.[99]

Gendered spaces and decorative conventions may have helped encourage normative behaviour for both men and women, but these actions had a different meaning in the asylum. Take the billiard room, for example. Billiards, and billiard rooms, were popular in wealthy homes in the late nineteenth century – and were generally held to be masculine spaces frequented by the men of the house. While billiards made institutions seem more like high-end homes, the meaning of the game was transformed within the asylum. Performance was often monitored across institutions. From 1896, the Bethlem magazine published 'a quarterly return of all breaks of over 20 made on any of the hospital tables'.[100] The nineteenth century saw a growing interest in the use of team games in asylums generally, and there was some recognition of their therapeutic potential.[101] Billiard tables were also to be found in wards and day rooms at public asylums.[102] But doctors took a particularly keen interest in patients at play at Ticehurst, Holloway and Bethlem. Figure 2.7 depicts a Bethlem billiard room, with two men at play. Activities at the green baize table were monitored for signs of a return to health and normality, and noted in casebooks. Dudley B., who in 1875 was able to play at Ticehurst every day, was viewed as being well on the way to recovery.[103] Leonard Robert H., admitted to Holloway in 1902 with depression after a business failure, was seen to gradually improve, partly thanks to his growing interest in billiards.[104] The game required motivation, concentration, dexterity and some memory so it is easy to see its practical value as an indicator
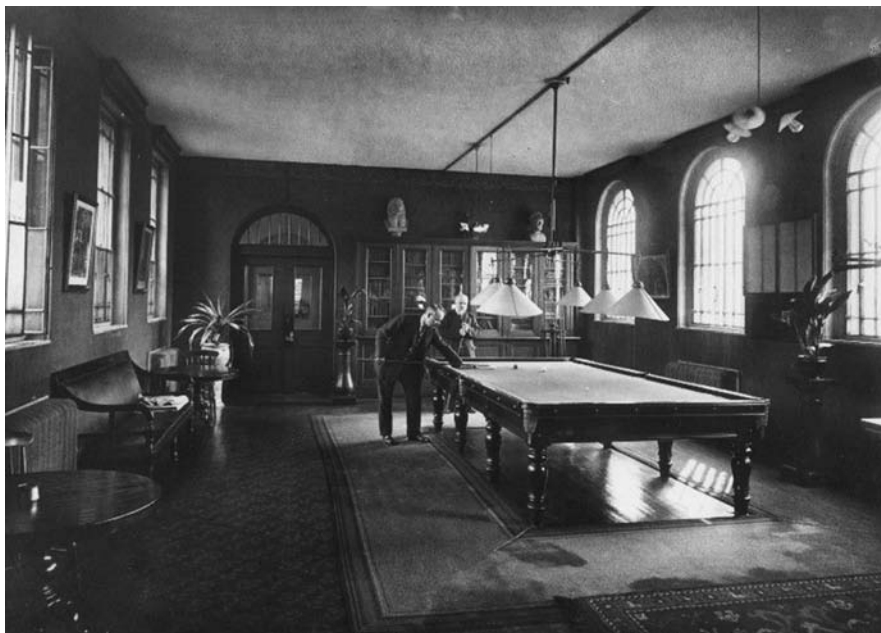
Figure 2.7   Patients at play at the Bethlem billiard tables were closely monitored

of mental health. But it also demonstrated conformity to a conventional mas-
culine code of honourable behaviour. In a letter to the Commissioners in 1873,
doctors at Ticehurst confirmed that the Rev. J.W.T. remained, in their opinion,
'generally unsettled and untruthful'.[105] The evidence for his continued insanity:
'At billiards he takes unfair advantage of his opponent.'

    But if billiards had simply been a means of institutional control, most men
would have walked away from the table. These games had a very real appeal
for asylum patients. A piece from the Bethlem magazine, probably written by
a patient, 'The Philosophy of Games', points out the special value of chess and
billiards for inmates who were too unwell to go outside.[106] Games were extolled
as a 'philosophy' that created a code of manly values, ostracising cheats and
bullies.[107] Billiards was equated with the performance of elite masculinity. The
language used to describe a 1908 tournament at Witley conjured up a chivalric
vision of jousting knights, with cues 'crossing swords', opponents 'unhorsed'
and the winner donning a 'victor's helmet'.[108] But perhaps the most powerful
meaning of the game in the asylum was its apparent role in allowing a patient
to progress back to mental health. The writer of 'Philosophy of Games' notes:

> Many of you my friends and fellows 'under the dome' will have seen a
> man, who had been reduced to dwell for weeks of months, or even years,

in a dark dreamland world of grotesque emotional shadows and incoherent forcible-feeble ideas, brought once more to take an interest in life's ordinary avocations by knocking balls about on an old billiard table.[109]

Even if someone was not going to get better: 'at least there is temporary illumination amidst the decay'.[110]

As in public asylums, patients in elite institutions were often required to demonstrate their return to sanity through the performance of appropriate gendered roles, often contributing to or maintaining the material fabric of the asylum, albeit in a fashion appropriate to their social status. The imposition of work as therapy on private patients could be seen as inappropriate, and was unsuccessful at Ticehurst.[111] The doctors at Holloway and Bethlem had more success, perhaps because inmates there were more often from professional backgrounds. In 1890, around half of the Sanatorium's patients participated in work of some kind.[112] Urban Bethlem had fewer opportunities for outdoor labour, but in the same year 26 men and 24 women were reported as employed on the wards.[113] Women were expected to engage in needlework. Stitching patients could demonstrate concentration, accuracy and adherence to gendered norms, and were closely monitored in casebooks.[114] But unlike paupers, they did not labour over asylum clothing or bed linen. Rebecca Wynter's study of Stafford Asylum in the first half of the nineteenth century found that private female patients often sewed for pleasure.[115] Later on, elite needlework often had a philanthropic purpose, allying it with a broader middle- and upper-class female culture of helping the poor. Agnes Harriet Sophia C., at Ticehurst in 1875, was noted to be on the way to recovery when she started making clothing for a poor cottager.[116] Bethlem ladies expressed devotion to both religion and institution when they worked pieces for the chapel. A chalice cover 'worked over by three faithful at Witley' was presented in 1895.[117]

In these well-resourced institutions there was also an increasing emphasis on the role of art and craft activities, paralleling the larger arts and crafts movement, which saw widespread attempts to promote craft as a means of moral reform.[118] Jennifer Laws suggests that occupational therapy per se emerged in the US in the early twentieth century, and did not arrive in the UK until the 1920s.[119] But similar ideas were present, in an early form, at late nineteenth-century Holloway and Bethlem. Patients under the dome were encouraged to create seasonal decorations for the galleries, and the patient magazine enthusiastically reported that male and female wings vied to put together the most lavish Christmas displays.[120] There was an art exhibition at Bethlem in 1900, and an annual flower show (in which both male and female patients participated) was also established.[121] At Holloway in 1899, an annual exhibition of patients' work was established, including categories for painting, drawing, photographs, needlework, wool work, woodwork, metal work, dolls, designs for menu cards

and concert programmes, original verse and original music.[122] The success of such events indicates enthusiastic patient participation in this aspect of asylum life, at least.

Lost homes and dirty tablecloths

Letters from patients to family and friends can be used to find out about how they reacted to the material world around them. A surprising number have been preserved.[123] They were read before being sent, and were sometimes kept back if the content was unsuitable or disturbing. Letters were often retained as evidence that a patient was composed enough to be able to write clearly, or in the opposite case. Such writings abound with requests for things, mainly clothing and foodstuffs, and frequently dwell on new living conditions. Yet demands for goods in these missives often had as much to do with the relationships between letter writers and recipients, as basic material needs. Historians have recently drawn attention to the role of families in committal, and they have been seen as especially important in relation to private asylums.[124] Before 1890, a petitioner, often a near relative, made a statement of the medical and social history of the patient, which would be accompanied by two medical statements.[125] After that, the petitioner's statement had to be made before a magistrate.[126] But families were still held responsible. John Henry T., a travelling brewer, admitted to Bethlem in 1910, wrote an 'A–Z' that survives with his case notes. While generally light-hearted in tone, the comic skit made no bones about the new position of the family in an asylum patient's worldview: 'R. stands for *relations* – who *put* us *away*.'[127] Committal to an asylum was often, for those patients aware of their circumstances, a painful experience. The recognition that family members were responsible for this could powerfully reconfigure relationships. In the days and weeks afterwards, the exchange of food, clothing and tobacco allowed both parties to navigate new emotional terrains – sometimes trying to reinstate former roles or establish new channels of communication. By discussing and requesting things, patients and their relatives sought something of the home they had lost, or feared was ebbing away.

Husbands writing to wives from the asylum often described their living conditions, and urged them to send supplementary provisions.[128] Charging spouses with such tasks reinforced the conventional role of the wife as the organiser of the household, and as the provider of food and clothing. On admission to Bethlem in 1880, former goldsmith and jeweller Thomas L., wrote rather sharply to his wife: 'you need not send the cake for I don't care for it, but you can send a few rashers for breakfast'.[129] The tone is off-hand, but his insistence acknowledges that the status quo has altered – with his incarceration power has shifted to his wife, and the emphasis on the continued performance of her duties may offer a means of buttressing his self-respect. Captain L.,

brought into Bethlem in 1910, also made a strong appeal to his wife's domestic role. His letter opens with 'My dear little woman.'[130] This beginning may have been customary, and even affectionate, but it also communicates possession and superiority – both of which were threatened by his entry into the asylum. The letter dwells on domestic arrangements – the food is bad and poorly served: 'The only thing I have eaten is dinner.'[131] There is genuine disgust, but also a calculated appeal to his wife's domestic responsibilities – if the asylum fails to care for him then she should remove him: 'Remember little woman in this place you can claim to see me at any time and claim my removal at any time.'[132] The letter refers explicitly to her new power over him, but the words employed ('little woman') emphasises *his* claim on *her*. In the language of Edwardian patriarchy at least, he still called the shots. The removal of a husband to an asylum reversed the conventional power relationship between man and wife – in both these letters we see how male patients might use the domestic to reinstate or renegotiate their wife's conventional role.

Letters to other family members also often made material requests, or discussed living conditions in the asylum, seemingly in an attempt to reinstate or continue former relationships. It is rare to find more than one letter attached to a set of patient notes, but the entry for John James K., a solicitor confined at Bethlem in 1870, is accompanied by five letters sent to his wife, his brothers and his father.[133] Letters to his wife made lengthy and repeated requests for things including a brush and comb, brown soap, toothpowder, a tobacco pouch, a tin box and key, dress shirts, coffee, tobacco, bacon, chocolate, and a writing case. This confused patient was much exercised by his appearance, and really wanted these goods. Wynter's findings suggest that male private patients were often 'image conscious' and took a profound interest in dress and grooming.[134] But the extent of K's demands also may have been a plea for attention, as he felt neglected by his wife.[135] His letter to his brothers is different – although he still requests clothing, his main purpose to negotiate an allowance for tobacco. To urge them to grant this he goes into some detail on the kinds he will buy, drawing on shared practices of manly consumption that may have bound the brothers together before his incarceration.[136] In contrast, a letter to his father asks for nothing at all. Instead K. emphasises his own performance of appropriate duties on the ward: 'I am in the habit of assisting the attendants washing and packing up the different articles of linen going out for the large loaves of bread and large can of milk and butter & eggs to supply 38 Residents on this ward and am the most active man on the Ward.'[137] In his pathetic insistence on the amount of food he serves to the other patients, K. tries to show competence, the ability to perform manly tasks, indicating that he is ready to be released from the asylum. There is some evidence that families responded to these requests. MacKenzie stresses the guilt that some relatives felt about committing their nearest and dearest.[138] Harold S., a marine

engineer, was brought into Bethlem in August 1895.[139] A letter written to the asylum by his mother on his removal to Claybury is preserved in the case book. It notes that Harold had been allowed to wear his own clothes there, and asked Bethlem to forward them all to her, so that she could supplement them before sending them on.[140] The expression of care for a son by a mother through the provision and maintenance of linen was a longstanding tradition in some families.[141]

Letters also reveal how patients attempted to keep hold of their former homes by maintaining an interest in previous domestic possessions. Writing about the experiences of contemporary patients in secure mental health units, Fiona Parrott argues that there is a material culture of hope – patients deliberately do not decorate their rooms, as this would imply a permanent stay, and they hope that they will leave soon.[142] Patients writing home from asylums in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were also reluctant to allow the institution to displace their sense of home. One way of doing this was to focus attention on lost material worlds. Alice Rose O., writing to her cousin from Holloway Sanatorium in 1900, emphasised the contrast between the institutional environment and her 'beautiful house'.[143] Mary Hannah P., confined to Bethlem in 1870, wrote an agitated letter home to her husband, worrying over the fate of her clothes and furniture.[144] John James K., writing to his wife, also emphasised his anxiety to return to his 'splendid collection of angling books'.[145]

In contrast, Jonathan B., writing to his wife from Bethlem in 1880, feigned indifference to former household gods: 'if you wished to sell the remainder of my books (even all the MS books, cathedral photos and literary portraits) I should have no power to prevent you doing so, even if I cared about it, which I don't.'[146] In the same bitter letter, B. refused to respond to her appeal for an opinion on a school for their son: 'you must remember that persons in my unhappy condition are *dead in law* and consequently their approval or disapproval of any step their relations wish to take about anything is exactly O'.[147] The letter savagely rejects his wife's attempt to continue his involvement in their domestic life. Very angry and despairing about his illness and confinement, he emphasises his alienation by claiming to despise formerly cherished possessions: 'even if I cared about it, which I don't'. The hurtful content of this letter, coupled with a description of B.'s rejection of Christianity, probably explains why it was not sent and remained in the casebook files at Bethlem.

Letters home from patients were often peppered with complaints about the food. Herbert W., who entered Bethlem in 1890, wrote to his brother Alexander that he was confronted with: 'food of a very coarse description; especially at breakfast and tea, at which the coffee and tea and butter are sometimes not fit for human food.'[148] Twenty years later, Captain L. claimed to have been fed on a dinner of meal, cabbage and potatoes.[149] The reasonableness of

such grumbling is open to question, as we have seen quite a lot of effort was made with meals and the Commissioners usually described the victuals in all three institutions in glowing terms.[150] These criticisms were about more than mere physical dissatisfaction. Matthew Newsome Kerr, examining lock hospitals, set up to deal with infectious disease in the 1860s, argues that here protests about food often expressed the anger of reasonably well-to-do patients at being pauperised within an institution.[151] Feelings of offended class status also crystallised in complaints over the manner in which food was served at Bethlem and Holloway Sanatorium. Captain L.'s letter barks: 'Filthy kitchen table cloth, filthy cutlery, dirty plates'.[152] And he made a point of the fact that patients had to help themselves to the potatoes with their fingers. Poor quality tablecloths were potent emblems of a drop in standards. Alice Rose O. expressed a similar view: 'The table cloths are not as good as our kitchen ones.'[153]

Expectations about the behaviour that was appropriate for the middle and upper classes was also used to demonstrate social superiority. Captain L.'s letter clearly adopts this strategy: 'I cannot stop here. It is a charity show and run entirely for poor people and not gentlemen. Most appalling bounders (put their bread in their tea, or tea in their saucers).'[154] Here, he marks himself out as a class above the other patients, who fail to perform the correct etiquette at mealtimes. Despite Holloway Sanatorium's attempts to gentrify its social activities, Alice Rose O. saw through this – she writes: 'I have just come from afternoon tea (more like that of a workhouse tea).'[155] Both patients drew on established norms of middle-class domesticity to try to show that the asylum was failing in this regard, and that their families should remove them if family prestige was to be upheld.

Indeed, one of the main challenges that the asylum posed to the psyche of the middle-class patient was the reversal of the conventional hierarchies of domestic life – as Smith shows, the promotion of servants into a position of power and control over their masters.[156] This is made very clear in patient accounts. What the aristocratic John Perceval most objected to about his incarceration at Ticehurst in the 1830s was not the asylum per se but 'being handed over to menials and upstarts.'[157] This was a common complaint, while the idea of 'impertinence' figured in patient tirades and delusions.[158] For Perceval and Merivale, the main problem with the spatial arrangements at Ticehurst was the degree of power the system granted to their servants. As members of the upper classes, both reacted forcefully to this change in the status quo.

Privacy, one of the most prized qualities of middle and upper-class homes, was eroded by the constant presence of attendants. At Holloway, medical officers were obliged to visit every gallery and patient twice a day, and to speak to each patient.[159] All three institutions developed a system of daily surveillance and inspection, along similar lines as the one in place in the public asylums. The lack of privacy seems to have been felt more strongly by middle- and

upper-class patients who were accustomed to private spaces at home. Indeed, inmates with their own rooms and the 'luxury' of one or more attendants arguably had less privacy than those who lived in associated dormitories. Merivale noted that his servant (who he claims became his master) was constantly present in his room. When things were going badly, three attendants were assigned to sleep in the room with him.[160] Perceval emphasised the discomfort caused by this, arguing that two servants could sleep in a room between the rooms of two patients. He also writes that after he had spent some time in his room at Ticehurst he discovered a small, sliding but hidden panel in the door that allowed the attendant to look through: 'this was a very painful part of the details of my prison arrangement, because it destroyed at once my idea of seclusion and privacy'.[161]

The authorities at both institutions were aware of this problem, and tried various means to tackle it. Attendants were urged to behave respectfully towards patients.[162] Holloway staff had to wear a uniform, clearly demarcating them from the patients who wore their own clothes.[163] There was no uniform at Ticehurst. Instead, staff were dressed as they would be in a country house – footmen wore livery, and from the 1880s staff were obliged to salute the patients.[164] Holloway Sanatorium and Ticehurst developed companion systems, modelled on the domestic practice of rich, single women who often paid the living expenses and sometimes a fee to a poor yet socially acceptable friend or relative, who would live with them.[165]

Despite institutional attempts to make patients feel amongst their own, inmates often tried to play on their class position and identity to take back power within the asylum. Criticising the décor provided a flippant means of self-distancing and establishing a sense of cultural superiority. A comic poem in *St Ann's Magazine* in 1895, remarks on the Sanatorium's interior.[166] 'Scrutatrix' was scathing about the heavily decorated hall, finding it 'painted and gilded' in a manner 'too plainly regardless of cost'. There is a feeling of someone here who, seeing themselves as socially superior, detected a whiff of nouveau riche ostentation in Thomas Holloway's elaborately decorated interior. For this anonymous poet, the decoration of the dining hall was particularly ill-matched. 'The gaudy-hued gay Watteau panels/jar crudely with Celtic designs'. The little piece ends with a moment of generosity, however, as the writer acknowledges the good intentions behind these efforts. This patient used criticism of the interior decoration of the building, as a strategy to express their own, superior, brand of cultural consumption.

While the upper-class tones of patients like Captain L. and Alice O. ring out loudly from the archives, Holloway and Bethlem patients were from a wide social remit and some of them probably felt differently. Richard R., a 27-year-old clerk, came into Bethlem in 1909. He was discharged well in July 1910, but returned a week later as a voluntary patient. His case notes state that he had

obtained a situation as a footman a week before, but had declared that it did not suit him and he would not like to take on that kind of work again: 'when asked why he wished to be readmitted he gave no satisfactory answer, but said he could not live confined in a small room & that his wife nagged him.'[167] It is not hard to read between the lines here and conclude that life within Bethlem was actually more attractive than life outside its walls. Dealing with the attendants was probably better than being a servant oneself, and compared to cramped servants quarters or lower-middle class dwellings, Bethlem's decorative galleries may have seemed spacious and appealing to this patient at least.

Different models, drawn from domestic and residential spaces for the wealthy, as well as historical traditions of patronage and hospital building, influenced elite institutions for the mentally ill. Hotels and country houses were important influences. The interiors at Holloway and Bethlem also both drew on longstanding traditions of patronage and institutional magnificence, that informed hospital building from the early modern period. But this was deployed for modern ends – to create a monument to a self-made man, and to re-brand an institution tarnished by early nineteenth-century scandal. Of course, the basic needs of the institution, to house, and attempt to treat, the mentally ill, remained paramount. Within these interiors, patients were encouraged to perform elite domestic rituals and practices, and it was hoped that these would help them return to health. The range of amusements and activities on offer is quite startling, reflecting both the greater resources of these establishments and the perception that upper- and middle-class patients had particular needs that must be met. Patient letters and accounts written after release can tell us more of how inmates experienced the material world of the asylum. Removal to an institution challenged patients' relationships with their families, their class status, their sense of self and their idea of home. Looking at how they responded to the interiors and goods around them can show us how they attempted to re-establish ideas of home and self within the institution.

3
Schools for Boys

On arrival at Winchester College in September 1891, Frank Lucas wrote home to his mother almost every day. There was much to relate. There were new, tightly timetabled classes, the pleasures of socialisation in the dormitory, and the challenge and excitement of learning new customs. After just under a month at the school, he wrote: 'I like the life here very much.'[1] The subsequent 200 odd letters that Lucas wrote home during his seven years at school create a full picture of the life there. They reveal a complex and powerful material world. On arrival, a boy was required to master 'Notions'. This was a system of naming places, objects and practices in a distinct language, known only to the pupils, that celebrated the physical environment of the college. Classrooms, entrances, and passages were given individual names, hidden crannies and hiding places were recorded, everyday objects were given special monikers, lovingly passed on by each generation of schoolboys. Lucas's school life was not untroubled, however. The system of spatial organisation in public schools in this era was designed to keep boys and masters separate, allowing the boys to develop self-governance under the prefect system. At 1890s Winchester, this could be a licence for abuse. The few negative letters that Lucas wrote refer to this, and his own attempts to do something about it. Nonetheless, the result of seven years immersion in the school was an overwhelming attachment and strong feeling of loyalty. In his last few weeks at Winchester, he wrote to his father that: 'I dread the divorce from this place more and more.'[2]

Lucas was one of an increasing number of boys who were sent away to school. From the early part of the century, there was a growing demand for institutions to educate not only the sons of the upper classes, but also the well-off amongst the middle. The nine great public schools – Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Charterhouse, St Paul's, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Merchant Taylors' and Rugby – flourished. A number of new institutions, built on the public school model, were also established including Cheltenham, Marlborough, Rossall and Wellington. Many had been notorious for schoolboy rebellions in the

early part of the century.[3] During the 1840s and 1850s, reforming headmasters made increasing efforts to create better disciplined, and, crucially, more moral schools. Thomas Arnold's work at Rugby, and his prefect system, is the most famous example.[4] But by the 1860s, there was a widespread perception that further improvements could not be made without legal reform of the ancient endowments that often dictated school government.[5] Government intervention was finally prompted by reports of a financial scandal at Eton.[6] The Clarendon Commission was set up to investigate conditions in public schools – it reported in 1864, and the resulting Public Schools Act of 1868 freed school authorities from some of their constraints. These reforms and recommendations often resulted in the rebuilding of schools or their removal to the countryside. In the final decades of the century, it is widely argued that a shared and increasingly cohesive public school culture emerged, fostered by a new emphasis on athleticism and team games.[7] But there were some important material differences between schools that could have a strong influence on the everyday lives of the boys.

For the most part, across the country as a whole, the expanded older and new public schools for boys were residential. Exceptions included former grammar schools remodelled as modern, commercial day schools with a local middle-class clientele in mind, particularly in the industrial north west.[8] There was also a demand for day schools in London.[9] Mothers and fathers with anxieties over bullying, or frail children, could still prefer these schools or educate their sons at home.[10] The education market for the elite and well-off middle classes in London and the south east, however, remained dominated by residential schools, and there were also a number of new establishments that tried to open up this style of education to a wider social range.

For a large number of boys, their school lives began when, aged seven, they were sent to board at a preparatory school, before being dispatched to public school later on. As John Tosh points out, the purpose of sending boys away was to separate them from home and feminine influence.[11] Patrick Joyce has recently developed this argument, contending that the public schools served to erase emotional attachment to the first home, replacing it with the school as a surrogate.[12] Public schools were certainly designed to be a world apart from the home: resources were poured into new buildings, but unlike other institutions in this book, there was no attempt to create 'domestic interiors' along the lines of the middle-class home. Instead halls, chapels and house rooms worked to create a strong sense of a specific, individual institutional identities. That said, the separation between school and home was far from absolute: family lives continued to permeate schools through letters and material goods. While headmasters were quick to repudiate feminine décor, these schools in fact had a complex relationship with the domestic. The 'houses' that many boys resided in were modified versions of the middle-class villa, presided over

by housemasters and their wives who could offer alternative parent figures. To a certain extent, the material world of the school worked to create a powerful sense of attachment to these new environments. Yet simultaneously, as boys were granted more personal space as they moved up the school, they were often able to decorate their own areas, drawing on practices learnt at home to establish their own identities within the broader material culture of the institution.

This chapter follows the fortunes of five prominent schools for upper- and middle-class boys in London and the south east in the Victorian and Edwardian period. Four public schools, Winchester College, Charterhouse, Lancing and Christ's Hospital, are examined, alongside the small radical private school Bedales. The ancient foundation at Winchester was expanded from the 1860s, and new boarding houses substantially raised the school's capacity.[13] Winchester was regarded as inferior only to Eton. (Although Wykehamists, who banned references to 't'other place', would have disputed this.) In addition to aristocratic and upper-class boys, there were usually around 70 scholars at Winchester, the majority from the professional middle classes. Charterhouse, also a predominantly elite establishment, moved from the City of London on the recommendation of the Clarendon Commission. Substantial new school buildings were opened just outside Godalming in 1872. Lancing was established by leading churchman Nathaniel Woodard in 1848 in a vicarage at Shoreham, before moving to new buildings on the South Downs in 1857. It was part of the Woodard Schools – an initiative designed to offer a public school education to a wider social range. An early prospectus declared the school open to 'gentlemen of limited means' as well as the sons of clergymen, professionals and tradesmen.[14] Christ's Hospital, a charitable foundation that provided a public school-style education for boys from poor (or often lower middle-class) families who were put forward by 'benefactors' of the school also moved into impressive new buildings near Horsham in the 1900s. Finally, the success of co-educational Bedales from the 1890s reveals a purpose-built school that capitalised on the desires of small but significant minority who wanted an alternative to the public school system for their children.

Halls, chapels, museums and armouries

In 1880, George Ridding, the headmaster of Winchester College, stated: 'I do not wish for the elegantly furnished single rooms that mothers like at some other schools, but our scholars are the picked boys of England, and their parents may reasonably expect them to be furnished in accordance with the present standards of schools in general.'[15] Rooms should be fit for purpose, but elaborate decoration was unnecessary, and even undesirable, associated as it was with the feminine luxury of the home. By and large, the headmasters

and governing bodies of boys' public schools were not concerned with creating domestic spaces, or with making boys feel at home in the halls, chapels, and classrooms that were the central institutional spaces of the school. This set them apart from the authorities of girls' schools, lunatic asylums and to the designers of some large-scale institutions for working-class men. What, then were the major pre-occupations that drove the deployment of space and material culture in boys' public schools? Where were resources concentrated, and what was it hoped that this would achieve?

The hall was essential in most schools. Here achievements, traditions and ambitions were expressed, and the whole community could gather. A huge amount of pride was invested in the Great Hall at Christ's Hospital (Figure 3.1). Built in 1829, it was 187 feet long, 51 feet wide and 47 feet high, and was lit by stained glass windows.[16] These were decorated with the benefactors' coats of arms, the Royal Arms, Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.[17] The hall attracted many visitors.[18] Harold Noad Haskell, who came to the school in 1899, remembered: 'When they [tables in the hall] had their white table cloths laid, and were set for a meal with the old blue and white ware, with the

Figure 3.1   This illustration depicts the daily meal and performance of 'trades' at Christ's Hospital

sunlight streaming through the stained glass windows, so that each table was dappled with colour, it was a lovely sight.'[19] Halls became more important later in the century. School architects, influenced by the plans of Prussian schools, increasingly valued spaces in which a whole school could assemble at once.[20] These rooms were the public face of schools; prizes would be given away here, and they would be seen by parents. Yet halls could play quite different roles in the daily routine of school life. Where pupils ate in their own boarding houses, as at Winchester and Charterhouse, they saw relatively little of the hall. In contrast, the affection in which the Christ's Hospital hall was held owed much to its incorporation within the school's daily dining ceremony, in which boys performed assigned roles, known as 'trades', laying tables and distributing food.[21] The space was also open to the public for four suppers during Lent, when these rituals would be enacted before an audience, mainly of benefactors, a tradition that reinforced the sense that the school was a charitable concern.[22]

Chapels were also seen as vital to the daily life of nineteenth-century boarding schools. Winchester's venerable chapel was restored in the late nineteenth century. The building was cherished by staff and pupils alike, and there was a general outcry at the suggestion that electric light be put in.[23] Chapels were also important in the new Charterhouse and Christ's Hospital buildings.[24] Only Bedales had no chapel, expressing the school's non-denominational identity.[25] This made the school attractive to varied religious groups including Jews, Unitarians and Quakers.[26] It was at Lancing that the chapel was most significant. The founder Nathaniel Woodard believed that this should be the most important space in the school.[27] His efforts resulted in the creation of a cathedral-like chapel, far grander than anything elsewhere. It was intended that the school should become a centre for the local religious community – its prominent position on the South Downs, overlooking the valley of the river Adur, is visible for many miles around. The impressive building took a long time to complete. Only in 1912 were the Woodard schools able to worship together under its towering arches.[28]

To what extent did chapels inspire religious feelings in the boys? J.A. Mangan has argued that while public schools have often been characterised as 'muscularly Christian', social Darwinism, or an atheistic survival of the fittest mentality was in fact more pervasive.[29] Boys, he suggests, were able to acquire a mask of Christianity through chapel attendance, but, for most, religious belief was only skin deep. This was certainly true for some. In a letter, Raymond Asquith (eldest son of the future prime minister) recounted how he and a friend tossed pennies into the altar 'just to remind ourselves we are still pagans'.[30] Self-confessed pagans, however, still held the chapel in awe. On a later evening, in the absence of their housemaster, Asquith and two fellow pagans climbed into the chapel: 'where the moon effects

were sublime: the night was almost perfect, and the beauty of the Chantry amazing'.[31] The boys placed a bust of Apollo Belvedere on the altar and carried out a 'heathen service'. (This may have been an homage to the Roman General Sulla, who carried a statue of Apollo around with him, attributing his victories to it.)[32]

Pupils responses to the Lancing chapel reveal a spectrum of religious feelings. Once the building was finally in place, many boys were understandably awestruck. There were daily morning and evening services, and three on Sundays. These could fuel adolescent religious intensities. Evelyn Waugh and Tom Driberg both went through a powerful high church phase during the First World War, and were each disappointed by the lack of ritualism in the services.[33] Waugh revelled in ceremony, continuing to act as sacristan even when a convinced atheist in his last two years at the school.[34] Others felt differently. Norman De Bruyne, at Lancing at the same time, remembers 'there was no respite from the greatest weariness of all – the hours and hours of compulsory chapel attendance'.[35] Later on, he coped with the boredom by an elaborate ruse: 'getting hold of an American book on electricity bound in limp black covers with red-edged pages looking externally like a bible and I kept it with my hymn book in the stall'.[36] Whether they inspired religious fervour or fanned nascent atheism, the chapel and the school's daily religious ceremonies loomed large in the lives of Lancing boys.

School authorities recognised the cultural and educational power of the material world and this was reflected in their deployment of resources. All five schools invested in libraries and museums. Christ's Hospital developed a museum from 1876, focused on geological specimens, helped by a donation from Ruskin.[37] At Winchester College, the Museum was part of the Memorial Buildings celebrating the 500th anniversary of the school. In 1899, headmaster William Andrewes Fearon (nicknamed 'The Bear'), who took over from Ridding, described it as 'a centre of interest and culture'.[38] The Museum was decorated with photographs of the world,[39] but feminine imagery was suppressed. According to the school magazine, the number of 'almond-eyed Madonnas' was 'reduced to the lowest possible limit.'[40] Many curiosities were added to the Charterhouse Museum in the 1870s and an impressive building was erected for it in the early 1890s (shown in Figure 3.2).[41] The library was improved in 1876 adding 'much to the comfort and wellbeing of the boys'.[42] The library at Bedales was first based in the main buildings, before a new library, built in the arts and crafts style, designed in 1911, was eventually opened in 1921.[43] For the boys, the library was as much a refuge as an intellectual haven. Adrian Daintrey remembers that at Charterhouse during the First World War, the library under the custody of kindly librarian Mr Stokes, was a sanctuary for the boys who were all allowed to go there and converse in hushed tones.[44] At Lancing, Waugh recounts his joy when he was given

Figure 3.2   The new museum at Charterhouse was filled with historical relics, natural history specimens and curiosities of all kinds

the role of 'Library Underschool' which allowed him access to the library at all times.[45]

Later in the century, more attention was paid to the interiors of boys' schools. Fearon recognised that bright, attractive classrooms might be better places to learn in. In 1889, he tried to get more funds to make the old rooms 'more attractive in colour and arrangement'.[46] In 1890, he reported that:

> I put all the lower classrooms and corridors into thoroughly good order, and decorated them with classical photographs and casts from the Elgin marbles … The change has not only brightened materially the school hours of the lower forms, but has had no small educating effect on the boys.[47]

There was a strong emphasis on the educative power of art.[48] There is some evidence that these efforts were appreciated. In June 1897 *The Wykehamist* declared:

> It was a bold experiment, to decorate our class-room passages with casts and photographs – yet how admirably it has justified itself! Something good, which you will never be made to look at but can always look at if you will – a beautiful thing always at hand and yet never in the way – has turned our formerly squalid and still tumultuous passages into a state of civilisation.[49]

So the magazine, written and edited by the boys, suggests that surrounding pupils with art objects could be a successful strategy. Of course, we must bear in mind that it was produced with the aid of the school authorities, and other sources suggest that institutional idols could receive far less respect. The school historian recalls that in one house the Senior Prefect 'threw a pat of butter every evening at the picture of the Last Supper in the Dining Hall'.[50] The moral and religious connotations of the painting were thus subsumed by the robust shared culture of the boys, who, rather than solemnly reflecting on its message, used its presence to express their own autonomy within the institution.

The way in which schools were laid out and decorated was also influenced by changes in what was taught, and new ideas about teaching. One of the biggest shifts in school planning in this period was the move away from concentrating teaching in one or two large rooms, to the use of separate classrooms for forms.[51] This change was implemented at Charterhouse when the school moved to Surrey.[52] As many commentators point out, classics dominated the curriculum in public schools.[53] Despite pressure from school reformers and scientists from the 1860s, science had little impact.[54] The City of London School, which had a broader curriculum than the big public schools, invested in a laboratory from the 1860s.[55] In the decades that followed, changes in school buildings and interiors show a slow, partial acceptance of science elsewhere. Charterhouse recognised the need for a laboratory from 1872.[56] There were two laboratories in the new Bedales buildings.[57] When Christ's Hospital moved into its new buildings in 1902, an entire block was named Science School and formed the Eastern side of the school quadrangle.[58] The museums, chock with natural history specimens, also hosted extra-curricular scientific events, from science society meetings to botany lectures.

More surprisingly, the establishment of carpenters' workshops at most schools from the 1870s reflected a growing enthusiasm for practical skills. Charterhouse, Lancing and Winchester all had carpenters' shops in the late nineteenth century. At Charterhouse, there was some enthusiasm for handicrafts.[59] Many boys were keen carpenters. In the late nineteenth century, when the cult of athleticism increasingly dominated public schools, carpentry was

sometimes an alternative for those who did not want to play cricket and foot-ball. School authorities also saw its value for the boys' future lives. In the 1880s the *Lancing Magazine* reflected: 'such carpentering as they can learn here will be of inestimably more value to them in the colonies, than any amount of clas-sics'.[60] The acquisition of practical skills was an important part of the Bedales ethos – and this was reflected by the presence of a workshop, studio and book-binding room in the plan of the new school buildings as well as two farms.[61]

In the early twentieth century, there was a widespread interest in building working-class schools that functioned healthily.[62] Although public schools were not directly responsible to government in the same way, they were still influ-enced by the debate over healthiness in state schools.[63] Architects and sanitation experts in the second half of the nineteenth century repeatedly emphasised the need for good ventilation, drainage and sanitation, and lighting.[64] More atten-tion was paid to chairs and desks, and their effects on posture and growth.[65] Headmasters and school governors put health high on the agenda. This was particularly pronounced at Winchester after a scarlatina outbreak in the 1870s.[66] The state of the drains at Charterhouse was a continual worry.[67] These concerns led to the building of new, large-scale sanatoriums. In the early 1880s, a large sanatorium, with 32 beds, a separate fever wing and two operating theatres was built at Winchester College. The controversial building was never fully used, but remained a testament to fears over the spread of disease.[68] A separate sanatorium, for isolation, as well as an infirmary, was thought necessary in the new Christ's Hospital buildings, and this was established at a distance from the main school.[69]

A notable change to the interiors of public schools in the late nineteenth cen-tury was the emergence of armouries, although there was quite a lot of difference between schools. In the 1900s, Lancing boasted an increasingly elaborate armoury that was photographed and publicised in the school magazine, presenting a martial interior to the outside world.[70] The Charterhouse armoury was enlarged in 1891, and in the early twentieth century the school historian wrote that 'it contains ample space for 166 uniform lockers, 130 rifle racks, and all sorts of stores, and is large enough for squad drill'.[71] Enthusiasm quickened with the Boer War and the celebration of General Baden Powell, an old Carthusian.[72] During the summer of 1903, 200 cadets paraded in the school rifle corps.[73] At cerebral Winchester, the armoury took longer to get off the ground.[74] By 1909 the school had caught up with the others and a 'new and palatial' armoury had come into being.[75] In the summer of 1914, Lancing, Winchester and Charterhouse all had substantial armouries, and drill was expected at Christ's Hospital and Bedales.[76] Like their state-controlled counterparts, the schools were influenced by the grow-ing drive towards national efficiency that swept Britain after the Boer War raised fears over the ability of British men to defend their nation. The rise of the armoury and drilling tallies with Geoffrey Best's observations on the expansion of military culture in public schools, which he suggests intensified after the Boer War.[77]

The boys themselves reacted to this in different ways. At scholarly Winchester, a young Oswald Moseley welcomed the break from intellectual endeavour: 'Each afternoon I escaped into a world where I felt at home, the gymnasium and the company of soldiers.'[78] Others frankly hated these military rituals, which intensified during the First World War. Just after the war, Waugh and his fellows in Head's House at Lancing openly rebelled against the Officers Training Corps, once turning up for military parade with one muddied boot each.[79] Nevertheless, the increasingly militaristic culture of these schools with their well stocked armouries doubtless helped nurture a generation who went willingly to the trenches.

The house system and the open dormitory

If the central communal spaces in these schools had little to do with domesticity, the houses and dormitories where the boys ate and slept had a more complex relationship with it. In the second part of the nineteenth-century, most public school boys were accommodated in houses – large domiciles external to the main school buildings, under the control of a housemaster. The implementation of the house system was central to the reform of boys' public schools in the mid-Victorian period. At Rugby in the 1840s, Thomas Arnold sought control by eliminating Dames Houses (which were often run by local women) and making boys live in houses headed by assistant masters. The Clarendon Commissioners' 1864 report on public schools noted that Harrow and Westminster had recently followed suit, and called for the removal of the nine remaining Dames Houses at Eton. The new system, the Commissioners declared, was 'desirable for the sake of the boys themselves and for the general discipline of the school'.[80] According to the architect Felix Clay, most public schools had separate boarding houses by the early 1900s.[81] Mangan argues that the house system became crucial to the creation of identity formation within schools through sporting competition between houses.[82] While the house system was undoubtedly important, schools set it up in different ways. At Winchester, the major division in identity within the school was between scholars and commoners, who were kept apart in different spaces, rather than between houses. At Lancing, there were initially three houses on the school's new site, but meals were taken in a central dining hall, so pupils from different houses saw more of each other. The house system was strongest at Charterhouse, which had three houses when the school first moved to Godalming, and 11 by 1904.[83] The identification of Carthusians with their houses was probably strengthened by the practice of eating within them. Before the move to Horsham, Christ's Hospital operated its own rather idiosyncratic system. The boys were organised into dormitories or wards of about 40, watched over by monitors and prefects. At smaller Bedales, male pupils were grouped together in the main school, rather than being separated out into houses. This different form of organisation reflected the fact that the main division within

this school was between boy and girl pupils, and the girls were separated from the main school in a house set a short distance away from it.

From the outside, the architecture of purpose-built boarding houses was domestic – they often looked like overgrown versions of the typical Victorian suburban villa. They were very different from the 'barracks' created for French schoolboys.[84] Their plans were clearly modelled on homes for the upper-middle classes which made a sharp distinction between spaces for servants and for the family. Green baize doors, often the marker of the threshold between master and maid in the middle-class home, demarcated separate places for housemasters and boys. There was a clear differentiation between 'the boys' side' and 'the private side of the house'. The houses thus drew on middle-class domestic practices, but used them to create a very different environment. The divide in the middle-class home is often thought of as protecting the privacy of the family, but in the schoolhouses it was used to secure privacy for both pupils and masters. Housemasters were expected to be involved with the boys, but fundamentally it was thought that pupils should manage and control themselves. Under the prefect system, developed by Arnold, senior boys were encouraged to exercise authority and to be essentially self-disciplining. Spatial separation from adults was a crucial part of this. According to the Commissioners in 1864, too close supervision from housemasters amounted to 'espionage'.[85] Indeed, comparative reports on British and French schools were quick to defend the 'liberty' that boys had within the English system.[86] Masters usually had a completely separate suite of rooms within the house, and a kitchen and servants' quarters apart from the boys' area. In Saunderites, the Headmaster's house at Charterhouse, for example, the only entrance to the boys' side from the private side was through the door of the study.[87] Even the kitchen was cut off, as the pupils' breakfast and supper was cooked by the scholar's butler in a separate room on their side.

Within the houses, basic domestic tasks were often performed for older boys by younger boys, under the 'fagging' system which was firmly entrenched at Winchester, Charterhouse and Lancing, and also featured at Christ's Hospital and Bedales. Some boys connected this with domestic service and resented it accordingly.[88] For the most part, though, the association of such quotidian tasks with ordinary domesticity and the lower-class women who were expected to perform them, was avoided by a discourse that transformed such service into a chivalric exchange between men. At Lancing, 'Of Fagges', a comic skit was published in the school magazine in 1905, in pseudo medieval language, clearly aligning medieval service with fagging.[89] At Winchester, this connection between fagging and service was explicit in the language of 'notions'. Servants in the college (almost all male) were known as 'sweaters', and performing tasks for prefects was also known as 'sweat'.[90] The word derived from a medieval portrait named 'The Trusty Sweater' that was idolised by the boys, showing the ultimate faithful servant, an image that the pupils aspired to as a part of their own self-created tradition.

The relationship between the houses and conventional middle-class domesticity depended greatly on the character of the housemaster and his wife if he had one. Domesticity was created by people as much as places, and much came down to the extent to which the adults in authority wanted or were able to cast themselves in family roles. William Haig Brown, for example, the Charterhouse headmaster who presided over the school's move to Godalming, had a close relationship with the boys in which he was helped by his wife, Annie Marion Haig Brown.[91] Mrs Haig Brown was described by A.H. Tod, assistant master and early historian of the school, as 'the mother of all Carthusians'.[92] An active housemaster's wife could make all the difference. At Lancing in the 1860s, Mrs Wilson, the second master's wife, let Seconds residents into her drawing room every Sunday and sometimes on weekday evenings.[93] At Winchester, 'Mrs Dick' the redoubtable wife of second master George Richardson, also invited the scholars into her drawing room on Sundays – a gesture that was widely appreciated.[94] The drawing rooms, carefully decorated and conventionally feminine, would doubtless have provided relief after the austerity of the houserooms and dormitories. Figure 3.3 shows Mrs Haig Brown's drawing room – filled with domestic furniture, and the typical drapery and ornaments of the period, it bears a strong resemblance to

Figure 3.3   This drawing room belonged to Mrs. Haig Brown, the wife of the headmaster of Charterhouse

conventional domestic space. There are fewer accounts of important and influential women in the early twentieth century, and later writers often stress the absence of femininity in the schools.[95] As the influence of the domestic Victorian household waned, it became less present in these institutions.

Yet within most houses, once the housemaster had closed the green baize door, pupils were left to fend for themselves. The most important characteristic of life in these houses was probably the spatial separation that existed between boys and teachers. Some housemasters were willing to bridge the divide set up by the architecture of the house. Trant Bramston, a housemaster at Winchester from the 1870s, for example, opened up his side of the house to the boys, allowing the prefects to form a club in his drawing room.[96] Yet even celebrated housemasters such as 'Duck' (Mr Girdlestone) at Charterhouse, kept their distance, despite being devoted to the boys. R.E. Grice Hutchinson, a 'duckite' in the 1900s, remembered that when 'Duck' carried out his nightly inspection of the house, he would warn the boys by stamping his feet on approach.[97] A similar warning system was in place in some of the commoners' houses at Winchester. One housemaster, Mr Wickham, would put on a top hat to signal when he was going to enter the commoners' quarters.[98] It was much the same at Lancing.[99] At Christ's Hospital, under the ward system, the boys were also left to themselves, supervised only by matrons, with designated ward masters visiting as little as once a term.

Institutional style decoration and room names reinforced the sense that the boys' side of the house was a world apart from a normal middle-class home. The day rooms had special names; the 'House Room' at Lancing, 'Long Room' and 'Under Chamber' at Charterhouse. These male communal rooms looked and felt different from rooms in boarding houses for girls, discussed in Chapter 4. They had an overtly institutional material culture. A snapshot of 'Duckites' in the late nineteenth century from the album of G.H. Kitson, shown in Figure 3.4, clearly shows sports photographs and trophies on display in what is otherwise a rather sparse interior. Evelyn Waugh sums up his alienation from Lancing with a description of the House Room, where he waited when he first arrived:

> I gazed about me at the long room furnished with an oak settle beside an empty fireplace, with lockers on one wall, tables and benches, framed photographs of athletic groups, some silver cups in a glass case, a notice-board already bearing a number of lists and orders which I was too shy to examine in detail … the place was newly scrubbed and dampish.[100]

Waugh's critical account of life at his public school, first published in his autobiography in 1964, was written some decades after the public school system had first began to be attacked in literary culture.[101] His depiction of school as a place completely removed from femininity chimes with wider cultural criticisms of the public school that emerged in the twentieth century, and contrasts quite sharply with earlier discussions of life at Lancing.

Figure 3.4 Sporting trophies and photographs are prominent in this interior of Girdlestoneites at Charterhouse

The spatial separation of boys and masters had important consequences for behaviour and relationships between the boys. These varied between schools, times and even houses. Corporal punishment for boys, as Heather Ellis has recently pointed out, was endemic in Victorian public schools.[102] Even school reformers completely accepted the need for it, and indeed that boys should be allowed to inflict this on each other, only balking at extreme violence.[103] All the schools considered here had ritualised forms of punishment. However, the lack of supervision could lead to the development of extreme cultures of violence. Winchester in the 1870s saw the growth of the brutal and extensive use of corporal punishment by the prefects, to a far greater extent than elsewhere at this time. In the early 1870s, the ground ash was used frequently by the prefects on the smallest of pretexts. Charles Oman, who arrived in Chambers in 1873, recalled that over 100 thrashings had been inflicted in college on

mostly 14 boys during the first six weeks of that term.[104] The situation finally came to a head after a particularly brutal beating. In the commoner houses, the prefects decided to enforce notions on all in their houses. One boy, McPherson, refused to take the test. When he would not apologise to the head prefect he was given a savage beating – 30 cuts of the ground ash on his bare shoulders, breaking five sticks in the process. It is a testament to the lack of knowledge of the pupils' affairs that was brought about by spatial separation, that the school authorities only learnt of the beating after a letter was published about it in *The Times*.[105]

　　The way that dormitories were laid out shaped the experiences and relationships of the boys who lived in them. The use of cubicles or partitions could transform life for the occupants, offering solitude or intimacy with a chosen friend. The Charterhouse dormitories had an unusual design. Most of the houses had two or three large dorms filled with cubicles, as well as a few doubles or rooms that could be shared by two boys.[106] Figure 3.5 shows a photograph from A.H. Tod's collection of Charterhouse c.1910 depicting pupils packing up at the end of term in the dormitory. Tod described the cubicles in his 1904 history of the school:

> separated from one another by wooden partitions of considerable height. Along the top of each of these partitions runs a board loosely retained in its position by a wire. No one can climb from one cubicle to another without displacing this board, and a carpenter is required to replace it.[107]

The cubicles had a catch inside the door, and it was not possible to open doors from the outside except by the housemaster's key. The cubicles were unique to Charterhouse – at Winchester and Lancing beds were in open dorms (although half cubicles were later introduced in some houses at Winchester). At Christ's Hospital, the council rejected half cubicles in favour of open dormitories for the new buildings and Horsham.[108] Elsewhere in English schools, cubicles were also unusual. Catholic schools favoured them for the additional privacy they offered for religious contemplation.[109] William Sewell, the headmaster at Radley, introduced them there in the mid-nineteenth century, for reasons of religion and privacy, but this was rare.[110]

　　By 1900, cubicles in school dormitories were seen as outdated, unhealthy, and even morally dangerous. Felix Clay's survey of school buildings (1902) noted 'the opinion of both Headmasters and school doctors is very strongly in favour of the open room or small dormitory on all grounds.'[111] Clement Dukes, in his *Health at School* (1883 and 1905) went even further. 'The evil, too, of cubicles is serious from a moral point of view', he writes.[112] For Dukes, the main threat posed by the cubicle was sexual: 'They allow boys to get together for immoral purposes, unseen and undiscovered.'[113] Presumably, the wiring

Figure 3.5   Boys at Charterhouse were provided with cubicles

in the Charterhouse cubicles was designed to prevent this. Adrian Daintrey, who arrived at the school at the beginning of the First World War, gave this description: 'Safety from intruders over the side walls, which did not reach the ceiling, was obtained by a wooden panel of flap hinged on top of each side of the partition and maintained in an upright position by two parallel wires crossing it at right angles.'[114] In retrospect, he found the arrangement ridiculous, but notes: 'I never heard of the upstanding panels being made fun of (perhaps because the underlying ground, that of sexual misbehaviour, was dangerous), nor even mentioned at my time at school.'[115] Daintrey, and presumably the school authorities, believed that the cubicles kept residents in their place at night and discouraged sexual advances. It is unclear how successful this attempt to materially regulate the boys' sexual behaviour was in practice. There are references to sex between pupils at all the schools examined here, including

Charterhouse.[116] The cubicles, which could have been opened from the inside by a willing participant, may have helped sexual adventures as much as preventing them (Figure 3.6).

Most schools chose to have open plan dormitories. There were strong arguments for this from a health perspective. But many held the view that, as the sanitarian Alfred Carpenter remarked: 'the morals of a school are closely connected with the character of the bedroom arrangements'.[117] This was not just about sex. The open dormitory was thought to produce a self-regulating community, in which all boys benefited from positive peer pressure. Dukes argued that cubicles kept boys from the good influence of older boys in the dormitory, who might prevent bad language and loose talk.[118] Dean Farrar's account of the silencing of smutty chat by the angelic Russell in *Eric,* his painfully moral schoolboy novel, makes the same point.[119] A pupil at Winchester in the 1900s and later its headmaster, Spencer Leeson argued that one of the schools advantages over Eton, was its open dormitories and chambers with toys that offered 'privacy together with the moral discipline of common life'.[120]

Sometimes, this operated as the authorities hoped, but in many places it did not. From the late 1860s, there was an institutionalised culture of violent bullying at Lancing that took place in the unsupervised house rooms and dormitories.

Figure 3.6 This Ward at Christ's Hospital is typical of the 'open dormitory', the only personal spaces for the boys were the boxes at the ends of the beds

The worst account emerges from a set of anonymous notes in the Lancing school archives that detail dormitory life in 1869. Here one boy was targeted by a dormitory bully – forced to stand on a chest of drawers and sing, and repeatedly 'flogged with a dog whip'.[121] On the last day of term, doubtless as this boy was looking forward to his escape, things took a new turn – and he was forced to eat a large pill made of bread that had been in a mouse cage, compounded with snuff and tobacco. According to the anonymous writer: 'it was held over unlighted gas presumably to make it more filthy … Worse than that was done – it is not really fit to put into writing.'[122] After about a term and a half, the bully was caught, publicly flogged and expelled. But his actions had been possible because of the lack of supervision in the dorms. While this kind of behaviour did not take place all the time (and much depended on the personality of prefects, monitors and dorm captains), the spatial distance from masters and the vulnerability of some boys in the open dormitory made these kind of incidents unavoidable.

Violent bullying, was, fortunately, fairly rare. It was however, part of a robust culture of dormitory tricks that flourished in the absence of significant adult supervision. These inevitably involved attacks on beds – personal spaces that housed prone and vulnerable bodies at night. According to Grice Hutchinson, an amusing Charterhouse trick involved removing the bed boards from under a mattress, causing the unfortunate occupant to plunge to the floor when he attempted to get in.[123] When arriving at the dormitories at Lancing, older boys on their way to bed might subject the smaller boys to 'soap in the mouths, half smothered by pillows, & other tricks'.[124] Dormitory tricks were also prevalent among the Bedales boys. John Rothenstein recalls one boy's bewilderment when his dorm mates removed all his possessions from the dorm, including his bed.[125] The practice of making an 'apple pie bed' (folding the sheets in such as way as to make it impossible for the bed to be entered) was well established at both Winchester and Lancing.[126] A range of other bed-related tricks were recorded in the Winchester notions, introducing boys to various ingenious methods of in-dormitory bullying or ragging, just in case they were unable to invent them for themselves. These included the 'booby trap' (a bucket of water positioned over an open door),[127] and 'the launch', shown in Figure 3.7. The celebration of dormitory tricks in notions, often accompanied by little illustrations, shows the pleasure boys took in these affairs. Most seem to have quickly become accustomed to the physicality of the dormitory, and used to tolerating such japes, while retaining a basic level of trust that their peers would not go too far. This was, indeed, the ideal form of robust masculinity that schools hoped to inculcate. For a few boys, however, the dormitory was the scene of constant unease and fear, as they waited, on edge, for the next attack.

The proximity of the open dormitory did not always produce rough violence. This close world produced bonds, as well as frictions. The boys were sometimes supportive. When De Bruyne arrived at Lancing in 1918, he found that someone
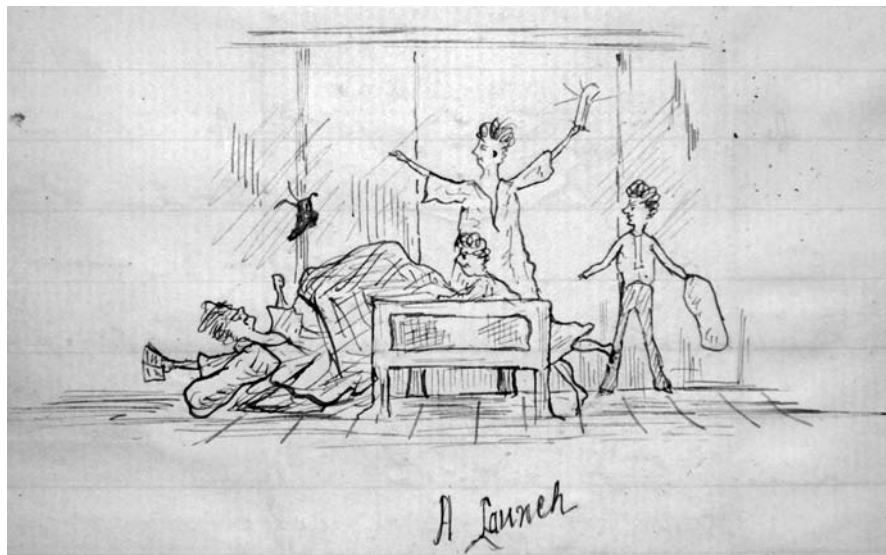
Figure 3.7   This schoolboy sketch of a 'launch' at Winchester College conveys the joy of dormitory tricks

had placed a collection of daddy long legs in his bed – this was the last straw and he burst into tears 'a boy named Hale removed the insects and tried to comfort me'.[128] Communal life had some benefits. A commoner at Winchester remembered that in the 1840s his room was known for its cookery: 'We used to light an Etna in a wooden box, and boil eggs and cook various things, including making negus of port wine.'[129] Many letters refer to the practice of sharing provisions from home in the dormitories. At Winchester, it was common to receive cakes in 'cargo' and to split these in chambers at night. 'I hope you do not think I am too grasping the way of cakes', worried Geoffrey Polson in a letter to his mother from Charterhouse in 1904.[130] He was not alone – culinary confections were a staple topic of conversation in letters between mothers and sons. Sharing 'cargo' with one's mates often allowed boys to form bonds with their peers. At Lancing in the 1870s, dormitory suppers were common, when boys pooled an array of foodstuffs including cakes and potted meats.[131] Alliances were thus forged in the transactions of small-scale edibles, the material world here providing a vital means of establishing relationships within the dormitory.

Bewitching nooks and corners

In the 1880s, a pupil at Lancing, writing in the school magazine, noted wistfully: 'Winchester and Eton have many bewitching nooks and corners which do not strike you much at first though you soon feel their soft influence, and

become fondly attached to them. Lancing is wanting in sequestered nooks, and the witchery of hoary years.'[132] Lancing had been going for over 30 years, but the building process had been slow, and the school had not established the material traditions found elsewhere. The pupil writer urged his fellows to venerate the little traditions that grew up in the school, arguing that 'every honoured tradition and curious event, adventure and name, should be reverently hoarded up as jewels – even if barbaric – in king's treasuries. It is not only time which creates antiquity.'[133] There was, however, some good news: the writer was confident that Lancing's flint exterior was superior to Winchester's. As Joyce points out, public schools were in competition with each other, and their power and prestige in part rested on their sense of individuality.[134] The material traditions established by schools played an important role in creating their individual identities. School buildings were often venerated by pupils who created traditions and rituals around them. The creation of codes of behaviour based around spaces and objects allowed pupils to become immersed in the school, and to identify closely with it. When Evelyn Waugh arrived at the Lancing in 1917, he found that the pupils had followed the anonymous adviser: 'The code inculcated was elaborate, trivial but not particularly irksome, and related chiefly to dress and to the places where one might set the feet.'[135] Despite hating his first two years at the school, Waugh recalled that he adopted this code unquestioningly and with ease.

Ancient foundations had a longer history of veneration, and generations of schoolboys passed on the rituals and traditions associated with them. Winchester College had remained on its ancient site behind Winchester Cathedral throughout its history, encouraging a close engagement between the boys and the environment. As we saw in the introduction, it was here that the system of 'notions' grew up. The 'notions' were enforced by each generation of Wykehamists, who tested newcomers on them (although notions exams were abolished in the 1870s). Yet the notion books, packed with carefully arranged photographs of school rooms and little sketches, show great pride and pleasure in the material life of the college. Charles Stevens (author of a history of notions and pupil at the school from 1917) wrote: 'One of the most attractive aspects of the notions is the beatification of the particular. They celebrate the uniqueness of Winchester; in detail, that of objects, places, customs and people.'[136] School masters were well aware of the boys' attachment to these traditions; indeed, getting rid of them could be difficult. When Ridding decided to do away with 'scobs' (desk boxes used by pupils and enshrined in notions), he described this as 'a revolution' that must be 'faced'. [137] This powerful sense of loyalty to the school helped pupils to identify with other institutions. William Hayter, at Winchester College during the First World War, remembered 'one thing that I acquired, perhaps subconsciously, was the habit of attaching myself to an institution, in such a way as to feel an emotional loyalty to it,

while recognising its deficiencies.'[138] This came in useful later, when he worked for the foreign office. The way in which boys developed strong institutional affiliations through identification with material culture thus came to shape and support the way they interacted with other institutions later in life.

A boy's class position, or at least his own understanding of it, might condition his response to the material culture of the institution. The poet John Middleton Murry, the son of a clerk from Peckham, who wrote about his experiences at Christ's Hospital in the 1890s and 1900s, linked class transformation with an increasing identification with the decoration and furnishing of the school. He wrote:

> The blue bowls from which we drank our tea, the long oak tables at which we sat, the plain plank beds on which we slept, all passed a silent verdict on the shoddiness of the furniture at home – a home furnished at the end of the 'eighties when the taste of the English lower middle class had reached a nadir.[139]

Murry's response was shaped by his previous experiences at home, and he was attracted to the idea of tradition and lineage: 'From disinherited, I became an inheritor.'[140] He writes: 'When I stared at the simple tablet in the cloister: "Here lyes a Benefactor: let no one move Hys Bones", there was an inarticulate upheaval in my soul. It thrust out a root into the remote and silent past; it was stirred by a new significance and a new nobility.'[141] During his years at the school, his attachment to the institutional environment intensified, gradually displacing the family home. Murry's close identification was conditioned by a deep sense of personal insecurity, and a growing fracture in his relationship with his father. Yet other pupils did not necessarily have the same response, many maintaining close correspondence with family members during their years at school, and often keeping up a lively interest in domestic life at home.[142]

The material traditions established by the boys expressed their sense of the passage of generations, and their own need to make a mark on a broader institutional identity in which their own presence was finite and temporal. At Winchester, the link with past generations was symbolised by 'marbles' – engraved stones permanently attached to the walls of chambers by previous scholars. When Cecil Arthur Hunt arrived at Winchester in the late 1880s, he recognised the names of several family friends enshrined in this way.[143] Not everyone was entitled to a marble: in 1903, the Warden and Fellows reminded pupils that this was restricted to those who it was felt had made a good contribution to school life.[144] 'J.M.T', the author of an autobiographical poem that describes Winchester in the 1890s, reflected rather sadly: 'No *marble*, black or white, will bear my name.'[145]

Denied an officially sanctioned memorial, many boys left their mark in other ways. Surviving 'scobs' and other furniture at Winchester, scored with many sets of schoolboy initials, bear testament to the popularity of desk carving. At Charterhouse, this was common on the old London premises. One old Carthusian fondly remembered his hope that he could only be punished if caught in the act.[146] By carving his initials into a desk, a schoolboy asserted his identity within institutional space – and laid a permanent claim to place he would only briefly inhabit. School authorities tried to stamp out desk carving in the second half of the century. When Charterhouse moved to its new buildings, a boy who damaged a desk would be heavily fined and the school collectively punished.[147] Early Lancing rules punished and fined boys found cutting desks.[148] Yet it is likely that covert desk carving continued. In the 1880s a *Lancing Magazine* skit noted that schoolmasters and parents tended to wink at it and 'look upon this vice as something especially "heart-of-oak" and smacking of the brave old days.'[149] The writer concluded that there was little hope of getting rid of it. Marking a desk was schoolboy rebellion in material form. Opposed by the authorities, it could be seen as a counter culture within the school. Nonetheless, it could also be viewed as an expression of affection, and, ultimately, as a sign that a boy wanted to leave his mark on an institution.

An important way of maintaining personal autonomy and identity in school space was to personalise it, by bringing in things from home. The large volume of edible goods sent in by anxious mothers and sisters has already been mentioned. Clothing was restricted and there was usually a uniform, with some modifications allowed as boys progressed upwards through the school. At Charterhouse, the 'bloods' (senior pupils who had been awarded special honours) were granted special privileges in dress.[150] Nonetheless boys were granted considerable licence to bring things into the school. Quintin Colville has argued that in training for officer naval cadets, identity was first stripped away by the removal of possessions, before being rebuilt as things were gradually allowed back.[151] This was certainly the case at Lancing, where sixth formers were granted their own studies, or 'pits' as they were known. Max Mallowan describes his joy in obtaining a study: 'My happiest time at school was during my last year when I earned the privilege of enjoying a "pit" … The bliss of solitude in a tiny cubicle was a reward for suffering years of public pandemonium in the house common room.'[152] The photograph in Figure 3.8 shows a study at Charterhouse around 1910, with numerous personal objects in the background. Diaries and letters also show that pupils at Charterhouse frequently purchased objects for their studies.[153] At Winchester before 1869, the study sofa was celebrated in notions as the 'baking place'.[154] This book's cover shows a Winchester schoolboy luxuriating in his baking place, surrounded by goods that were brought from home.

Figure 3.8   This Charterhouse study reveals the wealth of personal possessions that older boys could bring to school

Access to private space of one's own, however small, made a big difference to how boys experienced institutional life. A set of unusually full diaries, by Sam Brooke, at Lancing from 1855 to 1862, reveal how quieter boys might long for a space of their own. Sensitive and shy, Brooke found the communal life of the dormitory difficult at times. As he progressed through the school, he gradually acquired more freedom. In 1861 he was able to take possession of a 'recess' in the dormitory. This included a small set of drawers, including a lockable top drawer, which he described as 'a perfect treasure'. This little niche transformed Brooke's life at the school: 'I have wished for a place of retirement like this for many years, and now I have got it, my satisfaction is really unbounded … How one can pursue without molestations all this quiet pleasure.'[155] He chose to work there, rather than in the prefects' common room:

I have resolved to work in my recess in the Dormitory, where at least I shall be able to breathe purer air, in a less crowded atmosphere. Conveniently with this arrangement I have moved all my books up to the dormitory, and placed them in a box under my bed, and this answers a double purpose, for besides the fact they will always be at hand when wanted, they will also be secured from the dirt, and more especially the dust, which is literally rampant in the lower regions.[156]

Brooke was never able to satisfactorily adjust to Lancing, finding the life there unpleasant, and frequently expressing disgust (which was often sexual). His diaries remain a testament to the difficulties boys who were unable to integrate themselves into school communities faced and how important finding a private space was to them.

But there were marked differences in just how much personal space schools were prepared to grant to the boys. Harrow and Eton, famously, gave every boy a study.[157] But pupils elsewhere had a different experience. W.S. Laurence wrote home to his sister from Lancing in the 1860s: 'I think if you send Papa's picture here it will only get smashed because I have nowhere to put it.'[158] Max Mallowan, at Lancing 50 years later, also remembered the scant respect of the dormitory for objects from home. He recalls of an Irish boy that 'his father's photograph stood in a frame at the side of his son's bed and exhibited a bald head that his bed mates used to polish continually with beeswax'.[159] In some schools, possessions from home had little hope of survival amidst a rough dormitory culture.

Winchester College differed from the other schools under consideration here, in that boys were offered personal decorative space as soon as they arrived. The school had a unique system in which every boy was given a 'toys'. This was a lockable bureau cupboard that served as a desk and provided storage for personal accoutrements (several are visible in Figure 3.9). The toys were much celebrated in the Winchester literature. Leeson notes 'where they could, men would seek to create a kind of privacy by barricading their toys with partitions made of books and photographs to exclude the world outside'.[160] Opening up toy doors might reveal a domestic world in miniature. Tokens from home were cherished in this lockable space. Frank Lucas wrote home to his mother that 'Rosamond's and Phyllis's [his sisters] and your photographs take an important and conspicuous place in my decorations.' There was a fashion for toy drapery that echoed the mid-Victorian trend in densely draped parlours, which boys worried over as much as any housewife.[161] Lucas was obsessed with obtaining a cloth for his toys in second chamber, which he repeatedly demanded in letters to his mother and sister.[162] He was very grateful when his mother produced the item, writing home that 'I am delighted with the cloth which surpasses anyone's here. I had no idea it was anything like such a good one. The pattern is

Figure 3.9   This photograph of second chamber at Winchester College shows the 'toys' on the left and other personal spaces that the boys were given

awfully nice.'[163] These small decorative acts are significant because they reveal the re-creation of personal identity in school space, and the way in which the exchange of things could transcend the division between school and home, both actually and symbolically. Perhaps most importantly, they show how domestic decorative practices, learnt at home, could be re-purposed at school, and how domesticity could be performed in new ways in response to the institutional environment.

It is often assumed that the public school culture was uniform, but there were some crucial differences in the material culture of these five schools. There were varying ideas about how boys should be housed; for example the toys at Winchester and the cubicle system at Charterhouse had a profound effect on the everyday lives of the pupils. Even within the same school, one house might have a different spatial regime from another – and how much a housemaster intervened could be a deciding factor in determining violence and bullying. There was however a common system of spatial organisation, a separation between teachers and pupils, which had a pronounced impact. Of the institutions considered in this book, public schools for boys were the most successful at creating a sense of institutional attachment in their inmates. A powerful sense of love and veneration for ancient places and traditions emerges from all the schools, even at newly built Lancing where boys quickly assembled

their own customs. The drapery on the Winchester toys demonstrates the pupils' desire to domesticate their own spaces. Even as school authorities sought to avoid homeliness, mothers and sisters were working and sending goods that could be displayed in schools, and sons and brothers clamoured for them. Nevertheless, what boys learnt to do with their things at school differed from the decorative practices of the home. Pupils moved rooms in school each term or year, either as they progressed or arrangements were reorganised for newcomers. Boys became used to making themselves at home in impermanent spaces, quickly using personal goods in small areas to create a sense of ownership. The powerful drive to domesticate, learnt in the home, was adapted to deal with a new, institutional life. Learning to briefly domesticate was often an advantage to these men later on, as they sought to make themselves at home in the club, barracks and chambers.

4
Schools for Girls

Netta Syrett, schoolgirl, and later novelist and playwright, entered the North London Collegiate School for Girls in the 1880s, when the vanguard institution had been running for just over three decades. Her experiences there were to haunt her. In her semi-autobiographical novel, *The Victorians* (1915), Syrett voiced the dislike and fear that she still carried, emotions triggered by interiors that reminded her of school. 'From that moment which she entered it, Rose [Syrett] never lost her detestation of plain, distempered walls, cold stone staircases, dadoes of pitch pine and of a certain yellow, painful in its crudeness, henceforth always connected in her mind with Swedish desks.'[1] Syrett found life at the North London Collegiate painful, as she struggled to cope with the institution's multifarious spatial and material rules. The school's distance from her home compounded her problems, as it meant that she dwelt in Myra Lodge, a boarding house run by headmistress Frances Mary Buss, who clashed with the untidy and chaotic Syrett. While most NLCS pupils had a better time, many remarked on the school's complex rules and regulations. The system at this institution, and at its sister schools founded later in the century, aimed to deal with a new problem. Buss, and the other headmistresses, faced a completely new task, establishing institutions to educate girls to the same standard as boys. For the first time, hundreds of female pupils were to be taught together, and discipline, to be achieved without corporal punishment, was a challenge. This chapter explores the material world that these headmistresses created. While this was an important part of a new disciplinary system, the decoration of these places often had strong links with domesticity, creating a feminine institutional space.

Early nineteenth-century girls' schools were more serious and widespread than historians have sometimes thought.[2] But in the second half of the century a new kind of institution emerged – large-scale secondary schools for middle-class girls. In the 1850s, the pioneering headmistresses Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale established the famous North London Collegiate School for

Girls and Cheltenham Ladies' College. Unlike their predecessors, their curricula were as academically arduous as those for boys, and they taught hundreds together. The North London Collegiate was a day school, and lessons were held in the mornings, so pupils could return home in the afternoons.[3] In 1868, the Schools Inquiry Commission produced a highly critical report on girls' schools, further stimulating the feminist campaign for education. In 1872, the efforts of Maria Grey and her sister Emily Shirreff established the Girls' Public Day School Company.[4] The company specifically aimed to set up 'good and cheap day schools' which drew on Miss Buss's model with attendance in the mornings.[5] Some local groups preferred to found their own initiatives, and the Church of England, worried by the Company's non-denominational stance, also set up its own institutions. By the end of the century, there were about 100 proprietary high schools, mainly organised either by the Girls' Public Day School Company or the Anglican Church Company. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 also triggered the foundation of 80 schools for girls by 1894.[6] Simultaneously, many hundreds of small private boarding schools for girls continued to exist, but these rarely offered serious study.

The final decades of the nineteenth century saw a flurry of girls' schools built in London and the South East, as part of the national movement. This chapter looks closely at four schools. The North London Collegiate spent the best part of its first three decades in housing intended for domestic use. The school was initially based at 46 Camden Street (where the number of pupils climbed to 200).[7] In 1870, larger premises were established at 202 Camden Street, and numbers reached over 400, before funds were found for a new building on Sandall Road, opened in 1878.[8] In its first decades, the daughters of tradesmen and artisans were the largest group in the school, but from the 1870s, the daughters of professional and business people from the upper-middle classes dominated.[9] Such success encouraged local civic and church authorities to follow suit. In 1884, Winchester High School for Girls was opened by local women's education enthusiasts in combination with the town's civic authorities and clergymen.[10] The 1890s saw the move and expansion of the girls' branch of the Clergy Orphan School (originally founded in the eighteenth century by a society for educating poor orphans of clergymen).[11] A windfall from the sale of lands to a railway company allowed the school to erect substantial new buildings at Bushey in Hertfordshire, designed by Alfred Waterhouse.[12] Re-named St Margaret's, from 1902 the school opened its doors to a fee-paying middle-class clientele, as well as providing for orphans.[13] South of the capital (based near Haywards Heath and later at Steep near Petersfield), a very different initiative was taking shape. Bedales, the radical school founded by John Haden Badley in 1893, began to accept girl as well as boy pupils from 1898. Here, the daughters of those parents bold enough to send their children to England's first private co-educational school, sat side-by-side in class with boys for the first time.[14]

The idea that girls should be able to attend while living at home was crucial to the set-up of these schools. Accordingly, most new, large-scale schools built in the late nineteenth century were initially day establishments. But unlike in public schools for boys, there was no one system of residential organisation. The North London Collegiate and Winchester High were built very deliberately as day schools with the domestic ideal in mind. However, demand often came from far and wide. The limits of Victorian transport made boarding houses inevitable at many girls' day schools, across the country.[15] At NLCS, girls could board with Miss Buss in her own boarding house, Myra Lodge.[16] By the 1890s, there were four NLCS houses, although boarders were still a minority in the school.[17] At Winchester High, there simply wasn't enough demand for a day school in the small cathedral city, and by the turn of the century around half of the pupils boarded. In both cases, the boarding houses were established as separate, independent entities – at a distance from the main school (at Myra Lodge and one of the Winchester Houses books and personal possessions were transported daily by donkey cart), and there was no intention, at first, of following the house system used at boys' public schools. The girls, however, had other ideas, and such was the strength of house feeling at Winchester High, that by the First World War girls from different houses had learnt to 'look with dark suspicion on the opposing group'.[18]

While the majority of girls' schools were day schools, some were deliberately set up as boarding schools, for a variety of reasons. Boarding schools were more expensive, and potentially more exclusive. This commercial potential was demonstrated in the late nineteenth century by the success of St Leonards at St Andrews and Wycombe Abbey in the Chilterns.[19] Boarding schools were more lucrative than day schools, and more attractive to independent headmistresses trying to support families.[20] St Margaret's, set up to provide for clergy orphans, was always intended as a boarding school. At Bedales, girls lived on site, but here the intention was to prove that girls and boys could be taught side-by-side, an opinion that set it apart from other girls' boarding schools at the time. Boarding arrangements for female pupils usually differed from those in boys' public schools. In 1902, the architect Felix Clay noted in his survey of school architecture that institutions for girls tended to be built in one block with the dormitories at the top of the main building, in the same fashion as preparatory or private schools for younger boys.[21] The new buildings at St Margaret's, opened in 1897, contained 13 dormitories. Here, they were closely watched by headmistresses and teachers, quite the opposite of the scarcely supervised houses in boys' public schools. Co-educational Bedales had a different set-up. The girls were given a separate boarding house 'Steephurst' (containing dormitories, a breakfast room, changing rooms and a gym), a short walk away from the main school, while the boys were housed in the central building. This successfully minimised contact between the sexes.[22] Despite the disparate nature

of their accommodation, these five schools had a lot in common – ideals of domesticity powerfully influenced their material environments, as we will discover below.

Feminine institutional interiors

According to the founders of Winchester High School for Girls, 'for girls especially – a day school education, influenced largely by home, was the best possible kind that could be given them'.[23] This view was widely held. Girls, it was believed, should live at home while at school, and thus receive the benefits of both worlds. As Sophie Bryant, the North London Collegiate School's second headmistress put it, education itself was 'divided between home education and school education, and where there is co-operation and mutual support between the two sets of influences at home and school, the best results so far may be expected.'[24] Thus, school and home were expected to be complementary spheres. While the drive to educate women sought to demonstrate that they could have a role outside the home, a domestic, feminine identity remained important to the founders of these schools. It was a means of reassuring parents who worried over the impact of formal education on their daughters, but it was also a major aspect of women's identity that continued to be significant, even for pioneer headmistresses. The establishment of day rather than boarding schools was not simply an attempt to placate the fears of parents and public over the impact of educational strain on the girl pupils. Rather it signalled a holistic approach to education that valued home and school together, and viewed them as playing complementary roles in a pupil's wider education.

Had the founders of girls' schools wanted to turn their backs on the home, they would have found it difficult. The new, larger girls' schools that grew up in the second half of the nineteenth century often made do with domestic buildings, especially in their early years. This was the situation at the North London Collegiate for several decades. Winchester High School for Girls was first situated at No. 3 Southgate Terrace (later 17 Southgate Street), where at one point 58 pupils were packed into four rooms above Miss Dobell's dressmaking establishment, before the school was moved to a site just off North Walls in 1885.[25] This was the norm for many of the new girls' high schools across the country.[26] As some of these new headmistresses found, fitting a growing school of girls into domestic premises could be awkward. Funding was often raised to establish more suitable environments once the schools had got going. Not everyone disliked the old buildings, and some old girls looked back on them fondly. Indeed, starting off in domestic buildings must have significantly contributed to the family-like atmosphere at the early NLCS.

Girls' schools had a complex relationship with contemporary ideas of domesticity. The pioneers who set them up were, of course, partly trying to distance

themselves from the widely held contemporary view that women's place was at home, and that education for girls was unnecessary. They were sometimes under pressure to demonstrate that learning had not rendered them unfeminine. It is clear that headmistresses could feel that they had to try and control girls' home lives in order to get them to perform academically.[27] But the idea of the home was also something that early teachers seem to have been comfortable with; it was an idea they played on when they promoted their schools in public, but it was also often seems to have been a personal ideal.

Headmistresses drew on the customs of the middle-class home to publicly promote their schools. At the North London school, Buss frequently held 'At Homes' – social events for parents and benefactors, deliberately styled on the middle and upper-class practice of having a social event in the home (sometimes weekly) which was made known to their wider social circle who were all invited to drop in. In the winter of 1892, for example:

> Over 500 invitations were issued, and the number present was very large. According to all we hear, the evening was a marked success. Miss Buss received in the hall, which was decorated with palms and flowers. The whole building was open, and from nine to ten o'clock a Concert was given in the hall by Miss Ada Green, Mrs. Ralph, the Walenn Quartet, and Miss Von Mistchke; Miss Ella Castor recited.[28]

At Winchester High, first headmistress Miss Mowbray also adopted this tactic. In December 1896, she held an 'At Home' in the hall for the girls, parents and 'a large number of other friends'. 'Mr Farmer's operetta, entitled "A Frog he would a wooing go", was performed by the school orchestra, and a chorus of the scholars.'[29]

The negotiation between the maintenance of femininity and the need to build a new female academic space was expressed through the material world. Decoration, especially in eating and sleeping spaces, deliberately drew on the conventions of the middle-class home, perhaps in part to reassure anxious parents, but also because these conventions were not seen as out of place in feminine institutions. Early publicity photographs of the dining room at St Margaret's suggest a middle-class dining room and the kind of dining hall that might be found in a boys' school or an Oxbridge college. In contrast to the regimented seating arrangements, long tables and benches, that were usually found in male establishments, each table sits eight, and is laid with a full white tablecloth, cutlery and napkins. This room might be read as a continuation of the refinements of home life. But, they did not try to hide the fact that they sought to cultivate the intellect. The walls show a number of medium-sized prints of which classical ruins are prominent. There are also borrowings from male institutions, and the typical set-up of an Oxbridge college dining hall. In

the 1914 issue of the school magazine we find school motto carved in oak and hung on the wall behind the 'high table'.[30]

The desire to demonstrate domesticity was most evident in school boarding houses. The layout and interior decoration usually followed conventional middle-class homes. Early twentieth-century plans of Earl's Down, one of the Winchester boarding houses, show that the house was an adapted version of the typical middle-class home in this period, featuring a study, drawing room, small dining room and larger dining hall on the ground floor.[31] Publicity brochures show how the material culture of the boarding houses was shown off to prospective parents. No images of Frances Mary Buss's house, Myra Lodge, survive, but we can see how North Lodge, a sister house at the North London Collegiate, was presented to the public. The 'Drawing Room Corner' is carefully and quite elaborately furnished. Spindly drawing room tables, drapery, several plants and vases of flowers, whatnots, antimacassars and heavy ornamentation suggest the conventionally feminised Victorian drawing room. The dining room is similarly reassuring. A print of Landseer's 'Monarch of the Glen' (often found in late Victorian homes) strikes a masculine note, again conforming to the gendered decorative conventions of the middle-class home. The freshly laid table, meanwhile, with its brightly polished silverware, elaborately folded napkins and floral arrangements suggests that the refinements of middle-class behaviour will be maintained (Figure 4.1).

At the North London Collegiate, domesticity was also celebrated through a self-conscious encouragement of the decoration of classrooms. The Kyrle Society, formed in June 1883, was dedicated to embellishing them. A poem, published in the school magazine shortly after the society was founded, celebrated its decorative efforts, and underlined their connection to middle-class domesticity.[32] The club coincided with the middle-class enthusiasm for home decoration in the 1870s and 1880s, which encouraged the expression of individuality through decoration. Fresh flowers, decorative murals, jam pots covered with scraps and curtains for the sixth-form fireplace were included in the club's endeavours. The poem described the school as 'brightened and freshened'. Pupils were also encouraged to cultivate window gardens. Their contents included mustard and cress, snowdrops, tulips, and ferns during the winter months. The pleasures of gazing at the window garden could provide consolation amidst an otherwise austere institutional environment. A pupil at the school in the late 1880s remembered: 'I chose an empty desk by the "Window Garden" so that I could look into the green ferns, for I found London was a very trying place to live in.'[33]

The link with domesticity and home life was made explicit through practical activities. The headmistresses of the new girls' schools sought to move away from the feminine curriculum of the older private schools for girls, with its emphasis on needlework, which had been heavily criticised by the

(a)

(b)

Figure 4.1   This pair of photographs shows the North Lodge drawing room and dining room, both of which follow the conventions of a typical middle-class home

Commissioners in 1868.[34] Although needlework was not on the academic timetable, it was often a compulsory extra-curricular activity.[35] As Sara Burstall, head of Manchester High School for Girls and former teacher at the North London Collegiate pointed out, the pioneering headmistresses were themselves

often 'truly womanly and skilful in the household arts',[36] and such activities certainly had important place in these schools. At the NLCS, the Dorcas Society produced between five and six hundred needle-worked items for charity every year, culminating in an impressive display on Founder's Day in the gymnasium. As one observer wryly noted in the school magazine: 'Visitors, on entering, however, must have had a slight shock, for the first object which attracted their attention was a row of 30 dolls, hanging against the wall, in baby clothes, giving any horrified spectator … the ghastly impression that a Massacre of the Innocents, on a new scale, had been devised and carried out.'[37] All schoolgirls were expected to acquire basic plain needlework, and to be able to mend and maintain their own things. Given the amount of stitching that went on, it is unsurprising that during the First World War girls' schools across the country swung into action to produce hand-worked goods for soldiers on an almost industrial scale.[38]

Domestic training became increasingly important in equipping new girls' schools. The NLCS's building at Sandall Road included a cooking school in the basement, and there were special cooking facilities at Winchester High and St Margaret's from the 1890s.[39] In the first decade of the twentieth century, under government pressure, headmistresses gave domestic skills a greater role in curricula. In 1909, the North London Collegiate included needlework and home craft on the curriculum, and the study of science included a programme of laboratory work related to cooking, housewifery and laundry (Figure 4.2).[40] In 1909, a new course in domestic science and housecraft was developed at Winchester High for 16 to 17 year olds who were not undertaking the sixth-form work.[41] By 1910, girls at St Margaret's were given the opportunity to specialise in domestic science as an alternative to taking university entrance exams.[42] But when a 1909 newspaper article suggested that this was a recent trend, Miss Mowbray, headmistress at Winchester High, pointed out that girls' schools had promoted these skills since the nineteenth century, as a recognised part of women's expected future roles.[43] At Bedales, the special ethos of the school meant that training in basic practical domestic tasks such as housework and cooking were an important part of daily activities, in which both boys and girls were expected to participate.[44]

Early headmistresses, surrounded by ancient and venerable boys' schools, must have been very aware of the associations of age, tradition and integrity these buildings carried. London headmistresses would have seen Christ's Hospital and Charterhouse at close hand, while Winchester High was just down the road from Winchester College.[45] Assembly halls were often the crowning glory of boys' schools. These imposing spaces were hung with benefactors' arms and rolls, and presided over by portraits of ancient founders. They attracted a lot of attention from visitors. The hall at Christ's Hospital, for example, was the second largest un-pillared hall in the country, second only to the House of Lords. Small wonder that Miss Buss hastened to secure a sponsorship

Figure 4.2   This twentieth-century photograph shows new facilities for domestic science at the North London Collegiate School

deal with the Clothworkers' Company to build a similar hall for the North London Collegiate School. The result was the impressive Clothworkers' Hall, which included an organ paid for by a collection from the girls, and a series of stained glass windows (Figure 4.3). At Winchester High, after a struggle for funds, a 'handsome new hall' that could hold over 400 was opened in 1890.[46] For former NLCS teacher Sara Burstall, writing in 1907, it was crucial that the assembly hall be 'as beautiful and stately as means will allow' even if the rest of the school had to be decorated more plainly.[47] At residential St Margaret's the chapel became the main point of communal assembly for the school, and girls attended services daily between 1 and 1.30 pm.[48] The chapel was designed and built by Alfred Waterhouse and opened with the rest of the school buildings in 1897.[49]

These rooms were the public face of the schools. At the North London Collegiate from 1879, Foundation Day was celebrated yearly (it became Founder's Day after Buss retired).[50] The entire school would be decorated, and pupils, staff, parents and visiting dignitaries would assemble in the Clothworkers' Hall. Winchester High hosted a similar yearly public meeting with high profile speakers including the Master of Winchester College, Sophie Bryant and Emily Davies.[51] The halls at the NLCS and Winchester High

Figure 4.3   The new hall at the North London Collegiate School was an important focus for communal life

frequently saw concerts and recitals. Halls and chapels featured heavily in pub-
licity brochures and early postcards of schools, underlining their attractions
to prospective parents. For pupils, these large, shared spaces where the whole
school could physically congregate were intrinsic to a new corporate identity
that emerged in girls' secondary schools.[52] Pupils who experienced the newly
built NLCS buildings felt this strongly. Edith Allen, who attended the school
when they opened, recalled: 'The school was quite a different place after that,
with our big hall, where we all met for prayers and plays and concerts and the
like: and our gymnasium, where we all drilled after our elevenses – staggered
naturally – and had a really corporate life.'[53] In addition to allowing mass
interaction, the interiors inspired institutional pride. Alice Stoneman, who left
the school in 1890, remembered: 'In the eighties there was still a pioneer feel-
ing about the school. It was already in the new buildings when I arrived, but
it was very self-conscious about them and immensely proud of them.'[54] For a
small minority of pupils who did not integrate into the school, the corporate
achievements displayed in the hall could compound their sense of failure and
isolation. Netta Syrett offers this bitter description:

> In passing along the gallery outside she looked down into the big Hall, at the
> rows of shiny seats, at the platform and the organ, and at the large, framed
> black tablets on either side of it, on which in gilt letters were inscribed the

names of the winners of scholarships and special honours for the school. Her name was not there. It would never now be there, and she experienced a dreary sense of failure as a schoolgirl.[55]

But Syrett was in a minority. When the hall's stained glass windows were smashed by Second World War bombs, most former pupils mourned their passing.[56]

Visitors might soon have noticed some important differences between these halls and chapels and the interiors of boys' schools. Eleanor M. Hill was struck by the windows in the North London Collegiate Hall: 'the four chief lights hold figures of Deborah, Huldah, Mary of Bethany and Phoebe, symbolising the virtues of courage, wisdom, piety and service.'[57] This was the memorial window to Frances Mary Buss. The decorative iconographies of halls and chapels in girls' schools deliberately celebrated femininity. The St Margaret's chapel windows also looked to the distant past for female role models. There was a pantheon of female icons including St Margaret (the patron saint of childbirth), St Agnes, St Helena, Blanche of Castile and St Monica (St Theresa and St Frideswida were added later).[58] While the girls assembled daily beneath these images, their meaning may have been lost on some. Nora Watherston, who had been present when the Buss memorial window was unveiled in 1896, remarked later that 'we all wondered who "Huldah" was & tried to find out about her & to the best of my belief nobody helped us much – in other words they didn't know either!'[59] Yet this new iconography of femininity was important, so much so that it figured in freshly established schools for girls across the country. Parents with daughters at the new Blackheath High School were rather startled to find a nude statue of the Venus de Milo in the entrance hall.[60] The most impressive display was a frieze, 'A Dream of Fair Women', commissioned by Dorothea Beale at Cheltenham Ladies College, featuring a host of notable women including Andromache, Eurydice, Penelope and even the Egyptian queen Hatchepsut.[61]

On entering these schools today, one is often met by the glare of an early headmistress, immortalised in a formal portrait. Moveable images could be selected and controlled by school staff and pupils (unlike major changes to the interior decoration, which would usually be agreed by committee). As schools matured, images of founders and first headmistresses took on iconic positions within the school. As we have seen, there was also a growing interest in using artwork in boys' schools in the late nineteenth century, but the images that were chosen for girls' schools were often different. Miss Baylee, the indomitable headmistress at St Margaret's, was commemorated with a memorial tablet in 1907.[62] Teachers offered one role model, but more traditional feminine virtue was also celebrated. Images of motherhood (via the Renaissance) were particularly popular. At Winchester High a copy of Andrea del Sarto's 'Annunciation'

hung in the hall, and Raphael's 'Madonna and Child' was displayed in the Lower V room.[63] Winchester girls were also allowed to choose images for their classrooms.[64] The Lower VI voted for 'The Gleaner' by Jules Breton, because, according to the school magazine, 'the gleaner is such a perfect type of strong, hard-working womanhood'.[65] This image of agricultural labour chimes with the late nineteenth-century middle-class romantic idealisation of the countryside. Yet it is also significant that the rhetoric around the image evokes the idea of women as workers, a message that these schools were anxious to convey both to their pupils and wider society.

Discipline for girls

One of the most important differences between schools for girls and for boys was the attitude towards corporal punishment, which influenced the organisation of girls' schools. In male institutions, physical punishment was the norm, and remained in place well into the twentieth century.[66] In schools for girls, however, it was extremely rare and it seems to have been considered completely unacceptable to strike middle-class girls.[67] The absence of corporal punishment meant that headmistresses had to seek other means of discipline, and to watch the girls closely. This idea was not new. Indeed, one jaded headmistress, interviewed in the 1868 survey, insisted that numbers in a girls' school should be kept below 20, as 'girls require constant surveillance.'[68] In this sense, of all the institutions surveyed in this book, schools for middle-class girls came closest to the model of discipline put forward by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish,* that is, the creation of a spatial and material system designed to 'induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power'.[69] The key to this system was that it created control while minimising external, physical coercion.[70] The idea of surveillance from a single point strongly influenced the architecture of girls' schools built in the late nineteenth century. In the new North London Collegiate buildings, all the classrooms opened directly onto the hall and their doors could be viewed from its daïs. This trend was short lived, however. The demand for surveillance through planning relaxed in the early twentieth century. In 1907 Burstall compared the hall system at the North London Collegiate unfavourably with the corridors in the Manchester High, arguing that form mistresses should be perfectly capable of keeping order in their own classrooms without the central supervision of a head: 'it is a poor business sitting on a platform at a desk in the centre of the hall watching everything, lest disorder should arise! In girls' schools it is quite unnecessary today.'[71] Although early twentieth-century schools were less likely to be planned around a central focal point, the close watching of the girls was still important in everyday routines. Boarding school headmistresses made full use of galleries and glass windows in classroom doors.

St Margaret's schoolgirl Ethel Wallace remembered that: 'The Lower School classrooms had a little gallery running along one side and sometimes she [Miss Baylee] would slip up there and watch us from that vantage point. Luckily her silk skirts rustled, so we often heard her and were warned to be on our best behaviour'.[72]

Boarding school dormitories were also designed to facilitate surveillance. At St Margaret's, most of the large dormitories had one or two cubicles placed at the front of the room, to be occupied by teachers or prefects (Figure 4.4). These cubicles had a small window which allowed the occupant to view the rest of the room. The dormitories contained rows of beds with 'half cubicles' at their heads. These were state of the art with regards to contemporary theories on the healthiness of school dormitories, allowing a degree of privacy when dressing as the air circulated freely. Each cubby hole contained a mirror, wash table and drawers, a corner cupboard and three hooks. The partitions were at half-window height, but some of the older girls would easily have seen over and into them. The dormitories were designed so teachers and prefects could see exactly what was going on.

Figure 4.4   The curtained cubicles in this dormitory at St Margaret's offer some privacy, but could also be seen into by prefects or teachers

In the absence of physical discipline, girls were rigidly controlled through the position of their bodies in space, and restrictions on personal possessions and institutional items. School rules were thus strongly spatial and material in character. Where and when girls were allowed to be in particular rooms and their activities there were precisely regulated. The North London Collegiate was well known for its elaborate rules. Faced with disciplining 400 girls without corporal punishment, Buss invented a system of spatial discipline that kept the girls firmly in their place in the new buildings. The rules were strongly enforced in the 1880s and 1890s, before being relaxed under second headmistress Sophie Bryant. Ex-pupils were often critical and even Burstall, a great admirer of Buss, felt the school was too strict. Foucault cites the use of gyms in institutions as an important part of the production of new disciplines of the body.[73] At the North London Collegiate, a rigid timetable was set up, including a half-hour stint in the gym each day. This image shows the girls in the gym at the North London Collegiate, here, identically dressed girls performed daily physical rituals that embodied the new discipline promulgated by the school (Figure 4.5).
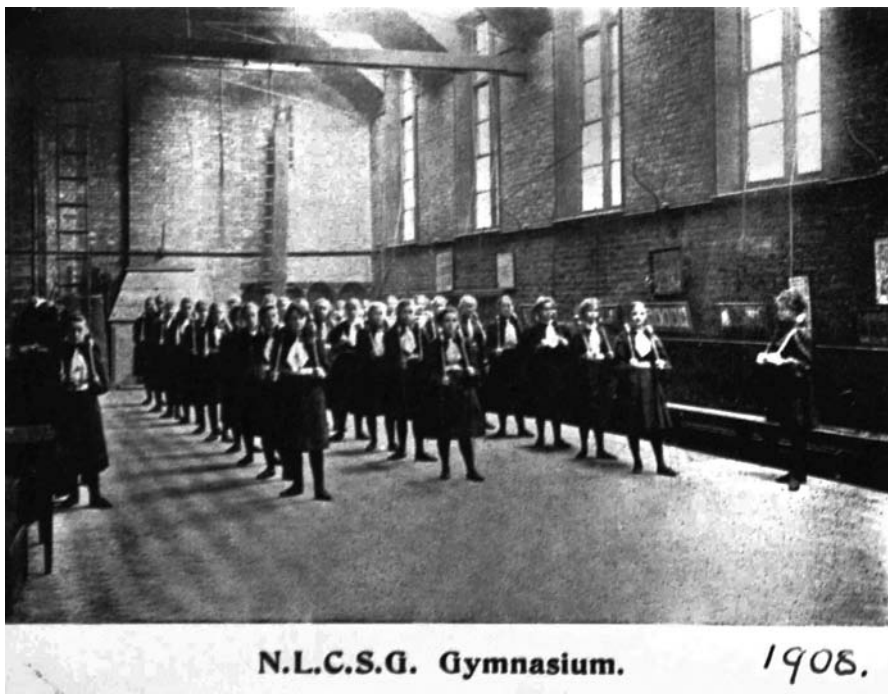

N.L.C.S.G. Gymnasium.   1908.

Figure 4.5 Pupils at the North London Collegiate undergoing their daily gym class

When girls arrived at the school in the morning they were allowed into the cloakrooms in regimented relays, where outerwear was neatly stored on a hook, and boots placed in a rack as the pupils changed into the house boots they wore in school.[74] Talking was forbidden in the classrooms and in the corridors, personal objects were restricted, private books not allowed and only teachers were allowed to use ink. Any infringement was given a 'mark' and recorded. Once a form acquired enough marks, the entire group was punished. The new school buildings were vigorously protected. Alice Stoneman recalls: 'we were expected to treat … the furniture with every care, so that we might be recalled on a Saturday morning to remove an ink-stain from the floor of the Hall'.[75] While the rules were gradually relaxed at NLCS, pupils at St Margaret's also complained of extensive rules, particularly those which restricted movement and enforced silence, well into the twentieth century.[76]

One means of controlling female pupils was to impose restrictions on their clothing. A formal uniform took some time to emerge at the five schools – there was no uniform at the North London Collegiate in the late nineteenth century, although jewellery was forbidden (and there was standard dress for gym and sporting activities).[77] At St Margaret's, girls wore similar clothes that were either bought from home or provided by the school, although individual best dresses were provided for Sundays.[78] Some mothers felt the need to make clothes for their daughters themselves. Wallace remembers: 'Mother could not bring herself to be completely indebted to charity for us, and so had special permission to dress us herself.'[79] Bedales girls were instructed to wear a loose blouse, cloth knickers and a skirt, and, in accordance with the prescriptions of contemporary dress reform, stays were banned.[80] Joyce Senders Petersen argues that the emergence of uniforms in girls' schools in the early twentieth century marked both the triumph of headmistresses over overt displays of wealth within the school and the arrival of a new sense of schoolgirl identity.[81] Regulating dress was also a clear means of controlling behaviour and ensuring conformity with institutional discipline and routine. St Margaret's girls had their boots inspected on Saturdays, two or three times a term.[82] Even Bedales, with its liberal ethos, had a rigid daily routine that included a daily pre-dinner inspection and clothes were regularly scrutinised.[83]

The material culture of the dormitories was also linked to the instillation of discipline, of daily routines and patterns of behaviour. Wallace remembered a regimented and rushed existence, regulated by bells: 'When the rising bell rang in the dormitory – pretty early too – one had to jump out of bed AT ONCE, strip your bed, roll up your mattress and disappear into your cubicle.'[84] (Such rituals were also usual in the boarding houses.) For the lower forms, teachers would check that thorough washing had been undertaken. This was followed

by a ten-minute interlude for prayers, also marked by bells. Complete silence and stillness were expected, and any sound from the small cubicles would have given away girls who could not keep up with the routine: 'woe betide some slow-coach who tried to catch up during prayer-time and dropped a comb or opened a squeaky drawer!'[85]

In the absence of corporal punishment, teachers at girls' schools were quite inventive, and drew on their material surroundings for inspiration. At St Margaret's, most punishments were spatial – Wallace recalled that the most usual was to be made to stay in on a Saturday afternoon. Severe offences might result in being sent to bed all day. This was not taken lightly. Wallace writes of 'the awful horror of a whole day of incarceration in an empty bedroom; or being sent to bed in an open dormitory on a Match Saturday afternoon, when a visiting team might be making a tour of the school'.[86] Badly behaved St Margaret's girls were also chastised by being made to sit with their backs to the table in the dining hall, with plates in their lap, or else being made to eat on a little table on the stage in front of everyone else.[87] Bedales teachers has the especially vexing problem of having to punish erring girls alongside boys who could be physically disciplined. Here, 'changes', was often used as a punishment.[88] This consisted of girls being forced to dress and undress repeatedly over the course of the day. Even though female pupils wore relatively simple clothes, this process was tedious and repetitive.

Of course, the material and spatial disciplines imposed on these early girl pupils were resisted in a variety of ways. Some found the elaborate rules dumbfounding. Others, like Mary Vivian Hughes, who attended the North London Collegiate in the 1880s, laughed at them.[89] A sign on the school water fountain, that insisted pupils walk around it in a given direction, provoked much hilarity.[90] Small acts of rebellion were common. A. Newey, at the school in the 1870s before the new buildings, recalls how she would enliven proceedings by poking her hand through the curtains that divided the class rooms, as girls passed by the other side on their way to calisthenics classes: 'I have popped my hand through as they went by, with a white mouse, frog or slow worm in it. What shrieks!'[91] Hughes also frequently bent the rules and one friend even purloined the forbidden ink.[92] Others looked on with pursed lips, however. Violet Moore, a contemporary of Hughes, was shocked by the stories in her autobiography, noting firmly that: 'Mrs Hughes must have been in a very bad set if one of them could steal ink from the mistress' desk. We should have sent such a one to Coventry.'[93] Girls like Violet Moore were ready to acknowledge the difficulties that their headmistresses faced. Although the material regime at NLCS was petty and restrictive, most girls seem to have been willing to tolerate it. Proud to be part of a new educational initiative for women, they allowed their support for the institution to overcome irritation.

Material life in boarding houses

A large number of girls fell outside the ideal day school system, and day schools almost invariably ended up with a number of girls living in boarding houses. As we have seen, these were often decorated to resemble middle-class homes. It was one thing to mimic the decoration of the middle-class home, but quite another to recreate its living conditions. This was attempted at Myra Lodge. Meals were prefaced with prayers from Miss Buss. Friday evenings were spent on needle-work for charity. There were regular seasonal entertainments, where the girls performed for guests, described as 'At Homes' in the school magazine. Similar practices were adopted in the boarding houses at Winchester. Myra Mogany, resident at Earl's Down between 1910 and 1914, remembered that while tea was normally taken in the dining room on Sunday this was more relaxed. 'Sunday tea though was pure bliss; we sat on the floor or elsewhere as we liked in happy informality, and we ate cake!'[94] Enid Locket who boarded at Hyde Abbey in 1915, remembered that select groups of girls would be invited into the drawing room at tea time on Sundays, to take tea with the house mistress, Mrs Thomas. 'She possessed some lovely old silver, particularly a chase silver tea pot which she always used for tea in her drawing room.'[95] The highly decorated drawing rooms were central to the domestic life of the boarding houses, and the tone and atmosphere created by the house mistress. As Locket remembers of Mrs Thomas' drawing room in 1915, she 'made a civilised life for us'.[96]

But, inevitably, the boarding houses took on some of the elements that we might associate with institutional spaces. The close proximity of others could be uncomfortable. In the popular Winchester boarding houses, space was at a premium, and a 1913 inspection reported on problems of overcrowding.[97] The constant round of prayers, meals and domestic activities, and in some board-ing houses, the sound of bells, doubtlessly generated discomfort and tension. Although there were attempts to make it domestic, boarding house life was char-acterised by a minutiae of rules and material disciplines, like those in the main schools, and may therefore be seen as an extension of institutional space. For boarders at Myra Lodge under Miss Buss, life was often far from homelike. Rules permeated almost every aspect of pupils' daily lives, and were strongly resented. Netta Syrett, who lodged at Myra in the 1880s, writes: 'We Myra Lodge Boarders had good reason to envy the day girls, who at least had only *one* set of rules to obey, while we were subject to the regulations of both establishments, and thus seemed to achieve the impossible by simultaneously living in two schools at one and the same time.'[98] Mabel Blundell Heynemann (resident in the 1880s) writes: 'I loved MB dearly, but not the rules and regulations at Myra Lodge, with which we were restricted, but fortunately they never broke my spirit, nor the keen sense of humour I have always possessed.'[99] Pupils lodging at Myra were required to keep to a strict material order. Rather than being able to relax

outside school, their adherence to tidiness was closely monitored by the school authorities. Tidiness was not problematic for all students. In the school magazine in July 1891, in an article on a typical day at Myra Flora Schmalz wrote: 'Here, neatness, method and punctuality were the order of the day, while there was ever kept alive in our impressionable minds a wish to emulate that great example of patience, energy and perseverance, which it was our inestimable privilege to behold daily in our midst.'[100] For Syrett, an untidy child, this constant struggle for order was a living nightmare. Minor spatial infractions were recorded in an 'Appearing Book' or Register. Syrett writes: 'Pages and pages of this volume contained futilities like the following: *I didn't put my shoes in my locker* (signed), *I hung my coat on the wrong peg* (signed), *I left my work-bag about* (signed).'[101]

Tidiness was also enforced more aggressively. While girls' schools were distinguished from boys schools by the absence of physical punishment, personal possessions were not immune to acts of symbolic violence. In Syrett's autobiographical novel *The Victorians,* the headmistress, modelled on Buss, pays unexpected visits to bedrooms and lockers, dashing open drawers and erupting into a terrible rage if she found them in disarray.[102] The surprise inspections continued, even after Buss retired: 'If chests of drawers were discovered to be untidy, the luckless owners would, on their return from school, find the entire contents of the drawers emptied upon the floor.'[103] Tidiness was also insisted on at Winchester. Myra Mogany remembered that at pre-War Earl's Down: 'At weekends we all made our beds and were expected to make sure that our clothes were in immaculate order in our chest of drawers; if we failed in this we were apt to find that the whole contents of these had been emptied on our beds.'[104] In many middle-class nurseries, children, and particularly girls, were under considerable pressure to be tidy. For young women in particular, keeping goods in order was viewed as training for future home management. Although surprise inspections and upturned drawers were not unknown in middle-class homes, they were rare, and tended to occur in unhappy parent-child relationships. Therefore, the material discipline imposed in the stricter boarding houses was considerably harsher than that which they might encounter at home. In the 1900s, the system was relaxed and Eveline M. Short, resident at Montague House at the North London Collegiate in 1908, remembered that the small group in the boarding house was vastly preferable to her previous experience of living in a boarding school of 100 girls: 'In this easy, pleasant atmosphere one could laugh, work, make friends.'[105] While things lightened up considerably in the twentieth century, for early pupils the burden could be crushing.

The niceties of curtain drawing

At Bedales and St Margaret's, the accommodation was arranged differently. Here, girls had purpose-built dormitories – in Steephurst, the girls' boarding

house at Bedales and in large rooms built into the main school at Bushey. In contrast to the shared bedrooms in boarding houses, the dormitories were usually built for purpose, and tended to be larger, oblong spaces lined with regimented beds. They could house large groups of girls together (the dorm in Figure 4.4 would have slept 16 girls). The dormitories in Steephurst were smaller, but were also furnished with beds in a regimented order (see Figure 4.6). Bringing larger groups of girls together in these shared spaces had a significant impact on group dynamics, the rituals and traditions developed by school girls, and their emotional lives and relationships.

School authorities paid more attention to the decoration of girls' dormitories than boys'. At Bedales there were clear gendered differences in provision. While both sexes had good quality basics, the girls were given more elaborate toilet ware, a 'hanging glass in walnut frame', and 'green and flowered bordered counterpanes' while the boys just had 'bedspreads'.[106] Girls were given considerable licence to personalise dormitories and sleeping rooms. Photographs of

Figure 4.6   The girls in this dormitory at Steephurst were allowed space for personal things, note the picture rail

boys' dormitories are considerably more austere – although there were often fewer restrictions on the things sent into boys' schools, especially food. At Myra Lodge, girls were only grudgingly allowed a cake from home 'on the occasion of a birthday' and sweets were kept under lock and key in the Winchester boarding houses, and doled out on Saturday afternoons. Nonetheless, photographs of dormitories at St Margaret's brim with small decorative goods. A variety of small images and portraits hang over the bed heads and curtained washing cubicles could conceal a plethora of personal things. In the Steephurst dormitories, a rail was provided for the girls' images and ornaments. No such arrangements were made in the boys' rooms. The major difference between male and female dormitories was, however, the provision of curtains between the beds. At Bedales, the girls' dorms invariably contained 'printed Holland curtains', but these were not present in the boys' rooms.[107] Curtains were viewed as essential, particularly for older girls.

It is likely that girls were seen to need more privacy because of menstruation. Alfred Carpenter, in his book on school hygiene, recommended cubicles for girls, but only after the onset of puberty.[108] The Bedales girls, who were unusually open about sexual matters, expressed this in dormitory slang. Frances Partridge, who arrived at the school in 1915, remembered that:

> You didn't draw the curtains except for a purpose, in fact having your monthly period was called 'curtains': 'I'm afraid I shall be drawing my curtains next week, I shan't be able to play in the match.' But otherwise, I think it was out of friendliness that we kept them back. I don't think there was prudery about dressing.[109]

The dormitory thus provided a useful euphemism. Bedales pupils, though, were probably atypical. If we look at depictions of the significance of bed curtains from a range of different schools, we can see that they inspired varied traditions and embodied practices. Catholic boarding schools had a particularly strong idea of the need for modesty in dress – which played out in the way that pupils were made to dress within their cubicles. This is clear from Antonia White's experiences at the School of the Sacred Heart – here pupils were not only told to dress within their cubicles, but were not allowed to expose their bodies, even to themselves. The girls were: 'taught to tie the sleeves of our nightgowns round our waists while we slipped on our vests so that, at no time, should we be entirely naked.'[110] Other, non-Catholic schools were not so insistent on this, and much may have been left up to the girls. Elizabeth Bowen, at Downe House in Kent in the early twentieth century, remembered that: 'The niceties of curtain drawing and intrusion varied from bedroom to bedroom.'[111] Curtains were always drawn for prayers, and allowed some privacy in dressing, although if one person took this too seriously, it could cause problems for the

others: 'The door cubicle went to the youngest inhabitant, who could hold everyone up if her sense of decency was over acute. "You *can't* come through" she would shout; "I am indecent".'[112] At Christ's Hospital School for girls, the curtains were folded and hung half way over the rails after washing and dressing each morning – the folding had to be done very precisely, otherwise the girls were made to come back and do it properly.[113]

Within the dormitories, space and objects helped create shared material practices and traditions amongst the girls themselves. Dormitory rules were frequently broken. Unsurprisingly, many girls found it almost impossible to keep to the rule of silence.[114] The shared culture of the dormitory – which bound girls together in large groups, usually of eight or ten girls – also created more open acts of subversion. They were more likely to turn on the teachers than one of their own number. Wallace got into hot water after she 'caused an uproar in the dormitory by dressing up as one of the most unpopular mistresses'.[115]

The material arrangements of the dormitory also helped to create a culture of emotional intimacy – life was lived through the fabric of the bed curtains which were frequently permeated by sounds and activities. As Martha Vicinus shows the schoolgirl crush played an important role in the emotional lives of girls in late nineteenth-century boarding schools.[116] A novel by Margaret Linford, who attended, St Catherine's Bramley, a small boarding school for girls in Surrey, in the early twentieth century, gives us an idea of how relations between the girls were shaped by the curtains that hung around their beds. As sound travelled easily through the drapery, girls had few secrets from each other. In *Broken Bridges* Linford describes an expectation that girls would comfort each other if they heard sounds of distress:

> It was dark there and very quiet except for one corner where Imogen, her mind now apparently concentrated solely on the sadness of farewell, was sobbing piteously under her bedclothes. By all the canons of school life, Rachel should have gone to her – as, she could hear, others had gone – and try and comfort her by patting her presumably heaving shoulders and murmuring phases of good cheer.[117]

Here, Linford evokes the distinctive emotional world of the girls' dormitory, one that offered some privacy, yet was also a space in which girls were always aware of each other's movements and emotional states. Linford suggests that in this dorm at least there was an unspoken pact between girls to reach out and offer support if they detected misery in one of their number. There are far fewer accounts of bullying and ragging in the girls' sleeping spaces than in boys' schools and there seems to have been little physical abuse. It is tempting to conclude that female spaces were generally softer, gentler and more supportive

environments. Yet it is also worth noting that the sources for girls' schools are relatively scant, and those which are available tend to have been collected by school alumni groups or published in school magazines. Often produced in association with the institutions themselves, they are less likely to dwell on negative aspects of the school. Spatial proximity brings with it the opportunity for abuse, and it seems likely that there was also a darker side to dormitory life, that was less documented.

Emotional intimacy in the dormitory could tip over into physical sexual relationships. At liberal Bedales, the headmasters' wife gave the girls a rather awkward and rudimentary sex education.[118] Within this co-educational boarding school, there was, however, huge anxiety over the exposure of boys and girls to each other: although they were taught together, special permission had to be sought to spend time with each other, and those who looked likely to pair off were firmly separated. Love and sentimentality were ridiculed, and healthy companionship emphasised.[119] Inevitably some boys and girls fell for each other. But they were given no opportunities to indulge their passion, except perhaps in a brief turn about the floor at heavily supervised weekly dances. John Rothenstein remembers 'the effect was to make my relationships with girls constrained and uneasy'.[120] In contrast, relationships within the sexes were almost entirely unregulated. By 1918, the girls swam naked together every week.[121] Of course, this did not automatically lead to sexual relationships. But despite the presence of boys, the schoolgirl crush was as prevalent at Bedales as elsewhere. Marjory Allen recalls how, on her arrival at the school in 1915, she was dazzled by her first experience of love, under electric light: 'Suddenly the room was flooded with light, and standing over me was the most beautiful person I had ever set eyes on. I fell in love before a word was spoken, and remained in love with the enchanting Noel Olivier until she left Bedales early the following year.'[122] Allen did not have a physical relationship with Olivier, but this would have been possible. She writes 'some strange things did happen, especially in the dormitories, but they had nothing whatsoever to do with the fact that Bedales was a co-educational school'.[123] Charis Frankenburg, at the school in 1905, had a more lurid and exploitative experience, in which the head girl in her dormitory (who was a noted story teller) would only agree to tell a story if the youngest child would allow herself to be spanked. She tolerated this, thinking it a small price to pay to hear a good story.[124]

The idea that girls should experience school and home together had a powerful effect on the new large-scale secondary schools that were built for girls in this period. Most were intended as day schools, although demand usually led to boarding houses being founded alongside them. Boarding houses were, however, made to look as much like middle-class homes as possible. Yet a balance was struck, both here and in the wider schools, between a continued emphasis on femininity and the need to create new academic spaces for girls.

In the early years of these schools, the pressures of disciplining large groups of girls together for the first time, without using corporal punishment, led to a strong culture of spatial surveillance and intensive rules and regulations based on the material world. The relationship between these schools and the home, as understood by pupils themselves, could be fractured. While for girls home and school were meant to be essentially complementary spheres, for some pupils this division was unsustainable. Dormitory dwellers often had a better time – the dynamics of dormitory living, typically created by around eight or ten girls in the same room – generated a shared culture and sense of well-being that offered scope to resist the restrictions imposed by teachers. At their best, the thin Holland barriers between the beds allowed sensitive girls to provide care and even love for one another.

5
Common Lodging Houses

In 1848 John Davis, a resident of a lodging house at No. 8 Mill Lane in Deptford, was sentenced to transportation for seven years for stabbing a fellow lodger, Joseph Plummer, a hawker. Plummer gave this statement to the court:

> I was sitting in the kitchen with my wife – the prisoner began to use ill words, and said he had a little thing that would settle someone in the house – I did not answer him – he went out, and came back again between nine and ten in the evening – he was not the worse for liquor – I believe he had taken something – I saw him strike a child who was there – I got up, and said, 'If you hit him again, I shall hit you' – he said, 'I am quite ready for you' – I struck him, he fell – he put the knife into me twice, and said, '*Joe* I have done it *for* you.'[1]

Just before this incident, Plummer had refused a drink offered by Davis, a material sign that he saw the man as outside the ordinary conviviality of the lodging house community. According to the keeper, the beer had been handed to himself and his wife before Plummer had turned it away, saying: 'No, I want no beer from you, if I want beer I can pay for it.' The anecdote reveals the chaotic and confusing world of the common lodging house, where unrelated people lived side-by-side, often sharing basic material provisions. From the mid-nineteenth century London's housing crisis became more acute. As Irish immigrants arrived, land was increasingly put to commercial use, and slum clearance forced the very poor into ever decreasing areas. For many poor Londoners, the common lodging house was the solution to this problem. Called common lodging houses to distinguish them from middle-class boarding or lodging houses, such establishments were marked out by their low fees, limited accommodation and a no-questions-asked policy as regards character or occupation by the keepers or 'deputies' who ran them. These places occasioned a great deal of anxiety amongst the governing classes, and were increasingly the subject of

state intervention. But the conflict between Davis and Plummer, which took place before the government made any substantial move to control the houses, also reveals the moral codes that existed among their inhabitants independent of the state. Plummer and his wife both claimed that his actions had been an attempt to protect the child. According to Sarah Plummer: 'my husband said it was a shame to hit a fatherless and motherless child, and if he did so again he would hit him.' The couple may have couched the incident in these terms to appeal to the court, but the statement was clearly believable as it was upheld. There was an expectation about decent behaviour – protection of an orphaned child by an adult male in this instance – modelled on the roles and responsibilities of domestic life. Within this world, small gestures of hospitality or friendship, such as the offer of a drink of beer, were important. They allowed lodgers to build relationships with friends or signal disdain for an alliance.

In 1852, it was estimated that there were about 3,300 common lodging houses across London, housing around 50,000 lodgers.[2] From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, they were increasingly invaded by legislation, the police, religious visitors and 'slummers'. Indeed, Tom Crook has argued that lodging houses are a key site for the investigation of the operation of power, competing forms of modernity, and the limits of governance.[3] The houses were a longstanding concern, and thought to harbour disease and foster criminality, infecting respectable occupants and children.[4] The 1824 Vagrancy Act re-affirmed earlier laws that empowered local justices to conduct sweeps on common lodging houses four times a year, in the hope of locating criminals, but these were seldom carried out.[5] It was the 1840s cholera epidemic that finally pushed politicians into action.[6] The first Common Lodging Houses Act, introduced by Shaftesbury, was passed in 1851. It required local authorities to register and regulate common lodging houses.[7] A second act in 1853 toughened up the regulations. Owners were made responsible for an effective water supply. Certificates of character for keepers were required from three rate payers. New keepers had to be re-registered, and offenders could be punished with prison.[8] Control of the spatial and material world and the imposition of a basic standard of domesticity was an integral part in this. The process was far from simple. At a political level, the legislation was contested, as politicians had different ideas of what a home was, and who was entitled to privacy. Once enacted, the new laws did not translate directly into practice and there were many omissions and tensions.[9] Moreover, the imposition of state control was complicated by the presence of other visitors in the houses, such as investigators, journalists and 'slummers'.[10] Most notable were the Christian missionaries who often sought to shape atmosphere and character through religious services in lodging-house kitchens. Common lodging houses were entered by the state, religious groups and visitors who created a powerful image of them in print culture.

The poor London streets where common lodging houses were found have excited commentary from both contemporaries and historians. Older social histories of the common lodging house established it as an important place for the nineteenth-century poor, and have charted its proliferation in British towns and cities.[11] Often, it has been presented in a negative light, as a place that allowed inmates to step outside the normal moral requirements of family and community.[12] Cultural historians have shown how the cityscape of the East End was etched into contemporary imaginations and recent work has explored this through the words of philanthropic and casual visitors. Judith Walkowitz presents a masterly summary in her *City of Dreadful Delight,* outlining the transition from early accounts written by urban explorers such as Charles Dickens and Henry Mayhew in the 1840s through to the writings of George Sims, Andrew Mearns and Charles Booth in the later part of the century. Although Walkowitz stresses the complexities of these accounts, she argues that there was an increasing distinction between East and West overall, and a shared emphasis on 'degeneration, contagion and gender disorder'.[13] Seth Koven has probed the psyche and motivations of those visiting and living amongst the East End poor, revealing the connections between apparently philanthropic efforts and the construction of sexual identities.[14] These cultural histories rightly stress the need to move away from any simple dichotomy between reality and representation. Contemporary accounts were after all written by real people in real places, and often went on to exert real power in society. This chapter builds on this work, placing the imagined common lodging house alongside sources which reveal the everyday usage and layout of these spaces. As material entities, common lodging houses have, for the most part, disappeared. There was a sustained campaign to reclaim and rebuild slum areas in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[15] Even so, according to one report, there were still 960 licensed houses in London 1890, with around 40,000 lodgers.[16] Something of these lost material worlds can be recovered, through police and census records, and archaeology. As we will see, court records too, allow us to peer into the daily material lives of the inhabitants of common lodging houses and their values and practices.

Legislation, control and representation

From the 1850s, then, common lodging houses were increasingly subjected to government regulation and inspection, visits from religious and philanthropic groups and class and even sexual tourists. In her perceptive essay on Chadwick's 1842 Sanitation Report, Mary Poovey argues that domesticity played a crucial role in the sanitary idea, which allowed the 'bureaucratized apparatuses of inspection, regulation and enforcement that we call the modern state' to attempt to reconstitute working-class social domains.[17] Like the

authorities of asylums and schools, the idea of the home was important to the reformers who sought to control the common lodging house. Yet this was not a straightforward imposition of middle-class domesticity on the poor. The legislation aspired to a very basic material provision only, aimed at securing cleanliness and sexual decorum. Moreover, it was ultimately argued that the inability of the poor to provide for themselves meant that it was necessary to forfeit their right to privacy, an essential tenet of middle-class domesticity. Looking closely at the operation of the material powers granted by the legislation, as well as the activities of various visiting groups reveals some degree of success in effecting change. Finally though, commentators on the common lodging house continued to read it as anti-domestic, and for most, the inspections and controls that the legislation brought about rendered it impossible for them to think of these places as homes.

In the campaign for legislation to control common lodging houses, the National Philanthropic Association drew on the idea that all social groups were entitled to a basic level of domestic provision. Their *Sanatory Progress* (1849) found that 'a vast proportion of the population of the metropolis is literally without anything approximating to what are usually understood as home comforts.'[18] This usually meant somewhere warm and dry, where it was comfortable to sit and sleep, and some degree of privacy. 'None of these comforts are to be found in these dens of wretchedness and filth, which can possibly render home dear to the unhappy tenants.'[19] In Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842) lodging houses figured as one of series of working-class living spaces that did not come up to scratch.[20] Once the common-lodging-house legislation was in place, the word 'comfort' was repeated in government documents. Writing his second report on the inspections in 1854, Captain William Hay of the London Metropolitan Police remarked that the inhabitants of lodging houses displayed 'practices and habits at variance with their own interest and comfort.'[21] Comfort was not achievable by the lodgers on their own, but had to be attained through legislation and inspection by others. This language was very similar to that of the asylum reformers (indeed, Shaftesbury, who led the parliamentary movement for common-lodging-house legislation, also chaired the Commissioners in Lunacy).

Despite this uniformity in tone, opinion was divided over just how far the state should intervene in the private world of the home. While the first two acts apparently passed without much demur, fault lines emerged in the discussion of further controls.[22] When the first laws had been discussed, there was strong resistance to extending the coverage to dwellings that were let out for more than one night at a time, as it was thought to impinge on the rights of private landlords.[23] There was more to it than financial interests, however. In 1857, a further, ultimately unsuccessful bill was put forward to extend the coverage of the Common Lodging Houses Act.[24] While the bill's supporters argued that those

who went against it represented the base interests of speculative builders, this was firmly rebutted by the opposition, who claimed that it was the liberty of the English people that was at stake. The privacy of the home was perceived to be at the heart of this freedom, and Palmerston railed against the 'tyrannous interference with all private houses, if they sought to establish domiciliary visits'.[25] The reformers argued, however, that upholding these rights in the common lodging house was misguided. In 1857, *The Ragged School Union Magazine* reported on the attempt to refine the lodging-house legislation further arguing:

> for the Englishman to have a 'castle', in this sense, must be in possession of a 'house'; but the poor, in whose welfare we are deeply interested, and whose wants and physical wellbeing we labour to promote, have no castle, no house, no home; he has only a today place, and not even that, unless he has first secured the needful pence for the pre-payment for that lodging.[26]

For the reformers, the conditions in which the poor were forced to dwell rendered middle-class ideals of domestic life, and in particular the privacy of the home, redundant. The debate reveals that ideas of home were sometimes fractured and contested, with an ongoing split between moderate Evangelicals, who saw the regulation of domestic space as an unacceptable breach of laissez faire, and more radical campaigners, who felt the poor were entitled to a basic standard of comfort.

How, then, did the legislation that did go through attempt to shape the material and spatial world of the common lodging house? Crucially, keepers were forced to open up their houses to the regular inspection of the police or local authority. In London, the Metropolitan Police took on this role. The legislation specified that visits should take place once a week.[27] Night visits could be made, under special dispensation.[28] Concerns over disease led to the demand for cleanliness, and the 1851 Act required keepers to limewash their walls and ceilings in the first week of October and April each year.[29] There were lengthy stipulations on what should be done if one of the inmates had an infectious disease, including disinfecting with carbolic soap.[30] Inspectors were also to make sure that furnishing reached a basic standard. Met. Police Regulations from 1883, noted that 'each room occupied as a sleeping room should be furnished with bedsteads and sufficient bedding, and necessary utensils.'[31]

Whitening the walls of a lodging house was an act of considerable symbolic power. Victoria Kelley has written on cleanliness in working-class homes, arguing that this might simultaneously be about social control as well as bodily ease and comfort.[32] In addition to being a means of combating cholera epidemics through hygiene, the whitewashing of common lodging houses is a clear instance of cleanliness being used as a means to discipline the very poor, and some authority figures derived considerable satisfaction from it. William

Faulkner (MRCS Registrar for St Giles, South District), was particularly taken with the whitewash, stating in 1857 that:

> there is an air of perfect cleanliness imparted to the whole by the white wash so liberally used; the boards and staircases are paragons of cleanliness, compared with what they were formerly; and altogether, considering the class of people who frequented these places, there appears but very little wanted to render them perfect.[33]

The idea that cleanliness imparted virtue is apparent in the depiction of staircases as 'paragons', and while there is a hint that these cleansed spaces are rather bare, they are nonetheless 'perfect' for the 'class of people' who dwell there.

The legislation also sought to control the allocation of space within the lodging house, tackling overcrowding and regulating sexuality. Within the house, keepers were given a ticket by the Metropolitan Police, which they would be asked to produce to show how many lodgers they were allowed.[34] The regulation of the house was visible on its walls – each room for lodgers was to display a ticket in 'a conspicuous place' stating the number of lodgers allowed in that particular room. Tickets were to be 'at all times visible and legible'.[35] The tickets were designed for the ease and convenience of the inspectors, but they would also have reminded lodgers that these spaces were under the eyes of the law on a weekly basis. New regulations introduced in 1867, insisted that all adults must have 350 cubic feet to themselves.[36] Sleeping was to take place in designated spaces only; the 1867 legislation specified that no bed was to be allowed in a living room or kitchen downstairs.[37] The Met. regulations make it clear that sexual segregation was to be enforced: 'no keeper of a common lodging house shall allow persons of different sexes to occupy the same sleeping room, except in the case of a married couple, or parents with their children under ten years of age, or except any children under ten years of age'.[38] Moreover, married couples were not allowed to share a room with others without a partition.[39] The regulations also imply concern over sexual relations between men. The 1883 Met. Police Orders stipulate: 'before a common lodging house is approved, a bedstead must be provided for each single male person'.[40]

There were, however, limits to these controls. The implementation of legislation presented considerable difficulties. The 1851 Act did not clearly define the common lodging house.[41] It was only in 1936 that an official definition appeared in law.[42] The Metropolitan Police was forced to approach the Attorney General for guidance on how long lodgers should stay, who should be covered, and what do to about tenants who sublet their rooms to multiple lodgers.[43] In 1854, 1,441 lodging houses had been permanently registered, accommodating around 30,000.[44] But it was also reported that almost three times as many were

under police observation, and needed substantial improvements to be registered. These contested spaces held around 50,000 lodgers.[45] Some also doubted the effectiveness of inspections, suggesting that the police did not have the capacity to exert total control.[46] Crook argues that the tensions around liberal governance were played out as lodging-house keepers resisted state control of these spaces.[47] Certainly the new laws were evaded. Wily keepers hid extra sleeping things during the day before bringing them back at night.[48] Human resistance crystallized in the failure to uphold the required material and spatial standards. Anecdotal evidence suggests mixed-sex sleeping continued in places.[49] Elizabeth Evans, a keeper of three houses, was fined four times in the early 1850s for overcrowding and filthy bedding.[50]

Resistance also came from the decrepitude of the material environment itself. The buildings themselves were often ramshackle and crumbling – perhaps almost on the point of collapse. This late nineteenth-century photograph of decaying buildings at the back of Mill Lane (a notorious lodging-house street in Deptford) gives some idea of this (Figure 5.1). Although a row of stalls suggests an attempt to introduce hygiene and privacy, the state of the surroundings

Figure 5.1   This late nineteenth-century photograph of the back of Mill Lane is typical of the ramshackle condition of some lodging houses

indicates that this was very difficult. Early reports on the legislation repeatedly stressed the continued failings of the material environment and, in particular, inadequate sanitary provision.[51] Effluvia rising from chamber pots, which were used en masse in dormitories at night, caused ongoing concern.[52] The physical condition of lodging houses varied – with some in a very poor state, while others, it was acknowledged, were in a better condition. These included the 'good' lodging houses at Orchard Street, Westminster and The Mint in the Borough.[53]

State intervention in common lodging houses, although not specifically religious in its language or implementation was at least in part impelled by religion. Evangelicalism was also made present more explicitly in common lodging houses through the activities of religious groups. From the early part of the century, Evangelical Christians realised the need to convert not just the heathen abroad, but the masses in England's new industrial cities. The interdenominational London City Mission (LCM) was founded by David Nasmith in 1835.[54] By 1860, the LCM and its main rival the Scripture Reading Association employed a total of 631 full-time workers in London.[55] Door-to-door visits were an important part of their activities.[56] And missionaries often visited common lodging houses. Indeed, the very impenetrableness of the houses was attractive. According to a history of the Christian Community (a missionary enterprise in East London, associated with the Wesleyan Methodists): 'To make an invasion of these houses, therefore, required a strong piety and great courage, or holy boldness, combined with splendid energy to attack these strongholds of sin and Satan.'[57] Methodist Community plans for the late 1850s and 1860s show frequent meetings in or outside lodging houses on East End Streets.[58] Later in the century, Andrew Mearns' criticism of the church's attempts to deal with poverty in the East End prompted several new initiatives, including settlements by universities and public schools.[59] A mission was also developed that dealt specifically with common lodging houses. In 1890, it was reported that the Lodging House Mission conducted religious services in 115 of London's 960 common lodging houses.[60]

In an interview conducted by the Booth Survey in 1898, Mr C. Pateman, the Superintendent of the Spitalfields Lodging House Band, a group of around 60 volunteers, explained his work in the houses. He was familiar with around 172 common lodging houses in the East End, which he visited monthly, sometimes distributing tracts or talking to residents (only one Roman Catholic house had 'politely' asked him to keep away).[61] He regularly distributed tickets for free Sunday morning breakfasts. Pateman and the Band held ten services inside the lodging houses every Sunday evening, and it was estimated that these involved around 1,000 lodgers.[62] There were variations in views amongst the different religious groups, and not everyone agreed in taking a strongly interventionist role.[63] Some keepers refused to allow prayer meetings in their houses.[64] But kitchen services were fairly common. The presence of Pateman, and other

visitors with missionary intent, was a significant part of life in common lodging houses.

What was the effect of these visits? Sometimes lodging houses were materially altered. A makeshift chapel was set up in one house on Sundays with an altar, a choir curtain and a pulpit.[65] Religious tracts were often distributed. Accounts by religious workers stress the positive results of these endeavours. Yet according to some observers, the poor remained robustly impervious to persuasion. Mayhew, interviewing a pickpocket, was told that the lodgers at one house laughed at the tracts and lit their pipes with them.[66] However, the religious mission was not simply a matter of social control, or a means of class dominance. Many religious visitors – from the Salvation Army and Bible Women for example – were themselves working class.[67] There are also several reports of lodgers holding strong religious views. Theological discussion was reported as commonplace, although middle-class commentators were sceptical of its quality.[68] Pateman & Co. were forbidden from visiting two houses, not through being laughed out of the kitchen, but because of 'theological wranglings of a too animated kind having followed from the services'.[69]

The presence of the preachers and supporters, lengthy sermons, music and hymns, could sometimes be a significant disruption in the everyday routines of the houses. The Booth notebooks recount a visit to a mission service in a lodging house in Darly Row, just off Mile End Road, in March 1898. The reporter was struck by the contrast between the youthful and inexperienced preacher and the more seasoned lodgers: 'Poor young man! he got terribly muddled & went off at a tangent continually.'[70] Although he was accompanied by a small group of young men and women who brought a harmonium and sang hymns, the majority of the residents came and went during the long sermon, which coincided with dinner, and seemed oblivious to it. The reporter's sympathies lay with the kitchen's habitual residents: 'a man behind me, who was eating friend potatoes off a piece of newspaper, could not restrain a few grunting comments & I felt mortally inclined to wink at him but refrained'.[71] In this account, age and the desire for some peace in which to pursue basic pleasures, unite the lodger and the observer against the religious interlopers.

Aside from police inspectors and missionaries, common lodging houses saw many other visitors. From the early nineteenth century, a powerful tradition of urban spectatorship developed that constructed the street and home life of the London poor in literary culture. The mixed success of government and religious bodies to domesticate and control the common lodging house was paralleled by continued attempts to capture it on the printed page. Although this was a complex tradition made up of many voices, scholars have noted uniformity in the construction of the East End streetscape as threatening and other, yet simultaneously attractive to middle- and upper-class readers.[72] Within this fantasy of London's dark streets, the common lodging house stands

out as a fetid den of crime, sin and overflowing chamber pots. As Crook puts it, 'CLHs represented the absolute antithesis – the consummate "other" – of respectable bourgeois domesticity.'[73] Within accounts of the common lodging house, the living environment was given particular prominence. This emphasis seems rooted in a desire to contrast the ill-kempt lodging house with the plush, fully furnished and orderly middle-class home. For many writers these 'pillars of moral death' were the anti-domesticity.[74] 'Very few who have acclimatized ever go back to settled home life.'[75]

The rudimentary nature of the furniture was often emphasised – forms and tables are usually the sole items described.[76] The absence of crockery was frequently remarked.[77] Even when there *were* ornaments, or decoration, these could be morally suspect.[78] Daniel Joseph Kirwan, for example, in his highly fictionalised account of a visit to London in the 1860s, claims to have found prints of highwaymen, the hanging of a murderer and a print of his last speech.[79] Visual representations tended to show the kitchen as dark, crowded with bodies and hung with washing. Women and children often appeared, their emotive miseries drawing in the viewer, as in Figure 5.2.[80] These writers and illustrators were fascinated and appalled by activities that contravened what they understood to be the norms of civilised domestic life. The mass cooking of unfamiliar foodstuffs over smelly and smoky fires, especially the ubiquitous bloaters (smoked herring), and the rough and hasty enjoyment of these, all excited an outpouring of disgust.[81] There was often a sense of oppressive heat and choking tobacco smoke.[82] The houses were described as swarming with vermin.[83] Large, shared dormitories were a particular focus of criticism and repugnance.[84] Kirwan reported having been shown a dormitory into which at least 60 lodgers were crammed.[85] Of Beehive Chambers, near Brick Lane, it was stated that: 'The beds are narrow wooden structures about a foot high, and are packed so closely together that there is no room for a man to stand between them.'[86] In visual images of sleeping spaces in common lodging houses, it was usual to portray the large sleeping rooms – often disrupted by a night time visit from the police (see Figure 5.2). There was thus an emphasis on the disturbances and discomforts caused by the process of regulation and inspection.

A few lone voices *were* able to conceive of the common lodging house as a place of comfort, in which an individual lodger might be able to reside for a period of time, establish warm relations with other inhabitants and carry out little rituals around eating and sleeping that might be associated with the domesticities of the middle-class home. Longer discussions acknowledge that there were huge variations between lodging houses.[87] The minor poet Richard Rowe depicts London lodging houses in detail in *Picked Up on the Streets* (1880). Perhaps with some literary licence, the author portrays himself as a sometime vagrant, but he had indeed struggled, living in poverty in London in the 1860s before achieving some success as a writer.[88] According to Rowe, there were better

Figure 5.2 This illustration depicts the common lodging house as a space that was open to inspection and police intervention

houses with 'a degree of comfort' and 'dressers covered with white crockery'.[89] A sympathetic depiction of a Spitalfields house, published in *The Graphic* in 1886, stressed warmth and companionship in the kitchen: 'In the evening, then the inmates return from their lays or labours of the day, the scene in the kitchen is a busy one, and, as long as they are all sober, the good folks appear to live in a friendly, help-one-another sort of way, which makes it a rather pleasant dwelling place for all parties.'[90] A rare photograph of an unidentified house from the London City Mission Archives (Figure 5.3) also offers a different view of the common lodging house interior. The furniture is rudimentary, but the scene is one of order. The adult males seem respectably dressed, and sport bowler hats. There are numbered lockers for the lodgers. Gleaming copper pots line the top of mantel piece above a neat range, and a cat curled on the end of a bench imparts some idea of domestic comfort (or at the very least, a limit on the numbers of rats and mice in the lodging house). The photograph was probably taken by a missionary and efforts may have been made to present the house well for the image. Nonetheless, this scene of basic comforts and carefully maintained order is quite different from the bulk of representations of the common lodging house.

For the most part, commentators viewed the lodging houses as a space that had been controlled and regulated with some success.[91] But for many this very

Figure 5.3   This lantern slide from the London City Mission reveals a well-cared for and orderly common lodging house

regulation ultimately compromised any sense of domesticity. The institutional overtones are strongly apparent in Booth (1892) who describes: 'rows of small iron bedsteads, arranged as in hospital wards'.[92] In T. W. Wilkinson's early twentieth-century account of a lodging-house interior, institutionalisation has rendered it austere: 'Bareness is its key-note: no curtains or blinds to the window, no covering of any kind on the well scrubbed floor, no pictures on the walls, which are unrelieved whitewash except for a County Council notice and a number at the head of each bed.'[93] Rowe was one of the few able to imagine an intermingling of regulation and domesticity. For most, tickets in bedrooms were the ultimate symbol of control. Rowe, however, notes that 'in the more comfortable houses it is enclosed in a little gilt frame'.[94] Regulation is thus tamed and domesticated through its literal imprisonment in a bourgeois household item. But his account is unusual. Most contemporary writers on the common lodging house were unable to imagine it as domestic. Yet as we will see, the material realities of life in these places were often quite different from their depictions.

Parker and Charles Street, Wentworth Street and Mill Lane

This late nineteenth-century photograph of the entrance to Mill Lane from Broadway in Deptford shows a row of small two-storey terraced houses, three displaying signs for beds and chambers. Mill Lane was notorious for its common lodging houses in the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 5.4). The photographer's arrival was clearly an event and a large group has assembled; there are a number of curious boys and several men stand outside the buildings. The boys in the front of the picture have probably been asked to pose, but it is unclear whether the rest of the crowd has been solicited. The posture of the men on the right, standing beneath one of the lodging-house signs, seems combative, perhaps expressing resentment at the photographer's intrusion into their world. The photograph was taken shortly before this part of Mill Lane was demolished, and the residents may well have been aware of this. The men are well dressed. One wears a clean and crisp white shirt, enhanced by a lace curtain hanging in the window above. The sense of cleanliness and

Figure 5.4 Residents confront a photographer on Mill Lane, a Deptford street notorious for its common lodging houses

respectability is at odds with the street's reputation as one of the worst in London. This rare image offers a glimpse of Mill Lane before its partial demolition in the 1890s, and seems to offer a very different picture of the inhabitants and material culture of common lodging houses to the predominantly middle-class narratives that we have just explored.

What were common lodging houses like as physical spaces, how many rooms did they have, and who lived in them? How did they match up to legislation and attempts to control them? The next part of this chapter considers these questions through a study of four London streets, all notorious for common lodging houses. Mill Lane in Deptford, Wentworth Street in Spitalfields and Parker Street and Charles Street (the latter called Macklin Street from around 1878) just off Drury Lane in Covent Garden were well known to philanthropists and 'slummers'. All four streets figured on Mayhew's 1851 list of areas of low lodging houses, with the parish of St Giles in the Fields where Parker and Charles Street were located and Wentworth Street noted by Mayhew as the worst areas.[95] According to a journalist writing for *St James Magazine* in 1868, these two places were the worst for 'filth and immorality – so bad I can only hint at it'.[96] All three areas were subject to sustained governmental attempts at control. As a part of the 1877 Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) scheme, Wentworth Street was widened in late 1870s and 1880s.[97] The MBW also set in train a plan to clear Parker Street, that was taken forward by the new London County Council (LCC) in 1889. In the 1890s, the LCC got to work on clearing Mill Lane, and in 1899 the Booth Survey found that the west side of the street had been demolished, although the 'prostitutes and bullies' in houses on the east side remained.[98] Before these efforts, common lodging houses in all three areas were inspected by the London Metropolitan Police from the Acts in the 1850s, before the LCC took this over in 1894.[99] The inspection records that were created by the Met., in combination with the census and archaeological findings from what was probably a lodging house on Gun Street in the East End, can be used to reveal their spatial character, occupants and material culture.

When the police registered these houses, they recorded the keeper's details, the house address, the number of rooms, their position and function, and how many lodgers were allowed in each bedroom or dormitory.[100] While there were limits to the implementation of the legislation, these records show that at least a substantial proportion of lodging houses in these three problem areas were registered for inspection. Eighty-six houses on the chosen streets were entered during this period. Once a house was on the books, the police inspected it on a regular basis, but the registers only record the stipulations that keepers were supposed to adhere to when a licence was granted. Thirty-eight inspections took place on Wentworth Street, 32 on the streets off Drury Lane and 20 on smaller Mill Lane. For the most part, the police recorded rooms for lodgers

only, not those occupied by keepers and families, although it was often felt necessary to include the kitchen (64 were noted overall) as this was the major communal space.[101] The individuals listed as 'keepers' could be registered with several houses, as the registration defined the 'keeper' as the owner rather than the manager of the property. Around 123 individual 'keepers' were listed in total, and 53 of these people owned more than one house.[102] The majority lived onsite or locally and were probably involved in day-to-day management, while a minority were based further away and must have delegated from a distance. Mill Lane had fewer 'distance' keepers, perhaps because its houses were smaller. Thirty-one keepers were women, roughly evenly distributed across the three areas, although it is likely women were also involved as deputies and managers. In total, 597 rooms were inspected, and the average mean number of rooms per lodging house was seven,[103] while the lodgers permitted per house averaged at 26. Within this there was a lot of variation – the maximum number of lodgers allowed in a house was 115 and the minimum was seven. Even so, only a very small number of houses were large enough to accommodate the hordes of lodgers that were often evoked in press representations.

The police registers allow us to form an idea of the size of the lodging houses in these three areas and the spatial distribution of the lodgers within them (or at least, how many were allowed to stay by the police). This was dictated in part by the architectural style of the houses – the smaller cottages on Mill Lane were probably put up during Deptford's eighteenth-century building boom which provided accommodation for dockyard workers.[104] Parker Street had larger eighteenth-century terraced houses.[105] For the Covent Garden streets, the mean number of lodging rooms per house here was eight, with an average of five sleepers in each room. In contrast, the houses on Wentworth Street tended to be smaller. Here there were six rooms for lodgers per house on average, and four people per room. The establishments on Mill Lane were smaller still, with an average of three lodgers per room. If two unusually large houses are discounted, most had four or five lodging rooms. On the Covent Garden streets, and Wentworth Street, lodging rooms were roughly evenly distributed over four floors. Mill Lane, on the other hand, had no third-floor rooms and only 25 rooms were on the second floor. So these houses were lower, with fewer storeys. On all four streets, there was a tendency for lodging houses to be bunched together. Mill Lane houses were clustered at Nos. 10–12, 16–18 and 5–8 (later recorded as a single house). On Charles Street, houses were often grouped in threes, and those on Wentworth Street were similarly placed. Sometimes these small groups of houses had the same owner, or were interlinked at the back with a yard in common, where toilet and washing facilities were located.[106] Quite often, linked houses shared a kitchen.

Inspection records show that large common-lodging-house sleeping chambers or dormitories, crammed full of bodies side-by-side, of the sort that outraged

commentators, were rare. In the 86 inspected lodging houses, there were only ten rooms that allowed more than ten sleepers. These rooms were concentrated in five houses – a small minority. Overall, only about 23% of rooms inspected took more than six lodgers. Again, the trend was more pronounced in Deptford with only 13 out of 100 rooms housing over six. Sixty-three per cent of rooms across the sample as a whole slept between one and five.[107] Moreover, 34% of rooms were for between one and three people, including over half of those on Mill Lane. In total, 12% of the rooms recorded overall were for just two people, with 24 in the Deptford group.[108] Of course, we need to remember that the larger rooms housed more people. But these findings challenge assumptions made by contemporary commentators. The presence of many small rooms that could be shared by just a few others has important implications for the extent to which privacy was possible within the house as a communal space, and how the distribution of rooms shaped lodgers' relationships.

Furthermore, the houses were not always filled to capacity. Fifty-four of those registered with the police in 1861 can also be located in the census for that year. The 29 registered houses on Wentworth Street that appear in the census were allowed 719 lodgers in total by the police, but there were only 519 residents recorded in the census, of whom only 376 were specified as lodgers. The census enumerators did not always accurately record who was and who was not a lodger but on this basis it is possible that only 53% of places for lodgers were filled at this point. The 19 Covent Garden houses that appear in the census display a similar trend: 681 lodgers were allowed by the registers, 462 residents were recorded in the census of whom 384 were specified as lodgers. Only six registered houses on Mill Lane were detected in the census, and all of these, with one exception, were operating considerably under capacity. One house was completely empty of lodgers. There may have been some seasonal variation, but the census was deliberately taken in March or April to avoid the harvest migration.[109] It is also possible that London's floating population of lodgers had diminished since the 1850s when the majority of houses in this survey were registered. While the Irish famine of the 1840s and 1850s drove many to England, the number of Irish-born settlers in London reduced in the 1860s and 1870s, after peaking in 1851.[110] As the housing crisis became more acute in the 1870s and 1880s, the houses may have filled up again. But at this point, in the 1860s, they appear to have been relatively sparsely populated – a far cry from the overcrowded stereotypes of the commentators.

So who were the residents of common lodging houses? The census shows that the largest occupational group in all three areas was that of labourer – Wentworth Street and Mill Lane had large numbers of dockyard or dock labourers. Hawkers and dealers were plentiful, as were skilled artisans. A few Wentworth Street lodgers had perhaps seen better days – three clerks and a barrister were listed. Twenty-five per cent of residents listed as lodgers in all three

areas were female – a higher percentage than sometimes supposed. There were more women living in the Covent Garden houses – 35% of lodgers were female. In contrast, only 7% of Wentworth Street's paying residents were women. This may have been down to greater working opportunities in the Drury Lane area, in the fruit and vegetable market as well the theatre. A minority of lodgers were registered as married, and just under half of these were living as married couples.[111] Eight per cent of lodgers in Covent Garden were residing as legally wed pairs. Presumably there would also have been a number of couples in longstanding relationships who were not officially married (see third section for discussion). In contrast to the entries for Covent Garden and Spitalfields, that tended to distinguish between lodgers and keepers, the Mill Lane residents were recorded more idiosyncratically – with three of the six houses having lodgers, boarders and multiple heads of household all listed. The decision to split the lodgers into multiple family groups makes it more possible to see the presence of families in these houses. In the big conglomerate house at 5–8 Mill Lane, 62% of residents were living in family groups. There were several instances of both male and female single-parent families, for example Margaret Earby, a widowed milliner, lived there with her five daughters (who were aged seven and under). The presence of small family groups contrasts with the idea of the lodging house as a den of iniquity that created lodgers who were unable to return to normal family life – if anything this particular lodging house may have offered some support for those trying to make it by themselves, or single parents with dependent children in tow.

But what was actually inside the houses? Long since demolished, we know little of the buildings themselves other than what survives in the odd photograph. Recent archaeological work, however, shows that it is sometimes possible to capture the lost material worlds of the nineteenth-century poor and transient. Alastair Owens, Nigel Jeffries, Karen Wehner and Rupert Featherby point out that archaeology has been used to challenge strongly negative middle-class representations of the slums in North America and Australia.[112] In their ground-breaking piece on the everyday material culture of the poor in Victorian London, they explore the contents of two Limehouse privy deposits.[113] The large range of crockery and sometimes puzzling and surprising items they uncover are very much at odds with the usual representation of the poor as drunken, dirty and careless. Thanks to a recent find, this approach can also be applied to the common lodging house. A cesspit from No. 7 Gun Street in Spitalfields, excavated by Pre-Construct Archaeology and analysed by Chris Jarrett, is now housed at Museum of London Archaeology.[114] The find contains a large amount of pottery and was probably deposited between 1860 and 1880.[115] No.7 was registered with the police between 1864 and 1894 and it is likely that the find relates to the time when the house was a common lodging house.[116]

Although only a couple of blocks away from Wentworth Street, Gun Street had a different character, especially in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1841, it had 12 small businesses successful enough to make it into the Post Office trade directory.[117] (Much longer Wentworth Street had only five, as well as its four public houses.)[118] It seems to have remained prosperous in the following decades; an 1884 Business Directory lists 15 small businesses.[119] Common lodging houses were first registered on the street in 1854, when Nos. 48, 49 and 50 were recorded with 'Keeper' James Sainsbury who lived at 48.[120] The individual houses were not large but taken together they accommodated around 100 lodgers and were a significant presence on the street.[121] No. 7 was registered by Sainsbury in 1864 (by then he was living in Surrey), before being sold on several times in the following decades.[122] It was quite extensive, with eight rooms over four storeys. There were two rooms on each of the upper storeys, accommodating five and eight lodgers each. The kitchen was on the ground floor, where there also seems to have been an additional common room. Overall, it appears to have been slightly larger and smarter than the houses on Wentworth Street.

While there are limits to the possibilities of reading the archaeological record for the purposes of cultural and social history, some speculative points may be made on a basis of the finds from Gun Street. First, the sheer range of goods – ranging from the decorative to the functional and including glasses, tea things and serving dishes – is far larger and more impressive than the depictions of the common lodging houses in most of the literature of the period. Some goods may have been purely for decoration, including the arm of a figurine and what may have been part of a model lighthouse. Apparently functional goods may also have been used for display. Two small plates, printed with a mauve floral design, are untarnished and could have been set out on a dresser. The majority of sherds unearthed were for refined whiteware with blue-transfer printed decoration. Most impressive of these was a square shaped teapot with blue-transfer printed decoration depicting an English rural scene that includes a cottage and church, and a large chamber pot (see Figure 5.5). While there is no way of telling whether these things belonged to lodgers or keepers, the kinds of goods that survive are suggestive in themselves. There was some glassware that might have been used for alcoholic drinks. But as Owens et al. also found at Limehouse, the main functional group within the crockery as a whole was tea ware.[123] There were also a large number of serving platters, raising the possibility that the lodgers ate together. Indeed, Jeffries, ceramics specialist at Museum of London Archaeology, argues that there is a degree of uniformity in the decoration of these goods that suggests some care had gone into their selection.[124] While it is unclear what the lodgers may have made of these things, these finds suggest that the material world of the common lodging house could have been considerably more varied and rich than contemporary commentators allowed.

Figure 5.5   A chamber pot, probably from a lodging house on Gun Street

All things in common?

What, then, was the nature of life in common lodging houses? In Walkowitz's study of the representation of the Jack the Ripper narrative, she reveals how discussion of the murdered women's lives also earthed up the 'truths and fictions' of the East End poor, although media discourses were dominated by the voices of the professional male middle classes.[125] Such stories can also be found for the common lodging house. An understanding of how the residents – keepers, deputies, servants and lodgers – experienced these spaces, as distinct from the powerful narratives constructed by those who tried to observe and control them can be gleaned from official records. In particular, court cases tried at the Old Bailey sometimes throw light on common lodging houses and their occupants; and coroners' reports, made as a part of inquests into unusual or unexpected deaths, can also tell us about these environments. As might be expected, these records highlight violence and danger. Lodging-house kitchens often saw brawls between men and, sometimes, women.[126] Extreme violence sometimes resulted in death.[127] Nonetheless, these sources can show how lodgers negotiated their day-to-day existences.

While it was often difficult to keep hold of personal possessions, experienced lodgers developed strategies to deal with this.[128] Although residents sometimes had access to a locker, these were not impenetrable. At the lodging house at 19

Brick Lane, a 1913 court case revealed that the individual keys could open multiple lockers.[129] In the house at 36 Balls Pond Road, widow and manager Mary Eldridge, giving evidence in a case in 1895, explained that the four lodgers in one of her rooms had the use of a locked cupboard, but that the key was hidden at the back of the room's washstand, potentially discoverable by anyone who came into the open room.[130] As we have seen, rooms for small numbers of people or couples were quite frequent but were not necessarily private or safe. The most secure spaces were perhaps beds – and this was often where lodgers tried to hide illicit items. But it was difficult to conceal goods. In the Balls Pond Road case, the thief was discovered when it was found he had pawn tickets for stolen goods rolled up in a blanket between the bed and the mattress.[131] A sharp-eyed lodger at Gibraltar Chambers in East London in 1909 spotted a stolen pair of trousers under a fellow resident's pillow.[132] If keepers and staff fulfilled their cleaning duties, objects were quickly found. At the Belvedere lodging house in Lambeth in 1890, the weekly Monday mattress turn revealed a counterfeiters' papers.[133]

Under threat, lodgers developed strategies to keep hold of their things. Keepers or deputies or their families were asked to take charge of money or goods. The daughter of the managers of a sailors' house in Poplar noted that her parents held a list of 45 objects kept for sailors.[134] Often, the only way to make sure goods were safe was to secure them close to the body, so that any movement would be detected during the night. In 1864, in a house on Circus Street in South East London, a man had attempted to conceal his money by tying it up in a shirt in bed with him – the ploy failed, and he was murdered for the cash.[135] Terence Horsley, a writer who spent many nights in 'kip houses' in the 1920s (possibly to obtain material), tells of a culture in which new entrants were closely watched when they disrobed. Those in the know would apparently place their boots under their front bedposts, so they could not be removed during the night.[136] Like many commentators, Horsley emphasises the criminality of lodgers. But not every house felt so insecure.

Many lodgers were long-term residents, not nightly sojourners, and inhabited known communities. Charles Delurey, tried for breaking the peace and wounding in Vauxhall Chambers, a common lodging house on Wandsworth Road, in 1906 stated that 'I belong to the fivepenny kitchen',[137] as lodging houses were often known.[138] Delurey's words express identification with the place and a sense of belonging. Despite the fact that CLHs rented their rooms for a night or sometimes for a week, other cases reveal that some lodgers either stayed for long periods or returned on a regular basis. Owen Williams, for example, whose death was the subject of an inquest in 1894, resided on and off at a lodging house on Brick Lane for seven years.[139] Mary Roger, landlady of a house on Keate Street in Spitalfields, was interviewed as part of an Old Bailey trial for robbery and violent theft in 1854. She made a distinction between

two lodgers: one, whom she knew well, had been in the house for four years; the other, a soldier, had stayed only for a few nights.[140] The soldier, also interviewed, stated of the other lodgers: 'I did not want to know them, because I was a stranger there.' Common lodging houses, then, had two types of resident: strangers who were passing through, but also lodgers who had long-term relationships with the houses and knew keepers, deputies, and other lodgers well.

Within this known social world, there was often an established group culture – in the shared kitchen lodgers could not help but survey each other's actions – and the morals of the group might lead to intervention or disciplinary action. Keepers and deputies could intercede in lodger affairs. For example, in 1889, Mary Price, deputy of 39 Flower and Dean Street, notified the police about a neglected infant.[141] Such decisions were often supported and sanctioned by the collective agreement of the lodgers. (Indeed, we might argue that the power of keepers lay in the tacit agreement of their lodgers.) Price was supported in her decision by the other women in the house, who had helped care for and feed the baby in the communal kitchen.[142] When keeper Johanna Lee turned away a man with a female child who had requested a bed, the lodgers, 'pitched into him and pulled him about'.[143] Sometimes, a lodger might intervene to protect someone – as Joseph Plummer did when a fellow lodger struck a child in the kitchen of the lodging house at 8 Mill Lane. These incidents reveal that there were expectations about decent behaviour in the common lodging house and, in particular, collective action was sometimes taken to protect children.

In the hand-to-mouth world of the common lodging house, food was of central importance. The collective life of the house was to a certain extent a mutual support network that meant sharing basic foodstuffs if some inmates were going hungry. In his study of philanthropy in nineteenth-century society, Frank Prochaska argues that an important part of this was the kindness of families and neighbours in working-class communities, who might offer each other casual, mutual favours in difficult circumstances.[144] He contends that charitable acts should not necessarily be seen as class specific, but were part of a wider Christian benevolent culture that crossed class lines.[145] Evelyn March Phillips, a lady philanthropist who ran a lodging house near the docks, was impressed by this: 'One cannot help noting their kindness to one another; it is very much a case of "all things in common", and when work is slack, the unsuccessful seekers are often kept going for days together by their more fortunate mates.'[146] Other middle-class observers were also surprised by the generosity of supposedly depraved lodgers when they shared food.[147] In 1881, there was an inquest into the death of 33-year-old street vendor Charles Slater, who had died in a Whitechapel lodging house.[148] He had apparently been living in the house for ten years but had lately been unable to find work. The other lodgers had given him food 'frequently'. But despite these small interventions the coroner found the cause of death to be destitution and starvation. Other lodgers clearly tried

to help their fellows – but their scant resources (and perhaps their willingness) had limits. Slater was just one of a number of cases of death from starvation in common lodging houses.[149] In some houses, the support network went well beyond one individual simply helping another out. In 1846 it was reported that a subscription was raised for an old man on his deathbed in a common lodging house in The Mint.[150] Henry Mayhew's description of The Farm, a large, well-known lodging house in nearby Borough, describes a scheme in which residents paid 1d. for newspapers and the surplus was used to support members in sickness.[151]

Strong bonds could also be formed between individual lodgers. Commentators often deplored common lodging houses because they were seen to allow prostitution and casual sexuality. The double beds that a couple could rent for the night symbolised brief sexual encounters. But long-term relationships between men and women were common. Such partnerships or common-law marriages were doubtless facilitated by the large numbers of small rooms for two or three people that were available in common lodging houses, affording a degree of privacy. Walkowitz points out that the press coverage of the women killed in the Jack the Ripper cases reveals that the women often had lovers with whom they shared food and money, and could form powerful emotional ties.[152] Reports of cases of murdered female lodgers, which describe their lives in detail, show how this could work. Catherine Eddowes (or Conway) and John Kelly had been together for seven years.[153] Their relationship had no permanent base – instead they struggled to maintain it as both moved from place to place to survive. On the night before her death, Eddowes stayed in the Mile End casual ward while Kelly was alone in the lodging house, the couple not having sufficient resources for both to stay. The next day, he pawned his boots so that they might have tea, sugar and some food. Despite such trials the couple apparently had 'passed as man and wife and lived on very good terms'. Alice M'Kenzie, who it was later proved was not murdered by the Ripper, lived with a John McCormack, 'as man and wife', for six years.[154] The couple occupied a room at 54 Gun Street, where he was a porter, and she made a living cleaning. They operated as a single financial unit, sharing the rent, and he referred to her as 'my old woman'.

The common lodging house could offer an alternative to working-class married women trapped in difficult relationships. The history of Elizabeth Stride, also known as Long Liz, another Ripper victim, is of interest here. Stride was well known at the lodging house where she resided at the time of her death, as she came there often when her husband, who drank, became too difficult: 'she was subject to go away like that at times when she thought she would like to'.[155] She was made to feel welcome and achieved some financial independence there as she was paid for cleaning when the house was whitewashed. Some of the other residents had become friends and, when she died, a friend

in the house was keeping some velvet for her and had also borrowed a clothes brush.[156] The picture is one of a supportive environment and one in which female lodgers were well enough off to take an interest in the small material details of their appearance. The clothes brush in particular signifies the daily care and effort required to keep neat and clean and suggests quite high personal standards. Far from the dens of sexual iniquity portrayed by some commentators, this house offered Stride support and some freedom to escape a domestic world that was far worse.

Moral intervention and protection had its limits. Sometimes, lodgers turned blind eyes to extreme violence at very close quarters. An 1881 Old Bailey trial revealed that Thomas Brown, a resident of a common lodging house on Union Street in Borough, had repeatedly hit his common-law-wife in the shared kitchen – here she had fallen against one of the heavy kitchen forms, probably sustaining head injuries. She left to go to their room; he later followed her and ten minutes later she was dead.[157] This extreme domestic violence took place within the packed lodging-house kitchen (there were apparently 30 or 40 lodgers present) and little was done to intervene. One witness stated that one man had made a move to try and stop things but he had, himself, held back: 'sometimes if you interfere between a man and his wife then you get the worst of it yourself – that was why I did not interfere'. As Ellen Ross has shown, domestic violence could be quite common in working-class households.[158] This acceptance in part explains the lack of intervention. But it also suggests an acknowledgement of boundaries within the common lodging house. Relationships between husbands and wives were in a sense perceived as private and something that other lodgers should not intrude on, despite their very public performance in the open space of the lodging-house kitchen.

Food was not only shared in times of hardship but could play a vital role in cementing relationships between lodgers. The author of *History of a Wasted Life* (1853) was struck by the offer of food from a stranger in the kitchen of a Charles Street lodging house.[159] Such small hospitalities played in important role in forging alliances. Drink, which was easier to afford, seems to have been frequently offered between lodgers. Charles Delurey, who lived in Vauxhall Chambers on Wandsworth Road in the early twentieth century, explained at his trial that he had prepared a cup of tea in the kitchen of the house and also made one for another man who was there.[160] Pints of ale were often brought in and shared. Offering a drink was a kind of small-scale hospitality that even a poor lodger could command – and one that might be used to signify masculine fellowship. Equally, as we saw in the opening anecdote to this chapter, spurning a drink could signal a refusal of a relationship. Food also often played a part in celebrations and could be surprisingly lavish. At the house on Keate Street in Spitalfields in 1854, the landlady served the lodgers beeftsteak and a pot of ale for supper – but one of these men was a soldier, on leave with money in his

pocket.[161] At collective celebrations, a shared contribution might acquire special luxuries or foodstuffs. The press and commentators remarked disapprovingly of 'free-and-easies' in the lodging houses but the words of a boy resident, interviewed in the *Ragged School Union Magazine* in 1850 suggest something of their pleasures: 'they are going to have a good large plum pudding and plenty of beer. There will be a nice lark then.'[162] These provisions were bought collectively, with each man putting six pence into a shared pot. Such events must have been a high point in lodgers' daily struggle for survival.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, common lodging houses were increasingly institutionalised in the sense that they were brought under closer regulation by the state. Frequently inspected, the houses were spatially ordered and forced to conform to basic material standards. Although common lodging houses were one of the few areas of working-class housing in which the state was prepared to unequivocally intervene, this was not a simple story of the growth of governmental power. Once in action, the laws were subject to evasion, the limits of police resources, and the latent resistance inherent in the insanitary and often crumbling material edifices. Like the identities of the men and boys hanging around outside the Mill Lane lodging houses in the photograph, the thoughts and feelings of those who actually lived within the walls of such places remain elusive. But it is possible to piece together their spatial organisation and the bodies that inhabited them through police and census records. The evidence from Deptford, Spitalfields and Covent Garden reveals houses that were smaller, had more private space, and were less crowded than their depiction in contemporary commentary. Archaeology also suggests that their material worlds could be surprisingly rich. Court records and police reports can take us some way to the culture of the lodgers themselves. To a certain extent, the common lodging houses boasted a material culture in common. It is clear that in the houses there was a far richer culture of mutual support, protection and hospitality than their predominantly middle-class critics were able to acknowledge.

6
Model Lodging Houses

In 1899, a *Daily Mail* journalist visited the new Rowton House at King's Cross, a 'six-penny hotel' for working men, set up by the Tory paternalist Lord Rowton and his company.[1] He was impressed:

> It is the palace of a thousand windows, or surely approaching the number. At night time this huge red-brick building gleams with myriad eyes upon its grey environments. Inside it is a triumph of enamelled brick, broad stone stairs, spacious rooms, smartly varnished cubicles, and gigantic lavatories.[2]

The piece went on to describe 'a large, well-furnished library, where the heads of two stags, shot by Lord Rowton, look tenderly down from the distempered walls, liberally relieved by etchings and engravings of a most artistic type.'[3] The depiction is a mixture of the institutional and the domestic. The cubicles and lavatories offer mass provision according to new ideas of hygiene, while the watching windows seem to signify a community that looks in on itself. But the library has been carefully furnished and there are high-end engravings. On all this, the stags' heads, classic symbols of middle- and upper-class late Victorian domestic masculinity, look 'tenderly' down – a symbol of the care and attention lavished on the place. The King's Cross Rowton House was one of six houses that were established across the capital in the 1890s and 1900s. They were, however, the outcome of a much longer trend in the provision of model lodgings for working-class single men.

One solution to the problem of housing for the poor was to provide alternative accommodation. In the first half of the century, a number of different philanthropic societies concerned themselves with this. They were often driven by religious ideals, but sought to help, not through charitable handouts, but by creating utilitarian, self-sustaining projects that paid their own way. Two societies in particular began to establish model dwellings for the poor: the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes (founded in 1830) and

the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes (founded 1841).[4] Such dwellings were 'model' in that they offered both an improved standard of living for their occupants and an example for other organisers to follow. At mid-century, they were popularised by a display at the Great Exhibition, patronised by Prince Albert.[5] The 1860s saw the foundation of the Peabody Trust and Sir Sidney Waterlow's Improved Industrial Dwellings Co.[6] These efforts were not solely charitable and often offered a small return to investors – sometimes called 5% philanthropy.[7] For the most part, these schemes provided housing for families. Anthony Wohl argues that the impact of such model dwellings was relatively small – by 1875 they housed less than 33,000 people and were for mainly affordable to artisans rather than the labouring poor.[8] Indeed, the situation for the very poor in London had worsened considerably by the 1880s, thanks to an increasing population, the space taken up by the new railways, demolition for sanitation, and large increases in rent.[9] It became clear that the model dwellings did not offer a satisfactory solution. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the London County Council (LCC) began to build houses for the working classes, rather than looking to private companies to fill this gap.[10]

This chapter focuses on the model and semi-philanthropic lodging houses that were provided for single men in the capital from the 1840s to the early twentieth century. Working men, who had to live in the capital but whose wages were inadequate for decent accommodation, were seen as especially in need of assistance.[11] As we have seen, common-lodging houses, where such men often ended up, excited a great deal of anxiety and fear. The model houses were a direct attempt to provide a different way of life. In particular, the chapter examines four of the houses built and maintained by the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes (SICLC) from the 1840s alongside later efforts, including the Victoria Homes in the East End and the large-scale institutional lodging houses built by the company founded by Lord Rowton and by the LCC. In 1846, SICLC built a model lodging house on George Street in Bloomsbury.[12] It was designed by Henry Roberts and could house 140 men.[13] The following year, the society converted three adjoining houses in Charles Street, just off Drury Lane, to create a model house for 80 working men.[14] In 1849, a group of existing common-lodging houses at 27 King Street (off Drury Lane) were transformed into a 'salubrious dwelling' for 40 men or boys.[15] In the 1850s, SICLIC converted 76 Hatton Garden (at first an unsuccessful lodging house for women) to house up to 54 single men. Later in the century, larger establishments known as Victoria Homes were opened by a group of philanthropic businessmen led by Lord Radstock.[16] In 1887, two institutions were opened at 39 and 41 Commercial Street and 177 Whitechapel Road in 1887.[17] The two houses had one manager and contained 1,160 beds between them.[18] The trend for larger houses was continued by the

foundation of the first Rowton House at Vauxhall in 1892. It was followed by five, successively larger, houses at King's Cross (1896), Newington Butts (1897), Hammersmith (1899), Whitechapel (1902) and Camden Town (1905), which alone contained over 1,000 beds.[19] The LCC opened its own large institutional lodging house on Parker Street in Covent Garden in 1893, housing 350 men. In the twentieth century, the Council opened two bigger houses, in response to the need for housing in recently cleared slum areas. Carrington House was established in 1903 on the site of demolished common-lodging houses on Mill Lane in Deptford. Bruce House was built just off new Kingsway, Holborn, in 1906. While the Rowton and LCC houses claimed not to be in competition, in the 1890s the Rowton company fought and won a legal battle not to be inspected by the LCC, marking the houses out as hotels and distinguishing them from common-lodging houses.[20]

By the end of the nineteenth century these models housed thousands of working men in the capital. They offer an example of the mixed provision of institutions, by charitable groups, the semi-philanthropic efforts of low-profit companies and noble patrons, and later by municipal government via the LCC. It was important to the founders of the SICLC houses that they should be financially independent. As a commentary in *The Builder* put it, 'it is manifest that, in order to be permanent and really utilitarian, all such institutions must be self-supporting'.[21] The Victoria Homes and Rowton Houses shared this aim. In contrast, the LCC houses were a direct result of local government intervention and one of a range of new initiatives that attempted to use municipal government to solve urban problems.[22] But they too were supposed to be financially self-sustaining. These model lodging houses could not solve the problem of working-class accommodation alone; relatively few were built and they were too expensive for the very poor. But opening up their doors shows the kind of material environments that predominantly middle- and upper-class organisations thought were appropriate for working men.

Historians writing on the provision of housing for the poor have seen it primarily as a means of social control.[23] For Jerry White, 'the provision of social housing was an explicit form of social imperialism'.[24] The imposition of middle-class standards in model lodging houses was of course a form of control. Yet domesticity also brought comfort, security and even democracy. More recently, historians of the modern city have looked to the mentalité of the philosophers, engineers and sanitarians who sought to shape urban space, arguing that there was a shared belief in the power of the material environment as a means of self-improvement.[25] Materiality itself could be deployed to shape human agency.[26] Significantly, however, it is argued that the underlying philosophy behind such works was not control per se, but the achievement of disciplined freedom.[27] Certainly these spaces were monitored, tightly timetabled and constructed to encourage decorous behaviour and regular washing.

And this was perceived as emancipatory by some lodgers. Yet the emotional life that emerged in these institutions was shaped, in the final analysis, as much by the bodies and social behaviour of the men themselves as the spaces and material objects that were provided for them – what materialised was a distinctive experience characterised by the need to negotiate security and come to terms with the presence of others.

Building homes for working men

In 1899, W.A. Somerville, sometime resident of the Rowton House at King's Cross, recalled that on the dining room walls there hung 'a picture, in colours, of two monks eating macaroni'.[28] The image might have been intended to serve as an example of the kind of quiet domesticity that was possible in all-male institutions. From their foundation, model houses for men were influenced by contemporary ideas of the home. The language of comfort, security and cheerfulness permeated discussion about them in the press. An early report on the King Street house in *The Builder* claimed, 'every means has been taken to ensure the health and comfort of the inmates.'[29] When the Rowton houses were opened in the 1890s, they were repeatedly characterised as 'cheerful' and 'homely'.[30] Even in the *The Lancet*'s ostensibly sanitary reports, the 'homely' nature of the interiors was stressed. For the Vauxhall Rowton it was claimed that 'No one can enter [the House] without being gratified with the inviting appearance of homeliness, comfort and trust which are so pre-eminently the characteristics of everything in this [reading] room.'[31] They were not simply places of temporary accommodation, but were thought to foster appropriate values and behaviour through their environments. This was evident in the way the later institutions were named. Following the much earlier Sailor's Home, the Victoria Homes made the link explicit in their nomenclature.[32] SICLC's 1890s model dwellings for men were called Ashley and Shaftesbury Chambers, deliberately linking with the upmarket bachelor chambers established in the West End.[33] Rowton, meanwhile, insisted that the Houses were known as hotels for working men – in an effort to present them as spaces for dignified, independent labourers rather than as charity recipients.[34]

As with the early asylums, in the first SICLIC establishments, comfort was thought to lie in the provision of basics. A mid-century illustration of the 'coffee-room' in the George Street house (Figure 6.1) shows a spacious, well-lit, but Spartan interior decorated only by a single picture above the mantelpiece and pegs for the men's hats and coats. A former inmate, writing anonymously in *The Builder*, found that the attraction of the house lay not in decoration but in the re-assuring solidity of the furnishings. 'All is solid here', he wrote. The coffee-room, 'a goodly oblong space' with 'four ranges of brown-faced and stout framed tables', was particularly praised.[35] Although there were few ornaments,

there was an awareness that some domestic touches were worthwhile. At No. 76 Hatton Gardens, an observer noted the 'care which has been taken to place geraniums, mignonette, and other flowering plants, in the windows: these little matters cause no great expense, and are a source of great pleasure'.[36] Window boxes were a frequent fixture in London pubs and may have been an attempt to make the men feel at home, without being overly feminine.[37] Less effort was made in the converted warehouses that housed the Victoria Homes, which had little decoration other than the printed rules hung in the kitchen.[38] Nonetheless, when the Whitechapel Victoria Home was photographed for George Sim's *Living London* (Figure 6.2), the lodgers were portrayed clutching reluctant cats, probably pets of the house. The image attempts to imbue the rather austere space with some warmth and humour.

The creation of domesticity through decoration was taken much further in the interiors of the Rowton and LCC Houses. In day time, lodgers had the run of dining rooms, reading and writing rooms and smoking rooms. While the furniture was not elaborate, the dining-room chairs and tables were of high-quality and hard-wearing teak.[39] There were many pictures and framed engravings. The interiors of the LCC houses were less elaborate, and were

MODEL LODGING HOUSE, GEORGE STREET, ST. GILES'S.

No. 1. BEDROOM.   No. 3. WATER CLOSET.   No. 5. SAFE.   No. 7. COFFEE-ROOM.
2. WASH-HAND STANDS,   4. LIBRARY.   6. WASH HOUSE.   8. KITCHEN.
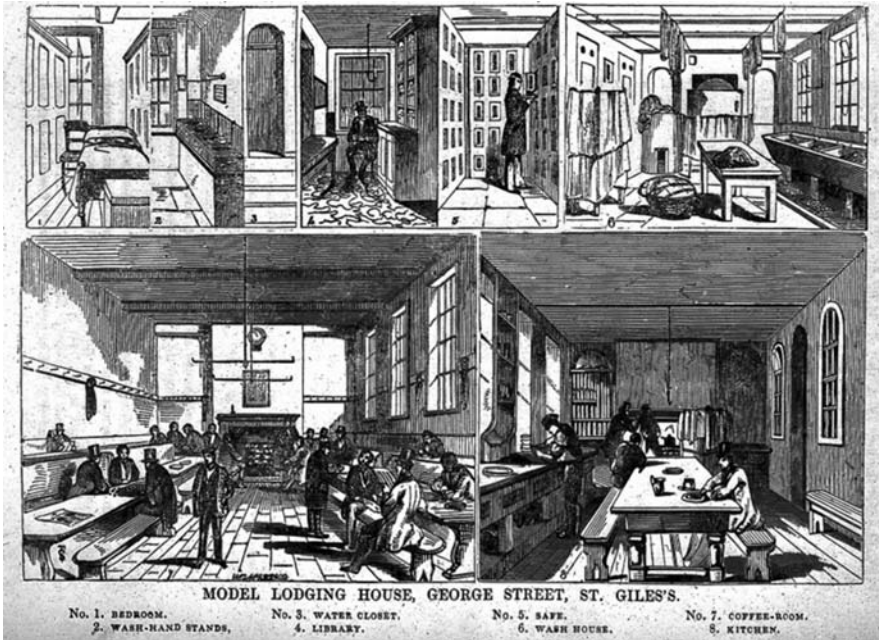
Figure 6.1   This illustration of the model lodging house on George Street offers an idealised vision of how such an institution should be run

VICTORIA HOME (WHITECHAPEL): KITCHEN.

Figure 6.2   This austere photograph of the Whitechapel Victoria Home has been softened by the presence of cats, held by the lodgers in the foreground

probably more constrained by the limits of ratepayers' purses.[40] But in their early years, many small purchases added to the domestic qualities of the interior. In 1893, the Parker Street House spent £1 on plants.[41] The following year, the house invested in curtains from Liberty & Co.[42] The minutes record that the chairman and committee selected pictures to the value of £5 in January 1897 and later in the year they thanked the Kyrle Society for decorative panels that were 'highly appreciated both by members of the committee and the lodgers in the house.'[43] Even so, these interiors did not necessarily feel feminine. As Emily Gee shows, the Ada Lewis House, the only comparable institutional lodging house for women, opened in 1913, had more elaborate decoration.[44] A photograph of the sitting room shows tables placed hither and thither, a grand piano in the foreground, reclining chairs, several rugs, and a plethora of aspidistras on table tops.[45]

To an extent, the model lodging houses drew on the gendered relationships of the domestic household in their structure and management. The SICLC houses insisted on married superintendents. The all-male lodging houses at King Street and Charles Street both had female housekeepers. The LCC superintendents also often brought their wives with them – although children were not allowed and the superintendent at Parker Street resigned in 1897 when his wife became pregnant.[46] There was some debate over the role of wives. SICLC felt that they should be fully involved in the duties of the house, including handling money, but should be supplied with a whistle in case things got out of hand.[47] Sometimes these women had a close relationship with the inmates and in 1861 the elderly housekeeper at Charles Street was described by a visitor as 'a mother to them all'.[48] In Rowton Houses, women were almost completely absent. Superintendents were not married. As in upper-middle-class homes, a separate staircase was built so that female servants could tend to the cubicles during the day without coming into contact with inmates.[49] The sole female presence in the King's Cross Rowton was 'Nellie' the servitor at the kitchen bar, depicted in William Andrew Mackenzie's 'The Blessed Damozel'.[50]

In their exclusion of women, Rowton Houses may have felt more like the all-male elite clubs, found in London's West End, than domestic homes.[51] Contemporaries certainly drew this comparison.[52] According to W.A. Somerville, Rowton Houses offered 'in a humble way, comforts that are enjoyed by those who frequent the great club houses in Piccadilly and Pall Mall.'[53] Partly in response to the criticism of the disreputable activities thought to crowd the common-lodging house kitchen, the George Street Model House was built with a coffee or reading room as well. The principle of having a comfortable day space was followed up at the Victoria Homes, which had large halls for reading, meetings and lectures.[54] The LCC and Rowton Houses, however, had separate kitchen and dining rooms, reading rooms, writing rooms and some of these had large smoking rooms as well. In this period, segregation and the use of rooms for particular functions became increasingly pronounced in upper- and middle- class homes.[55] The possession of a drawing room and a dining room, the separation of eating and leisured repose, were totemic of middle-class status and lifestyle.[56] In the Rowton and LCC houses, the day rooms were analogous to the suites of masculine rooms in the homes of the very wealthy. But there is an even stronger resemblance to the clubs, which usually included drawing rooms, library and reading rooms and smoking rooms (Figure 6.3).[57] Significantly, however, there were no billiard or card rooms. There may not have been enough room for the billiard tables. But it is also likely that it was felt that there were some aspects of upper-class life were best left to the elite, and there may have been a worry that lodgers would gamble away their wages.

The LCC and Rowton Houses were set up with a particular idea of masculine sociability in mind. Amy Milne-Smith argues that the ultimate attraction of the elite club in this era was companionship.[58] Clubs functioned as homes, or as an alternative masculine form of domesticity because of the emotional relationships they offered. The creators of the Rowton and LCC houses imagined that they would work in the same way. In photographs of Rowton Houses published in *The Lancet* in the 1890s, and later of Bruce House, chairs are shown grouped in a sociable circle around the fire place. An anonymous commentator on the Hammersmith Rowton House writes: 'At the other end of the corridor is a sitting-room, as pleasant and cosy a room as can be imagined, with a chequered dado of glazed tiles and walls of a soft, warm tint, hung with good engravings. Around each of the two blazing fires is gathered a sociable circle.'[59] The way in which Rowton Houses in particular were portrayed in the press often drew close links between the way the houses were set up and the middle-class home. *The Lancet* described an area in the reading room of the King's Cross House that Rowton had christened the 'cosy corner'.[60] The 'cosy corner' often came up in domestic advice manuals aimed at the middle classes in this period, and

Figure 6.3   The reading room at the Camden Rowton House, with its carefully chosen engravings and lending library is typical of the efforts made with these interiors

this indicates how transferable some of the language of domesticity could be.[61] Meanwhile, in the King's Cross House, the stags' heads, staples of spaces for upper- and middle-class men, gave the library an aristocratic touch. However, there was also a material reminder that this was not the polite sociability of the drawing room. Spittoons were also placed around the fireplace in the Rowton houses. These were also ubiquitous in pubs and are suggestive of a convivial yet slightly rough male sociability.

The imagery on the walls of the larger model houses suggests an attempt to create a shared visual culture that transcended class barriers. Joseph Hall Richardson, visiting the Vauxhall House in 1893, drew attention to the 'high class engravings'.[62] 'Large splendid pictures of rural and historic scenes' impressed a journalist staying there in 1899.[63] Somerville also noted the quality of the pictures. Landseer's 'Horse-Shoeing' and a chromolithograph of Millais' 'Bubbles' were hung in the dining room, while Rosa Bonheur's 'Horses coming from the Fair', and 'Prince Rupert: His Last Charge at Edge Hill', appeared in the library.[64] The smoking and reading rooms at Vauxhall were hung with prints of the frescoes from the Houses of Parliament.[65] The library at Newington Butts was decked with Shakespearian engravings.[66] However, there was also an attempt to create an iconography that appealed directly to the sensibilities and identity of working men, glorifying the role of manly labour. The smoking room at the Whitechapel House featured a large eight-part mural, 'The Seasons' by H.F. Strachey. It depicted an agricultural labourer in a rural setting carrying out his work at different times of the year.[67] Meanwhile, in the recreation room at Parker Street, a fresco painting above the fireplace portrayed skilled artisans: 'the field, the forge, the loom, the carpenter at work with his saw, the mason with his trowel'.[68] The image depicts the dignity and importance of labour and chimes with the Progressive Liberal and radical ideals that dominated the LCC at this time.[69]

But where the arrangements of the model lodging houses did seek to distinguish themselves from working-class homes was in their sleeping arrangements, which were shaped by a middle-class idea of the value of privacy. Commentators and reformers were haunted by the spectre of the mass dormitories in common-lodging houses, crowded with bodies. The defining feature of model lodging houses for single men was that, where possible, the men were to sleep alone. To this end, the houses adopted a distinctive spatial and material form – the dormitory of cubicles. As Tom Crook has pointed out, there was an increase in the use of cubicles in Victorian Britain in a wide range of different spaces and places, including public baths and water closets in private homes.[70] Within the model lodging house the cubicled dormitory accommodated a large number of men in a small space, while maintaining the newly important ideals of privacy and separation. The George Street Lodging House was probably the first to have a separate cubicle for each lodger. SICLC's smaller house on King

Street and Victoria Homes had four-man compartments, although the latter also offered cubicles for 150 lodgers at a higher charge. Cubicles were used in all the LCC and Rowton houses. Given the debate over the sexual consequences of cubicle provision in schools, it is surprising that it did not come up in discussions of model lodging houses. But it is clear that the founders wished to extend privacy – a quality enshrined in middle-class domestic arrangements but widely assumed to be absent from working-class homes – to inmates. One press account of Rowton Houses singled out the cubicle sleeping arrangements for particular praise because 'While the cubicle system insures each lodger privacy at night, the house is yet a democratic club'.[71] Thus the house was thought to have meted out individual freedom to its inhabitants through privacy in separate cubicles, while remaining open to all levels of society (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4   Cubicles at the London County Council's Bruce House

Controls and freedoms

To a certain extent, domesticity was viewed as a means of controlling and disciplining potentially unruly working-class men. This is clear in some of the early discussions of the purpose of model lodging houses. In 1849, a journalist writing for *Fraser's Magazine* summed up the desired effect: 'by enforcing temperate and regular habits, the plan induces domestic dispositions, and cherishes these efforts and that regularity which form the best provision for future conjugal felicity.'[72] For this writer, the model lodging house created well-behaved men who would go on to become good husbands and fathers. The house could quell misbehaviour and encourage self-discipline. Writing in *The Builder* in 1856, 'Quondam' argued of the 'utilitarian' SICLC house on George Street that, 'if there should be anyone unruly, the system of the house controls it.'[73] Again, in 1861, an anonymous writer in *The Builder* who claimed to have stayed in the George Street house, stressed that 'the great value of every such establishment is *curative*; the cultivation of a better perception of one's own self deservance … what is our own proper due and the due of others.'[74] For this anonymous inmate the material environment was essential to this: 'a clean face is a help in this way, a clean bed to lie on, a clean table to sit at, and a cleanly dished up dinner to eat.'[75] Yet in this writer's view, these arrangements also secured freedom and autonomy, to a greater extent than in the home itself: 'it is neither hospital nor barracks, but where each and all enjoy the utmost freedom; and more, perhaps, in some particulars, than could be conceded in the private house.'[76]

This controlling material environment was created through the provision of large, well-lit, ventilated, hygienic spaces that could be closely monitored. The living room in the George Street Model House was broad and open, with wide windows that threw in light. At night it was gas-lit throughout.[77] While the earlier models were regularly inspected, the LCC houses were actually planned to facilitate surveillance.[78] An 1893 piece 'Lodging Houses in London' argued that the spatial layout at the LCC houses was superior to that in Rowton's establishments as the dormitories were:

> arranged in three distinct wings … in this way it is possible for the manager to obtain a complete view of all the cubicles in one wing at the same time – no small advantage in the case of any disturbance, and a distinct improvement on the arrangement at Rowton House, where it is necessary to walk round the dormitory on each floor.[79]

Photographs show that the main living rooms in both the LCC and Rowton Houses were also substantial, with most of the furniture placed around the walls so as not to disrupt the sight line of a viewer. The Parker Street House

was lit by electricity, and, according to the same journalist, preferable to the Rowton House at Vauxhall which at this point was still illuminated by gas jets. At Parker Street, there were two central lights for each wing which could be turned on and off in one go (Figure 6.5).[80]

Discipline was also achieved by the placing of bodies in space at different times of day. Some regulations were imposed on the early models. An Old Bailey case from 1851 reveals the daily life of the King Street House.[81] Lodgers were obliged to go to bed at 12 am and the lights were extinguished at 12.30. At the George Street model in the 1860s, two men were employed to let in those who arrived between 12 and 1 am, and the house remained closed until 5 am, when they began to rouse those who needed to work early.[82] Tighter regulations were developed later on for the greater numbers of men living in the Rowton and LCC houses. Both had a strict timetable; the men were not allowed in their cubicles before 7 pm, lights were put out at 12 pm and they had to rise again at 7.30 am. Bells were used in the Rowton Houses. At the Parker Street house it was important that clocks should be present and visible – a new clock
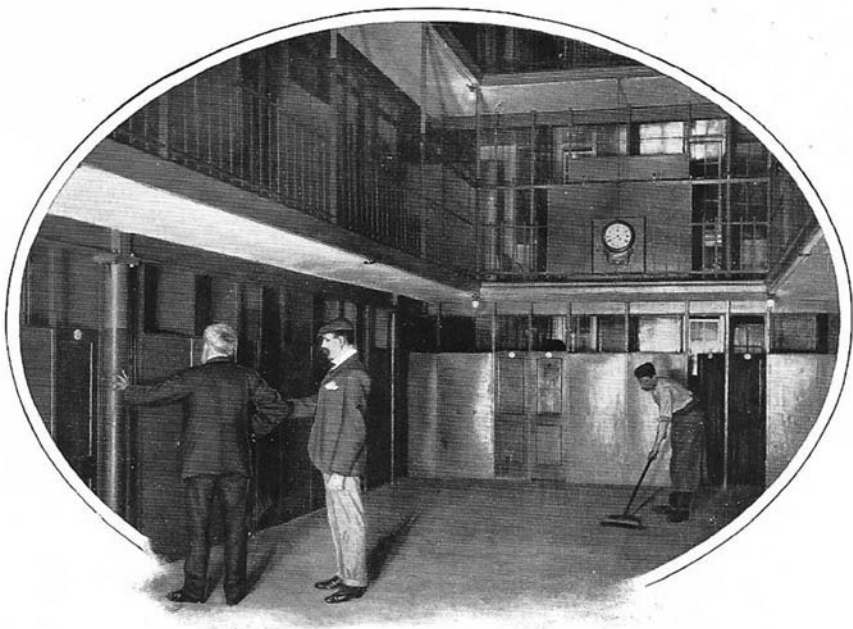
L.C.C. LODGING-HOUSE (PARKER STREET) : CUBICLES.

Figure 6.5   Cubicles and stairwell in the London County Council's Parker Street House, which followed the same plan as a prison

and a 'time slate board' were acquired for the hall, as well as an additional clock to hang in the centre block, in 1892.[83] The LCC houses were particularly regimented, with lodgers admitted to their rooms in waves at intervals of half an hour from 7 pm to 11.30.[84] In some places, rules and regulations were an explicit feature of the interior. 'London Pilgrim', visiting George Street in 1874, found a 'framed and glazed licence from the police', as well as a clock, and remarked that 'all kinds of announcements dot its distempered walls'.[85] The Victoria Homes, which demanded temperance, had a list of printed rules hung in the kitchen. Order and decorum were insisted on, and silence required in the bedrooms.[86] Significantly, however, regulations do not seem to have been displayed in Rowton Houses, probably as part of the overall drive to create an explicitly domestic interior.

Visitors to the LCC and Rowton houses were often struck by their glazed tiles. Rowton, apparently, 'paid close attention' to the combination of colours used at the Vauxhall House.[87] The King's Cross House corridors had a pattern picked out in chocolate and cream.[88] In 1905, Fred Hastings was impressed with the décor of the Hammersmith House, noting that 'the parti-coloured tiles – cream and chocolate, or green and white – make the place attractive.'[89] These bright new emblems of hygienic modernity also used in London's tube stations, hospitals, pubs, hotel service areas and schools. Spaces in which large groups of people might mingle, particularly those from the working classes, were held to be especially in need of them. They were not cheap.[90] Their extensive use in the larger model lodging houses reveals a marked concern with hygiene and the transference of disease. In parallel with the concern with hygiene and ventilation in other institutions, and in the home, the provision of washing and convenience facilities became increasingly important. An 1860 editorial in *The Builder* made much of the hand washing basins supplied with tap water on each landing in the model lodging house for men at 76 Hatton Gardens.[91] This was a significant innovation, as even later in the century working-class homes in the East End were usually supplied by a single tap in the backyard.[92] However, as these four basins had to be shared by 54 men, it must have been difficult for lodgers to access them on a regular basis. The larger George Street house also boasted water closets and 'four places of personal ablutions' with hand towels.[93]

In the Rowton and LCC houses, washing facilities became more prominent. The houses all had impressive 'lavatories', large tiled rooms with rows of sinks where lodgers could wash themselves daily. There were shared towels and the LCC houses had hooks for hanging clothes (Figure 6.6). The *British Medical Journal* praised the 'perfect sanitary appliances' and 'large disinfecting room' at Parker Street.[94] Plans of Rowton houses show long rows of cubicled WCs, additional rooms for single baths and dressing, and in the Camden house there were even separate places for foot washing.[95] Facilities for personal ablutions

Figure 6.6   The lavatories at the London County Council's Carrington House are typical of the increased emphasis on washing facilities

were accompanied by attention to grooming and self fashioning. There were looking glasses in the George Street model (as well as a corner where boots could be blacked).[96] The LCC was taken to task for not providing mirrors, and these were added later.[97] In the larger Rowton Houses, the provision of grooming services was extensive. The basement floor of the Camden house included rooms for a barber, a tailor and a shoe mender.[98] Lodgers were thus encouraged by the institutional material world around them to rise and move through space regularly, to eat at appropriate times, and to maintain a respectable appearance.

The sense of being in an institution was also reinforced by material goods themselves. Many textiles and domestic objects in the larger lodging houses carried institutional markings and it would have been difficult for their users to forget where they were. Institutional logos were particularly prevalent on LCC things, perhaps expressing pride in these new municipal institutions. Tenders for the supply of an LCC lodging house in the early twentieth century reveal the standard requirements.[99] Blankets were to have black and grey stripes with

LCC woven into the centre, quilts were blue, again with a medallion and LCC in the middle (the standard quilt is partially visible in Figure 6.4). Towels, dusters and glass cloths were to be marked with the Council's initials in indelible ink. The majority of china in the house was decorated with two lines and the LCC badge. Marking goods in this way was a well established practice in workhouses and some common-lodging houses, and would have prevented goods being stolen or pawned.

There was a perceived need to borrow from the discipline of other institutional establishments. This played out in the selection of staff. Two of the superintendents chosen for SICLC houses were former prison warders.[100] According to the Rowton company secretary in the 1890s, the superintendent of a house was usually an army officer of no lower rank than major and his subordinates were men of lower ranks – enabling order to be kept on the same system as in army barracks.[101] Mackenzie's poem 'The Manager' celebrates the ex-major of the guards, 'Colonel of a raffish regiment', who supervised the King's Cross House.[102] The use of a well design for the cubicle layout at Parker Street (Figure 6.5) may have been modelled on a prison, although the LCC did not repeat this design in the other two houses. The LCC was responsible for other kinds of institution as well as lodging houses (including Long Grove, as we saw in Chapter 1), and there were close affinities between the material worlds they created for different institutional types. When the Parker Street House was set up, tenders were sought from companies who supplied the Cane Hill asylum, and sheets and towels were supplied from the asylums (which may have been worked by patients).[103] Sample crockery was sought from Cane Hill and Feltham Industrial School.[104] It is also likely that the technological expertise that went into Parker Street, its use of central heating and electric light, was influenced by the LCC's institutional architecture elsewhere.

But the motivations of the organisers of model lodging houses differed, and they had varying views on how far to intervene in lodgers' lives. This is made clear in discussions of religion. In the Victoria Homes, the most explicitly religious of the group, the central living room for the men also functioned as a lecture hall for services and lectures. Here, religious activities permeated the entire lodging house – even the kitchen hosted a bible class and a Sunday evening service.[105] But preachers were not welcome everywhere. Despite its links with the Evangelical movement, SICLC took a more circumspect stance. At Ashley Chambers, religious organisations repeatedly asked to be let into the kitchen, but were forbidden. Although they were allowed into the reading room on Sunday, sermons were restricted to an hour after lodgers complained about their length.[106] There is no evidence of any preaching in the Rowton houses; indeed, the lack of religious obligations for residents was considered a positive factor by *The Jewish Chronicle*.[107] The LCC houses also made an effort to amuse lodgers. A curtained stage was installed in the Parker Street House for

plays and other shows. In contrast, entertainments of this kind were not put on in Rowton Houses, perhaps because the lodgers were perceived as independent entities, and the company wanted to avoid being associated with charitable provision. A gym was considered for the Vauxhall House but, in the end, a courtyard for sitting and smoking was preferred, after Rowton realised the tired and physically depleted state of many of the lodgers.[108]

There were also differing views on book provision. The George Street Model House had a small library that was kept in the superintendent's office.[109] In 1874, 'London Pilgrim' was scathing, finding it 'most terribly inane and improving … works of so vapid and serious a nature as they would be sorry to peruse themselves.'[110] But the house also subscribed to a range of periodicals, which the lodgers paid a penny a week for. There was a weekly meeting when accounts were totted up and subscriptions discussed. The selection of newspapers and periodicals included *The Times, The Illustrated London News, Punch, The Builder* and *Cassell's Family Paper.*[111] The Rowton Houses offered an extensive, unashamedly highbrow, fiction library. Marryat, Thackeray, Lytton, Lever, Dickens, Kingsley, Scott, Ainsworth and Charlotte Bronte were favourites in the Vauxhall House.[112] Somerville observed that Dumas was popular, although he bemoaned the absence of *Robinson Crusoe,* a book he felt particularly appropriate to the residents.[113] The LCC lodging houses also had small libraries and the authorities were responsive to requests from reading lodgers. In 1895, the committee decided to take the *Daily Mail,* a favourite with the men, instead of *Morning* and *Leader.*[114] The influence of the Progressive politics of the LCC may also be in evidence here.[115] In 1897, the management committee accepted *Fabian Tracts* and *Fabian Essays on Socialism* as donations to the library.[116] The libraries offered to lodgers, then, were often rich in range and the provision of newspapers offered readers some choice and autonomy.

To what extent were the model lodging houses able to regulate the lives of the poor? The Old Bailey case that features lodgers in the King Street model house suggests that disciplinary regulation was less strong in the early, smaller and less formal houses. The men ate late, went out late and continued to talk into the night, before rising in the morning as late as 9 or 10 am. There was no clock. As we have seen, there was a stronger attempt to impose discipline in the larger houses – but even here it had its limits. Regulatory and disciplinary mechanisms might not work. The infrastructure itself, recently established, might be ineffective, or function intermittently. In the George Street Model House in the late 1840s baths were rarely used owing to the poor and intermittent water supply.[117] The houses were sometimes badly managed, failing in hygiene and cleanliness. The anonymous George Street inmate detailed a particularly troubling period in the late 1840s, when a lax superintendent allowed 'negligence in the bed making, the bed clothes changing, the closet cleaning'

as well as a 'pig stye like' kitchen, with 'foul encrustations' on the cooking pots.[118] There were also more recent problems, with the tiled floor of the reading room neglected until it became 'black as the blackest parts of the street'.[119] The large-scale LCC and Rowton Houses tended to be better organised, yet there were also complaints about the Parker Street House in the early 1890s. One visitor grumbled about the lack of a continuous supply of hot water, and claimed that the electric light was too dim to read by.[120] Regulation could also fail because lodgers did not want to co-operate. The success of washing facilities, for example, was dependent on lodgers choosing to make use of them. The George Street Model House had started off by offering a bath to residents (as well as the four sinks) but had ceased to do so because it did not pay.[121] In 1897 it was reported that the cold showers at Parker Street were not used and the hot slipper bath (which had to be paid for) hardly at all.[122] Lodgers were presented with washing facilities, but they could not be made to use them.

Yet the lodgers were not necessarily opposed to the disciplinary material structures of these institutions. Indeed, their maintenance was often an essential part of inmates' security and comfort. The writings of the unknown George Street commentator made it very clear that some lodgers felt that cleanliness and order were extremely desirable. A chat with the 'elderly' and 'more sedate' residents had revealed that all was not quite as it should be. 'Even now there are smotherings of complaint creeping about in respect to unclean sheets and as ill-savouring insinuations as to the cause.'[123] In 1860, a *Builder* editorial reported on a lodger who had approached Shaftesbury's committee, complaining that the George Street kitchen had not been washed for two and a half years. The issue was taken seriously (and later a charwoman was appointed). The lodger laid the blame for this squarely on the management: 'I can compare the management of this place to nothing better than what would result if you were to put one of the old style of waggoners to drive and look after a locomotive engine.'[124] For this lodger, George Street, with its running water, lockers, cubicles, gas-lit rooms and daily timetable was the epitome of modernity, but had been let down by an incompetent superintendent. Criticisms registered by lodgers in the minutes of the Parker Street management committee take a similar line. In 1896, a lodger complained that the tables in the kitchen were used for envelope addressing, a common form of low-paid piece work undertaken by lodgers, which irked some of their fellows.[125] In this case, it was felt that strong governance was needed. Indeed, some degree of supervision could be a condition of basic safety. According to another complaint man who had violently struck another with a chair, giving him a severe head wound, was apparently allowed to continue living in the Parker Street House in the early 1890s.[126] In some circumstances, a well-disciplined house was exactly what the lodgers wanted.

Cadging culture

Who, then, lived in the houses, and what was the nature of life there? In June 1899, the superintendent of the Vauxhall Rowton House had told the police: 'they have all classes there except princes and are expecting a prince daily'.[127] The 1901 census, however, reveals a predominantly working-class population in the Vauxhall House.[128] 'General labourer' was the most frequent occupation given. The same census records suggest that the majority of the 301 lodgers at the Parker Street LCC house were working-class. There were a large number of porters, doubtless because of proximity to the Covent Garden markets. However, in the Rowton Houses, LCC and Victoria Homes, there was also a significant minority of lodgers with lower-middle-class occupations, notably clerks.[129] While the cost of living in Rowton and LCC houses was relatively high (6d and 5d a night respectively), some occupants were close to the bread-line. There were reports of ex-prisoners who could not find work, of death from starvation, and some suicides of lodgers in penurious circumstances.[130] These men, from varying social backgrounds, some friends and some strangers, long-term residents and those just passing through, were brought together in their hundreds by these institutions, creating an everyday material life with some distinctive characteristics.

There was a degree of material insecurity. Whether an institution is subject to damage or theft can be an indicator of how it is appreciated by its inhabitants. Rowton apparently declared that 'you may be surprised to know that I have never seen a cut in a table or mark on a wall in any of our homes, though thousands of men of all sorts and conditions have passed through them'.[131] This was also remarked on in the *British Medical Journal*.[132] Nonetheless, petty pilfering, between one lodger and another, was quite common. It was rife in the George Street model in the late 1840s.[133] In 1896 it was reported that LCC lodgers had complained of many small thefts in the washroom and, although a strict watch had been kept, the thief had not yet been caught.[134] Lodgers' letters to the governing committee tell of anxiety at being deprived of tools or stock vital to their livelihood.[135] There were also a number of reports of minor, everyday items such as soap and foodstuffs disappearing in Rowton Houses in the 1900s.[136] And despite the claim that 'fishing' was not practised by residents, the Rowton authorities were quick to install wire netting at the top of cubicles, to forestall thieving over the tops.

Residents' descriptions evoke a culture of theft, a space in which there was a sense of entitlement to small things if their owners were not canny enough to watch them. A critical piece of journalism, published in 1910, warned that unwatched food at Rowton was fair game: 'should the unfortunate novice happen to turn his back a moment upon his supper, it is promptly "lifted" by "one of the old guard", as they are known, and he goes supperless to bed'.[137] Some

inmates felt materially and occasionally physically threatened by these preda-tory relationships. For 16-year old Jack Smithers, a Rowton resident in 1907, the possibility of theft from fellow residents was a constant source of anxiety and stress. According to Smithers, even keeping hold of soap whilst washing in communal rooms required constant vigilance and smarting eyes: 'at the least carelessness that piece of soap would vanish as quick as light'.[138] Smithers' account of his brief stint at Rowton figures in a larger story of family break-down. His father had been a successful publisher but left Smithers destitute and homeless on his death. Deserted by his mother, the young man was forced to take shelter at (probably) the King's Cross House. Its inadequacies are thus compounded in the narrative by Smithers's loss of his familial home and his sense of class slippage. Nonetheless, we can read this as evidence of how more vulnerable inhabitants might have responded to their surroundings.

The commonality of petty theft was closely allied to an understanding of these spaces as the terrain of the cadger. There was an expectation that those close to the breadline would beg for money or food from their fellow lodgers. The cadger, however, was not simply a pathetic figure. Rather, he materially preyed on those around him, using his wits and sometimes deceiving fellow lodgers. The death of Charles Phillips, known as 'the rich man of Rowton house', was the subject of a series of pieces in the *Daily Mail* in 1910.[139] Phillips had apparently been in possession of a large fortune, but, obsessed with frugal living, he repeatedly cadged from other lodgers and shortly before his death borrowed a penny to pay for an egg.[140] Mackenzie may have had the Phillips story in mind when he wrote 'My Friend – Mr Spunge', published in *Rowton House Rhymes* (1911). The poem recounts Mackenzie's relationship with 'Mr Spunge', their friendship, Spunge's repeated pleas for material help, and the poet's depletion of his own scant resources to provide brandy, coffee, food and clothing.[141] He writes: 'In my slim dish he dipped and fed',[142] emphasis-ing the cadger's predatory nature. By the end of the story this 'cadging car-rion' is revealed as a fraud. The two argue over Spunge having spilt a secret of Mackenzie's to other lodgers and, as he runs off, a Post Office book falls from his pocket, revealing a tidy sum in the bank. The culture of cadging was made possible by the presence of large groups of men together over long periods of time; relationships were formed, but the scale of these institutions also allowed a degree of anonymity that enabled Spunge and his ilk to flourish.

As personal objects could not be safely stored in cubicles, lockers, which were made available in the SICLC, LCC and Rowton Houses became important as these were the only completely private storage spaces (Figure 6.7). According to a journalist's account of the George Street house, these receptacles contained 'a wondrous array of articles', including food, pipes, books and candles.[143] In the Rowton Houses, each locker had only one key (which court records indi-cate was often shared) but it is clear from Old Bailey cases that Rowton staff

sometimes demanded that lockers be opened if suspicions arose as to what they were used for. Lockers were often the first port of call for the police if they suspected a Rowton resident of harbouring stolen goods.[144] John Coleman, who was found guilty of murder in 1904, was also discovered to have secreted a box of cartridges in locker 541 at Rowton House Whitechapel.[145] In 1912, part of the takings of a substantial robbery of jewellery and silver plate were unearthed in a locker in the King's Cross Rowton.[146] But lockers were only opened if their custodian was suspected of a crime. They could also be secret, long-term repositories for personal items, prized by their owners but hidden from the world. In 1913, the 81-year-old Horace W. Burleigh died, having been a resident of the Rowton House at Vauxhall for seven years. His locker, when opened, contained a cache of 'hundreds of letters and photographs from different young girls'.[147]

Figure 6.7   Lockers, like these in London County Council's Bruce House, provided lodgers with private and personal repositories

Cubicle living

Even though lodgers could not store their belongings in cubicles, after the chaotic disorder of shared space, the possibility of having a separate area and the ability to keep one's possessions in order were prized. The anonymous journalist who stayed in the Vauxhall House in 1899 recalled:

> when at night I ascended to the regions above, and took possession of my numbered cubicle, my satisfaction was still greater. For here was a tidy little room, 9 feet by 5 feet, with a window, a chair, a shelf with clothes pegs below it, and a commodious spring-bed with hair mattress and plenty of clean clothing to cover it.[148]

Indeed, when returning to the same cubicle again and again, lodgers might come to identify with the space and even recognise their neighbours. Mackenzie wrote that on entering a Rowton House you 'pay your seven pennies down, and be a number'.[149] The poem offers an ambiguous reading of the potential homeliness of the house. It is undeniably a refuge for men whose lives are difficult and turbulent, but it also involves a degree of institutionalisation. At one point he refers to becoming 'a lifer', paralleling his Rowton existence with a prison sentence. Yet the cubicle could offer shelter. 'There is hope and cheer in London's roar and rumble', and the cubicle is 'the very anteroom of Heaven.'[150] Mackenzie evokes the paradox of life in Rowton Houses – they did indeed offer shelter, of a far superior standard than elsewhere, but the price was a feeling of institutionalisation. Despite the attempts at making these spaces domestic, there is little evidence that men formed strong emotional attachments to the places themselves, their relations remaining ambiguous.

Having a cubicle of one's own had value. The occupant might feel some degree of ownership. Visually, at least, cubicles ensured privacy from the rest of the house. Tom Crook argues that as well as being a means of encouraging self-governance through personal privacy, the cubicle form allowed individuals to indulge in behaviours considered socially unacceptable such as masturbation.[151] Matt Houlbrook also suggests that cubicles in Rowton houses in the interwar period allowed sexual liaisons between men.[152] There is little evidence of the sexual behaviour of men in Rowton houses before this date, but it is unlikely that the culture Houlbrook identifies was not present in the decades before. Certainly, accounts of cubicle nights hint at the sound of sex. An early commentary on George Street complains of disturbance from sickness and drunkenness, 'not to speak of other objections.'[153] While sex was undoubtedly present and presumably enjoyable for some, it may not have been widespread. Many lodgers would have been middle-aged or older, struggling on meagre resources, hungry, weak and tired. Not everyone would have had the desire or

the energy to recoup agency in this way.

Moreover, the cubicle may have contributed to feelings of anonymity, and perhaps isolation, amongst the lodgers. In 1898, John James was found unconscious on the floor of his cubicle in the Kings Cross Rowton House. He had overdosed on laudanum, in an attempt to commit suicide. Before doing so, he had written a letter to the coroner, saying that 'he had determined to take his life owing to nervous debility, sleeplessness and want of work'.[154] There were also cases of inmates being arrested for behaviour that resulted in a verdict of insanity. In 1898, Edward Cooper, a hatter and resident of the King's Cross Rowton House, fired his gun in one of the lavatories, narrowly missing some of the other inmates of the house. He apparently felt that someone had been through his locker, 'and threatened to blow the brains out of anyone he caught.'[155] In 1904, Henry Lee, a sometime resident of the Whitechapel House, threw himself under a train. His farewell letter claimed that his mind was 'unhinged by the rain'.[156] The seclusion of the cubicles and relative anonymity of life in the houses may have contributed to the increasing eccentricity and remoteness of these residents.

But cubicle occupants often felt anything but alone. The *Daily Mail* reporter spent a night on the third floor of the King's Cross Rowton House. He writes: 'For a time, sleep is impossible, so flanked, supported and overshadowed by bewildering corridors of cubicles – cubicles of tragedy, cubicles of comedy, cubicles of ne'er-do-wells, cubicles of struggle.'[157] Rather than feeling isolated, he was overwhelmed by the presence of others. Almost as soon as the cubicle dormitory began to be used, commentators remarked on its problems.[158] The proximity of other lodgers was most clearly experienced through sound. Despite the architect's efforts, sound travelled easily between the Rowton cubicles and complaints about coughs and snoring were frequent. In 1905, slumming journalist Fred Hastings spent an uneasy night in the Hammersmith Rowton: 'One man in a near cubicle had a bad cough, but another had a big snore which was far worse. That snorer made the night hideous.'[159] Semi-permanent (and therefore more sympathetic) resident W.A. Somerville also noted: 'The trouble of sleeping in a wooden cubicle is that the wood easily conveys sound. There is the man with the cough, and the man who snores.'[160] An observer at the Vauxhall House in the 1890s noted: 'The noise of snoring was loud, but louder still was the persistence banging on the wall, accompanied with cries of "Shut up, you bloody swine!" so that sleep was generally impossible.'[161]

The cubicles were also vulnerable to incursions from other lodgers and staff. In 1874, 'London Pilgrim' was highly critical of privacy at George St: 'in regards of aught but the eye, [one] might well be in a great room'.[162] The lodgers chatted as they undressed, could see each other if they stood on their beds, and often dropped boots and socks on each other in jest.[163] The privacy of the cubicles was also compromised by the power of porters and superintendents

to enter at any time and sometimes lay violent hands on their occupants. In 1898, Henry Beckenham, the assistant porter at the Vauxhall Rowton, was charged with having assaulted Thomas Barrett, a hammerman resident at the house. Beckenham was accused of having entered Barrett's cubicle at two in the morning, seizing him and pulling him from his bed, and hitting and kicking him, because another resident, Arthur Smith, had apparently said that Barrett was in his bed. However, Beckenham's actions were upheld by the court, which supported Smith's assertion that 'the porter used no more violence than necessary in ejecting him'.[164] This shows that it was acceptable for a porter to enter a man's cubicle, and indeed to violently lay hands on him if his behaviour was deemed inappropriate.

Despite their rules and regulations, the model lodging houses were, for the most part, full.[165] While life there may have been difficult for some, it was still a better option than the common-lodging house, and could be preferable to lodgings with a family.[166] The ability to feel at home might be dependent, on a very basic level, on the possibility of semi-permanent residence. More than half the lodgers at George Street were thought to be permanent in 1849.[167] The manager of the Victoria Homes declared that he wanted 'men to go back to their own homes', but many staff were former lodgers.[168] The majority of cubicle tickets booked in the first year of the Vauxhall Rowton were issued on a weekly, rather than a nightly, basis.[169] In both the Rowton and LCC houses, most residents seem to have been known regulars.[170] Once a man had lived at Parker Street for a while, he was able to lay claim to greater rights. In 1896, P.W. Thompson wrote a letter to the committee complaining about the theft of his tools from the house, and asking for financial compensation. To bolster his claim, he wrote 'I have been living in the house since it first opened.'[171]

For early Rowton residents, the ability to feel 'at home' was created not necessarily by being able to take ownership of a particular material space or to establish a set of belongings, but rather by continuity of residence and exchange and interaction with those around them. For single male working-class lodgers elsewhere, the isolation of living in a single room, or the hostility caused by conflict over space with a host family, might prove detrimental to their comfort. Paradoxically, large-scale institutional living might be more attractive than that linked to a family circle. For Somerville, who made a semi-permanent home in the King's Cross House in the late 1890s, the allure of the house lay in its atmosphere and social interaction. He emphasises that it was 'More cheerful than the solitude of a private room.'[172] 'Lord Rowton … has provided a home where he can pass his time in rational manner, where he may read books, write letters, and above all mix with what he pathetically calls 'his mates'.[173] Rowton houses were favourably compared with landladies' lodging houses: 'To appreciate what this means, you must picture the shabby lodging-house bedroom, the long evenings with no one to speak to, the empty box at

the window in which flowers never grow.'[174] Others echoed these sentiments: the anonymous journalist resident at the Vauxhall House in 1899 for example noted that 'there seemed to be no end to the conveniences I came across in those spacious chambers in the course of the day; and the very ideal of democratic good fellowship seemed to hold sway within them'.[175]

Friendships were often forged through communal cooking in shared kitchens. Observers frequently noticed that some men had their meals in common. In 1899 at Newington Butts, Halboro Denham saw a 'trio of costers enjoying a stew that they had cooked in partnership'.[176] In the early 1890s, two decades before he became the 'Red Vicar' of Thaxted, Conrad Noel, a Christian Socialist and member of the Independent Labour party, had spent some months living in the Vauxhall House. Looking back to his youth with some affection, he recalled how 'We cooked our meals in a common frying pan, which reminded me of the giant's pan in pantomime. We either bought our food outside or at the counter – eggs and bacon or a rasher of ham.'[177] In the smaller SICLC houses and the Victoria Homes, men who shared the four-person rooms were likely to strike up a friendship (or may have known each other already). The Victoria Homes manager thought that the arrangement of four beds together in compartments fostered friendships between the men, observing that they were 'often occupied by those who chummed together and that there was a great deal of partnering in work, by which the slack times are tided over'.[178] Sharing was thus a survival as well as a social strategy. The same point was made about the Victoria Homes in the *British Weekly*, where 'many of them form friendships and club together their means both for food and lodging, so that when one is out of work his neighbours help him'.[179]

Within the smaller houses in particular there was often strong sense of sociability. The lodgers tended to be younger and their smaller numbers may have led to greater cohesion within the houses. In 1851, a case of theft was brought before the Old Bailey, and one of the accused was John Kerwin White, a lodger in the SICLC house on King Street. Matthew Trumbell, another lodger in the house, testified as a witness.[180] Trumbell and White occupied beds next to each other in a four-person room, and clearly got on well. On the evening in question they had eaten bacon and potatoes together, that White had purchased. Another fellow lodger, James Mitchell Courtney, testified: 'the potatoes and bacon belonged to one as much as the other – we generally took our meals together – I had not paid for any of them'. The young men had stayed up late, talking in their room until 2 am. Indeed, one of the other lodgers testified that he had deliberately remained awake, having heard that an 'apple pie bed' was to be made for White. In the event White had difficulty getting into bed, and when laughed at by the culprit, attacked him with a pillow, resulting in a 'bolster match' between the young men. Tired out by their endeavours, the men had not risen the next morning until between 9 and 10 am. The case

reveals a lively intimacy and sociability between the young men who shared the rooms in King Street, reminiscent of the games played elsewhere in public school dormitories.

The idea of domesticity was important to those who designed and set up model lodging houses, as well as to the journalists and inhabitants who described the interiors in the press. The language of home, of comfort and of cheerfulness, was prominent in their depictions. There was an increasing awareness of the role of the environment in creating domesticity, which reached its zenith in the carefully decorated Rowton Houses, despite their undomestic scale. The material world was used to regulate, through the creation of lighted, open spaces, rules and an institutional material culture. But there were limits to these controls. A degree of order and regulation were probably in the interests of the inhabitants as a whole. Three distinctive features of life in the models emerge: the material culture of cadging, the strange half-privacy of the cubicles and the potential for friendship within institutional space. Many men stayed there over a long period of time, forming close relationships in the large day rooms. Although lodgers did not necessarily experience domestic sociability as it could be understood and intended by the middle- and upper-class patrons who set the houses up, some at least managed to feel at home there.

Conclusion: At Home in the Institution

By the early twentieth century, there were large numbers of new asylums and school buildings across Britain. In the capital there were many model lodging houses, and common lodging houses were increasingly policed. These institutional places and spaces have been the main subject of this book; how helpful is it to consider them together? Increasingly, they were all linked to a new understanding of institutional space in British culture. By the end of the century the definition of an institution had grown to encompass many organisations. In 1888, the new *Oxford English Dictionary* offered the following description: 'an establishment, organisation, or association instituted for the promotion of some object, especially one of public or general utility, religious, charitable, educational, etc., e.g. a church, school, college, hospital, asylum, reformatory, mission or the like'.[1] There was a growing awareness of institutional space as a recognisable entity, in both architecture and the built environment. This was associated with the austere external edifices, long corridors and mass dormitories found in asylums, schools and model lodging houses, but it was also linked to places that were overseen by government forces. Once common lodging houses had been subjected to police inspection, contemporary commentators saw them as entirely institutionalised. The power of the idea of the institution was expressed by inmates of asylums, Rowton Houses and public schools who often employed the prison as a metaphor for their experiences. Indeed, the idea that institutions were the opposite of the domestic was behind a lot of efforts to make these establishments appear more home-like. For the authorities of asylums, girls' schools and some of the later model lodging houses in particular, it became important to try and use domesticity to distance their establishments from wider associations with institutional buildings.

Ideas of home and domesticity had an important influence on the designers and authorities of all three kinds of institution. They often spoke a common language when it came to the emotional effect of the built environment. From the early part of the century, asylum doctors and governing committees

emphasised the need to achieve 'comfort' and 'cheerfulness' through the decoration of wards and day rooms. The common lodging houses inspectorate and the founders of the early model houses employed a similar vocabulary. This rhetoric was, however, used differently by the various authorities. In the asylum, domesticity provided a means of achieving 'moral treatment' for masses of patients through everyday routines and material culture. In the common lodging house, enforced cleanliness went hand-in-hand with discipline and control and ideas of appropriate domesticity were closely linked to class, the very poor should have to conform to a basic standard. Asylums aimed predominantly at the middle classes, such as Bethlem and Holloway, attempted to replicate the rituals of middle- and upper-class homes. The headmistresses of girls' schools too, consciously drew on elite domestic practices such as the 'At Home' to create an acceptable public profile. In contrast, headmasters at boys' schools seem to have been keen to distance themselves from the 'femininity' of middle-class domesticity, yet the power of these ideas is demonstrated by their desire to measure themselves against them.

Of course, there were other important influences as well. New ideas of science, and of hygiene in particular, are evident in the arrival of laboratories in schools, sanatoriums, ventilation in dormitory design and the proliferation of smooth, tiled or glazed brick and ceramic surfaces. Religious imperatives produced impressive chapels in newly-built institutions, and fashioned impromptu ones in the kitchens of common lodging houses. Despite our perception of the mass-residential institution as a product of modernity, some of the establishments here self-consciously drew on older perceptions of the institution as a vehicle for patronly magnificence, and used the veneration of ancient buildings and rituals as a means of maintaining power and prestige.

Yet it is worth paying particular attention to the influence of the domestic. Not just because it offers a new take on the nature of institutional life, but also because it shows how powerful the ideas, relationships and practices of the home were in wider society. This can be seen in attempts to play on relationships at the heart of the conventional domestic family, and to derive authority from them. In asylums, superintendents were often accompanied by their wives, and the couples might serve as father and mother figures for the institution. Although superintendents' lodgings were sometimes built away from the main buildings in order to keep families separate, some wives, like Brookwood's Mrs Brushfield, played an active role. Model lodging houses often sought to appoint husbands and wives together, and only Rowton Houses were resolutely homosocial. Perhaps the most surprising recreation of family relationships, however, occurred in public schools. Headmasters' wives and daughters often lived on-site and knew pupils well. The position of the housemaster's wife, such as Mrs Richardson at Winchester College, was particularly important. In boys' schools at least, this emphasis on institutional patriarchs and matriarchs seems

to have fallen away somewhat in the early twentieth century. The casting of institutional governance along family lines paralleled the nineteenth-century emphasis on a particular kind of domestic authority, and the stress on powerful parent figures seems to have reduced as the British family was itself transformed, and relationships relaxed and became more intimate and informal.

The domestic was perhaps made most evident in institutional space through material objects. Decoration, furnishing and above all ornaments were used to transport the parlour and the drawing room into asylums, model lodging houses and schools. The most striking examples are the heavily decorated public asylum day rooms. While early interiors were quite plain, by the second half of the century, they were filled with small furnishings, dotted with prints and pictures, plants and drapery. This trend corresponded with developments in the middle- and upper-class homes which were simultaneously increasingly filled with things. At Holloway, Bethlem and Ticehurst, where more funds were available, interiors were even more elaborate. Again, early model lodging houses were relatively sparse, offering plain but spacious and clean interiors. In the later, large-scale houses, emblems and elements of middle-class domesticity are more evident. In the Rowton Houses, 'cosy corners' drew on the language and practices put forward in middle-class advice manuals. In boarding houses in schools for middle-class girls, meanwhile, there was an attempt to recreate domesticity through drawing rooms and dining rooms, carefully decorated and furnished, and often photographed for brochures to advertise the school. Only the interiors of houses in boys' schools were relentlessly institutional, glorying in portraits of sports teams and trophies, and seating pupils on hard wooden benches. Even here though, the housemaster's wife's drawing room offered a haven of domesticity, and there is evidence that boys imported their own domestic practices through decorative acts. In the early twentieth century, in public asylums at least, there was a move away from elaborate interiors and decoration was increasingly influenced by the hospital interior. Nonetheless, it remained important to incorporate some domestic elements in daily living spaces for patients, and there was a new trend in asylum planning that increasingly tried to create villas rather than institutional blocks.

While some institutional authorities tried to create a home-like environment through the material world, the regimentation of institutional environments often militated against this. In all three kinds of institution, material structures and spaces were powerful forces for control. In asylums, patients were placed around the building according to the perceived severity of their illness and were divided by gender and sometimes by class. Clothing and small personal items were usually removed from patients on arrival, and after that possessions were closely policed. In common lodging houses, control was achieved through the opening out of the houses to police inspection and the new regulations on numbers of lodgers per room, cleanliness and display. In all three

institutional types, space was often used as a means to attempt to control sexuality. Sharing beds was forbidden in public asylums. The anxiety over the common lodging-house dormitory, and the insistence on division between couples, also demonstrates this fear.

The achievement of privacy, between the family and the outside world, and between masters and servants within the house, was one of the fundamental values of middle- and upper-class homes. Yet within institutions this was often over-ridden by the need for surveillance, although this tactic was employed for different ends. In the asylum, surveillance was an essential precondition of safety: suicidal patients and those with violent tendencies had to be closely watched, if they were not to be physically restrained. There were few qualms over subjecting paupers to the institutional gaze. Yet middle- and upper-class patients, who arrived with stronger expectations of personal privacy, posed more problems. Certainly there was a great deal of outrage from patients who were used to deferential servants who kept to their own quarters. In common lodging houses, it was also held that it was in the interests of inhabitants to open these dirty and threatening spaces up to the eyes of the law. The very poor were thus seen to have forfeited their right to privacy, yet the debate over extending the lodging house acts reveals that even the invasion of the homes of the residuum was contentious. The conflicting imperatives of a recognition of the need for individual privacy and broader surveillance requirements of the institution materialised in the Rowton House cubicles. Here, separate cubicles had been provided in the belief that each man was entitled to individual privacy, yet they were open at the top and often inspected by house staff. The most explicitly panopticon-like designs were to be found in the dormitories in girls' boarding schools, but girls were held to need more personal privacy than boys, and were usually provided with screens or bed curtains. It was public school boys who were granted the most privacy from institutional prying. Their house dormitories were seen as sacred, only to be entered by masters with advance warning, yet these privileged pupils were given very little privacy from each other. In the open dormitory, the boys were expected to watch their peers. Ideally, such self-surveillance would produce an independent moral community from which boys emerged ready to exercise governance in their later lives. The need for individual privacy within domestic space that was articulated by the emphasis on cubicles in large-scale lodging houses for working men and in the provision of curtains in girls' dormitories was a forerunner of the increasing stress on individual privacy that was to become widespread in the construction of new kinds of housing in the interwar period.

The routines and rituals, or 'domesticities', of the middle-class home were also deployed in these institutions, particularly in relation to dining. Day-to-day stability in these places relied on a certain amount of complicity and co-operation from residents. The built environment and spatial organisation

were deployed alongside daily routines and rituals that were designed to ensure that inmates took on institutional norms through their embodiment. Schools required that pupils move through classrooms and corridors at certain times of day, and divided classes by ability. In the model lodging houses, men were increasingly organised in a regimented fashion: entering the houses through turnstiles and being allocated tickets, eating meals and being allowed into their cubicles at certain times, and rising to the sound of bells. In asylums, patients rose and dressed at set times, attended meals and were assigned tasks of work that were viewed as appropriate to their class and gender. At Brookwood close attention was paid to table manners in the hope that this would encourage acceptable and normal behaviour. At the smarter Holloway Sanatorium, much was made of the prestige dining rooms and the hotel-style table d'hôte. Behaviour at these semi-public meals, at which both male and female patients were present, was seen as an indicator of sanity. In boarding houses for girls, mealtimes were also important, and attempted to follow the normal pattern of a middle-class household. In some, especially rule-bound houses, tidiness in personal possessions was rigorously and even violently enforced. Girl pupils, who were challenging the perception that academic achievement should be the preserve of men and boys, were under particular pressure to demonstrate conformity to contemporary ideas of domesticity. The regulation of common lodging houses required inmates to sleep in certain places, walls to be whitewashed and sheets to be changed and washed. Model houses too were reliant on the co-operative bodies of lodgers to eat, sleep and wash at assigned times. In Rowton Houses, it was hoped that white table cloths and high-quality roast meats would induce civilised behaviour. Daily domestic activities such as sleeping, rising and mealtimes were deliberately regularised.

The controlling capacity of the material world was of course, limited. The force exerted by the spaces, structures and things was not absolute. Buildings could fail to function if left unrepaired. The poor state of Hanwell Asylum in the 1860s, with its boarded-up windows and darkened rooms, is a case in point. In extreme examples, buildings fell down and even collapsed. The crumbling material edifices of London's common lodging houses added to the difficulties of regulating them. Often too, facilities simply did not work as intended. The absence of regular running water prevented the use of washing facilities in the early model lodging houses, for example. In all architecturally designed spaces, there is often a tension between design and use, but this was particularly pronounced in institutions where the material world was deliberately used to control. Take the open dormitories in boys' schools. These rooms were supposed to promote moral cohesion, but their isolation often enabled cultures of extreme violence and bullying to flourish instead. In public asylums too, the brutality of the associated dormitories at Hanwell was a far cry from the intentions of the mental health authorities who argued for their widespread use.

Damage and theft provided means to express dissatisfaction with institutional life. In asylums, patients could focus their frustrations on windows, often the most easily smashed items to hand. Windows were also broken in workhouses: such acts may be read as deliberate attempts at rebellion, although this is complicated by the presence of mental illness. In contrast, the lack of vandalism to furnishings and objects in the Rowton Houses was trumpeted as evidence of their success. There were a few cases of petty theft, perhaps a result of opportunism as much as an expression of dissatisfaction. There were degrees of material rebellion. Desk carving by schoolboys was increasingly forbidden by teachers and interpreted as damage, yet memoirs and even school magazines winked at the practice, as it let boys mark their own identity within institutional space. Ultimately, this was an institutional affiliation they were proud of, and were happy for it to be recorded for generations to come.

Quite often attempts at providing institutional routines (and domesticities) were broken by the disruptive bodies of inmates. In the asylum, unwell or disturbed patients might dance, sing, crouch in corners or even physically attack others. To what extent such actions were the result of illness, or unhappiness with the institutional regime, must remain unclear. Intentionally or otherwise, though, disorderly patients posed a major challenge to the norms that asylums attempted to inculcate through daily rituals and practices. In the case of common and model lodging houses, resistant bodies are easier to read. Inside the newly whitewashed and inspected common lodging houses, lodgers retained their robust sense of independence, protesting at overlong and poorly delivered sermons from visiting preachers, and sometimes engaging in vociferous religious debate. At nights in girls' dormitories, pupils rose from their beds and crept around the school in bare feet, shinnying down drain pipes to run about in the school grounds below. The emphasis on and daily performance of activities that enforced ideas of class and gender, opens up the possibility of their subversion or recreation along different lines. Upper- and middle-class patients were as obsessed with domesticity as the asylum authorities who created ladies galleries and billiard rooms. But they used these normative expectations in a completely different way – drawing on class-based standards of domesticity to challenge both the institutions and their own confinement.

Indeed, inmates had powerful, pre-defined ideas of what home should be before they entered institutions. The experiences of patients, lodgers and schoolchildren were fundamentally shaped by their individual home and family backgrounds. Well-off asylum residents often made constant, unfavourable comparisons with their former homes when they wrote to relatives. Netta Syrett put her inability to cope with the North London Collegiate School down to the contrast with her warm and liberal parents. A family breakdown fostered Jack Smithers' feelings of profound insecurity in a Rowton House. Yet there are accounts from both the North London Collegiate and Rowton Houses that

claim the opposite. Previous family experiences were not always happy, and these too played a role in reactions to the institutional environment. All three institutions sometimes offered a respite or escape from home. For poor women in particular, institutions were sometimes a safe haven. Older women seem to have been prone to becoming attached to life in public asylums. The much criticised common lodging house could be a refuge for wives fleeing domestic violence.

Inmates' experiences of institutional life and their understanding of home were also influenced by what they thought was coming afterwards. It is here, perhaps, that the three institutional types diverge most strongly, as when inmates left (if they were able to) they faced very different prospects and opportunities. For asylum patients, committal often triggered an intense longing for the home that they had lost. The goal was to leave the asylum and to return to it. Former patients lucky enough not to relapse may well have tried to quickly forget the time they spent there. Yet some letters of former inmates evoked positive memories, thanked doctors, enquired after friends and retained a concern for the treatment of those who remained behind. Lodgers in common and model lodging houses had a quite different conception of home. The latter often housed young men who saw the temporary accommodation of the lodging house as a step to becoming a householder. Rowton Houses frequently hosted middle-class lodgers who wanted a cheap night's stay in London. Yet there were also many men there who had no expectation of moving on. The Rowton House poet William MacKenzie, for example, styled himself as a 'lifer', permanently dwelling in institutional space. Likewise, the very poor men, women and children who lived on and off the streets, sometimes scraping together a few pennies for a night's stay in a common lodging house, had virtually no hope of establishing a permanent home. In these circumstances, common and model lodging houses genuinely became homes of sorts. The models were highly regulated but offered security, while the more chaotic common lodging houses had vibrant communities often with their own customs and moral integrity. Schools, which were set up to fashion their inmates before releasing them into the outside world, again fostered a very different conception of home. For both boys and girls, identification with these spaces could become very powerful for some even, overriding attachments to the family home. Boys gained a great deal from this connection with public school; both in terms of prestige and social networking, but also from the way they learnt to attach themselves to institutions, and to be able to make themselves at home in a series of temporary domestic spaces, such as university rooms, barristers' chambers, officers' quarters or the far-flung reaches of the Empire. Girls, meanwhile, did not have anything like the same opportunities when they left school. Yet the education, the breadth of experience, the culture and the friendship that school offered were carried with them into their later home

lives. Indeed, the development of feminism and the gains for women in the twentieth century were partly born of these institutions that first showed that women could successfully move in spheres far beyond their home lives.

A feeling of being at home, or being secure, was almost always linked to the presence of others. The spatial organisation of the institution played a vital role in this as it determined the proximity of inmates to each other, possibilities for interaction and the formation of relationships. As Markus argues, space plays an important role in creating bonds. In the asylum, patients spent much time in wards and day rooms confined with a particular group. Of course, the way in which people reacted to each other was very much dependent on their individual characters. There was the potential for friendships to be formed in these galleries and dormitories, and some became very attached and protested when moved, but there was also irritation and violence between inmates who were ill at ease with being placed so close together. In common lodging houses and early model houses it was the kitchen that was the central communal space, where lodgers gathered to eat and socialise. Here, friendships were struck, but fists were raised when tempers flared. Often, the common lodging-house kitchen was a self-regulating moral community in which some behaviours were tolerated but others were stamped out. In early model lodging houses, rooms were shared between three or four young men, giving rise to lively friendships. In boarding houses for girls and the houses and chambers in boys' schools, the initial choice of house had far reaching consequences. Pupils placed side by side in dormitory beds or cubicles often became lifelong friends or enemies.

Access to some degree of private space could allow inmates to engage in sexual relationships. While middle-class critics criticised open displays of sexuality in the common lodging-house dormitory, the spatial reality of these places was more complex. Many common lodging houses contained numerous rooms for two or three lodgers. It would have been very possible for both heterosexual and homosexual couples to pursue relationships beyond the gaze of the keepers and fellow lodgers. The use of cubicles in boys' schools was very contentious amongst architects and there was a strong view that they facilitated illicit sex between boys. Charterhouse, the only school examined here that used cubicles, does seem to have had a vibrant sexual culture, but this was present at other schools that did not use the cubicle system. There was some sexual intimacy too, in girls' schools, which seems to have taken place relatively openly. In the Rowton and LCC lodging houses, where lodging men were given individual cubicles, there was also the potential to pursue illicit liasons in relative privacy.

In forging group dynamics and relationships, the spaces that inmates returned to on a daily basis and slept in were particularly important. As pointed out above, the need for privacy (seen by the authorities as a right for some, and felt as a strong need by some inmates) often conflicted with the larger role of the institution in organising and categorising individuals within the larger

whole. The clash between intimacy and privacy was particularly evident in dormitories, where individuals struggled to retain their own space and identity, but were often subsumed by the group dynamics created within these shared sleeping spaces. Group tensions in these places seem to have created particular kinds of intimacies and specific emotional atmospheres. While there was some friendship on the asylum ward, the associated dormitory could also be the scene of extreme, unprovoked violence and considerable fear, however its uneasy companionship might be preferable to the threat of solitary confinement. Patients from working-class backgrounds may also have been used to sleeping in the same rooms as others, and have been more comfortable with this arrangement. The cubicled dormitories in Rowton Houses produced a peculiar half-intimacy, in which inmates were granted visual privacy yet were made aware of the presence of others through sound, smell and vibrations. In boys' schools, the dormitory created a ubiquitous culture of tricks and robust sallies, in which more assertive pupils preyed on the vulnerable. Girls, meanwhile, created a more supportive environment, in which partial privacy, mediated by dormitory curtains, allowed a degree of emotional bonding and support.

Many inmates attempted to establish a place for themselves and to reclaim their identity through the deployment of small objects or decorative acts. In doing so, they attempted to exercise some degree of autonomy within institutional space. Despite the rigorous scrutiny of patients' possessions, most were allowed a few small goods. Being given back a crucial item such as a wedding ring could be vital in helping keep hold of sense of identity beyond the asylum. At Broadmoor, a minor economy of small things sprang up between patients. Private inmates, if allowed their own rooms, might create quite elaborate interiors. It was harder for lodgers to establish a sense of possession through decoration as cubicles or beds were hired on a nightly basis (although some lodgers stayed for much longer). In Rowton Houses, lockers offered the possibility of secret hoards of goods. Schoolboys and girls were allowed greater spatial and material privileges as they progressed up the school, often being granted their own study or cubicle when they reached the senior year. These spaces were often cherished and very carefully arranged and decorated. However, at Winchester College, the provision of 'toys' made room for younger boys to create their own decorative spaces much earlier on; much effort and rivalry was expended on their drapery and ornamentation.

The establishment of autonomy lay not just in isolated individual material acts, however, perhaps more important was the use of material things in ways that were recognised by other inmates. Residents in all three places created their own distinctive material subcultures: that is, patterns of behaviour or shared expectations linked to specific spaces and material objects. If these practices did not make institutional inhabitants feel at home, then at least they

were able to help them cope with living in such an environment. The shared culture of breeding and selling birds and their paraphernalia at Broadmoor is a good example. Middle- and upper-class patients who wrote home from asylums demanding clothes or foodstuffs were responding to the shared culture of display in the asylum. The maintenance of a respectable show through dress and objects, often a key part of middle-class identity anyway, became even more important inside these establishments. In both common and model lodging houses, lodgers developed distinctive practices to cope with the constant threat of petty theft and cadging. In the common lodging-house dormitory, lodgers slept with valuables close to their bodies, and boots were often secured under the legs of beds. In Rowton Houses men were constantly on the alert for petty theft in the communal rooms of the house. In schools for boys, the most immediate threat was also from fellow pupils. As more vulnerable boys worked their way up the school, they learnt to find places to escape the rough and tumble culture of the dormitory, such as the library at Lancing. Girls, meanwhile, used their material environment to invent their own rituals and traditions. Often, dormitory bed curtains were often significant.

In all three institutions, communities and relationships between inmates were created by the exchange of small things. In particular, food was crucial. Asylum and school dinners could be monotonous, and even plush Holloway Sanatorium sometimes served substandard meals. In this context, being able to bring in one's own food was a special source of power that allowed an inmate to negotiate or to step outside the institutional regime. Private asylum patients were obsessed by food, as it could be a vital means of preserving individual class status and identity. Often, though, provisions were offered to others. An anonymous Holloway patient, writing in the institution's magazine, marvelled at the arrival of a box of tuck, likening it to his public school days. Indeed, boys at school seem to have been particularly liberally provided for by anxious parents. Girls, meanwhile, were more restricted. The limited opportunities girls had to make these gestures meant that any offers of sweets to fellows were particularly important. For lodgers too, small acts of exchange carried a lot of weight. Sharing food was crucial to building communities within the common lodging house; here a small hospitality such as a glass of beer signalled friendship, and an allegiance in the potentially threatening world of the lodging-house kitchen. In Rowton Houses, friendships were forged when lodgers shared frying pans and bacon. For the very poor, food had a special significance, its value heightened by the scarcity of resources. In this context, the communal abundance of a big meal, perhaps of steak and ale, and even plum pudding, was the powerful celebratory gesture of a small collective briefly united against poverty and insecurity.

Notes

Introduction

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6. C. Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education: The Clarendon Commission 1861–1864 and the Public Schools Acts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
7. Shrosbree, *Public Schools*, p. 1.
8. Although recent research has pointed to the diversity and vitality of new schools established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. C. de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France 1800–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); S. Skedd, 'Women Teachers and the Expansion of Girls' Schooling in England, *c*.1760–1820', in H. Barker and E. Chalus (eds), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (Harlow: Longman, 1997), pp. 101–125.
9. An example of the growing prominence in print culture: on the British Library online database, 220 London periodicals published before 1910 feature home in the title. Of these, only ten came out before 1840.
10. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's work still offers the definitive explanation of this. L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 180–192.
11. J. Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (New York, John Wiley and Son., 1865), p. 91.
12. D. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (London: Yale, 2006), p. 30.
13. J. Gloag, *Victorian Comfort: A Social History of Design from 1830–1900* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1973), pp. 31–59.
14. On the role of the use of cutlery in creating civilisation see N. Elias, *The Civilising Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).
15. J. A. H. Murray, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), p. 594.
16. For example, in 1900, an article in the *Girls Own Paper* tried to keep single girls who lived away from the family home on the straight and narrow by urging them to sit down to regular meals and set the table correctly, stressing the necessity of butter knives. 'Living in Lodgings', *The Girl's Own Paper*, April 16, 1900, p. 563.

17. For a useful discussion of the intersection of these see M. Doolittle, 'Time, Space and Memories: The Father's Chair and Grandfather Clocks in Victorian Working-Class Domestic Lives', *Home Cultures*, 8 (2011), pp. 245–264; J-M. Strange, 'Fatherhood, Furniture, and the Interpersonal Dynamics of Working-Class Homes, c. 1870–1914', *Urban History*, 40 (2013), pp. 271–286.

18. See for example, M. L. Shanley, '"One Must Ride Behind": Married Women's Rights and the Divorce Act of 1857', *Victorian Studies,* 25 (1982), pp. 355–376.

19. M. McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 27; M. McCormack, 'Introduction', in M. McCormack, *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 8.

20. F. Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840–1880', *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 3 (1990), pp.272–293.

21. T. Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 20 (1994), pp. 416–417, 424.

22. K. Gleadle and S. Richardson, *Women in British Politics, 1760–1860: The Power of the Petticoat* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); S. Morgan, *A Victorian Woman's Place: Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007); K. Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain 1815–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

23. For a later example of the influence of ideas on domesticity on industrial health see Vicky Long on 'the homely factory'. V. Long, *The Rise and Fall of the Healthy Factory: The Politics of Industrial Health in Britain, 1914–1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 51, 53, 71.

24. M. Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830–1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp.125–126.

25. J. Hamlett, *Material Relations: Families and Domestic Interiors in England, 1850–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), see Chapters 1 and 2 in particular.

26. A. Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870–1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), Chapter 3 'Close Quarters', pp. 45–62; Doolittle, 'Time'; Strange, 'Fatherhood'.

27. A. Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?: Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880–1914', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), p. 802; Q. Colville, 'Corporate Domesticity and Idealised Masculinity: Royal Naval Officers and Their Shipboard Homes, 1918–1939', *Gender & History*, 21 (2009), pp. 501–505.

28. P. M. Lewis, 'Mummy, Matron and the Maids: Feminine Presence and Absence in Institutions, 1934–1963', in M. Roper and J. Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 168–189.

29. Colville, 'Corporate', pp. 499–500; Milne-Smith, 'Flight', p. 798.

30. J. Hamlett, '"Nicely Feminine, yet Learned": Student Rooms at Royal Holloway and the Oxbridge Colleges in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Women's History Review*, 15 (2006), pp. 137–161. Jillian Gould's contemporary study of a Jewish retirement home in Toronto reveals the way in which the establishment and continuation of domestic practices within institutional space was both empowering and pleasurable for inmates. J. Gould, 'A Nice Piece of Cake and A Kibitz: Reinventing Sabbath Hospitality in an Institutional Home', *Home Cultures*, 10 (2013), pp. 189–206.

31. D. Hussey and M. Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker and Material Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), p. 197.

32. J. A.H. Murray (ed.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Vol.V, H-WY (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), p. 349.

33. Hamlett, *Material Relations,* Chapter 3. But as K. D. M. Snell has recently shown, the word was used by the poor in the first half of the nineteenth century to denote place of origin as well as abode. K.D.M. Snell, 'Belonging and Community: Understandings of "Home" and "Friends" among the English Poor, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review,* 65 (2012), p. 1.

34. A. Blunt and R. Dowling, *Home* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 88.

35. P. Cloke, J. May and S. Johnson, *Swept Up Lives? Re-Envisioning the Homeless City* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 74.

36. Blunt and Dowling, *Home,* p. 89.

37. Material culture has long been a central area of interest to anthropologists and archaeologists. C. Tilley, 'Introduction', in C. Tilley et al. (eds), *The Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage, 2006), p.1. For a recent useful summary of historians' approaches see K. Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009). For alternative approaches see F. Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics', *Journal of British Studies,* 48 (2009), p. 290; C. Otter, 'Locating Matter: The Place of Materiality in Urban History', in P. Joyce and T. Bennett (eds), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 43.

38. L.D. Smith, *Cure, Comfort and Safe Custody: Public Lunatic Asylums in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), p. 167.

39. F. Driver, *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System, 1834–1884* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 5. Although he also argues that surveillance went beyond space, p. 10. U. Henriques, 'The Rise and Decline of the Separate System of Prison Discipline', *Past and Present,* 54 (1972), pp. 61–93.

40. M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991, first translation published by Allen Lane 1977), p. 173.

41. These theories have been subject to considerable revision and debate. Architectural historians point out that in practical terms the influence of the panopticon was limited T.A. Markus, *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 123; J. Alber and F. Lauterbach, *Stones of Law, Bricks of Shame: Narrating Imprisonment in the Victorian Age* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 10. Few asylums were based on this plan. L. Smith, 'The Architecture of Confinement: Urban Public Asylums in England, 1750–1820', in L. Topp, J.E. Moran and J. Andrews (eds), *Madness, Architecture and the Built Environment: Psychiatric Spaces in Historical Context* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 41–61, on p. 54. Yet others argue that it is the significance of surveillance as a means of inspiring a feeling of self-watching amongst inmates that remains crucial despite this. L. Topp and J. Moran, 'Introduction', in Topp, Moran and Andrews (eds), *Madness, Architecture and the Built Environment*, p. 3; C. Philo, '"Enough to Drive one Mad": the Organization of Space in 19th-Century Lunatic Asylums' in J. Wolch and M. Dear (eds), *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 258–290. Otter questions the idea of panopticism more aggressively. C. Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800–1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 5, 74.

42. Otter, *The Victorian Eye,* p. 91.

43. Ibid., p. 91.

44. Ibid., p. 18.

45. P. Joyce and T. Bennett, 'Material Powers: Introduction', in Joyce and Bennett (eds), *Material Powers*, p. 4. Otter, 'Locating Matter', p. 46.

46. For discussion of the archaeological contribution to material culture studies see D. Hicks and M.C. Beaudry, 'Introduction: Material Culture Studies: A Reactionary View', in D. Hicks and M. C. Beaudry (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.2.

47. Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History', p. 306.

48. V. Taylor and F. Trentmann, 'Liquid Politics: Water and the Politics of Everyday Life in the Modern City', *Past and Present*, 211 (2011), pp. 199–241.

49. D. Miller, *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 1.

50. S. Pennell, 'Mundane Materiality, or Should Small Things be Forgotten? Material Culture, Microhistories and the Problem of Scale', in Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, pp. 173–191.

51. D. Massey, *Space, Place and Identity* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), p. 168. Drawing on Le Febvre's idea of the production of space, architectural historians Iain Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell, and Alicia Pivaro argue that space is a cultural production that includes the users of buildings. I. Borden, J. Kerr and J. Rendell, with A. Pivaro, 'Things, flows, filters, tactics', in I. Borden, J. Kerr and J. Rendell, with A. Pivaro (eds), *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 4–5.

52. Markus, *Buildings and Power*, p. 25.

53. E. Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968 reprint), p. 11.

54. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 170–228. For a summary of responses to this, see J. Hamlett with L. Hoskins and R. Preston, 'Introduction', in J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins and R. Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: Inmates and Environments* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), pp. 5–6.

55. M. Ignatieff, 'Total Institutions and Working Classes: A Review Essay', *History Workshop Journal*, 15 (1983), pp. 167–173.

56. P. Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); E.C. Casella, *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2007); S.M. Spencer-Wood and S. Baugher, 'Introduction and Historical Context for the Archaeology of Institutions of Reform. Part I: Asylums', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 5 (2001), pp. 3–17.

57. S. Cavallo and S. Evangelisti (eds), *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Hamlett, Hoskins and Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions*.

58. P. Mandler, 'Introduction: State and Society in Victorian Britain', in P. Mandler (ed.), *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 11; P. Thane, 'Government and Society in England and Wales, 1750–1914', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950. Vol. 3. Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 1. In the first half of the century, state expenditure actually shrank, as Britons reacted against fiscal military government. P. Mandler, 'Nation and Power in the Liberal State: Britain, c.1800–c.1914', in L. Scales and O. Zimmer, *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 359; P. Harling, 'The Powers of the Victorian State', in Mandler (ed.), *Liberty and Authority*, p. 28.

59. There was some change in the final years of the century as politicians and governments confronted new crises and fears. Thane, 'Government and Society', pp. 48–53.

60. Harling, 'The powers of the Victorian state', p. 26.
61. Thane, 'Government and Society', p. 16.
62. T. Crook, 'Accommodating the Outcast: Common Lodging Houses and the Limits of Urban Governance in Victorian and Edwardian London', *Urban History*, 35:3 (2008), pp. 414–436.
63. Mandler, 'Nation', p. 365.
64. Shrosbree, *Public Schools,* p. 2.
65. P. Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 9.
66. For a helpful explanations see Otter, *The Victorian Eye,* pp. 10–13 and S. Gunn and J. Vernon, 'Introduction: What Was Liberal Modernity and Why Was it Peculiar in Imperial Britain?' in S. Gunn and J. Vernon (eds), *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. 9. For a recent reconsideration of the usefulness of the term 'liberal governmentality' see Joyce, *State,* p. 29. For a useful critique, see Mandler, 'State and Society', p. 17.
67. P. Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), p. 159.
68. J. Butler, *Undoing Gender* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 10, 13.
69. For the original thesis see A.T. Scull, *Museums of Madness: The Social Organization of Insanity in Nineteenth-Century England* (Allen Lane, London, 1979), pp. 13–15. This is disputed by Roy Porter in *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency* (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 2–3, 9.
70. The relationship between ideas of Victorian womanhood and the female insane was first explored in depth by Elaine Showalter in *The Female Malady* (London: Virago Press, 1987). Some of her assumptions, including the idea that women were more likely to be confined, have been challenged. For example see D. Wright, 'Delusions of Gender?: Lay Identification and Clinical Diagnosis of Insanity in Victorian England', in J. Andrews and A. Digby (eds), *Sex and Seclusion, Class and Custody: Perspectives on Gender and Class in the History of British and Irish Psychiatry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004) pp. 169–171. Nonetheless, gender remained a powerful factor in patient treatment. For a recent discussion see L. Hide, 'From Asylum to Mental Hospital: Gender, Space and Patient Experience in London County Council Asylums, 1890–1910', in Hamlett, Hoskins and Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions,* pp. 51–64.
71. J. White, 'Business out of Charity', in J. Goodwin and C. Grant (eds), *Built to Last: Reflections on British Housing Policy* (Nottingham: Russell Press, 1996), p. 12.
72. W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1987), pp. 62, 179–182, 196.
73. N. Vance, 'The Ideal of Manliness', in B. Simon and I. Bradley (eds), *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), pp. 115–128; Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities', pp. 303–326. On boys schooling, masculinity and nationhood in the eighteenth century, see M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996). Esp. Chapter 7 'Tongues, Masculinity and National Character'.
74. However, for a more complex approach, see J.S. Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England: A Study in Elites and Educational Change* (London: Garland, 1987).
75. P. Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), p. 96.
76. In 2005, Michael Roper argued that recent gender history had focused on cultural

codes or norms, neglecting the individual, subjective dimension of experience. M. Roper, 'Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', *History Workshop Journal*, 59 (2005), pp. 57–59. Two recent works that arguably offer a more developed exploration of the relationship between cultural norms and individual emotional experiences are L. Delap, *Knowing Their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

77. For example, H. Marland, *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); J. Andrews, 'Case Notes, Case Histories, and the Patient's Experience of Insanity at Gartnavel Royal Asylum, Glasgow, in the Nineteenth Century', *Social History of Medicine*, 11 (1998), pp. 255–281.

78. L. Smith, '"Your Very Thankful Inmate": Discovering the Patients of an Early County Lunatic Asylum', *Social History of Medicine*, 21 (2008), pp. 237–252; L. Wannell, 'Patients' Relatives and Psychiatric Doctors: Letter Writing in the York Retreat, 1875–1910', *Social History of Medicine*, 20 (2007), pp. 297–313.

1 Public Asylums

1. Berkshire Record Office (BRO), D/H14/D2/2/1/144, Letter from George E. to Dr. Nicholson, Jan. 1889. The record office holds the archive on behalf of the West London Mental Health NHS Trust, the hospital's current governing body.

2. K. Jones, *Asylums and After: A Revised History of the Mental Health Services* (London: The Athlone Press, 1993), p. 116.

3. P. Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (London and Washington: Leicester University Press, 1999), p. 2.

4. Jones, *Asylums*, p. 107.

5. Ibid., p. 90.

6. A. Digby, 'Moral Treatment at the Retreat', in W.F. Bynum, R. Porter and M. Shepherd (eds), *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the History of Psychiatry, People and Ideas* (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 52–72. As Leonard Smith points out a number of writers on insanity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries discussed management in treatment. L. D. Smith, *Cure, Comfort and Safe Custody: Public Lunatic Asylums in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), p. 3.

7. J. Conolly, *The Treatment of the Insane without Mechanical Constraints* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1973 [first published 1856]), p. 39.

8. Jones, *Asylums*, p. 64.

9. M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated from the French by A. Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977, reprint 1991), pp. 293–294.

10. A. Scull, 'The Domestication of Madness', *Medical History* 27 (1983), p. 233.

11. L. Hide, *Gender and Class in English Asylums, 1890–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 93; M. Guyatt, 'A Semblance of Home: Mental Asylum Interiors, 1880–1914', in S. McKellar and P. Sparke (eds), *Interior Design and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 48–71. Also see R. Wynter, '"Diseased Vessels and Punished Bodies": A Study of Material Culture and Control in Staffordshire County Gaol and Lunatic Asylum c.1793–1866', (unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Birmingham, 2008).

12. Anne Digby suggests expectations around this increased in the second half of the century, as patient numbers grew and doctors became more reliant on inanimate objects to help in the process of 'moral management'. A. Digby, *Madness, Morality and Medicine: A Study of the York Retreat, 1796–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 40, 55–56. Also see Carla Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness: Insane Asylums in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), p. 55.

13. Original plans had been on a larger scale but it was agreed in May 1829 that the asylum should only house 300. City of London, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), MA/A/J/001, Minutes of the Committee of Visiting Justices or Visitors for the building erection and management of a County Lunatic Asylum, 1827–1829.

14. Smith, *Cure,* p. 63.

15. J. Taylor, *Hospital and Asylum Architecture in England, 1840–1914: Building for Health Care* (London: Mansell, 1991), p. 135.

16. J. Mortimer Granville, *The Care and Cure of the Insane: Being the Reports of The Lancet Commission on Lunatic Asylums, 1875–6–7* (London: Hardewicke and Bogue, 1877), p. 18.

17. A.C. Shepherd, 'The Public and Private Institutionalisation of the Insane in Late Nineteenth-Century Surrey: Brookwood Asylum and Holloway Sanatorium', (unpublished PhD Thesis, Oxford Brookes University, 2009), p. 49.

18. Ibid.

19. *Commissioners in Lunacy: Twenty Third Annual Report to the Lord Chancellor* (1869) House of Commons Papers, Reports of Commissioners [CL from here on], p. 227.

20. CL, 1881, p. 302.

21. CL, 1860, p. 98.

22. See M. Stevens, *Broadmoor Revealed: Victorian Crime and the Lunatic Asylum* (Berkshire Record Office, Ebook, 2011), Locations 175–196.

23. CL, 1908, p. 356.

24. S. Tuke, *Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums, etc* (1819), p. 1.

25. W.A.F. Browne, *What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought To Be* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1837), p. 71; Sir W.C. Ellis M.D., *A Treatise On the Nature, Symptoms, Causes, and Treatment of Insanity with Practical Observations on Lunatic Asylums and a Description of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum for the County of Middlesex at Hanwell with a Detailed Account of its Management* (London: Samuel Holdsworth, 1838). Occurs repeatedly throughout. Dr Maximilian Jacobi, *On the Construction and Management of Hospitals for the Insane* (London: John Churchill, 1841), p. 56.

26. LMA, MA/M/J/001, Dec. 1827.

27. LMA, MA/M/J/002, Aug. 1829–May 1831.

28. LMA, MA/M/J/002, Feb. 2, 1831.

29. LMA, MA/M/J/002, Mar. 2, 1831.

30. Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 151, 1 (1996), pp. 111–140.

31. Tuke, *Practical,* p. 3; Ellis, *Treatise,* pp. 9, 309; Jacobi, *Construction,* p. xxxv.

32. Surrey History Centre (SHC), 3043/1/1/1/1, Report of the Medical Superintendent for 1869, p. 33; LMA, LCC/Min/01168, County of London Long Grove Asylum Minute Book, Aug. 2, 1907, p. 15.

33. Wynter, 'Diseased Vessels and Punished Bodies', p. 235.

34. Smith, *Cure,* p. 177.

35. F. Oppert, M.D., L.R.C.P.L., *Hospitals, Infirmaries and Dispensaries: their Construction, Interior Arrangement, and Management, with Descriptions of Existing Institutions, and*

Remarks on the Present System of Affording Medical Relief to the Sick Poor (London: John Churchill and Sons, 1867) p. 72.

36. D. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (London: Yale, 2006), Chapter 2.

37. SHC, 3043/1/6/1/1, Medical Superintendent's Report Book, Aug. 17, 1866; SHC, 3043/88, Correspondence with furniture suppliers 1866–1867.

38. SHC, 3043/88.

39. SHC, 3043/Box5/7, List of furniture, Bedding, &c ordered by the Committee of Visitors, not dated.

40. SHC, 3403/64, Inventory of Wards and Rooms, not dated.

41. SHC, 3043/1/6/1/1, 20 Sep. 1867, SHC, 3043/1/6/1/1; SHC, 3043/1/6/1/1, Report of the Medical Superintendent for 1869, pp. 25–26.

42. CL, 1867, p. 210; CL, 1871, p. 213; CL, 1873, p. 209; CL, 1879, p. 311.

43. CL, 1871, p. 213.

44. J. Hamlett, *Material Relations: Middle-Class Families and Domestic Interiors in England, 1850–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 90–92.

45. SHC, 3043/1/3/1/2, Rules for the Guidance of the Attendants, Servants, and all Persons engaged in the Service of the Surrey County Asylum at Brookwood, near Woking Station, 1871, pp. 15–18.

46. Granville, *Care,* p. 30.

47. Ibid., p. 37.

48. Wynter, 'Diseased', p. 222.

49. H. Rogers, 'Kindness and Reciprocity: Liberated Prisoners and Christian Charity in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 47: 4 (Spring 2014), pp. 721–745. Claudia Soares, 'Neither Waif nor Stray: Belonging, Affect and Nurture in the Victorian Children's Institution, 1881–1914', (PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, due for submission 2014).

50. Clare Hickman has shown that the term cheerful was also often applied to asylum gardens. C. Hickman, 'Cheerful Prospects and Tranquil Restoration: The Visual Experience of Landscape as part of the Therapeutic Regime of the British Asylum, 1800–1860', *History of Psychiatry*, 20, 4 (2009), p. 7.

51. Entertainments at Hanwell: 'Fancy Fair at Hanwell Lunatic Asylum', *Illustrated London News (ILN)*, May 20, 1843, p. 335; tea Party for the Matron's Birthday mentioned in 'Pokings about London', *Chambers Edinburgh Journal,* Aug. 26, 1843, pp. 253–254; 'A Lunatic Ball', *All the Year Round,* Feb. 22, 1873, pp. 349–352; Report on festive entertainments at Brookwood. 'Country News', *ILN*, Jan. 2, 1869, p. 3. For a summary of events at Brookwood see Shepherd, 'Public and Private', pp. 186–187. There were games, music and dancing at Broadmoor. 'The Criminal Lunatic Asylum at Broadmoor', *ILN*, Sep. 7, 1867, p. 271. In the early 1870s, there were exhibitions, a flower show and a brass band played once a week. CL, 1871, p. 369. Events at Long Grove included plays and musical entertainment. Programmes for Long Grove Theatre, SHC, 6276/1/1.

52. Smith, *Cure,* p. 162.

53. J. Conolly, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane* (London: John Churchill, 1847), p. 33.

54. 'The Ninth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, to the Lord Chancellor'; ordered by the 'House of Commons to be printed, May 15 1855', *The Asylum Journal of Mental Science,* 2:15 (1856), p. 3.

55. LMA, LCC/Min/01166, County of London Long Grove Asylum Minute Book, Jul. 28, 1903, p. 19.

56. LMA, H11/HLL/A/009, Rules & Regulations 1844–1894; *Reports of the Superintendent and Chaplain of Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum for the year 1864* (London: HMSO, 1865); SHC, 3403/1/3/1/1, General Rules for the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum at Brookwood, 1867.

57. *Reports of the Superintendent and Chaplain of Broadmoor.*

58. LMA, H11/HLL/A/009.

59. E. Murphy, 'The Administration of Insanity in England 1800–1870', in R. Porter and D. Wright (eds), *The Confinement of the Insane: International Perspectives, 1800–1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 340.

60. Bartlett, *Poor Law*, p. 2.

61. There was also a tussle between Conolly and the magistrates. A. Suzuki, 'The Politics and Ideology of Non-Restraint: The Case of Hanwell Asylum', *Medical History*, 39 (1995), pp. 1–2. CL, 1858, p. 13.

62. CL, 1862, p. 144.

63. CL, 1862, p. 146.

64. CL, 1862, p. 146.

65. CL, 1864, p. 24.

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67. Stevens, *Broadmoor*, Locations 175–196.

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124. D. Wright, 'Getting Out of the Asylum: Understanding the Confinement of the Insane in the Nineteenth Century', *Social History of Medicine,* 10 (1997), pp. 142–143; C. Smith, 'Family, Community and the Victorian Asylum: A Case Study of the Northampton General Lunatic Asylum and its Pauper Lunatics', *Family and Community History,* 9 (2006), p. 1; J. Melling and B. Forsythe, *The Politics of Madness: The State, Insanity and Society in England, 1845–1914* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 195, 202; MacKenzie, 'Social Factors', pp.159–161.
125. Jones, *Asylums,* p. 90.
126. Ibid., p. 108.

127. BRH, CB/189, Casebook Males 1910, 58.
128. BRH,CB/189, 30; BRH, CB/96, Case Book Males 1870, Jul. 25, 1870; BRH, CB/116, Casebook Males 1880, Apr. 7, 1880; BRH, CB/116, May 29, 1880.
129. BRH, CB/116, May 29, 1880.
130. BRH,CB/189, 30.
131. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. The cluster of letters may have been kept back because of the inappropriateness of some of the commentary, or because the addresses were unclear.
134. Wynter, 'Diseased', pp. 259–260.
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137. Ibid.
138. Mackenzie, *Psychiatry,* p. 218.
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144. BRH, CB/97, Casebook Females 1870, Jan. 11, 1870.
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146. BRH, CB/116, Apr. 7, 1880.
147. Ibid.
148. BRH, CB/39, Casebook Males 1890, Apr. 10, 1890.
149. BRH, CB/189, 30.
150. CL, 1875, p. 254; CL,1878, pp. 381, 386; CL, 1887, p. 331; CL, 1910, p. 470.
151. M.L. Newsom Kerr, '"French Beef was Better than Hampstead Beef": Taste, Treatment and Pauperism in a London Smallpox Hospital, 1871', in J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins and R. Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: Inmates and Environments* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), p. 43.
152. BRH, CB/189, 30.
153. SHC, 3473/3/6, 2424.
154. BRH, CB/189, 30.
155. SHC, 3473/3/6, 2424.
156. L. D. Smith, 'Behind Closed Doors: Lunatic Asylum Keepers 1800–1860', *Social History of Medicine,* 1 (1988), pp. 301–327.
157. J. Perceval, *A Narrative of the Treatment Experienced by a Gentleman during a State of Mental Derangement*; … (London: Effingham Wilson, 1840), pp. 3, 17.
158. WL, Ms 6382, Case book 1875–1877 Vol. 22, p. 142.
159. SHC, 7476/1/7, Rules for Senior Assistant Medical Officers, 1895.
160. Merivale, *Experiences*, p. 139.
161. Perceval, *Narrative,* p. 92.
162. Egham Museum, JW DOC 85, Rules for Sub-officers, Attendants and Servants c.1910.
163. Staff uniforms appear in some patient photographs. SHC, 3473/3/1, Female Case Book 1885–1889, 180.
164. Mackenzie, *Psychiatry*, pp. 193, 154.

165. Shepherd, 'Female', p. 241; Mackenzie, *Psychiatry*, p. 156.
166. 'A Song of "St. Ann's"', *St. Ann's*, 3:1 (April 1895), pp. 66–67.
167. BRH, CB/191, Case Book Voluntary Boarders, 1910, 46.

3 Schools for Boys

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 2. WCA, G14/241, Letter from Frank Lucas to his father, undated.
 3. J. Sabben-Clare, *Winchester College After 600 Years, 1382–1982* (Southampton: Paul Cave, 1981), p. 32.
 4. See T.W. Bamford, 'Thomas Arnold and the Victorian Idea of a Public School', in B. Simon and I. Bradley, *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), pp. 58–71.
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 6. Ibid., p. 2.
 7. See for example J. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon 597–1977* (London: Penguin, 1979), pp. 160–170. For a recent criticism of this approach, see P. Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 264–266.
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18. Ibid., p. 9.
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93. For example in the spring term of 1860 the schoolboy Sam Brooke recorded being in the drawing room on the following occasions: Thurs. 9 Feb.; Sun. Feb.12; Sun. Mar. 11; Wed. Mar. 21; Sun. Mar 25 1860. Corpus Christi College, Oxford (CCCA), 498 (1), Diary of Sam Brooke.
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97. CSA, 1/8, R.E. Grice Hutchinson 1898–1904.
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143. WCA, G77/15, Letter from Cecil Arthur Hunt to his Mother, September 22, 1887.
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162. WCA, G14/38, Letter from Frank Lucas to his Mother, January 28, 1892; WCA, G14/40, Letter from Frank Lucas to his Sister, January 31, 1892.

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3. North London Collegiate School Archives (NLCSA), Serial No.1261, Timetables pasted into Album: 1850–1876.

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8. Ibid., p. 22.

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10. P. Bain, *St Swithun's: A Centenary History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), p. 1.

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12. The school was originally based at St John's Wood on what is now Lords Cricket Ground since 1812. In 1892, the freehold of the school was sold to the Manchester,

Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company for £40,000. Jarvis, *St Margaret's School*, pp. 12, 19, 28.

13. Jarvis, *St Margaret's School*, p. 44.

14. In the early years the school inhabited a rented house called Bedales, near Haywards Heath. When these buildings became inadequate, Badley purchased a 10-acre site in the village of Steep near Petersfield in Hampshire, where a purpose-built school was erected, R. Wake and P. Denton, *Bedales School: The First Hundred Years* (London: Haggerston Press, 1993), pp. 29, 46, 49.

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16. S.A. Burstall, *Frances Mary Buss: An Educational Pioneer* (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938), p. 42. Other historians suggest different dates for the establishment of Myra Lodge. Watson posits 1866. Watson, *And Their Works*, p. 18; Kamm suggests 1870. J. Kamm, *How Different from Us: A Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale* (London: The Bodley Head, 1958), p. 104.

17. Their activities are regularly listed in the school magazine from the 1890s. No records survive for the earlier period, but the headmistresses' reports between 1911 and 1914 show the number of boarders fluctuated between 24 and 30 in this period. NLCSA, Minutes of the Governors 1910–14. In 1876 there were 449 pupils. Watson, *And Their Works*, p. 23.

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25. Bain, *St Swithun's*, p. 8.

26. G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London: André Deutsche, 1991), p. 67.

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28. NLCSA, *North London Collegiate School Magazine,* March 1892, Vol. 17, No. 50, p. 40. Also see March 1884, Vol. ix, No.26, p. 46.

29. HRO, 40M95W/B1/1/3, Winchester High School for Girls Council Minutes, October 3, 1896.

30. St Margaret's School Archives (SMSA), *St Margaret's School Magazine*, 1914, p. 18.

31. HRO, 40M95W/F2/1, Earls Down Plans.

32. 'The Kyrle Society', *NLCS Magazine*, July 1883, Vol. Viii, no. 24, p. 81.

33. NLCSA, Serial No. 2467, pp. 40–46.

34. D. Beale (ed.), *Reports Issued by the Schools' Inquiry Commission on the Education of Girls* (London: David Nutt, 1869), p. 5.

35. NLCSA, Album No. 1 1877–1915, 'School Regulations' Leaflet, 1879.

36. S.A. Burstall, *English High Schools for Girls: Their Aims, Organisation, and Management* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 129.

37. 'Foundation Day', *NLCS Magazine*, June 1888, Vol. 13, No. 39, pp. 69–72.

38. Whitcut, *Edgbaston High School*, p. 99; De Zouche, *Roedean*, p. 77. Queenwood alone (a small school in Eastbourne with no more than 200 pupils) is thought to have produced thousands of comforters for the troops. D. Petrie Carew, *Many Years, Many Girls: The History of a School, 1862–1942* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan Ltd., 1967), p. 92.

39. NLCSA, Album No. 1 1877–1915, Cutting from *Marylebone Mercury,* July 27, 1878; HRO, 40M95W/B1/1/3, 29 May 1896; *St Margaret's School Magazine*, 1897, p. 4.

40. NLCSA, Minutes of the Governors June 1910, 'North London Collegiate School 1909–1910'.

41. HRO, 40M95W/B1/1/5, Winchester High School for Girls Council Minutes, July 7, 1909.

42. *St Margaret's School Magazine*, 1910, p. 48.

43. HRO, 40M95W/B1/1/5, July 7, 1909.

44. Photographs in the 1903 Book of the School suggest that cooking and sewing were associated with girls, yet later photographs in the 1908 Book of the School also show boys doling out food and girls taking an active part in carpentry sessions. Bedales School Archives (BSA), Book of the School 1908; Book of the School 1903.

45. The Winchester College headmaster sat on the WHSG governing board. Bain, *St Swithuns*, p. 2.

46. HRO, 40M95W/B1/1/2, May 29, 1890.

47. Burstall, *English High Schools,* p. 72.

48. SMSA, Ethel Wallace, Reminiscences.

49. Jarvis, *St Margaret's School*, p. 37.

50. Watson, *And Their Works*, p. 35.

51. HRO, 40M95W/B1/1/2, Winchester High School for Girls Council Minutes Report July 1891.

52. Pedersen, *Reform*, pp. 291–292.

53. NLCS Archives, Serial No.2398, Mrs Postgate (Edith Allen) (1876–1882), 'School life'.

54. Reminiscences of A.M. Stoneman (left in 1890), in E. Cross (ed.) 'Reminiscences of the School in its Early Years', in R. M. Scrimegour (ed.), *The North London Collegiate School 1850–1950: A Hundred Years of Girls' Education: Essays in Honour of the Centenary of Frances Mary Buss* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1950), pp. 59–60.

55. Syrett, *The Victorians*, pp. 255–256.

56. NLCSA, Serial No. 275, U. Wood, 'Some Reminiscences', p. 2.

57. E.M. Hill BA, 'The Frances Mary Buss Schools', *The Girl's Realm*, April 1900, Vol. 2, No. 18, Bousfield & Co., p. 591.

58. Jarvis, *St Margaret's School*, pp. 38–40.

59. NLCSA, Serial No. 5251, N. Watherston (1896) Letter May 1968.

60. Avery, *Best Type of Girl,* p. 75.

61. Ibid., p. 92.

62. SMSA, Wallace.

63. A. Brewin, 'Miscellaneous', *Winchester High School for Girls Chronicle*, 1898, pp. 29–38.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. H. Ellis, 'Corporal Punishment in English Public Schools in the Nineteenth Century', in L. Brockliss and H. Montgomery, *Childhood and Violence in the Western Tradition* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 141–151.

67. The only reference I have found to physical chastisement being used in a school for middle-class girls occurs in Anne Ridler's account of Miss Carver, a teacher at Downe

House in the early twentieth century, and this instance is based on purely anecdotal evidence. A. Ridler, *Olive Willis and Downe House: An Adventure in Education* (London: John Murray, 1967), p. 105.

68. Beale, *Reports,* p. 129.
69. M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (London: Penguin, 1991, first translation published by Allen Lane 1977), p. 201.
70. For a useful comparison with reformatory schools see T. Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 20 (1994), p. 413.
71. Burstall, *English High Schools*, p. 76.
72. SMSA, Ethel Wallace, 'Miss Baylee'.
73. Foucault, *Discipline,* pp. 152, 155.
74. NLCSA, Blathwayt, 'Great Thoughts'.
75. NLCSA, Reminiscences of Alice M. Stoneman, pp. 59–60.
76. Jarvis, *St Margaret's*, p. 48.
77. NLCSA, Serial No. 2487, Reminiscences of Violet Moore (1884–1889), 1937, p. 22.
78. Jarvis, *St Margaret's*, p. 42; SMSA, Wallace.
79. SMSA, Wallace.
80. Wake and Denton, *Bedales*, p. 47.
81. Pedersen, *Reform*, pp. 291–294.
82. SMSA, Wallace.
83. Wake and Denton, *Bedales*, p. 66.
84. SMSA, Wallace.
85. Ibid.
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87. Wallace, 'Miss Baylee', p. 2.
88. BSA, Charis Frankenburg, Reminiscences, p. 35.
89. M.V. Hughes, *A London Girl of the 1880s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 21–22.
90. Kamm, *How Different*, p. 234.
91. NLCSA, Serial No. 2467, Reminiscences of A. Newey (1876–1877), pp. 40–46.
92. Hughes, *A London Girl*, p. 25.
93. NLCSA, Serial No. 2487, p. 30.
94. HRO, 40M95W/K1/4, Ethel Finlay Notes.
95. HRO, 40M95W/D4/5, Enid Locket Reminiscences.
96. Ibid.
97. HRO, 40M95W/04/1, Winchester High School for Girls 1913 Report.
98. N. Syrett, *The Sheltering Tree* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1939), p. 18.
99. NLCSA, Serial No. 2467, Reminiscences of M. Blundell Heynemann, pp. 40–46.
100. F. Schmalz, 'Reminiscences', *NLCS School Magazine*, July 1891, Vol. 16, No. 48, p. 49.
101. Syrett, *Sheltering Tree*, p. 16.
102. Syrett, *The Victorians*, pp. 122–123.
103. NLCSA, Serial No. 2467, 'Myra Memories' By an Old North Londoner H.B.W., pp. 40–46.
104. HRO, 40M95W/D4/5, Myra Mogany Reminiscences.
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107. Ibid.

108. A. Carpenter, *The Principles and Practice of School Hygiene* (London: Abbott, Jones & Co., Limited, 1895), p. 106.

109. F. Partridge, interviewed in A. Hardie (ed.) *Boys and Girls: A Celebration of the First One Hundred Years of Co-Education at Bedales* (Petersfield: Bedales School, 1998), p. 14.

110. Antonia White, 'A Child of the Five Wounds', ['Lippington'] pp. 229–246, in Graham Greene (ed.), *The Old School: Essays by Divers Hands* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), p. 231.

111. Bowen, 'Mulberry Tree', in Greene (ed.), *The Old School*, p. 48.

112. Ibid., p. 48.

113. Personal communication from Diana M. Gould, Christ's Hospital Museum Volunteer and old girl.

114. SMSA, Wallace; SMSA, Clarke.

115. Ibid.

116. M. Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp.187–199.

117. M. Linford, *Broken Bridges* (Tonbridge: Leonard Parsons Ltd, 1923), pp. 19–20.

118. BSA, Gardiner, 'Memories'.

119. E.L. Grant Watson, 'Pioneers' in Greene (ed.), *The Old School*, pp. 224–227.

120. Rothenstein, *Summer's Lease*, p. 24.

121. BSA, Gardiner, 'Memories'.

122. M. Allen and M. Nicholson, *Memoirs of an Uneducated Lady: Lady Allen of Hurtwood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p. 38.

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124. BSA, Charis Frankenburg, Reminiscences, p. 36.

5   Common Lodging Houses

1. Old Bailey Proceedings Online (OBP) (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 24 Nov. 2010), Aug. 1848, trial of John Davis (t18480821-2031).

2. House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP) (*www.parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/marketing/index.jsp*), *Copy of a Report made to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain Hay, one of the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, on the operation of the Common Lodging-House Act* (1853), p. 1.

3. T. Crook, 'Accommodating the Outcast: Common Lodging Houses and the Limits of Urban Governance in Victorian and Edwardian London', *Urban History*, 35 (2008), pp. 414–436.

4. They were remarked on in the eighteenth century. P. Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale, 2004), p. 31. Fisher gives some examples from Lancashire in the nineteenth century. E. Fisher, 'Local Authorities and the Management of the Common Lodging-House in Lancashire, 1851–1914', (PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 2009), p. 18. A precedent had already been established for entering the houses under earlier vagrancy legislation. Fisher, 'Local', p. 30. They were discussed in relation to Chadwick's Public Health Bill, but not included in the final version. Fisher, 'Local', p. 36.

5. L. Rose, *'Rogues and Vagabonds': Vagrant Underworld in Britain 1815–1985* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 4, p. 13.

6. Fisher, 'Local', p. 41.

7. B. Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House in Victorian England*, (Leicester: Friends of the Centre for English Local History, Paper No. 5, (Leicester, 2001), p. 6.

8. Fisher, 'Local', p. 56. Shaftesbury attempted a further act in 1857, but it failed to go through. A.S. Wohl, 'The Housing of the Working Classes in London, 1815–1914', in S.D. Chapman (ed.), *A History of Working-Class Housing* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Chapman, 1971), pp. 255–266. The Public Health Act of 1875 consolidated previous legislation, and deputy keepers were registered from 1893. Fisher, 'Local', p. 58.

9. For a discussion of other kinds of legal intrusion into working-class space, and its limits in the nineteenth century, see V. Holmes, 'Absent Fireguards and Burnt Children: Coroners and The Development Of Clause 15 Of The Children Act 1908', *Law, Crime And History*, 2 (2012), 21–58.

10. For a comprehensive discussion of the 'slummers' and their motivations, see S. Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 1–22.

11. A.S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 74–77; Trinder, 'Market', and Fisher, 'Local'.

12. Rose, *Rogues*, p. 75; M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 102–103. A more sympathetic depiction appears in R. Samuel, 'Comers and Goers' in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities Vol.1* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 123–160.

13. J.R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1998), pp. 19–20. Indeed, Alan Mayne's examination of newspaper discussions of 'the slum' suggests a uniformity in the representation of housing for the very poor that spanned Britain, North America and Australia. A. Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities 1870–1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), p. 201.

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17. M. Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830–1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 116.

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25. Ibid.

26. 'Common Lodging Houses', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 9:103, July 1857, p. 178.

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28. Ibid.
29. Trinder, 'Market', p. 6.
30. MC, Police Orders.
31. LMA, LCC/PH/REG/01/024, Metropolitan Police, Regulations, Common Lodging Houses, 8 September 1883, pp. 1–6.
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33. HCPP, *Report to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department by the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging Houses Acts within the Metropolitan Police District* (1857), p. 9.
34. LMA, LCC/PH/REG/01/024, Metropolitan Police, Regulations, Common Lodging Houses, p. 1.
35. Ibid., p. 1.
36. M. Glazier, 'Common Lodging Houses in Chester, 1841–1871', in R. Swift (ed.), *Victorian Chester: Essays in Social History 1830–1900* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), p. 73.
37. Ibid., p. 73.
38. LMA, LCC/PH/REG/01/024, Metropolitan Police, Regulations, Common Lodging Houses, p. 2.
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41. Early versions of the bill had done so but were deleted in the Lords, by landlords seeking to protect their interests Fisher, 'Local', p. 48.
42. Crook, 'Accommodating', p. 430.
43. Fisher, 'Local', p. 52.
44. HCPP, *Second Report by Captain Hay* (1854), p. 16.
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46. HCPP, *Report on the Common and Model Lodging Houses of the Metropolis, with Reference to Epidemic Cholera in 1854*, by George Glover, Superintendent Medical Inspector, General Board of Health, (1855), p. 11.
47. Crook, 'Accommodating', pp. 429–430.
48. M. Williams, *Later Leaves, Being the Further Reminiscences of Montagu Williams, QC* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1891), pp. 375–376.
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52. Ibid., p. 11.
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72. Walkowitz, *Dreadful,* p. 17; Koven, *Slumming*, Chapter 4. Mayne, *Imagined*, p. 151.
73. Crook, 'Accommodating', p. 424.
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93. Wilkinson, 'Dosser-Land', p. 154.
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97. P.A. Bezodis, 'The Fossan (Keate and Tonge) estate', *Survey of London: volume 27: Spitalfields and Mile End New Town* (London: Athlone Press for the LCC, 1957), pp. 245–251.
98. Charles Booth Online Archive *(www.booth.lse.ac.uk)*, Booth Survey Notebook, B368, pp. 142–143.
99. MC, Police Orders, October 31, 1894, p. 565.
100. This information was used to construct a database using Access. For full details see: https://www.royalholloway.ac.uk/history/research/researchprojects/athomeintheinstitution/athomeintheinstitution.aspx.
101. Sometimes other rooms such as offices also noted, but quite infrequently.
102. The variation in spelling of names of keepers makes it difficult to put a precise figure on this.
103. All mean average numbers have been rounded up to the nearest decimal place.
104. Guillery, *The Small House*, p. 209.
105. Early eighteenth-century terraced houses on Parker Street. P. Davies, *Lost London 1870–1945* (Hertfordshire: Transatlantic Press, 2009), pp. 180–181. No. 18 at least was rebuilt in the late eighteenth century. L. Gomme and P. Norman (eds), *Survey of London vol.v The Parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields part II* (London: London County Council, 1914), p. 33.
106. British Library, Goad MSS, London Vol. VIII, 1888.
107. 181 (30% of the total sample) at Covent Garden; 111 (19%) at Wentworth Street; 86 (14%) at Mill Lane.
108. 29 (5%) at Covent Garden; 18 (3%) at Wentworth Street.
109. E. Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census: The Victorian Census and Historical Research* (London: HMSO, 1996), p. 49.
110. D.M. Macraild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750–1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 47.
111. Sixty-six individuals in total. Marriage has been assumed from the presence of male and female lodgers with the same surname.
112. A. Owens, N. Jeffries, K. Wehner and R. Featherby, 'Fragments of the Modern City: Material Culture and the Rhythms of Everyday Life in Victorian London', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 15:2 (2010), pp. 212–225.
113. Privies were often filled in around the mid-nineteenth century, as sanitation was introduced across the capital, sealing in discarded goods. Owens et al., 'Fragments', p. 216.
114. C. Jarrett, 'Cesspit [99]' in B. Sudds and A. Douglas with C. Phillpotts, 'Excavations at Crispin Street, Spitalfields', Pre-Construct Archaeology Unpublished Document.

115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
117. *Post Office Directory* [Part 1: Street, Commercial, & Trades Directories] (1841), p. 116.
118. Ibid., p. 276.
119. *The Business Directory of London and Provincial and Foreign Trade Guide. 1884* (London: J.S.C. Morris, 1884), p. 78, 81, 100, 174, 188, 231, 242, 299, 364, 371, 429, 439, 645, 708.
120. LMA, LCC/PH/REG/01/003, Register of Common Lodging Houses within the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Police for the Metropolis, Common Lodging House Register 3, 1559, 1560, 1561. Sainsbury sold the houses in 1869 to Walter Johnson, who seems to have relinquished them to Thomas ?Tempenny in 1877, who sold up in 1894.
121. LMA, LCC/PH/REG/01/003, 1561.
122. LMA, LCC/PH/REG/01/003, Common Lodging House Register 6, 3176.
123. Jarrett, 'Cesspit'.
124. I am grateful to Nigel Jeffries for this information.
125. Walkowitz, *Dreadful*, p. 215, p. 226.
126. OBP, March 1881, Catherine Temple (t18810328-377); OBP, November 1903, John Carey (t19031116-39).
127. 'Fatal Assault at a Common Lodging-House', *Illustrated Police News*, 15 May 1880, p. 2.
128. OBP, October 1847, Edward Austin (t18471025-2332); OBP, May 1858, Cornelius Callaghan and Henry Waring (t18580510-599).
129. OBP, April 1913, John Allen (t19130401-31).
130. OBP, January 1894, George Fair, Albert Edwards and George Watts (t18940108-206).
131. Ibid.
132. OBP, November 1909, Thomas Merritt and Robert Johnson (t19091116-88).
133. OBP, May 1890, Thomas Feast (t18900519-467).
134. OBP, October 1887, Richard Marchant and John Frost (t18871024-1048).
135. OBP, April 1864, John Devine (t18640411-418).
136. Horsley, *Odyssey*, p. 119.
137. OBP, April 1906, Charles Delurey (t19060430-44).
138. Booth, *Labour*, vol.1, p. 206.
139. 'A Human Ostrich's Death', *Illustrated Police News (IPN)*, May, 5 1894, p. 2.
140. OBP, Jan. 1854, Mary Chapman and Thomas Higgins (t18540130-308).
141. 'Alleged Child Neglect', *IPN*, 5 Jan. 1889, p. 2.
142. Ibid., p. 2.
143. OBP, December 1865, George Cole (t18651218-101).
144. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p. 362.
145. Ibid., p. 366, p. 377.
146. Phillips, 'Dock Lodging House', p. 673.
147. J.E. Ritchie, *Days and Nights in London; or, Studies in Black and Gray* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1880), p. 130.
148. Coroners' Inquests, *Daily News*, November 12, 1881, p. 2.
149. Coroners' Inquests, *Daily News*, February 25, 1882, p. 3.
150. 'The Common Lodging-House', p. 34.
151. Mayhew, *Labour*, p. 251.
152. Walkowitz, *Dreadful*, p. 215.
153. 'The Atrocities of the East End', *Daily News*, October 5, 1888, p. 3.
154. 'Another Whitechapel Murder', *IPN*, July 27, 1889, p. 2.

155. Anon.,'The East End Atrocities', *Daily News*, 4 Oct. 1888, p. 5.

156. Ibid.

157. OBP, February 1881, Thomas Brown (t18810228-325).

158. Ellen Ross finds a high incidence of domestic violence in London working-class households and communities accepted this as normal. E. Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London 1870–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 84–86, p. 85.

159. Dix, *Passages*, p. 106.

160. OBP, April 1906, Charles Delurey (t19060430-44).

161. OBP, January 1854, Mary Chapman and Thomas Higgins (t18540130-308).

162. 'Scenes and Sights in London No. IV: Demoralizing Influences of Lodging Houses', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 2:14 (February 1850), p. 43.

6 Model Lodging Houses

1. Rowton was also known as Montague Corry and Disraeli's private secretary. He was Shaftesbury's nephew and was doubtless influenced by his uncle's work. M. Sheridan, *Rowton Houses 1892–1954* (London: Rowton Houses Ltd, 1956), pp. 9–13.

2. 'A Sixpenny Hotel Pays Better than the Cecil'. *Daily Mail*, 30 Apr. 1899, p. 12.

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4. P. Malpass, 'The Discontinous History of Housing Associations in England', *Housing Studies*, 15:2 (2000), p. 198.

5. B. Trinder, 'The Model Lodging House: Window onto the Underworld', in F. Bosbach and J.R. Davis (eds), *The Great Exhibition and its Legacy* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2002), p. 223.

6. Malpass, 'Discontinuous', p. 198.

7. Later housing associations on similar lines included the East End Dwellings Co., the Four Per Cent Industrial Dwellings Co., and the Guinness Trust. J. White, 'Business out of Charity', in J. Goodwin and C. Grant (eds), *Built to Last: Reflections on British Housing Policy* (Nottingham: Russell Press, 1996), p. 12. For an overview see J.N. Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 43–66.

8. A.S. Wohl, 'The Housing of the Working Classes in London, 1815–1914', in S.D. Chapman (ed.), *A History of Working-Class Housing* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Chapman, 1971), p. 39.

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10. Ibid., p. 41.

11. The arguably equally pressing problem of housing working women was repeatedly raised, but largely ignored until the foundation of the Ada Lewis House in 1913. See E. Gee, '"Where Shall She Live?" The History and Designation of Housing for Working-Women in London 1880–1925', *Journal of Architectural Conservation* (July 2009), pp. 27–46.

12. Trinder, 'Model', p. 224.

13. Ibid.

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20. *The Morning Post*, August 4, 1899, p. 4.

21. Quondam, 'Lodging Houses for the Industrious Classes', *The Builder*, 1856, p. 396.

22. J. Davis, 'The Progressive Council, 1889–1907', in A. Saint (ed.), *Politics and the People of London: The London County Council, 1889–1965* (London: Hambledon, 1989), p. 27.

23. See A.P. Donajgrodzki, 'Introduction', in A.P. Donajgrodzki (ed.), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp. 9–26. Gareth Stedman Jones argues that Peabody Buildings were constructed around this principle and inhabitants were forced to adhere to intrusive regulations. G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 186–187. Trinder suggests that disciplined model-lodging houses were an inversion of the unruly common lodging house. Trinder, 'Model', pp. 227–228.

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