

‘Seeking the Hidden Histories of
the Victorian Child-millworker as
Offspring, Worker and Pupil in
Saltaire, West Yorkshire 1853 –
1878.’

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Abstract.

This thesis seeks to illuminate aspects of the child factory-mill workers' home, work and school lives as inhabitants of Saltaire, a model factory-village built by the paternal-philanthropist and industrialist Sir Titus Salt, for the period 1853 – 1878. Accepting the stratified nature of social class in Victorian England during the period, this study presents counter narratives to those often contained in the public records of the time. The study attempts to illuminate the all-pervading ideological and cultural hegemony, past and present, that has sought to own both the children and their histories, exploring structural aspects of the relationships between child, employer and teachers through a different lens to that of the dominant Eurocentric and male lens that has prevailed over the past decades. Gramsci's theories of cultural hegemony and common sense will be analysed within the context of the child millworker's acceptance of their position in society. The study will explore the role of the pupil millworker as Half-timer within a broader social context including what we know from other studies of social relationships of the period. A comparative analysis is made with the Utopian factory-village of New Lanark. In determining the clearly defined roles within society and in particular the working classes of whom the child labourers of Salt's Mill are a subgroup, this study will attempt to re-imagine 'his-tory' by identifying the dominant discourses of the time and the effects such dominant discourses have had on the re-telling stories of such 'others'. Their stories will be corroborated by use of primary and secondary sources from identifiable contemporaries in an attempt to give an authentic perspective of how the child labourers lived aspects of their childhoods. This study, using mixed methods, will give a bottom-up historical analysis of the key social and economic drivers of the period 1853 – 1878.

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Chapter 1.0. Introduction.

1.1 Focus of the Study.

This thesis attempts to identify and examine aspects of the Victorian child-millworkers' lived experiences as offspring, worker and pupil (Figures 1,2). The underlying conditions for the relationships between child, employer and teachers will be examined through a different lens to the Eurocentric, arguably male lens that has prevailed over the decades. The writer will attempt to re-imagine "history" (Henry, 2006; Prentice, 1977) and identify the dominant discourses of the time and the effect they have had on the re-telling stories of such 'others' over time. The child labourers, those on the margins but within the majority working classes, will, in part be allowed to tell their own stories through oral and other documented sources, qualitative data accessed in school logbooks, photographs and other documents. Those stories will be corroborated by use of primary and secondary sources from identifiable contemporaries to give an authentic perspective of how the child labourers lived their childhoods. The writer draws the reader's particular attention to use of primary sources, within the study. Some referenced original sources will be critiqued within the text and will be identified as such. This mixed methods study will give a bottom-up historical analysis of the key social and economic drivers of the period 1853 – 1878. This methodology is in line with the seminal ideas of Thompson (1963) in the modelling of bottom-up history.

Whilst conducting the scoping literature review it became evident to the writer that this study falls within the realms of both socio-economic and socio-educational history and is written as much as a historical as an educational study. For this reason and as an example, the writer has chosen to use the primary sources such as the school-logbook to corroborate the development and dialogue of events over time. Entries will be referred to throughout the text and a full transcript of the logbooks is included within the appendices. Given that under statute the logbook was prevented from including comments of a subjective nature, the Salt's Mill factory school logbooks, surprisingly unlike other contemporary logbooks who test the rules, records information not opinion in a particularly objective way. The formula adopted by successive Headteachers was

to record attendance, admissions and leavers, illness, staff absence and performance, key events, inspections, visitors, pedagogy and curriculum developments, environmental factors including seasonal impact and financial matters. The writer was pressed to find any comments of a personal or anecdotal nature. The writer suggests this may have some connection to both legislative requirements and the modus operandi of the school's Founder and Patron, Sir Titus Salt. He was a successful, pragmatic, no-nonsense and entrepreneurial industrialist. Indeed, he was a man of very few public words and rarely voiced his opinions or feelings publicly despite the juxtaposition of holding several high-profile public roles. His son, Titus Jnr. who became School Manager and Chairman of the Shipley School Board, whilst more socially outgoing than his father, still demonstrated traits of business-like efficiency.

The study will examine aspects of the child millworkers home, work and school lives as inhabitants of Saltaire, a model factory-village built by the Paternal-Philanthropist and Industrialist Sir Titus Salt (Figure 59). The study will further examine the educational provision of elementary factory-schooling under the Half-time System for the child millworkers of Salt's Mill.

The period of study covers the period of Sir Titus Salt's lifetime from when he founded Salt's Mill to two years after his death. The study begins with the first factory-school being established in the Salt's Mill Dining-Rooms using the Half-time System of schooling in 1853. It ends in 1878 when the building of the Albert Road School was completed by the newly elected Shipley School Board. Owing to intermittent gaps in the knowledge available, the writer has had to draw on wider sources around the period to support analysis and understanding. During the period 1853 - 1878, the factory-school occupied three different premises within the boundary of Saltaire, the Dining Rooms at Salt's Mill, the Victoria Road School and finally the Albert Road Board School.

1.2 The History of Education and the Relationship with Other Disciplines in the Social Sciences.

According to educational historian Raftery (2011):

“A major development in nineteenth-century education was the spread of popular education. In England, society had been shaken by the effects of the French Revolution, and there was fear that the working classes might be receptive to Jacobin ideas. It was felt that education could be the means whereby the upper ranks could exercise control on the poor, making them law-abiding. In addition, there was growing middle-class interest in religion, and Evangelicals pursued their aim to make society more pious and moral.”

(p.50).

Historiography on the education reforms of the 19th Century, confirms the complex and rapidly changing learning environment at that time across most sectors of society (Raftery, 2011, p.51).

The work of the Rev. Andrew Bell, who developed the Madras system, and Joseph Lancaster, who developed the similar Monitorial system paved the way for mass education in Britain, as cost-effective systems for providing schooling for the poor (Brown, 1983). These were teaching methods, practised extensively in the 19th Century in which older or more able pupils taught the younger or less able ones. It is not within the scope of this study to examine these systems within the context of the schooling provided at the Salt’s Mill factory schools as it is not clear whether either of these systems were used as the school logbooks do not corroborate their use, but this area remains open for future examination.

In examining the changing landscape of education during the Industrial Revolution, some researchers refer to the “interplay” between the of ideas their institutionalisation in the process of education (Bowen, 1981, p.48). Interplay is central to the history of education as the field has points of , even overlay, with other disciplines, such as politics, social history and philosophy.

Prominent thinkers from different disciplines are central to the history of education. Lockean theory permeates discussions of Enlightenment education, while Rousseau’s *Émile* is a well-documented point of reference in histories of childhood education (Bowen, 1981).

Simon (1966) as quoted in Raftery (2011, p. 51) argued that “...the relationship between educational and social change should be central to historical study.” This is a perspective echoed by the social historian Asa Briggs (1972) as quoted in Raftery (2011, p.51) who considered that the history of education should be “...part of the wider study of the history of society, social history broadly interpreted with the politics, the economics and . . . the religion put in.”

The writer embraces this within this study and recognises the significant and justifiable influence of these scholars and other historians of education had and continue to do. Lowe (2000) has argued that the history of education is now clearly identified as a full and proper element in the study of history more generally, and that it has a central role to play in the development of social, economic and political history. The writer will go on to explore the concepts of interdisciplinary research in this study.

Raftery argues that “...an equally robust corpus of research into the relationship between education and social change exists”(Raftery ,2011, p. 52). Some researchers have scrutinised systems (Richardson,2007), whilst other researchers have looked closely at education traditions (Hendrie,1997). In this study the writer will be examining the interplay between the working and schooling conditions of the child-labourer through the implementation of the Half-time System. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.12 and subsequent chapters.

Whilst conducting this research the writer has identified scholarly work spanning several decades through which historians of education have continued to engage in changes and developments in scholarship in Historiography, methodologies and sources (Raftery, 2007; Richardson, 2007; Mattingly, 2008). Work on sources and methodologies has been invigorated by academics (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000; Goodson & Sikes, 2001) who have challenged the historian of education to gather data using a variety of methods, including using quantitative data. A limited example of this this study is the compilation of the incidence of illness and death amongst the pupils of the Salt’s Mill factory schools (Table 1). Others support the creating of oral archives (Cunningham & Gardner, 2004; Raftery, 2006). This, they claim, would reduce the number of ‘gaps’ in the historical record and prevent further erasure of the non-dominant discourses.

Similarly, the writer has collected a few short life-stories which are discussed in Chapter 5. Researchers have also used sources such as images (Burke & Ribiero ,2007; Spencer, 2007; Braster et al.,2011) and material culture to write the social history of the classroom (Grosvenor, 1999; Braster et al, 2011). The writer has done this by the examining of photographs from within archives and by photography done on site.

1.3. Using an Interdisciplinary Approach.

The writer proposes that for this study to achieve its goal it will be necessary to use an interdisciplinary approach. A review of the concept of interdisciplinarity and the implications for an understanding of educational studies has been conducted by McCulloch (2012 ,p.295). He raised issues about boundary work around and across the disciplines. McCulloch discusses the question of whether education is a discipline, together with the role of other “foundation disciplines, (such as psychology, sociology, history and philosophy) in underpinning educational studies (2012 p.295). The writer exposes the interdisciplinary nature of this study in the methodology and methods utilised together with a use of theory to analyse the actions of participants within the study.

McCulloch (2012,p.295) argues that “Interdisciplinary approaches to educational studies have a great deal of potential for enhancing our understanding of this field – its past, its present and indeed its future – and for promoting its contribution to education and the wider society.” In conducting this particular study relating to Saltaire and Salt’s Mill, the writer has researched across the educational, social and economic dimensions. Integral is the interplay between them as they have affected the telling of the child labourers’ stories. The writer has also had to remain cognisant of theories such as those affecting, for example, memory.

According to Petrie (1976, p.9) interdisciplinary efforts, “...require more or less integration and even modification of the disciplinary sub-contributions while the inquiry is proceeding. Different participants need to take into account the contributions of their colleagues in order to make their own contribution.” Whilst this study is conducted by a lone researcher, the writer suggests that there has been corroboration in locating sources from other professionals in other

disciplines e.g., sociology and archival science. Weingart (2010, pp.3-14) goes further and claims that "...interdisciplinarity does not necessarily replace the disciplines but indeed depends on disciplinary knowledge for its further development." The sociologist Smelser (2003, p.653) argues that "The boundaries of most disciplines have become so permeable and indistinct, and so much exportation and importation has occurred that if one ranges widely in his or her discipline, one is being in effect interdisciplinary."

The writer concurs with Smelser given that their educational history knowledge has supported the development of various political and social themes within the study.

The writer agrees with some educational historians when they suggest that "Education has been at the heart of all of the key struggles of modern times in different parts of the world. It has been a rallying call for social progress, change and equality, and has been fundamental to social class struggles, struggles for democracy, and the fight for social justice" (McCulloch, 2011, p.1). This could not be truer than for the child-labourer pupils attending Salt's Mill factory school and residing in Saltaire during the period under examination. Whilst the children may have been marginalised, events that were playing out during their childhoods would have significant impact on the children who followed them and their respective childhoods. The events of their schooldays and childhoods would serve lessons for their successors and future policymakers.

Lowe (2000, p.503) was convinced that "Just as a society which is ignorant of its history is doomed to repeat its mistakes, so an education system which ignores its past is unlikely to achieve its own best future." Lowe's broader argument is that as in all fields of historical study, historians of education should develop a familiarity with how the discipline has developed and build on its past through the examination of what is likely to be largely forgotten earlier work (Lowe, 2002). Whilst examining old archival material and what may be considered out-dated texts, some over 100 years old, rich and detailed information was rediscovered from which lessons can be learned today. An example of this is where details of discussions and debates around 'Payment by Results' in determining school budgets and teachers' pay were found, often buried deep in

the archive. This system is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.4. and subsequent chapters. The writer was mesmerised by the profound understanding of what childhood could and maybe should be, as written by feminist writers of the time, particularly those of the Victorian realism school (Humphries, 2010).

Cohen, in a seminal text published in the 'Harvard Educational Review' in 1976, argued that research into the history of education should not simply be about filling in a missing chapter in the history of education as a field of study, or discussing the uses of history in schools of education, but should rather aim to "...restore the broken links between our generation and our predecessors, to fill in certain gaps in our memory"(p.303). Cohen argues that historiography of the ways in which the history of education has been researched and presented is not a narrowly academic exercise. The writer posits that it affords the researcher an exciting opportunity to re-discover rich and prophetic material which is not time-bound.

In studies such as this, the writer suggests that due regard must be given to both history and education. Aldrich has observed that such varying commitments may vary according to the circumstances of audience and location (Aldrich, 2003). Silver reflects on the nature of the history of education, and comments that "The history of education is in fact multiple histories, because education is itself no simple and homogeneous concept or category, and because its history can be explored in relation to almost endless variables"(1983 p.4). McCulloch (2011) cites eminent Sociologist and Professor of Pedagogy Durkheim, who stated that it is only by carefully studying the past that we can come to anticipate the future and to understand the present, and so the history of education provides the soundest basis for the study of educational theory. McCulloch (2011) goes on to claim that both education and history are contested and contingent categories, and more broadly the social sciences have also contributed a great deal to the study of the history of education over the years. Further, that all these areas themselves represent a wide and diverse range of values, approaches and interests, and each is contested and changing.

As a social science, the history of education may illuminate wider social issues. This was particularly evident in this study where matters of class, status, gender,

politics, schooling, childhood, workers' rights and philanthropy to give but a few examples, played their parts in the rich Saltaire tapestry of many different threads. Yet this tapestry gives opportunity for inclusive vision. "The history of education can seek to reach across these diverse constituencies to stake a claim in all three, education, history and the social sciences, and to build on its strengths across them" (McCulloch, 2011, p.4).

Brian Simon's work is of relevance to this study. According to McCulloch (2011), Simon sought to achieve a systematic revision of the history of education by emphasizing its political characteristics from a Marxist perspective by relating education to social change. More particularly McCulloch (2011) claims that Simon examined it in terms of social class and the actions of the working class to achieve social equality. Never was there a closer link between Simon's work and the examination of the lives of the child-millworkers and pupils of Saltaire. This approach was again based on an inclusive vision that sought to integrate education, history and the social sciences in its understanding of the history of education.

According to Simon (1960) the chief lesson that history has to show about education is that the ruling class has always without exception used education for its purposes as a buttress to support and perpetuate its dominating position and has always opposed the extension of education to other classes except to the limited extent which, at certain periods, may have been necessary for its more effective domination. (Simon, 1960) Thus, McCulloch (2011, p.46) continued this argument and expanded it to argue that working-class schools in the 19th Century had been essentially education on the cheap for the masses, and since the Elementary Education Act of 1870 "...the ruling class working through the bourgeois state has dominated the education system both as regards its form or structure and as regards its content."

For Simon, propagation of knowledge of the history of education was important for a number of reasons.

McCulloch (2011) paraphrased the anonymous but undoubtedly Simon's claims that:

“...[history of education]...clarifies the real issues, strengthens us in our struggle, points the way forward. But he [Simon] stressed it must be our history, one that recognizes the part played by the working class, and which assesses the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie in the light of their real motives...[Simon] concluded roundly that this working-class struggle continued to the present day. [Writer’s parentheses].”

(p.46).

What makes these views so relevant to this study is that Simon referred to freeing our children from exploitation in the factories at the age of fifteen. How would he have commented on exploitation of the working-classes at age eight years? (Simon, 1988; Cunningham, 2004).

Samuel (1981) and Thompson (1963) were to describe this as ‘people’s history’ or broadening the basis of history, enlarging its subject matter, making use of new materials and offering new maps of knowledge. This is another goal of this study – to develop more of ‘peoples’ history’ by exposing small examples of the lived experiences of some of the child labourers and pupils of Saltaire.

1.4 The Canon of Social, Industrial and Educational Academic Historical Research.

On reading and analysing the significant bodies of academic research in the field of history of education it becomes apparent that the most popular themes revolve around the topics of commissions & committees, policy formation and legislation, codified and non-codified guidance & regulation ,the provision, control and administration of schools, the changing shape of different sectors of education, the types of provision, the broader contexts of educational functions such as the role of church and the labour movements and finally the nature of the levels of literacy and numeracy within the elementary education populations. It appears a well-surveyed field but given 21st Century inclinations in research to consider the ‘insider’ or ‘service user’, it is unavoidable to ignore that the sources of such knowledge are not impartial in setting the context of the era in which child labourers lived. This thesis attempts to unearth a few of those stories

which have not yet been told and thus penetrate the layers of dominant discourse in an act of resistance and to attempt to explore the lived experiences of the children.

It is straightforward and enticing for the researcher to embroil themselves in the large collection of artefacts, documents and sources surrounding Sir Titus Salt's life and works. Many hours were spent by the writer in different archives exploring this large collection until realising that these sources, albeit they are fascinating enough in their own right, did not appear to voluntarily and easily expose the 'lived lives' of the pupil child-labourers. Indeed, it appeared that the child-labourer's stories had been erased or at least disappeared.

In analysing Silver's (1977) argument and developing it further, one might go on to conclude that most of the canon of published literature about popular education during the Victorian period offered few or no explanations of the informal role of schools in society which might include relationships within schools, the social structures and processes therein and the changing ideas and assumptions within education and the provision of schooling which raised controversies. Amongst these the question of the Half-time System for child labourers or the mixed methods of education introduced within the factory-schools which this thesis sets out to explore. Research topics have been studied in isolation, excepting those which claim to set the context of which these different elements play. As such they make no convincing attempt to consider the impact of schooling and the range of responses and resistances to it set within the context of the informal links between school and family, school and work, school and recreation and school and politics in a holistic way. For example, the writer came across a dearth of sources relating to the child's recreational time whilst in school and out. It is only whilst examining the school logbook for the later part of the dates of study was there any mention of children's games being taught.

One of Silver's (1977) most compelling arguments is that purblind, the canon of research recognised only limited areas of education as being suitable for investigation. The writer will come to the questions of researching those 'on the margins' and the 'other' later. This thesis will attempt to examine the dominant

discourses within the canon of social, industrial and educational academic historical research and how it has placed a blanket over the histories of the child millworkers themselves. The dominant discourses have permeated the proliferation of written word that has come to be written during his lifetime and significantly following the death of Sir Titus. These dominant discourses, as being the accepted ‘truth’ have then mutated over time, perpetuating what the authors would like society to remember and this has then penetrated the local memory perpetuating falsehoods, all be they pleasant and nostalgic memories. The thesis will attempt to ‘get under’ these dominant discourses, to locate and examine the child millworkers lived experiences.

1.5. Hidden Histories.

These ‘gaps’ or ‘hidden histories’ in the canon of knowledge about elementary education in Victorian England and in particular , the model factory-village of Saltaire, appears not to have alerted historians to the dangers of a particular path. Past researchers appear to have not recognised the inherent dangers of seeing local studies merely as an extension or corroboration of the dominant discourses and/or confirmation of national trends. The writer would argue that local studies could change the lens of how education history might be viewed affording opportunity to conduct bottom-up historical research. Saltaire and its child labourers provide researchers with a unique opportunity in this regard.

This study will attempt to examine the role of the pupil millworker in the broader social context including what we know from other studies of social relationships of the period. A limited comparative analysis will be made in Ch. 3.13. below of Saltaire and another social experiment, the Utopian factory-village of New Lanark as established by Robert Owen. This comparison aims to demonstrate the superficiality of similarities when considering, amongst other factors, the motivations of their founders. There are limited sources of published studies of the experiences that child millworkers lived whilst attending school under the Half-time System even though they numbered some 40,000 according to the Census of Great Britain 1851 (published in 1854). More specifically the study examines how these wider studies relate to this piece of research, and in

particular the lived experiences the child millworkers of Salt's Mill experienced during the period of this study. This thesis attempts to examine the interrelationships between school and social relationships and conditions. It is documented that the Half-time System produced tensions between the child's role as pupil, as employee, as son or daughter, sibling and finally as wage-earner and contributor to the family economy. These matters will be examined throughout the study and particular elements such as daily school life, as examined in the school log and the living memories of the Half-timers themselves, will be examined in the research findings and analysis.

1.6. Using a 19th Century or 21st Century Lens?

It could be argued that there has been an acceptance by historians of models of social structure and social change that are simplistic and linear. This became evident to the writer when producing the outline structure of the literature review. When attempting to chronicle the proliferation of legislative and non-legislative events as relevant to the provision of the factory schools in Saltaire and the experiences or lived lives of the child millworkers, it seemed straightforward to accept that a linear timeline would be a good place to start. However, the writer realised that this would set a course to 'waste' other valuable opportunities, originating from the dominant discourses, when there are numerous already published works which will be examined in the literature review.

That is not to dismiss such works as invaluable but merely to assert that such methods predispose the writer to the choice of what knowledge is central to this study i.e., key events and the realities that occurred at that moment in time as documented in the vast body of codified knowledge. This is evidenced by the analysis of a key primary source, the school logbook, which rather than complete transactional analysis, which in the writer's opinion would only reveal the objective statement of facts, the writer chose to systematically examine each entry, cross-referencing the entries with key events and experiences of sociohistorical and socioeconomic significance across the period under study. The full transcript appears in the appendices. Significant events will be noted,

and the reader will be alerted to the text within the logbook .Each of these events affected the lives of the othered child-labourers and those of which they came in everyday contact with in both direct and indirect ways. However, the writer does not undervalue the function of timelines and the like. But this comes back to the epistemological dilemmas of truth, belief and justification. It is the writer's intention to use this body of knowledge as the unseen skeleton on which to hang the flesh of the stories we can discover about children's lived lives. As for the less tangible, the study seeks evidence of what the child labourers experienced and what they could recall in their various roles as pupil, son/daughter, sibling, employee and wage-earner. What they felt, their opinions and beliefs - they become the chased prize – and a key driver behind the thesis. The writer recognises this may not be achievable, but an attempt will be made to get closer to the less tangible. To do this the study is required to explore the various interactions the child labourer had with those around them.

1.7. The Research Questions.

This raises the questions of how new light can be shed on the lives of child factory-millworkers? Further, why might these lives have been so hidden and what is the value of conducting such research ? Perhaps these questions raise difficult or embarrassing questions about how historiography has perpetuated the dominant discourses of capitalist philanthropy and the significant higher and middle social-classed individuals involved? Or maybe the remains and traditions of the sources they bore have inadvertently not been preserved and long disappeared in the annals of time? Maybe the working-class traditions were not considered of any value and therefore worthy of preservation? Was Saltaire considered by its founder Sir Titus Salt to have been established on Utopian-socialist ideals or was it more a straightforward economic and controlling relationship between a capitalist-philanthropist and paternalistic industrialist with his workforce? Or maybe other significant political and/or philanthropic events such as the abolition of slavery, of those ripped from their homelands, dominated the Nation's psyche which had the effect of the misery of child-labourers at home, hidden in plain sight, to be much overlooked until much later?

In whichever case, such realities should be examined within the context of the contemporary controversies at play and that they should be viewed additionally through a 19th Century lens and not simply a backward examination through a 21st century lens.

1.8. Summary.

Chapter 1 sets out the focus of the study. This thesis attempts to identify and explore the relationships between child, employer and teachers. These will be examined through a different lens to that of the dominant Eurocentric and arguably male lens that has prevailed over the past decades. This study will attempt to examine the role of the pupil millworker in the broader social context including what we know from other studies of social relationships of the period.

A limited comparative analysis will be made between Saltaire, founded by Sir Titus Salt, and the Utopian-socialist factory-village of New Lanark as founded by Robert Owen. Ch. 3.13. briefly compares and contrasts the motivations and intentions of each of the founders as well as the risks taken by them in what might be described as mill-dominated village-experiments in worker-employee relations.

The study will identify the dominant discourses of the time and the effect these have had on the re-telling stories of such ‘others’ over time. The child labourers, those on the margins but included in the majority i.e., the working-classes, will tell aspects of their own stories through oral and other documented sources, qualitative data accessed in school logbooks, photographs, and other documents. Those stories will be corroborated by the use of primary and secondary sources from identifiable contemporaries to give an authentic perspective of how the child labourers lived aspects of their childhoods. The writer draws the reader’s attention to the use of primary sources, particularly images, within the study. Some referenced original sources will be critiqued within the text and will be identified as such. All images appear within the Appendices. This qualitative study will give a bottom-up historical analysis of the key social and economic drivers of the period 1853 – 1878.

Chapter 2.0 Methodology.

This chapter identifies the Research Paradigm and discusses how the study sets out to question the dominant discourses of the period and subsequently over time. The chapter goes on to examine how the histories of non-dominant groups, in particular the child labourers of the mill-factory called Salt's Mill, appear largely to have been ignored and even erased following examination by a male and patriarchal gaze (Henry,2006). The writer argues that when such records are homogenized, white working-class identity is ignored and that issues of class, gender and ethnicity are never fully explicated. The reader is introduced to the ideological and cultural hegemony concepts of Gramsci (1971) as framing the lives of child millworkers and their families as working-class residents of Saltaire.

The writer acknowledges that whilst they themselves have been exposed to the ideas of childhood developed by sub-groups of the marginalised, i.e., their own parents/grandparents/great-grandparents as child workers, the philosophical foundation of cultural relativism makes the writer's memories and recollections of no less value than the dominant discourses when examining the life stories of the marginalised.

2.1. Ideological and Cultural Hegemony.

Gramsci (1971) accepted the analysis of capitalism put forward by Marx that the struggle between the ruling class and the subordinate working class was the dominant force that generated societal progress. But it is in his theories of how the ruling classes ruled that are of relevance in this study and the pivotal role that ideological and cultural hegemony played. Gramsci found unacceptable the traditional Marxist view of how the ruling class ruled. It was here that Gramsci made a major contribution to modern thought in his concept of the role played by ideology (Burke,1999; Burke,2005).

A concise definition of ideology is argued as "...shared ideas or beliefs which

serve to justify the interests of dominant groups”(Giddens, 1997, p.583). Burke clarifies ideology’s relationship to power and argues it legitimises the differential power that groups hold and by doing so distorts the reality of situations that people, in this case the working classes and in this particular study, the child labourers find themselves in (Burke,2005).

Gramsci discusses hegemony as the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations. In other words, hegemony is the key tenet that organises the process of socialisation into every area of daily life.

It is so extensive and successful that this prevailing consciousness is internalised by the population and it becomes part of what is generally called ‘common sense’ so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things (Boggs,1976, p.39).

Gramsci took Marx’s concept of economic structure and the superstructure laid down by institutions and beliefs by dividing the superstructure into those institutions that were overtly coercive (such as the public institutions of the government and the legal system). These were the state or political society. Those institutions that were non-coercive (such as churches, schools, trade unions and family), Gramsci regarded these as civil society.

Some argue (Burke, 2005) that to some extent, *schools could fit into both categories*.

During the period of this study, parts of school life were clearly coercive. (Compulsory education, ‘Payment by Results’, attendance requirements of the Half-time system, national standards) whilst others were not (the hidden curriculum).

Gramsci claimed that the ruling class maintained its domination by the consent of the mass of the people and only used its coercive apparatuses, the forces of law and order, as a last resort. So, hegemony of the ruling capitalist class resulted from an ideological bond between the rulers and the ruled. In this case the bond was between the industrialist-capitalists millowners and the working-class millworkers.

Ideological hegemony meant that most of the population accepted what was happening in society as ‘common sense’ or as ‘the only way of running

society'. Sure, the child millworkers had complaints (e.g., The Ten Hour Movement) about the way things were run and people looked for improvements or reforms (Chartism) but the basic beliefs and value system underpinning society were either neutral or of general applicability in relation to the class structure of society. The child labourers of Saltaire in general accepted the way things were and had to be. To help with the meagre family budget and pay the rent to live in their employer's property, they had to work. To do that they had to become Half-timers and pay the school pence to their employer, fulfilling the employers legal requirement for them to receive schooling in order to attend work and for the employer to be provided with child labour. It may be argued that child labourers were more malleable than adult workers and created less-friction in the employer>worker relationship being less demanding and more easily contained and managed. Their expected behaviour as workers could also be better manipulated through the process of schooling and attendance at their employer's school. They were taught from an early age what was expected of them and if they worked diligently, they earned the right to their meagre wages. Schooling played a vital role in how society worked. The school system was just one part of the whole system of ideological hegemony in which individuals were socialised into maintaining the status quo (Gramsci,1971). The writer posits that whilst the introduction of elementary education, and in particular the Half-time system, had been created to 'modernise' the United Kingdom, in a global market and in a democratic way, just as Gramsci had claimed, the new schooling was "...advocated as being democratic, while in fact it is destined not merely to perpetuate social differences but to crystallise them in Chinese complexities" (Gramsci, 1971, p.40).

Gramsci described the social character of traditional schools as being determined by each social group and that throughout society each group had its own type of school "...intended to perpetuate a specific traditional function, ruling or subordinate"(Gramsci, 1971, p40). There was little doubt in some academics thoughts that schooling and the education taught therein was one way in which the mass of the population was kept in its place (Gramsci, 1971, p.43; Entwistle,1979; Allman,1988; Smith, 1994).

Some academics argued that Britain was (and continues to be) dominated by a

ruling class. Although the power of this class is dependent upon its control or ownership of the means of production, this economic power is reinforced by the cultural hegemony of the ruling class (Altbach,1979). Various concepts have been used to label the powerful. This is a complicated and multi-faceted ontological and epistemological sphere which is outside the parameters of this study to examine in any depth. The writer however posits, that whilst this research is sophisticated in theoretical terms, most research attempts to relate the study of power to the British class structure when it comes to ascertaining the cultural forces that help to perpetuate inequalities of power. Opinion is sharply divided between those who argue that power is dependent upon the ownership of the means of production and those who are more inclined to stress control of the major bureaucratic organisations (whether these be in the corporate, political or military spheres) (Altbach, 1979). All sides, however, recognise that those who hold power will try to establish their cultural hegemony and the ways of achieving this are relatively similar regardless of what the actual basis of power may be. The writer posits that the power generated from the life works of Sir Titus Salt spans across both the means of production, as a leading Industrialist-capitalist-philanthropist-employer and from the bureaucratic organisations in which he officiated.

To recap, a clear description of cultural hegemony refers to domination or rule maintained through ideological or cultural means. It allows those in power to have significant influence and control of the values, norms, ideas, expectations, worldview, and behaviour of the rest of society. By framing the worldview, and all the economic and social structures therein, as benefitting the whole of society (when it may only benefit the ruling class) it therefore wholly legitimises itself. It follows that the ruling classes can then exercise their authority using peaceful means (Cole, 2020, paras.1,2)

Cole (2020) presents a persuasive argument in referring to Gramsci:

“Gramsci discussed the role of “common sense”—dominant ideas about society and about our place in it—in producing cultural hegemony. For example, the idea of “pulling oneself up by the bootstraps,” the idea that one can succeed economically if one just tries hard enough, is a form of “common sense” that has flourished under capitalism, and that serves to justify the system. In other words, if one believes that all it takes to succeed is hard work and dedication, then it follows that the system of capitalism and the social structure that is organized around it is just and valid. It also follows that those who have succeeded economically have earned their wealth in a just and fair manner and that those who struggle economically, in turn, deserve their impoverished state. This form of “common sense” fosters the belief that success and social mobility are strictly the responsibility of the individual, and in doing so obscures the real class, racial, and gender inequalities that are built into the capitalist system.

In sum, cultural hegemony, or our tacit agreement with the way that things are, is a result of socialization, our experiences with social institutions, and our exposure to cultural narratives and imagery, all which reflect the beliefs and values of the ruling class.”

(Cole, 2020, paras.1,2)

These ideas are very much in line with the Radical-Liberal capitalist tenet of ‘laissez-faire’ of which Sir Titus Salt was a fervent believer and will later form the discussions of the conclusions of this study.

It is interesting to note that academics such as Vicinus (1974) in the seminal work, ‘The Industrial Muse’, observes that during the mid- to late-nineteenth century the working-class writers of northern England attempted to create a distinctive working-class voice to represent themselves.

They were cognisant of the cultural capital an authentic variety of their Northern dialect carried, and they were keen to make this linguistic characteristic work for them. Safely codified in the pages of literature, a traditional dialect could represent all classes of the deeply divided world of the industrial towns. It was Lancashire at the forefront of these acts of resistance against cultural hegemony in Northern England (Hakala, 2010). Regrettably there is some evidence to suggest that in the mill towns of Yorkshire were not as successful and this is reflected in the dearth of contemporary recorded stories of the working classes and in this study in particular, the hidden stories of the child labourers of Saltaire.

2.2. Questioning the Dominant Discourses in Historical Research.

Whilst it is shamefully true that cases of child poverty and abuse still exist in England today (McCall, 2016; Ingrassia, 2018), one might posit that it does not compare numerically to those which existed in working-class ‘childhoods’ of the 19th Century, with often forced child-labour and corporal punishment in not insignificant instances. However, researchers should avoid producing an ideologically slanted analysis of the subject to support their thesis through their own contemporary lens. Silver claims “The trouble with alternative

ideologies...is that they touch upon important questions but are inhibited from sustained or sensitive research or analysis by their ideological passion.”

(Silver,2006, p.65.)

Compare this to the work of Samuelson (2008) and Gallegos(1992) who discuss the ideas of emergent alternative histories and the revisioning of history subjectively through gender, race, class and sexuality. Rich (1972) describes revisioning of history as seeing with fresh eyes and a way of looking back to an old text with a new critical thinking. An argument is put forward that historians are now revising bodies of thought and analysing existing data in new ways. They are examining evidence that might not have been considered researchable. Returning to the ideas that the field of history is splintered and fractured, educational histories of the ‘others’, the marginalised are being disseminated and alternative histories emerging. It would seem this thesis is to be written in a time of ferment when other possibilities of understanding are emerging. Historians need to consider that there needs to be a “cultural relativism” within their methodology. The philosophical foundation of this new history is the idea that reality is socially or culturally constructed.

2.2.1. Histories of the Non-dominant Groups.

In choosing the research area, exploring the provision of factory-schooling to the child millworkers of Salt’s Mill during the period 1853- 1880, the writer became aware that there was a proliferation of secondary sources and limited primary sources. The writer was drawn to explore the work of such historians as Annette Henry whose work has focused on the research of many scholars on the margins and of whom Henry views herself as one (Henry,2006). Henry posits that for historians, those scholars silenced, who are invisible to the general discourse of historical academia, their silence represents great gaps of which critical questions can be asked. Henry and her contemporaries (Samuelsson,2008; Smith, 1999; Watkins,2001) attempt to revise the historical past and contemporary knowledge production.

Such writers argue that power is persuasive in the narratives of history. Further when "...the histories of 'non-dominant' groups have been analysed, they have been examined from Eurocentric and patriarchal perspectives." (Henry, 2006, p.337). This struck a chord with the writer given the mass of contemporary prose was written *about* child millworkers. The only voice given *to* these children is the rare and recorded evidence given by such individuals to Inquiries and Commissions. Further, it appears that even this voice is recorded and analysed with a patriarchal gaze. These oral histories are regularly audited and re-presented in minutes and other such government or quango publications. History, in this case, has been told from the point of view of those who hold the power and the 'other' seems odd and even dysfunctional to those who wrote the record and influenced the writing of the history. Theoharis (2001) explained that when such records are homogenized, white working-class identity is ignored and that issues of class, gender and ethnicity are never explicated.

2.3. Cultural Relativism.

Cultural relativism is the concept that the child millworker , the millowner, the teacher, the parent's beliefs, values and actions should be understood within the context of the subject's own culture, rather than be judged against the criteria of another (Tilley, 2000). The study needs to move from the existing dominant discourses, whilst following a positivist epistemology leading to an interpretivist approach, whilst acknowledging the researcher is part of the research. The way in which the researcher interprets the findings therefore cannot be wholly objective. The sharing of this idea that cultural relativism and the idea that reality is socially or culturally constructed undermines the traditional distinction between what is central in history and what is peripheral (Burke,1991).

Historians such as Silver (1977) have argued that there are difficulties inherent with this approach as it encourages only a new 'version' of an old discussion or theory to be produced, instead of basing the discussion or theory in and around new insights into historical reality. The researcher needs to take a leap of faith to escape from untested, comfortable realities i.e. of the dominant dialogues and take the difficult path which leads to serious questions around the reality of

complex societies. These paths followed will open questions with sharper analysis and insight, and by using effective methods of identification and interpretation may also raise difficulty, embarrassment and maybe even discomfort (Henry, 2006).

Prentice (1977) adds the argument that certain knowledge and realities are deemed low on the hierarchy of knowledge and more powerfully claims that certain lives, practices and ways of being are omitted from *his-tory*. As this body of knowledge expands and alternate ideas and theories are raised and discussed, it has become apparent that the field of historical knowledge is splintered and fractured as new ideas of ontology and epistemology are “revisioning extant bodies of thought, analysing existing data in new ways, or examining evidence that might not, heretofore, have been considered researchable “ (Henry, 2006, p. 339). Old history is being revisited and a new history is being written within a consciousness that new history starts with the philosophical foundation that reality is socially or culturally constructed. This has been identified as cultural relativism. This idea, that new research into the same past gives voice to the researched by revisioning history. This undermines the traditional distinction about what is central in history to what is peripheral. The writer has previously alluded to their own positionality and this notion is of resonance within this study. The writer herself is of white, female, working-class background and has been exposed to family, and indeed alternate, oral histories, from parents, grandparents and even great-grandparents of their childhoods whilst working in the pits of the North East and the factories of the Potteries. The writer has been exposed to the ideas of childhood from sub-groups of the marginalised. The philosophical foundation of cultural relativism makes the writer’s memories and recollections of no less value than the dominant discourse of events.

Humphries (2013) has completed a quantitative and qualitative analysis of many autobiographies, by working men who lived through the Industrial Revolution, which clearly demonstrated there was an upsurge in child labour during the period of study of this thesis i.e., 1853 - 1878. It equates to a new balance within the workforce with significant increases in the numbers of child labourers and the relative ages of those child labourers being much younger than the preceding child workforce. According to Humphries (2013, pp. 395 – 418) “...The new

equilibrium, in turn , was related to a number of co-incidental developments including : an increase in the relative productivity of children as a result of mechanisation [strength no longer required],new divisions of labour [small and nimble to facilitate the process],and changes in the organisation of work [machines running longer and faster] [writer’s parentheses].”

“There were more dependents within larger families [as fertility improved], falling male wages and pockets of poverty [as a result of economic depression following the Crimean War] and significant urbanisation [with over-supply of male, unskilled labour], family instability [caused by migration, alcohol, poor living conditions] and bread-winner frailty [poor health as a result of poverty] [writer’s parentheses]”(Hobsbawm,1994, Intro.).

2.4. History ‘From Below’.

Any researcher attempting a study of Saltaire cannot avoid recognising and identifying the dominance that Sir Titus Salt and his family played in the village’s foundations and later history. After all, the village bears his name. The environs are littered with familial references. The streets bear the names of his family and close associates. Indeed, Saltaire village, Shipley Town and the City of Bradford’s tourist economy continues to derive success on exploiting its close association with the living Salt family, which existed well into the early 20th Century, and continues to this day thanks to Saltaire’s award of UNESCO World Heritage Status in 2001.

Certain academics (Sabyasachi, 1983; Burke, 1981; Hobsbawm, 1974) have claimed that the strength of history from below lies in micro-level and in-depth investigation. The writer agrees with these arguments and attempts to frame this study within contemporary events affecting Saltaire (through analysis of primary sources such as school logbooks. The writer acknowledges and discusses the existence of other villages and towns, which may be considered experiments in employer and employee relationships. Many key actors from such villages and towns visited the factory schools in Saltaire, for example, the founders of the village of Rhodes, built by the Schwabe family of Lancashire for their millworkers visited Saltaire on 29th January, 1879.

Unlike traditional political history ‘History from Below’ (Thompson, 1963) otherwise known as ‘Peoples’ History’, seeks to identify with ordinary people concentrating on their perspectives and experiences rather than focusing on the actions of ‘great men’ such as Sir Titus Salt. Rather than focusing on how the working-classes organised themselves into political groupings or labour movements to ameliorate the conditions for the oppressed and exploited worker, academics with a ‘People’s History’ focus chose to focus on popular protest and culture identifying alternate sources such as oral histories to tell the stories of the othered (The Institute of Historical Research, 2008). Sabyasachi (1983) discusses exponents of such an approach including eminent scholars such as Cobb who stressed the individual and rejected theory-based generalisations. Christopher Hill, who founded the journal ‘*Past and Present*’ also encouraged the participation of non-academics in the writing of history and argued the importance of history by-all and for-all. Raphael Samuel had a significant role in establishing the *History Workshop Movement*, which is of particular significance in this study given that a key primary source identified was a publication arising from such a workshop titled ‘Saltaire: Our memories, our history’ published in 1984 by Hall et al. This was a local history workshop group of ex-Salt’s Mill workers which was supported by the Extra-mural Department of the University of Leeds. Following the founding of the *History Workshop Movement* at Ruskin College in the 1960s there was a shift to emphasise the value of women’s history and oral histories. As it is, most authors of the above-mentioned pamphlet were women and former child-labourers who were stimulated to publish aspects of their life-stories through the workshop movement of the 1980s. This study is an attempt to emphasise the importance of oral histories through the voices of the child labourers themselves and their relationships with real people in real situations. Hobsbawm, a founding member of the *Communist Party Historians Group* which became the *Socialist History Society* together with Thompson, Professor within the Extra-mural Department of the University of Leeds, developed a less deterministic view of class than that adopted by orthodox Marxists. Thompson’s seminal text ‘The Making of the English Working Class’ first published in 1963, expounded the idea of class as a historical phenomenon – something that happens in human relationships and which must be embodied in real people and real context. It was in his essay

'History from Below' that was published in 1966 in *The Times Literary Supplement* that the ideas of 'History from Below' and 'People's History' developed further with a revisionist approach to writing history which identifies the daily lives of ordinary people, their working and social status. This is in stark contrast to 'Great Man Theory' (Carlyle, 2013) first published in 1841 which amongst historians was a predominant theory which influenced the capturing and re-telling of the dominant male and Eurocentric discourses throughout the period of this study and following decades. This idea promotes the theory that highly influential and/or unique individuals (usually men) have a decisive historical impact through their natural attributes and/or inspirational effect. The writer posits that this theory has been a driving force in the re-telling of the Saltaire stories over time through Sir Titus' perceived influential and heroic effect as Industrialist-Philanthropist founder of Salt's Mill and Saltaire. Indeed, this driving theory may also be identified within the foundation of other Utopian villages and towns such as Nenthead, Port Sunlight and New Lanark, the latter of which will be discussed in Chapter 3 below.

Humphries (2010) claims in her published monograph 'Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution' that she looked at child labour not as reconstructed from a middle-class, reformist purpose with a social-control agenda but as history 'from below'. To make the argument from the bottom-up, she used oral histories, working-peoples' own accounts about their lives about what their work involved, how it felt and why they had to undertake this work. Regrettably, excepting Wright's autobiographical first chapter, memoirs in his biography and some comments relayed by the headteacher in the school logbook, the writer has been unable to locate any further local sources. However, sources do remain of child millworkers of Salt's Mill two decades on. One such millworker, Bertha, was born in 1893 (her mother Emma b.1863) and her testimony is examined in Chapter 5. The search to locate these accounts will continue.

Croce's adage has been discussed by Humphries (2010, p. 397) in that "...all history is contemporary history" and is all encompassing. This is also of further interest when using critical historical methods to examine the semi-biographical work (Wright, 1932) of Joseph Wright (he dictated the circumstances of early

childhood events to the author, his wife) of his early childhood as a Salt's Mill child worker and pupil at the factory school during the period of this study. His childhood was one of abject poverty and he left school at the age of around 12 years old, having attended as a half-timer at the factory school since the age of 7 years old. Upon leaving the factory-school he was still unable to read. Wright, a prominent scholar at Oxford University, taught himself to read at the age of 15 years old. Despite the hardship and difficulties of his childhood (raised almost single-handedly by his mother whilst his father drank away the family's meagre income) and saying very little about his life at school and the mill, of what he did say he made no affirmations of unhappiness, only fatigue. So here we have an eloquent and intelligent scholar of white working-class roots, who one might claim became the elite, those who wrote the history of others. How valuable is this source? Given that very few oral or written histories exist from the time of the study then the writer as historian accepts, with some reservation, his testimony as a truer affirmation of the hidden discourse of the period. Could Wright be considered a scholar on the margins? It is possible that had Wright not attained such a distinguished academic career then his semi-biography would probably never have been written? However, it is highly probable that it would never have had the same promotion and exposure through publishing as it did.

The writer believes that this is the case. His life-story as recorded is neither verbose nor vociferous. It is quiet, unassuming and relaying of the situation of his attendance at the factory school. He was not drawn to romantic verbosity nor political argument when recalling his story. Interestingly the notion of '*contrapuntality*' (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2009) may be applicable in the instance of Wright's recollections as they are written. By looking at individual histories contrapuntally rather than univocally , the researcher can re-read the cultural archive.

There are implications of using certain methodologies in certain groups which in this study involves white, working class, child millworkers. They may be described as a sub-group of the working-class group of millworkers. Both group and sub-group together are positioned as marginal to the dominant society even though numerically they may be larger. They are oppressed as possessing characteristics of cultural, and in the case of some of the population of Saltaire,

ethnic origins (there was a migrant Irish population). Some historians such as Passerini (1996), advocate revising the official historical record and by doing so, insert those lives that have been left out.

2.5. Knowledge and the Marginalised.

Researchers ask what is knowledge, whose knowledge, whose meaning, for what purpose is knowledge shared, who can produce knowledge and who can know this knowledge? In this thesis the writer wishes to critique the totalizing, Euro-Anglo male tradition of research. The writer is a working-class woman teacher. The writer-is-a-working-class-woman-teacher is the conceptual framework for this thesis. The writer has spent the last four decades working in the field of education and in particular special education and wishes to draw on their personal cultural and historical memory of family and working with children considered the ‘othered’. The writer wishes to emphasise that not all labour history or history of the struggles of the working classes is ‘history from below’ and can never be so as labour history pre-dates such methodology. The writer of this study’s interest arises out of their own life experiences. This will raise new questions around method (Sabyasachi, 1983).

Educational historians, in seeking to identify and examine, even impugn, marginalised histories are interested in the “subjugated knowledges” of Foucault (2002), as histories that are disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated. This concept is evident where child millworkers were interviewed by Her Majesty’s Factory Inspectors for various commissioned enquiries such as the Newcastle Commission (1861) which had been tasked with examining the conditions for child workers, especially in the factories and mills. The interviews, in most instances have been paraphrased by the Inspectors and the reports littered with their own affirmations. At the other end of the axis, when the vociferous Ten-Hour Movement produced pamphlets for distribution across the wealthy middle-class industrialists, factory managers and over-seers and the working-classes themselves, within them were short biographies of children who had been injured in the factories, and characterised as poor, waifish, and disabled but they were dismissed as mere fickle. The industrialist’s representatives, of

whom Sir Titus was the local Chairman, set about dismissing them as merely stories to excite, mislead and deceive the masses. Incidentally, Titus Salt (he was created a Baronet in 1869) as a prominent industrialist in Bradford at the time, strongly opposed the Factory Act of 1833 (no under 9s to be employed in the mills and they were to receive two hours of education each day). It also restricted their working week to 48 hours per week with no night-working for under 18s. Thus, the dominant discourses of the day attempted to silence the voice of the 'othered'. The majority of those taking part in the meetings and demonstrations were white working-class, including many child workers. Therefore, it follows that the majority would not be able to read and a larger number unable to write. They shared their common experience through songs and chants as they took part in the marches. Research continues to locate those lyrics.

Female histories have also been detached from the predominant dialogues of the decade. In conducting the literature review, tens if not hundreds of secondary sources have been examined within the context of the study of the schooling of the mill children together with the few primary sources accessible to the writer. Whilst it is acknowledged in several sources the importance of parents in the child's schooling journey, especially choice and more latterly responsibility for school attendance rested significantly with parents(within the research period) and at no point could the reader locate any oral or written history written by a mother whose child attended to work at the mill and to school half-time. With a 21st Century lens, is it difficult for the reader to believe that mothers of 7- and 8-year-old children, who would toil for periods of up to 60 hours per week, would have had nothing of interest to say that was worthy of note, be it for or against the practice, and subsequent preservation of those views, thoughts or testimony within the local Saltaire archive? The only secondary source found involves the autobiographical commentary from Joseph Wright about his mother's aspirations for him after he left school early, before the age of compulsory leaving at 13 years. He also commented that it was his mother who took him as a seven-year-old child to start work at Salt's mill as an underage worker.

However, it is noted that Colin Coates, a local social historian, has compiled a short biography of 108 women who worked in the mills in and around Saltaire. It is not known if all these women worked at the Salt's Mill but as they were born

and lived in Saltaire during the 1891 census period, then it was presumed they did. The data collected contained their name, date of birth, marital status, children born to them and details of their occupation. It formed part of an exhibit for the 'People and Process' exhibition 2013 (now a permanent exhibition since 2015) (Coates, 2015). Prentice (1991) raises the issue of the problem of gender which they claim historians of education have not addressed. It is further noted that studies (Purvis, 1989; Bryant, 1991) of the involvement of working-class women in the further education movement, the establishment of Women's Institutes for the provision of further education included the districts of Bradford, Keighley and Huddersfield where they established their own colleges. Whilst Purvis's study does not refer to Saltaire specifically, the writer has identified sources that demonstrate that classes for women did take place at the Saltaire Institute on Victoria Road opposite the factory school. The writer suggests that this may demonstrate that despite adversity, conditions existed in Saltaire which in some way allowed the womenfolk of the village to explore their roles within their families and community. It is not within the scope of this study to examine, for example the attendance by women at the Institute; however, it is perhaps worthy of comment that whilst it may be assumed that compulsory attendance for Half-timers from the factory was at times begrudgingly complied with at a cost of time, money, and effort to the families of the child-labourers, at the same time in the mid- to late- 1800s, the mothers and sisters may have been attending classes at the Institute themselves. This would have involved paying some level of subscription. It is possible of course, but unlikely, that all attendees would have only come from outside the boundaries of Saltaire.

2.6. Gaps in Recorded Histories.

Whilst examining both primary and secondary sources pertaining to the Saltaire factory schools, the writer did not find any evidence that pedagogical research had been conducted by educationalists either in the 19th Century or 20th or 21st Century relating either to the curriculum taught to boys and girls, or the methods used within the factory schools. Excepting a brief description within the school-log that kindergarten lessons were to resume within the infant department, that

teachers had attended training in Bradford (logbook entry dated 30th April 1878) and some entries which told how particular lessons were conducted (usually in preparation for the annual HMI Inspection visit and examination). There was a brief entry that the teacher was to receive Phonics training but no further log of its implementation.

Neither could the writer find any explanation as to why boys and girls had separate departments excepting during the opening speeches of the new Board School, Albert Road in 1878. Neither is the matter of differences in salary for male and female teachers and Head Teachers recorded anywhere to which the writer had access.

It was noted that HMI did comment, following their visit of the general progress pupils made and their behaviour, the efficiency of management of the school and comments regarding the fabric of the building. It is noted that the first female HM Factory Inspector was not appointed until 1893 and the first HM Inspector of Schools until 1837. This is worthy of note because well over 50% of the workforce at the mill were female over the age of 18 years and a significant number were children and young people under the age of 18. Rury (1989) argues it is the task of the historian to make inferences with the evidence at hand. However, often the structures of power and control ensure that evidence is hard to locate; or it may be poorly organised or uncatalogued. Data by some dimensions (sexuality, gender, race etc) may be particularly difficult to find. The writer would add that original and uncensored evidence from the working-class children of the mill could be added to this list.

Looking at other primary and secondary sources, every photograph and artefact requires critical questioning as to its validity. Some researchers contend that a photograph only suspends a past moment and thus becomes problematic (Grosvenor, 1999). Braster et al. (2011 pp.15-16) remind us of the 'Visual Turn' and not all historians are so enthusiastic about the use of pictorial sources describing them as "...treacherous sources...[that] show us representations of realities or interpretations of desired realities at best." [writer's parenthesis]. Others such as Burke (2001) remind us that photographers, like historians, offer not reflections of reality but representations. The photographer's gaze requires

critical analysis as their conscious and subconscious interests, beliefs, values and prejudices influence their selection and point of view in the same way as do written prose. The process of recording in any medium is never innocent. Even the choice of which artefacts are made available by the archivist or which ones they chose to display reflect similar prejudices (even if they are validated) primary sources. For how they are chosen, grouped, displayed and managed are representations of someone's reality. Whilst very few photographs appear of children working the mill-machinery in the various primary and secondary sources, several photographs have been published of the mill workers' day visit to Scarborough, the funeral procession of Sir Titus, workers making their way along the cobbled streets, following the invitation of the factory bell to start work. None appear to exist of the cramped conditions of the original factory school that was encamped in the workers' Dining Rooms.

2.7. Life-Stories as Egodocuments.

Another important methodological consideration is the approach to life stories as a useful and often, intriguing and enjoyable source. The term 'egodocuments' was first introduced by Presser in the 1950s which Dekker (2002) developed to include most of what is called life-writing e.g., diaries, memoirs, which require exploration owing to their "subjectivity, identity, community and history" (Dekker, 2002). As Baggerman (2011, p.159) explains many "...auto biographers regarded their childhood years and the education they received as barely worth a mention...couched in dismissive or even contemptuous terms." This is borne out by the memoir of Wright who barely mentions the education he received in the Dining Rooms factory school except to say it was not of much worth, as he left school still unable to read or do maths.

Susannah Wright (2012) explores the idea of the usefulness and limitations of school logbooks when used alongside memoirs and other sources. This is further examined below in 2.13. Further archival work will be required to locate other documents that may exist to give greater insight into the daily school life of the factory schools of Saltaire. There are only the memoirs of the history group

workshop and Prof. Wright available for analysis within this study together with the school logbooks.

The writer has considered the arguments of researchers such as Thomson who claims that life stories are the sources people create in diaries, letters, memoirs and oral history (2011, p.101). Memoirs are also considered in other sections of this thesis but the writer wishes to discuss how do we best make sense of life stories (which a number of historians claim are the most enjoyable part of the methodical process of examining the body of source)? One may agree when Thompson describes life stories as offering rich and beguiling evidence. However, Thomson goes on to explain them as "...useful in conveying atmosphere...but on specifics...highly unreliable"(2011, p.101). He justifies his argument as declaring they are an unreliable source owing to their bias, self-justification or forgetfulness. However, he also raises the counter-narrative in that personal narratives illuminate the "...lived experience and meanings of historical events and the lives of groups of people- so called 'ordinary men and women [and children in the case of this thesis]- who are unlikely to be documented in the archives of the governing classes"[Writer's parenthesis}(Thompson, 2011, p. 101). Thompson discusses that an understandable insight of this comes from military historians (ibid., p. 101) and argues that "...if we would understand what war is like, and how it feels, we must...seek the reality in the personal witness of the men who were there". Similarly, if we are to understand how a nine-year old child, in the depths of winter leaving home at 05.00 to begin their 6-hour shift in the noisy, dirty, hot, humid and sometimes dangerous conditions of the mill, with 3,000 other workers for six days of the week, and then make their way to school in the afternoon for a minimum of two hours, all for 2s a week, (the equivalent today of £7) then we need to seek witness of the child themselves. The writer agrees with Thompson that every source is "a constructed and selective representation of experience" and part of the historians' task is to "...consider the factors that shape the source and the relevance for our analysis" (Thompson, 2011, p. 102) whilst at the same time rigorously applying the norms of methodological skills of background research, triangulation, and consistency. What if any, was the autobiographical impulse to motivate someone for whom it may not be the norm, in certain

circumstances, to write or talk about their lives? Some key events are more likely to generate life writing. Given that literacy levels in the 1850s would have been very low, then it is highly unlikely that any written testimony will have been written by the child millworkers themselves so then we may have to look for other ‘stories’ hidden in the expression of the faces of the child labourers, their demeanour and appearance within photographs, the testimony given to the Factory Inspector or HMI during the school annual inspection.

2.8. Ethics and Historical Research.

Any researcher undertaking valid research must be cognisant of the matter of ethics. Some academics such as Thomson (2011) claim that historians have tended not to assert that their research need contribute to ethical understanding. Gallois goes further to explain that whilst history concerns itself significantly in particular historical paths, ethics concerns itself with the historical paths not taken (Gallois, 2011, pp.1-2) Ethics and history both make notions of judgement, but a chasm may exist given the historians *raison d’etre* is to narrate the actions and events which lead to the truth, whilst the ethicist’s is to illuminate the moral value of human behaviour. This gives rise to what might appear an oxymoron in the term of ethical historian. Empirical historians have identified that the methodology of those who went before did involve using methods which promoted moral and ideological ideas in the production of their version of history. Gallois(2011) identifies that:

“...the classic entanglement came in Whig histories of 19th Century Britain in which valorisations of parliamentary democracy and modern progress were also understood to be coded references to the moral superiority of the modern West and the place of Britain at the apex of this beneficent civilisation.”

(p.2).

The writer has previously referred to the paternalistic, male and Eurocentric gaze which have been the dominant research discourses and which were particularly dominant during the current period of study for this thesis. Whilst it may be relatively more straightforward to identify the overtly political or propagandistic realities, it is much less straightforward to locate the hidden assumptions about gender, class, freedom, justice and identity. The lived lives of the ‘othered’. It is only with the retrospective lens of subsequent historians that these practices have been identified and studied. For the Victorians themselves had viewed their contemporary research practices as exemplifying the traditions of neutrality which emerged with the empirical method (Gallois, 2011). These debates persist on the borders of historiography and history as the debates rage about epistemic struggles over language and how the truth is presented. In the first instance historians and ethicists use different language from their academic toolkits. Ethicists talk and write of justice, autonomy, good and bad. Historians of truth, reality, right and wrong. However, they share an understanding of professional ethics and conduct, honesty, the use of sources and confidentiality. Unfortunately, the writer discovered breaches in this conduct when finding that persons unknown had been given unfettered access to school logbooks.

2.9. Ethics and Past Cultures.

This leads to the thorny questions of how can we know the ethics of past cultures? Should history be ethical? Can ethics and history together form a productive relationship?

The writer has previously considered the idea of reflexivity to conduct research and it is within using a reflexive approach that will support best the attempt at answering these fundamental questions. Firstly, to the big and most fundamental question of how can we ever know the ethics of past cultures? This is a question that vexes those who object to ethical historical investigations? Ethical historians are criticised on the grounds of their ‘presentism’. They mistake the difference of the past in thinking that they [the ethical historians] can apply moral contemporary categories from the present and imagine that these can be mapped onto the ways people lived in the past and the understandings they had of such

ethics. A very simple example the writer has given previously involves how the mother of a 9-year-old child felt when seeing the child complete up to a forty-hour factory-working week, starting at 05.00 and then having to attend school for a further 10 hours per week? Not only could you ask the questions of why this testimony is not considered an important part of the dominant discourses but also one might argue that the researcher may be using a contemporary lens to view the actions of the mother to allow such an action? Researchers such as Gallois have articulated a response to this vexing question by responding thus:

“To construct a history around a problem or issue, one needs evidence that it was a problem or issue in some earlier era and not one that appears real to us from our perspective but that never really vexed those who lived in earlier eras.”

(Gallois in Baker, McCullough [Eds], 2009 p. 209).

Contemporary historians may suggest that whilst the terms moral or just are not used directly within the text they are examining, by careful decoding and comparative study, this might suggest that whilst the language may be different the inference and meaning is the same. It may therefore be appropriate that “...attempts [by historians] should be made both to codify /catalogue these positions and to track changes in attitudes across space and time , perhaps drawing on broader bodies of knowledge to explain such shifts in thought and practice.” [writer’s parenthesis] (ibid., p. 210).

2.10. The Ethical Turn.

This ethical turn in some research demonstrates historians are increasingly seeing ethics as providing influential opportunities for analytical and descriptive work. But meshing history and ethics needs to be explored at the research topics inception, such as at the first read-through stage of documentary evidence and at the beginning of the writing-up process. The researcher needs to recognise that an overt ethical approach suits some subjects more than others. The writer of this thesis believes that an ethical approach to the subject of the provision of factory-

schooling to child millworkers in Saltaire during the period 1853-1880 is both possible and preferable. The researcher in so doing cannot ignore how the existing body of knowledge has been constituted. This is recognised in the analysis of the subject through the separate but meshed lenses of those on the margins. Whilst this study has fulfilled the requirements of the University of Sheffield Ethics Committee it is not within the scope of this thesis to expand further on the genealogies of ethics embedded in the subject over time and the writer recognises that the genealogies of ethics in relation to the subject of education and schooling would add further depth and understanding. As would genealogies of topics such as child labour, capitalism, paternalism and the like.

2.11. Consideration of the Sources.

Another researcher, Morrow Fling (1920, p.15) in his seminal work, opens his treatise with a statement that historical method is the process which every researcher employs in their search for historical truth. He goes on to suggest that history deals with all human endeavours and all Mans' social activities, which include the economic, educational, artistic, political and religious. He continues that these activities are not static (i.e. in a state of "repose") but are subject to movement and change. History, he posits, points us to the unique evolution of Man as a social being and therefore history is the unique life-record of humanity. Morrow Fling asserts that social facts of the past are not necessarily historical facts, and the researcher should be aware that the terms historical and social are not synonymous. A past social fact only becomes a historical fact once it has been historically synthesised and this simply means that it has been examined logically and organised. In identifying these individual and unique past social facts, then grouping them into a complex evolving whole, the researcher employs the historical method with the result being history. Morrow Fling explains that history has been written (and recorded) for centuries but it is the conscious study and the formulation of the methods, used by reconstructing that history, that was only expounded relatively recently in such seminal texts as 'Lerbuch der Historischen Methode' (Bernheim, 1889). The complex whole identified is not a generalisation but a complex one whose composite complexity

and individuality increases with the volume of the whole. An example of this is that history is concerned with the building of the model-village of Saltaire and not, in this instance, how all model- villages have developed. Morrow Fling goes on to explain however, that if our interest as researcher wishes to identify what past social facts have in common, or in other words how social facts repeat themselves, from which we can generalize or laws concerning social activities, we select facts not for their originality but for their commonality with other social facts of which no individuality remains. The result then is sociology, and it is the work of the historian that supplements the sociologist's task. Morrow Fling summaries as "The historian is interested in quality, individuality, uniqueness; the sociologist in quantity, in generalisation, in repetition"(Morrow Fling, 1920, p.17).

2.12. The Methods of the Sociologist and of the Historian.

It follows therefore that their methods are logically different because their end goals are different. Whilst it is true that both sociology and history rest upon social facts, they view these facts through different lens, from different points of view and therefore they obtain logically different syntheses. But why is this important for the researcher? Why is it relevant to highlight this within the methodology of this thesis? Because all reality, consisting of social facts, can be organised from the point of view of difference, individuality or uniqueness .i.e., from the historical point of view. Even when examining the experiences and the social activity of the sub-group of child millworkers i.e., those who were schooled at the Salt's Mill factory schools at Saltaire .The writer is interested in examining their shared experience as the 'other' children. Comparatively and numerically a significant group within the working-class village population, these children, the writer posits, were on the periphery of the wider group of village working-class millworkers. Whilst it is difficult to locate the children's own voices in the proliferation of sources and dominant discourses, it remains the case that with diligent, systematic and logical method , the researcher can snatch a glimpse of their lived lives. For buried deep in archives, century-old texts, school logbooks and the rare oral history, it is still possible to find that

needle-in-the-haystack source. Whilst many oral histories may have been lost, or maybe never existed, there remains small pearls of recordings, that the researcher can touch, feel and experience. These ideas will be explored in future chapters.

2.13. The School Logbook as a Primary Source : in Theory and Reality.

The school logbook became a regular requirement for completion by the Headteacher of all registered schools subject to Annual Inspection by HMI following the introduction of The Revised Code 1862. Extensive comparative studies have been conducted by academics (Jackson, 2010; Silver, 1991; Taylor, 1998; Wright, 2011, 2012) analysing school logbooks. The entries in the factory-school logbooks of Saltaire have exposed similar trends and themes. Various logbook entries will be discussed throughout the study. Unfortunately, no Attendance Committee records appear to have survived and school registers have been afforded restricted access in accordance with the Data Protection Acts, which in this situation no longer apply as the persons affected are no longer living. The minutes of the first Shipley School Board Report are also available which were published in 1875. This, together with the logbook, allows for triangulation of key events.

As Taylor (1998) correctly states, the school logbook gives a continuous diary of the school's activities, but the researcher must proceed with caution in handling them, "...particularly needing to be sensitive to possible bias and unevenness of data," (Taylor, 1998, p. 2). The writer concurs, from their own experience in examining these particular school logbooks, that use of them is limited by two main drawbacks. They were completed in strict accordance with the Regulations and were objectively completed. This was useful to corroborate facts and events but they rarely reflect professional opinion or observations and there is limited pedagogical comment. Further the entries are completed by a succession of Headteachers which means the entries reflect the approaches of each and what they believe are important facts to record. What is interesting to note is that Sir Titus Salt, Founder of the factory-school died on 29 December, 1876 whilst the school was closed for the Christmas holiday. The first entry recorded on 5

January 1877 makes no mention of the event. Indeed, the Headteacher makes a mistake by referring to a visit made by Salt Jnr. that same day, referring to him as Sir Titus (when there was no hereditary title bestowed from father to son). There was no further mention of Sir Titus as benefactor or Founder or any holiday given to commemorate his achievements. This seems unusual given impromptu holidays or high days were regularly awarded. It is also unusual given that Balgarnie (1970) had claimed 100, 000 people had attended the funeral parade as he was held in such high esteem. Sir Titus had been interned in the family mausoleum, in the Congregational Church opposite Salt's Mill and only a few hundred yards away from the factory school. Clearly pupils will have been aware of Sir Titus' death even if not affected emotionally by it and would certainly have been aware of Sir Titus' role in their lives as landlord, employer and possibly benefactor.

Wright (2011, p. 123) suggests that other academics such as Silver believe logbooks, as well as being administrative documents, can also be considered personal diaries. This is certainly not the case with the Saltaire factory-school logbooks. The writer posits that this may be in some way related to the differences in how factory-school and non-factory school Headteachers perceived their roles in the early years private provision, the function of their schools in preparing children for their futures in the mills and their loyalty to their employer and benefactor, Sir Titus. Wright (ibid.) further argues that whilst researchers have "...drawn on log books carefully and meticulously, they offer limited commentary on how they have used them or their strengths and limitations." The writer proposes that this is not the case within this particular study and careful attention has been paid to objectively analysing the entries and triangulating the content with other legitimate sources.

There is a succession of differences in the information and comments included in the logbook which are individually deemed as important whilst overall the record tends to reflect the attitude of the (national) Education Board. However, there remains unevenness in the data and comments recorded. In examining Taylor's paper (1998, p.2) they discuss how one Headteacher's entries include the names of those who employ under-age children. Titus Salt was known to employ under-age children, confirmed in other sources, however no such logbook entry

occurred in the logbook of the factory school of Saltaire. Indeed, in the period of this study the writer found no evidence of a controversial or subjective nature excepting comments regarding the quality of teaching of the pupil teachers and their pupil teacher examination results. There are also limited factual entries regarding staff absence but no comments regarding the impact of this excepting some comment regarding the need to combine classes because of the shortage. A further limitation of the log as a source is that, as it is a record of the school, it contains only indirect references to conditions of families in the village.

However, the logbook does corroborate claims of key events and the writer was able to establish, for example, the exact dates for the 1876 lockout, which the writer was unable to locate in other sources. One might argue this was a definite attempt to erase the event from the public record. However, given the logbook had numbered pages, it was not possible to erase it from this primary source.

Another useful primary source may be the comments of the Headteacher recorded in the school logbook regarding the conduct of the Half-timer child whilst at school. The factory-school logbooks examined in this study record their achievements and failures, their fatigue and their illnesses. The first class was described as "...all very backward" in March, 1876. Other similar comments appear infrequently throughout the period studied. The school logbook reveals their lack of shoes and appropriate seasonal clothing and at times hunger. As careful an analysis as possible has been carried out regarding the mortality rates using data from the 1860 census and comparing these with the logbook entries of the Headteacher. This cannot be deemed anything more than an approximation of the mortality rates amongst the school population, but it appears from initial findings that the figures, as compared to other sources to be discussed in later chapters, are lower than expected within the area.

2.14. The Sources: Remains and Tradition.

It is known that the historian sees only the residue of the fact from which he attempts to reconstruct or deconstruct the past through sources. Without sources, no part of the historical past can be thus re/deconstructed. It is similarly true that

in advanced research it is often not what the researcher would like to do but rather what the researcher is able to do and more likely, of what can be done.

There are two main types of sources: remains which are directly observed, and inferences drawn and tradition where history is necessarily constructed from written tradition containing not the fact but what the witness to the fact thought the fact was. Remains are the actual products of the social activities which have taken place and were not created solely for posterity. They reveal the results of actions not the actions themselves. Traditions have characteristics that distinguish them from remains in that they record impressions. What we see from traditions is not the act but what the witness believed the act was e.g., entries in the school logbook. The reliability of the traditions moves down from the oral through the pictorial to the written. Some written sources are particularly untrustworthy e.g., memoirs, political speeches, letters, pamphlets and newspapers of which a large part of the Saltaire archive consists. Historical truth is established by the agreement of the affirmations of well-informed and independent(of each other) witnesses. This is a point the writer shall come back to when discussing a particular biography written by Balgarnie, a beneficiary of Sir Titus', during his lifetime and written within ten months of Sir Titus' death in 1876.

Once the writer had affirmed that the research was a possibility, by initial enquiries with various archives, a scan of available literature, an application to the University Ethics Committee, then the following questions had to be satisfied; has the topic never been investigated, has it been done in an incomplete way, is new and valuable synthesis possible, has material been treated uncritically and finally has new material been found that justifies re-examination? As mentioned previously there is a proliferation of information that abounds around the model-village of Saltaire and its philanthropic founder Sir Titus Salt Bart. These exist from the fanciful pamphlet to the papers of passionate, knowledgeable local social historians, to theses, countless books and government reports together with architectural plans, applications of various nature and a raft of photographs and other memorabilia. Many these sources had been meticulously or less meticulously archived in many depositaries, some more accessible than others. The writer stumbled on a couple of occasions when

believing a so-far unidentified source had been discovered to find that knowledge of it was buried deep in an archival catalogue. More disappointing than most when the writer believed they had gained access to previously unseen school logbooks only to discover this not to be the case. Despite the existence of the Data Protection legislation, seemingly unauthorised, unsupervised and unfettered access had occurred at unknown times. It became apparent very early into the research that inaccuracies, un-validated sources, biased prose and other misleading sources were in abundance, particularly where both primary and secondary sources, both remains and tradition, had been misquoted and misrepresented. Careful and meticulous cross-referencing was vital to the research's validity and authenticity. The writer, however, cannot be fully certain that no minor discrepancies remain. In the preliminary preparation of the literature review it became very apparent and very quickly that whilst a few studies had been completed, there was no study that comprehensively examined the lives of the child millworkers and especially the system of half-time schooling they attended at the factory schools in Saltaire. Nothing comprehensively presented or identified the why, what and where they were taught within the context of the massive social, political, economic and philanthropic developments taking place within the working-class population living in the model-village of Saltaire from its inception in the mid-1850s up until the passing of the Mundella Act in 1880? This initial but thorough search for sources was a serious attempt to bring together all the evidence and is the *Sine Qua Non* of the research project.

2.15. Considering the Value of Memoirs.

Memoirs are frequently accessed by historians, but they generally are the most untrustworthy. The forgetfulness involved due to the delay between witnessing the event and writing it down sometimes becomes a problem particularly around affirmations. It seems too that the longer the delay, then passion, fondness, loneliness and even grief (which I suspect in this case) can distort the memory by a gaze to the past, colloquially using rose-tinted glasses. Bias, prejudice, dishonesty, personal interest, partisanship and political passion may also be at

play which may, either consciously or subconsciously as conveyed by the author, distort the impression that is absorbed either consciously or subconsciously by the reader and is particularly a problem where opinions and judgements are at play. Morrow Fling (1920, p. 85) asserts that neither affirmations of fact nor opinions and judgements of what the witness has experienced are neither any more or less valuable than the other. A witness could recall a false impression not knowing it was false and endeavouring to tell the truth. The example of this is the claimed 100,000 attendees at Sir Titus' funeral procession by Balgarnie and others.

Another is a claim (Balgarnie, 1970) that Sir Titus built the first purpose-built factory school solely for intrinsic reasons and not because there was a succession of government grants available for the building, extension and management of factory schools. Was this an opinion or an affirmation of a conversation with Sir Titus or a trustworthy witness? Unfortunately, Balgarnie does not divulge his source. In this situation, Balgarnie, by not making use of other sources nor supplying any detail creates a superficial record which is both subjective and lacking in detail. However, Balgarnie's memoirs are possibly one of the most quoted, trusted and utilised sources by local social historians or those embarking on journalistic endeavours. In defence of Balgarnie's 'Salt' it was published within ten months of Sir Titus' death and therefore did not contain the sentiments and ideals of later life. Memoirs generally should only be used in historiography in the absence of contemporary reports and when no truer sources can be found. It would be unwise to synthesise all elements of the research around this source, even though it probably represents one of the closest to a written primary source that exists and that it has notoriety as a fountain of knowledge in the sphere of local social history.

To recap, to collect all the sources, submit each one to the tests of genuineness, authorship, time and place of writing or recording (in all its forms such as photographs, paintings, sketches), and then compare with each other to determine their independence and authenticity consumes a huge amount of time. It is a false assumption made by some modern historians, that these critical preliminary steps, prior to further analysis and the generation of results, are purely within the domains of ancient and medieval historiography. A pitfall to

avoid at all costs by the modern historian is, by the failure to adopt the appropriate methodology and use appropriate methods, leaves them open to the criticism that they have failed to present critical studies.

2.16. The Archive as a Locus of Power and Knowledge.

Michel Foucault, most notably in two of his earliest works, 'The Order of Things' (Foucault, 2002 revised) and 'The Archaeology of Knowledge' (Foucault, 2002 revised) has been deeply influential in seeing the archive as a locus of power and knowledge. This later work introduced the concept of the archive, not as any collection of documents within a building or even the building itself, but as the law of what can be said and not said. It stimulated a canon of epistemological and methodological work which recognises how:

“...acts of producing, organising and classifying archival documents constitutes forms of knowledge in and of themselves, while archival collections as a whole constrain the types of histories made possible and impossible through them.” (King, 2011, p. 17).

It was Derrida who articulated the dramatic violence of the archive itself (Derrida, 1996). Put simply, he discusses that the archive is not just a place for remembering and preserving but it is also a place of loss and forgetting. Documents are selected for inclusion into the archive by acts of exclusion. The very preservation of the documents into the archive exposes them to destruction. The writer has previously discussed the work of Henry (2006) and the feminist ideas of alternative histories of 'the other'. Other feminist historians have argued for a broadening of the 'archive' to the other voices. Some oral historians have rejected the notion of written archives as the sole source of historical legitimacy claiming validity for interview material of those outside or excluded from archives on account of their race, class, gender, sexuality or oral traditions.

2.17. Critical Insights Hidden in Plain Sight.

The writer would bring attention to the voice of the 'other' child, the child millworker. Clearly this is no longer possible, but the historian can only wonder at the marvellous and illuminating dimension that would bring to the story of the

child labourers - their realities, their world. The oral historians make the argument that the archives have erasures, gaps and silences (Cunningham and Gardner, 2004; Raftery, 2006). The writer in conducting the research also asked the question what essential and critical insights might not be hidden at all but are in fact lying in plain sight? By this is meant that glimpses of often fact or comment are overlooked in the great scheme of things. An example of this is that no mention has ever been made to the writer, during numerous conversations, that Salt's mill witnessed two strikes with a removal of labour and that the wages were lower than other local mills. And possibly the most illuminating, Sir Titus had accessed a range of grants for the maintenance of the Dining Rooms with its makeshift factory school and that considerable sums were granted from the public purse to build and maintain the first purpose-built factory school on Victoria Road. All facts hidden in plain sight.

2.18. Theory and Historical Research.

In this final section the writer will examine how historians understand and use theory i.e. how do they regard its relevance, role and utility? The writer would suggest that in choosing to finalise this Methodology chapter on theory demonstrates their own positionality. It is theory that is intrinsic to the aforementioned methodology. The writer agrees with Coloma(2017 p. 40) that theory is seen by most historians as a “multidimensional concept and practice with varying and competing meanings and interpretations.”

Added to this smorgasbord there are the conceptual frameworks such as the cultural, feminist, poststructuralist and postcolonial approaches at play which define the researcher's epistemological, methodological and positionality beliefs. Historians such as Coloma argue that historiography of education is to be considered at best ambivalent to theory, next irrelevant and at worst resistant.

On the one hand some historians find theory an indispensable interpretive lens whilst others at the opposite side of the debate complain of its obscure language, top-down imposition of an interpretative paradigm and a disruptive flow in writing. Foucault in the 1980s challenged dominant understandings of science, objectivity, reasoning and progress by arguing that theory is a toolkit which is

both logical and practical in generating knowledge. Further there have been others such as Marx, Tocqueville and Gustav von Schmoller who as multi-disciplinary thinkers have applied theory to history. Two seminal and contemporary publications that exhibit the intertwining of history and theory are the 'Sage Book of Historical Theory' (2013) and the 'History and Theory Journal.' Within them ontological, epistemological, methodological and method approaches are debated and nurtured.

2.19. Theory as a Toolkit.

If theory is a toolkit then what does it do? Sewell (2005 p.5) claims that historians "...use social theory to orient their thinking or borrow its vocabulary in their interrogation of historical sources or in formulating their arguments." Burke claims (2005 p.189) that theory "enlarges the imagination of historians by making them more aware of alternatives to their habitual assumptions and explanations." Theory is asking new questions and creating new concepts and arguments to deal with old reoccurring questions. An example of this may be to use theory to question or offer an explanation about what were Sir Titus' motivations in building Saltaire? Motivation theory would offer useful thinking and ways of looking at this situation, as well as theories of capitalist philanthropy, all alternative lenses of looking at and understanding the potential realities. Theories of memory would be very important when considering abstracts from Balgarnie's biography of Sir Titus or the memoirs of Joseph Wright and so the list goes on. It is the writer's intention to analyse and discuss these further in the research summary and findings. Theory gives the writer opportunities to be more aware of the linguistic dimensions of social identities, relations, events and ideas that are underpinned by language meaning and interpretation. Cohen (1999 p.58) (drawing on the postmodernist historians such as Hayden White, La Capra and Hans Keller calls for a "self-reflective and critical methodology about the role of rhetoric , language and mode of employment in our representations of the past." The writer concurs that researchers need to be aware of these factors, within a post-structuralist framework, as we attempt to construct meaning from past realities and represent ourselves (as researchers) and the past to our readers.

Further that the tradition from which we write is not necessarily the same tradition of which we write. There is a transcendental narcissism of writing non-modern social history from a modern perspective (Cohen, 1999). The writer would argue that healthy narcissism can help the researcher in relating to otherness whilst embracing the process of looking at things from the ‘othered’ perspective.

2.20. Theory as a Vehicle.

Moving to the somewhat more provocative, Ball (1995, p.266) claims that theory is a vehicle for “thinking otherwise”, as a platform for “outrageous hypotheses” and for “unleashing criticism.” The writer will argue the hypothesis that whilst Sir Titus displayed many philanthropic traits the writer posits that he was a ‘5% Philanthropist’ within Capitalist/Philanthropic theories. An example of this within this study area is that whilst the dominant discourses perpetuate Sir Titus was a man of his day, a laissez-faire Radical, a shrewd industrialist and God-fearing non-conformist, the writer has yet to come across an objective assessment of his good works and his philanthropic motivations and intentions. Maybe Foucault’s (1982 p.785) principles of “...maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are,” should be asserted here? Researchers should embrace theory in the re-imagining of history.

2.21. Procedures Conducted Within the Study.

The study began with a large sweep of the available literature to gain an overview of the available primary and secondary sources. This was conducted via multiple library catalogues including the British Library, National Newspaper Archive, White Rose Research and the University of Sheffield library catalogue. The Librarians were consulted around particular aspects of the research.

Visits were made to The Saltaire Collection, housed at Shipley College, and the specialist Archivist was consulted. A copy of the School Log Book pages was made available together with a transcript of some of the pages. The relevant

pages were re-checked and corrected as needed and further transcription of additional necessary pages completed.

A visit was made to the archive at West Yorkshire Archive Service in Bradford. Follow-up visits were made to Bradford Industrial Museum and Salt's Mill. Research was conducted in the Reading Rooms of the British Library. The Librarians were consulted at the Leeds Library and the Thoresby Society Collection.

Public meetings were attended at the Saltaire History Club.

Numerous visits were made to the village of Saltaire, including the school sites.

Copies of primary sources were made as appropriate, and checks made for access in accordance with data protection legislation. No living persons are included in the study and those memoirs examined in the study are published with the relevant permissions given.

The Saltaire Collection Archivist supplied the following information by email regarding Data Protection prior to commencing the research:

“School records include (both Local Authority and private deposit) school registers, such as admission registers, punishment registers and school logbooks contain personal data, including names, addresses and dates of birth, and sensitive personal data, such as transfer to approved schools, misdemeanours, punishments received, and health problems. The following closure periods and restrictions apply to school records: Admission registers: These records are subject to a 96-year closure due to the Data Protection Act 1998 (if living) and Freedom of Information Act s40 – personal information. Punishment books, pupil records/cards, accident books, contagious illness records: These records are subject to a 96-year closure due to the Data Protection Act 1998 (if living) and Freedom of Information Act s40 – personal information. Staff records: These records are subject to an 84-year closure period under the Data Protection Act 1998 (if living) and Freedom of Information Act s40 – personal information.’ A Declaration was signed by the writer in acknowledgement of receipt.”

(2019).

All data accessed complies with the above permissions and copyrights are in place.

A full record of primary and secondary sources was made and subsequently examined.

2.22. Summary.

To recap, this chapter has introduced and discussed key aspects of the historians' methodology and the theoretical frameworks that underpin that methodology. The chapter examines the advantages and challenges of using various primary and secondary sources. There is a particular focus on memoirs, images and school logbooks as primary sources, the latter being unpublished. A comparison is made briefly with the work of Wright (2011,2012).

The chapter moves on to discuss the theories of Gramsci as applicable to this study. A clear description of cultural hegemony is presented which refers to domination or rule of the subordinate classes which is maintained through ideological or cultural means. It allows those in power to have significant influence and control over the values, norms, ideas, expectations, worldview, and behaviour of the rest of society. By framing the worldview, and all the economic and social structures therein, as benefitting the whole of society (when it may only benefit the ruling class) it therefore wholly legitimises itself. It follows that the ruling classes can then exercise control by mostly non-coercive means as the accepted way of doing things is regarded as common sense throughout the stratas of society. The means by which this was exerted in Saltaire was through the Half-Time system of factory-schooling. The writer posits that the implementation of the Half-Time System might be considered both coercive though The Factory Act of 1844 and non-coercive in that, at this time. compulsory elementary education was only compulsory if the children wished to become millworkers. Whether they had a choice or not is highly debateable and further discussion will take place regarding the child-labourers' vital contribution to the family's income.

Gramsci further claimed that the ruling class maintained its domination by the consent of the mass of the people and only used its coercive apparatuses, the forces of law and order, as a last resort. It is here that Titus Salt also exercised control, albeit infrequently and surprisingly, unsuccessfully, through the enforcement of the Worsted Acts of 1777 and 1791 through the Worsted Committee, made up of the major manufacturers including Titus Salt. This will be discussed below in Chapter 3.9.

Ideological hegemony meant that the majority of the population accepted what was happening in society as ‘common sense’ or as ‘the only way of running society’. As discussed, the child labourers of Saltaire in general accepted the way things were and had to be. To help with the meagre family budget and pay the rent to live in their employer’s property, they had to work and to do that they had to become Half-timers and pay the school pence to their employer, fulfilling the employer’s legal requirement for them to receive schooling in order to attend work and for the employer to be provided with child labour. The child labourers’ expected behaviour as workers could also be better manipulated through the process of schooling and attendance at their employer’s school. They were taught from an early age what was expected of them and if they applied themselves, at school and in the mill, they earned the right to their meagre wages. Schooling played a vital role in how society worked. The school system was just one part of the system of ideological hegemony in which individuals were socialised into maintaining the status quo.

Gramsci described the social character of traditional schools as being determined by each social group and that throughout society each group had its own type of school whose function was to maintain each group’s role within society. There was little doubt in the thoughts of some contemporary employers, educationalists, church leaders and politicians that schooling, and the education taught therein was one way in which the mass of the population was kept in its place. This was even more the case for children, interned within the Half-Time System, where schooling or tuition was not perceived as aspirational but merely, at times, an inconvenient and draining necessity. Whilst it is also true there were other sub-groups of marginalised child labourers, for example apprentices and

child mine-workers, who were also subjected not just to exhausting labour but conditions of ‘schooling’ meant to improve their lot.

The chapter goes on to discuss Foucault’s conceptualisation of the archive as a locus of power and knowledge – not simply by what it includes but by what the archive omits. There will follow in section 3.9 a discussion of subjugated knowledge and its effect on silencing the voices of the othered.

The writer has discussed the work of Henry and the feminist ideas of alternative histories of ‘the other’. Other feminist historians have argued for a broadening of the ‘archive’ to include the other voices. Some oral historians have rejected the notion of written archives as the sole source of historical legitimacy claiming validity for interview materials produced by those outside or excluded from archives on account of their race, class, gender, sexuality, or oral traditions.

The idea of bottom-up history and peoples’ history has been examined within the context of the available sources particularly the theories of Thompson This is in stark contrast to ‘Great Man Theory’ (Carlyle, 2013) first published in 1841 which amongst historians was a predominant theory which influenced the capturing and re-telling of the dominant male and Eurocentric discourses throughout the period of this study and following decades. This idea promotes the theory that highly influential and/or unique individuals (usually men) have a decisive historical impact through their natural attributes and or inspirational effect. The writer posits this theory has been a driving force in the re-telling of the Saltaire stories over time through Sir Titus’ perceived influential and heroic effect as Industrialist- Philanthropist founder of Salt’s Mill and Saltaire. Indeed, this driving theory has also been identified within other Utopian Villages and towns such as Nenthead, Port Sunlight and New Lanark which will be discussed in greater comparative depth with Saltaire in Chapter 3 below.

The writer would argue that local studies could change the lens of how education history might be viewed affording opportunity to conduct bottom-up historical research. Saltaire and its child labourers provide researchers with a unique opportunity in this regard.

Chapter 3.0 Socio-economic Conditions affecting Bradford and Saltaire During the Mid-19th Century with a Comparison to the Utopian factory-town of New Lanark.

This chapter examines the socioeconomic conditions as they affected the working-class poor of Bradford's worsted industry and more latterly as Salt's Mill workers and Saltaire residents.

A study of the Borough of Bradford and its development prior to the main period of study is made. This outlines Bradford's urbanisation and ultimately its urban decay and describes the urban squalor in which the Salt's Mill workers and residents would have been living prior to the foundation of Saltaire. Bradford's industrialisation and urbanisation are described together with the reasons for moving the factory-mills owned by Titus Salt out of Bradford and creating a blueprint for the model-village Saltaire. A factory village dominated by the colossal Salt's Mill, the likes of which had never been seen in Great Britain before the dawning of this age of engineering supremacy, laissez-faire and great wealth created for the few by the many.

An analysis is made comparing Saltaire to the Utopian factory-town of New Lanark developed by the Utopian Socialist Reformer, Robert Owen.

3.1. The Borough of Bradford, Worsted Manufacture and the Establishment of Titus Salt (Snr.) as a Leading Industrialist and Employer.

Titus Salt Senior, later Sir Titus Salt, set up his first mill at Holling's Mill, Goitside, Bradford in 1834. He had vociferously opposed the Factory Act, 1833 which placed restrictions, amongst other regulations, on the conditions of employment of children i.e., no child under the age of 9 years old was to be allowed to work in a factory mill. This will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters. By 1837 he had five factory mills in operation and was one of Bradford's leading worsted manufacturers, owing to his entrepreneurial innovations in the utilisation of mohair and later alpaca wool and was one of Bradford's largest employers. In 1843, through his new-found prosperity, he

purchased Union Street Mill, Bradford outright and moved his family out of the town.

3.2 Social and Environmental Conditions in Bradford.

According to Firth(1990) :

“The high-density housing and human congestion following upon the acceleration of the town’s population brought early problems of environmental decline. The smells of factory chimneys, chemical works, open markets and thousands of unwashed bodies eventually forced out of the town centre the merchants, manufacturers and well-to-do.”

(p.76).

The counter narrative to this might be that the manufacturers et al created the environmental, social and public-health problems so described, benefitted significantly from the exploitation of the working classes, many living in abject poverty, which then allowed the middle classes to leave the resultant detritus behind by moving out to the newly developing suburbs.

Bradford was socially bottom-heavy. The vast lower-middle and working classes numerically dwarfed the middle class who were overwhelmingly involved in commercial enterprises and manufacturing. Bradford was also a town of migrants. In 1851, 51% of the population had been born outside of the Borough. Over 70% of the adult population aged over 20 years old had been born elsewhere.

Titus Salt was first elected an Alderman, then elected Mayor of Bradford in 1848-49 and later became MP for Bradford for the term 1859 – 61. Between 1850 and 1872 , Titus Salt sold the disparate mill units in Central Bradford and embarked on his ambitious project to build Salt’s Mill (opened in 1853). This was followed by the model-village of Saltaire with its 800 houses with final completion of a range of public buildings, completed in 1872. The village itself, including its conception, inception and completion, will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

3.3 Bradford's Industrialisation.

A contemporary account of Bradford was written by local historian George Taylor circa 1860-1891 called 'Bradford and the Worsted Manufacture 'and was published in 1898. It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of authorship as the content therein appears to flit between years in both its data and recollections of events which indicates that the content has been constructed over a period of time. There is no explanation as to why there was a delay in publication. It may simply be that the author did not come to thinking about publication at the time of writing, or that a publishing house was not willing to consider publication or for some other substantial reason. Whatever the reason, the book presents a useful explanation, with its supporting statistics, including official and census data of Bradford's rapid development into industrialisation and urbanisation, both fore and aft the period of study. However, it is not within the scope of this thesis to examine in any great depth the detail of this rapid development but here follows a broad outline to set in context the place of the working classes and in particular child millworkers, during these times of rapid industrialisation and resultant urbanisation.

According to Taylor (1898) Bradford is situated near the western corner of the great Yorkshire coalfield and nearby there also lay an immediate and abundant supply of limestone, ironstone and building stone. The River Aire ran through Bradford, nearer to Shipley than the centre of Bradford town, and adjacent to Saltaire where Salt's Mill opened in 1853 and building of the model-village commenced in 1855. Taylor writes that the "[River Aire]...etymologically the bright stream; a name justified by the sparkling appearance of the water at its source [from under Malham Cove] , soon to be defiled , though utilised, by factories and workshops", [writer's parentheses] (Taylor, 1898, p.4). Bradford was thus well served by road, rail and canal.

3.4. Bradford's Urbanisation.

Bradford was created a Parliamentary Borough by the Reform Bill of 1832, returning two Members of Parliament. It received a Charter of Incorporation in 1847 and covered an area of 6,508 acres. In 1781, Bradford town had a population

of 4,200. In 1861, Post-incorporation the area had a population of 106,218. Followed in 1871 by 145,830 and at the date of final authorship, circa 1891, Taylor estimated the population (in accordance with the Registrar General) at 156, 609. Taylor claimed that the population had multiplied thirty-nine times within a century(Taylor, 1898, p. 6).

3.5 Environmental Impact on Bradford.

The whole area of the West Riding had become synonymous with the making of machinery for worsted spinning and weaving as well as the manufacturing of the worsted itself. In Bradford Borough alone the estimated quantity of worsted machinery manufactured was 216,000 spindles at a value of £183,540 (today's equivalent circa £23.5 M) and 16,220 looms at a value of £266,680. (circa £34.1 M). The first steam-powered factory had been built in Bradford in 1800. The official government return stated that in 1871 there was 133 worsted factories (employing 27,855) within the Borough of Bradford predominantly within the town and its immediate environs. Taylor claims(1898) that according to the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, they affirmed that both the number of works and of workpeople was considerably higher. As to produce yarns and worsted itself, during the period of this study, by 1852 Bradford produced goods to the value of £6.4 M (today's equivalent £899.4M). By 1872 goods to the value of £27.0M (today's equivalent £3.08 Trillion) were produced. A phenomenal increase and a major industry by anyone's standards.

Some argue that the worsted trade had developed on a much more capitalistic basis than was the case in the [general] woollen trade(Jowitt ,1989, p.89) The small independent clothier never existed in the worsted industry [excepting the combing process described later].” [writer's parenthesis]. Might this have been a fundamental reason for Titus Salt to commence his more non-civic, philanthropic works? There appears to be a dichotomy created here of Sir Titus' three main pillars of belief - capitalism + philanthropy+ non-conformist faith.

Taylor goes on to describe in detail the worsted production process from raw wool, to yarn, to cloth. The processes were completely mechanised during the first half of the 19th Century. Traditionally several stages in the production were

done by hand (the combing and associated processes) and carried out within the home (Taylor, 1898, p. 15). He describes how:

“The vapours generated by the charcoal [to heat the oils for combing] were deleterious in the extreme. Nor was the occupation hurtful to the bodily health merely. Dirt and stench produced moral as well as physical degeneracy; and the men sought relief from the nausea of their workrooms [usually the bed-chamber] in the excesses of the ale-house.” [writer’s parenthesis].

(Taylor, 1842 p.10).

This led to feelings of real discontent within the workers themselves which was exacerbated paradoxically by the introduction of mechanisation. Workers were unhappy with their lot which resulted in riots occurring on three occasions. On the 3rd of May, 1826, an attack was made on Messrs. Horsfall’s factory in Bradford town which resulted in the death of two demonstrators and several wounded following the military being called in to contain the civil disobedience. This may explain Sir Titus’ reaction to a strike by his millworkers which led to a lockout in 1876 (the year of his death).

The writer feels this is an important set of circumstances to mention from the perspective that conditions were, in a significant number of cases, very poor for worsted workers prior to mechanisation. Children will have had full exposure to those conditions up until the building of the mills and the mechanisation that occurred at that time. For some it was jumping out of the fat into the fire i.e. from industry at home to industry in the factory. Many of the offspring of worsted combers, would have experienced extreme environmental conditions. It seems highly probable that even if they were not physically involved at the work in hand themselves, they would have been exposed to the cramped, hot and stinking conditions within their own homes. Moving to work in the mills themselves may have, to a certain extent, exposed the child millworkers to similar conditions but in the formalised environment of mill as workplace and as employees in their own right.

Taylor goes on to locate Saltaire within the Borough and describes in some detail the location of Salt’s Mill and its production capabilities. Taylor briefly

describes Saltaire as a town immediately adjoining the works with the dwellings covering an area of at least 25 acres and housing, as at circa 1891 some 4,380 persons, the majority of whom were employed at the mill. The writer will later describe the model-village in more detail.

Taylor goes on to write that “Bradford is doing honour to itself as well as to Sir Titus Salt by erecting his statue near its Town Hall, but Saltaire will remain his noblest memorial. ‘Si monumentam requiris , circumspice ! “(Taylor, 1898, p.20). Translated “...if you seek [his] monument look around” This was the same epitaph which lies with Sir Christopher Wren in Saint Paul’s Cathedral (1723).

A modern critique exists of Bradford by Jowitt(1989 p.87) in which he describes Bradford in the first half of the 19th Century representative of “...a sharp but inextricably linked dichotomy. On the one hand a place of stupendous and continuing economic growth, and on the other of the squalid environmental conditions caused by rapid industrialisation and urbanisation .” He describes how Bradford suffered from a major pollution problem. The Bradford Canal basin was , according to Hudson(1860), Town Clerk, described as :

“The canal, in its upper reach extending into the town is supplied with what can hardly be described as water, but may be described as a black semi-fluid , from the main brook, and the almost stagnant pool so formed has been at times so charged with offensive gases as literally to have been set on fire, the flame flickering on the surface where the gas was bubbling out.”

(p.548).

3.6 Occupational Health of the Worsteds Workers.

Taylor makes an interesting comparison between the general demeanour and health of worsteds millworkers and those in the cotton mills (ibid., p. 23). Taylor asks the question whether employment in the mills aggravates, in any marked and exceptional way, the tendency to disease? He also refers to the mutual common practice of both millworkers’ groups of women returning to work after a month, two weeks, or even a week after giving

birth. Taylor (1842) refers to an (unvalidated)report written by Dr. J.H. Bridges and Mr. T. Holmes who claimed that:

“ ...the general appearance of the work people in the Worsted District struck us as somewhat superior in vigour and health to that of the cotton operatives. Cases of marked deformity, such as appear to have been of frequent occurrence forty years ago [circa 1830 – 1860] [writer’s parentheses], now to be as rare as in non-factory districts. Many of the women and children are evidently enjoying robust health.”

(p.24).

So, it appears that mill accidents occurring during the aforementioned period (which includes the beginning of the thesis timeframe (i.e., 1853 – 1880) were frequent and caused deformities (See Figure 34). The text then goes on to contradict itself by stating that by careful analysis of the Registrar General’s records of mortality ,it shows that for adult women aged between 15 -45 (which Taylor describes as the period “during which the health of women is of the greatest national importance [ibid., p.24]) the normal rate of mortality , as recorded in the English Life Table , is 866 per 100,000. Comparatively, according to the Registration District of Bradford, the death rates is 1048 per 100,000. Taylor made no further commentary. By his comments, is he reflecting the dominant discourse toward the ‘othered’ that mortality of women outside of these age parameters is of less importance? Capitalist industrialised societies on a scale discussed herein rely on the availability of having mass cheap labour.

The general results from Dr. Bridge’s and Mr. Holmes’ “...statistical investigations state:

1. That there was a high rate of general mortality in the factory districts.
2. That there was a high rate of infant mortality in the factory districts.
3. That there was a considerably higher rate of mortality amongst women of the reproductive age in factory districts than in other manufacturing centres where women are not employed.

4. That a large proportion of this mortality arises from phthisis [pulmonary tuberculosis] and other diseases of the respiratory organs.”

Taylor (ibid., p.24) concludes that these results suggest that sickness does not originate in the workers own homes , although a proportion of the mill population may not “...obey the laws of health”. Such high mortality rates cannot be attributed simply to their own neglect but more so to the conditions in the factories. He refers to the large number of dwelling houses in Bradford that want of cleanliness and that many such dwellings exist “...where pure air seldom penetrates and where a good sanitary condition seems impossible”(ibid., p.24).

3.7. Desperate Urban Squalor.

There was a desperate lack of sanitation within the town’s housing offer with one privy shared by up to 50 dwellings and no ash-pits for domestic use. This shows a scene of urban squalor typical of many images taken by anonymous photographers during the 1800s.

Significant problems also followed a gross shortage of burial grounds. Added to this was the remnants of a rural culture that existed which resulted in excessive pig-keeping. The Pig Market remained in the centre of the town until 1843 and the practice of keeping pigs inside domestic houses persisted. There was hardly any refuse collection. In 1853, a Bradford Observer journalist wrote of his passage through the town “ ...as the filthy and abominable condition of the street. It is literally strewed with oyster shells, dung, ashes; filth and refuse of the most offensive and I may add contagious nature”(‘Bradford Observer’,1853).

A social historian comments :

“They [the photographers]entered the back streets, it appears, in the same spirit as expeditionary cameramen journeying in strange lands, for one of the commonest documentary photographs of the century shows a line of back street dwellers, generally women and children, with perhaps a man lurking in the rear, who are ranged across the middle of the composition, gazing expectantly into the camera. From

the 1860s to the end of the century, and from every great city comes this photograph: it always seems worth looking at because of the candid directness with which the subjects give themselves to the camera - like those foreign aboriginals photographed for the first time by expeditionary photographers. This connection between photography and a kind of anthropological enquiry has frequently been made. Indeed, an analogue between life in the great cities and 'savage places' was made in contemporary writing - William Booth did call his book 'Into Darkest England'."

(Thomas, 1978, p.20).

The image in Figure 36. appears to fit with the description made above by Thomas. The writer would add that there were significantly more of this type of image retrieved from public archives than of the children themselves, in their usual daily activity.

Another social historian goes on to say :

"In recent years, there have been a number of books and exhibitions devoted to the photographic exploration of the lives of working people over the past century, the purpose of such work has been to recover hidden or neglected images of the past: images which celebrate workers' movements and struggles; which reveal details of half-forgotten crafts and practices; or which show the destitution and material poverty of the poor consequent upon the development of capitalism."

(Price, 1983, p.23).

The writer refers to such exhibitions within the text such as the 'People and Process' exhibition, 2013 (now a permanent exhibition since 2015).

3.8. The Woolcombers' Report 1845 of Social and Living Conditions of the Millworkers.

The Woolcombers' Report of 1845 (Jowitt, 1980) made alarming reading. There was gross overcrowding. One example, but not uncommon was the report that in Tetley Row, Bradford town centre there were 55 persons in 5 dwellings with 11 apartments and only 9 beds, being little less than 6 per bed. The problem was exacerbated when Irish immigrant families flocked into the town. The 1851 Census highlighted that they made up 10% of Bradford's population and were crammed into the dismal areas of the Central Districts (Richardson, 1968).

The Woolcombers' Report 1845, Jowitt (1989) further disclosed that the average age at death of all who died in the town between 1839 and 1841 was 18.69 years. Shockingly the average age of death of Woolcombers hovered around 15 years old. There was a desperate public health situation.

Digby (1978, p.20) argued, "Matters such as incorporation of boroughs, sanitary reform, Factory Act agitation, Chartism, elementary education [which will be later discussed in depth], and the new Poor Law took different forms in different places: locality determined whether paupers lived in palaces or hovels." [Writer's parenthesis].

The writer uses this quote to illuminate the complete contrast to the model-village Saltaire, that Titus Salt was later to found and which would follow other Utopian towns such as New Lanark being developed at the turn of the 19th Century.

3.9 The Worsted Committee and Gramsci's Arguments on Control of the Workforce.

The period of early mechanisation of the worsted trade had been an unsettled time. The different organisational structure of managing the workers meant that it was particularly difficult to supervise workers toiling offsite on certain aspects of the worsted process such as combing. The manufacturers perceived a problem of embezzlement of materials and convinced Parliament to pass successive legislation collectively known as the Worsted Acts of 1777 and 1791 (Reynolds, 1983 pp.162-3). It is not within the scope of this thesis to examine in great detail the role of the Worsted Committee (made up of the major manufacturers

including Titus Salt) except to raise the matter of the actions of the Committee in appointing Inspectors who amongst other tasks was mainly to fulfil the role of a police force within the worsted industry (Heaton, 1920 Ch. 9 -12).

“The [Worsted] Committee was a union of large employers of labour which had been given statutory recognition despite antagonism to other forms of union associated with industry. Its principal purpose was to maintain industrial discipline in the admittedly difficult circumstances of a putting-out [home- working or off-site working] system which had spread far beyond the immediate control of the individual master manufacturer. Its authority ran throughout the whole of the northern area and Bradford manufacturers were its principal adherents .”

(Reynolds,1983 p. 13). [Writer’s parentheses].

This may be another reason why Titus Salt decided to re-locate his five mills to one large but functional operation (Coates, 2016).

What is particularly worthy of note is that the Worsted Acts turned the long-established legal tenet of innocent until proven guilty on its head. The onus was placed on the accused worker, charged with embezzlement, to prove his innocence which was especially difficult when there was a continual and natural wastage of material as the wool was combed. The enforcement of these Acts is a particular example of Gramsci’s argument of those in power exercising coercive control of subordinates. These Acts were a powerful code, which remained in existence long after the full mechanisation of the trade, which gave the employers a powerful and almost un-challengeable weapon against employees. Jowitt describes the millworkers as “labour militants” when they voiced discontent at their enforcement,(ibid., p. 90) A note here that this source appears to be re-phrasing the dominant discourse of the industrialists. A counter-narrative might be those who were striving for better employment conditions. Titus Salt himself brought charges against an employee, in 1841, for stealing charcoal. The worker was subsequently and rarely acquitted (Coates,2016 p.26). This, surely must have had some negative impact on labour relations?

3.10 Paternalism and the Saltaire Experiment.

Whilst up to 1850 there had been a troubled chapter in labour relations, according to Jowitt (ibid., p.93) a more settled phase “characterised by paternalism” emerged and the key figure was Titus Salt whom Jowitt claims that “...in common with a number of other manufacturers he [Titus Salt] came to recognise the deep social divisions that had dominated the region during mechanisation [of which he was at the vanguard] and the necessity to re-integrate the working classes into the new urban industrial society.” [writer’s parentheses] The writer shall be examining the Salt experiment and whether it was a blueprint turned into action of an industrialist attempting to recreate allegiances and to heal social divisions and injustices. Or was Saltaire an attempt at Utopian Socialism (as discussed in Chapter 3.13)? Titus Salt was a Radical Liberal and was voted into the House with that ticket. He was a fervent believer in the concept of laissez-faire. Some argued the manufacturers such as Titus Salt commendably saw themselves as the father figure and the workers as children, (Holdroyd,1873 ; Reynolds, 1983). This was the dominant discourse on and around the lifetime of Titus Salt that has persisted across three centuries of thinking, writing and talking. Whilst Titus Salt never articulated this clearly, in neither written prose nor the spoken word, his observable actions on the surface appeared paternalistic. The writer posits that Titus Salt, who died in 1876 (and to a lesser extent his youngest son Titus Salt Jnr. whom shall be discussed later) had been the foremost example of ‘capitalist – paternalism’ which characterised Bradford in its heyday. This will be discussed later in more depth.

3.11 The Common Sense Argument of Gramsci.

Politically, labour-relations had caused much disquiet amongst all the social classes at the onset and during the continued rise of the Industrial Revolution. According to (Morrell, 1985):

“The flavour of the deep hostility between Conservative and Liberal [-Radicals of whom Titus Salt was one] was exquisitely revealed in 1834 [The year after Titus Salt had opposed The Factory Act 1833] when Richard Oastler [a Tory Radical] launched a diatribe against the

Liberal millocracy which founded 'The Bradford Observer.' Its flavour may be judged from its title 'A letter to those sleek, pious, holy, devout dissenters, Messrs Get-all, Keep-all, Grasp-all, Scrape-all, Whip-all, Gull-all, Cheat-all, Cant-all, Work-all, Sneak-all, Lie-well, Swear-well, Scratchem, etc. the shareholders in 'The Bradford Observer.'" [Writer parentheses].

(p.5.)

The writer cannot help feeling some amusement at this apparent name-calling; however, the writer can sympathise with some of the sentiments expressed by Oastler. The argument will be developed in subsequent chapters.

Bradford was a settlement, not a community, but this was much more the making of the industrialist millowners, whose affluence allowed them to move out of the desperate situation which was their creation. Some might argue that Titus Salt left because he was astute enough to predict the social and economic implosion that was inevitably going to happen. This situation can be strongly associated with the arguments of Gramsci (1971). Whilst possibly oversimplifying, Bradford was developing into a community that would not sustain an acceptance of the way things were (or were meant to be). Gramsci's idea of *senso commune* places an emphasis on the held-in-common nature of beliefs which are accepted not through the individual's critical reflection but are experienced as already existing. In other words self-evident truths or collective knowing and an ensemble of peoples' opinions which have developed as becoming more powerful through this collective view. The end result means the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural way of things.

This was the common-sense way workers were non-coercively controlled by their masters. Perhaps Sir Titus recognised that the way things had always been and were meant to be and were as accepted by a stratified society were about to be questioned by the workforce, the working-class millworkers on whose toil his factories thrived, creating for him great wealth and power?

Saltaire may be compared to the village of New Lanark when the ideas of Utopian communities are discussed. A comparison of motivational factors

surrounding the benefactors Sir Titus Salt and Robert Owen in establishing their communitarian social experiments (Kaplan, 1987) including the environmental and social-factor differences and similarities will be made in Chapter 3.13.

3.12 The Blueprint for Saltaire.

The deterioration of Bradford town was so alarming that Titus Salt in 1850, during his Mayorship, commissioned an enquiry into the best means of improving the town's moral, social and religious condition,(Hudson, 1860).It should be recalled that during that time Sir Titus owned 5 factory-mills in and around Bradford town centre. It was during 1850 and the following year he commissioned his architects to design the new Salt's Mill set within a blueprint for the creation of Saltaire. Was it that he had decided the town's problems were intractable? Did he recognise the part he and his contemporaries had played in the town's rapid urbanisation and subsequent degeneration? Were his actions in conceiving of Saltaire paternalistic? Or was it a case of removing his entrepreneurial interests to somewhere afresh? A place where there were clean and abundant resources of space and a clean supply of water and air for his processes? Or was he simply moving away from the problem? Out of sight and out of mind? Did the welfare of the millworkers figure in his thinking? Or was he, as previously suggested, trying to strengthen the allegiances of his own workers? (Jackson,2010; Coates,2016).

It is not within the scope of this study to analyse the roots of decline in the Bradford worsted industry that occurred from the late 1870s onwards. Fundamentally the problems that concurrently led to the demise were a change in fashions which shunned the heavier worsted. Foreign competitors' worsted industries developed and protectionist tariffs stifled enterprise which led to a drought in re-investment owing to low profits.

This demise was symbolised by Salt's Mill (Figure 8) entering bankruptcy in 1892.

The purpose of this section of the thesis is to give a concise introduction to the Bradford of the mid-19th Century, with the rise of Bradford known worldwide as 'Worstedopolis'. It sets the scene for Titus Salt's experiment of a model factory-

village and the working-class people who lived there with a particular focus on the child millworkers and labourers.

3.13. Comparisons with the Utopian factory- town of New Lanark.

The industrial motivations for establishing both the mills appear similar. Both new mechanised powerhouses were dependent upon waterpower to drive the extensive machinery therein. Whilst Sir Titus Salt founded the mill and village himself from blueprint, Robert Owen became a partner in the New Lanark Mill, some years after its establishment and subsequently began re-developing New Lanark as a social experiment in labour-relations after appointment (Carmony, 1980).

Both mills drew labour from populations who lived in city urban squalor i.e., Bradford, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Both New Lanark Mill and Salt's Mill provided comparatively cleaner industrial environments and conditions as compared to the urban mills of Glasgow and Bradford.

Both New Lanark and Saltaire provided similar amenities for workers including housing (albeit different types), an Institute, wash houses, shops, schooling and health facilities. Whilst Saltaire had both running water, sanitary facilities, and electricity (powered from the mill) when the houses were built and charged tenants just above cost-price for electricity supply from the mill company, New Lanark did not have running cold water into accommodation and inside sanitary facilities until 1933 (Gordon, 1999).

New Lanark had 2,500 inhabitants who would have occupied (at the time of founding Saltaire) single-room tenement living conditions. In comparison, Saltaire had family houses of differing sizes and boarding houses. On completion Saltaire housed around 4,000 people. Both were examples of planned settlements and therefore important milestones in the historical development of urban planning (Coates, 2016). The distinct difference was that should Salt's Mill have ceased operation, the village of Saltaire would have survived as private rental stock or ownership, which is the situation to this day. The shop-keepers were also tenants and hence continued to trade when the mill entered administration.

There was no company shop in Saltaire selling goods at wholesale prices as in New Lanark. When Salt's Mill closed in 1986 the village continued to flourish because of the excellent infrastructure in and around Shipley and Bradford. Salt's Mill itself fell into disrepair but the buildings were rescued from demolition by the entrepreneur Silver in the 1990s (Coates, 2016). New Lanark Mill remained in production until 1968 but much of the settlement and mill buildings had been in decline since before WWII and acceleration of de-population was well under way when the mill closed. Many buildings were demolished but some were conserved by the New Lanark Trust as buildings of significant historical interest. There remains housing association stock today together with very limited property ownership, (Donnachie & Hewitt, 1993). Both Saltaire and New Lanark were made UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2001.

Owen left for America in 1824 and established New Harmony, Indiana with the intention of establishing a secular communitarian experiment with his educational ideas which were central to his comprehensive social reform programme. The experiment lasted two years until it collapsed, and Owen returned to London (McCaslin, 2015). The Salts Mill Company registered Dayton Coal and Iron Company, Daytona in the 1870s which was overseen by Salt Jnr until the week before the collapse of the Salt family ownership of Salt's Mill in 1892. The Dayton Coal & Iron Company lasted 20 years. During its lifetime, a semi-urban community developed and remains to this day.

But it is in the emphasis on comprehensive social reform where the patronage of Owen and Sir Titus differ and where Saltaire and New Lanark demonstrated the greatest dissimilarities. Robert Owen was a socialist reformer and a founder Utopian Socialist. He was also a successful investor and manager and rapidly earned himself wealth and opportunity by working hard in his industrial endeavours. He used his built fortune to establish New Harmony and lost it all. His beginnings were not dissimilar to Titus Salt Snr. He became paternalistic toward his workforce. Many inhabitants of New Lanark were from the poor houses of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Alcohol sales were allowed under strict supervision. Owen founded the Cooperative Movement (still in evidence today) and had a truck shop, using normal currency, offering goods slightly above cost price and good quality. He established an 8-hour working day and was a key

member campaigning for enactment of the Poor Laws and Factory Acts. It was not simply an experiment in labour-relations but a genuine attempt at social reformation. The centrepieces of Owen's Utopian experiment were his 'Institute for the Formation of Character' and its companion building the 'School for Children' built in 1816 and 1817, respectively. There were 500 children living in New Lanark at the time of Owen's involvement and one of the tenement blocks was called Nursery Buildings. These children were brought to the mill at aged 5/6 from poorhouses and charities of Glasgow and Edinburgh and comparatively treated well at New Lanark. However, it must have required some effort and cost to keep this number of very young children clothed, fed and kept in sanitary conditions. However, they did provide a cheap and regular stream of labourers for the mill. Owen fervently believed that education (not just schooling) "...held the key to moulding human character and therefore to improving mankind" (Kaplan, 1987 p. 106). Based on Pestalozzian principles he favoured both practical and theoretical subjects and shunned the classical model of schooling and education (Kaplan, 1987). Owen built the first nursery school in Britain in 1817. His biggest success was in support of youth education and early childcare. By the time he left for New Harmony in 1825, there was free education offered from infants to adults. Pestalozzianism placed equal emphasis on physical and mental skill development. The dichotomy is that Owen was known for his narcissistic personality which may account for his relatively short time at New Lanark and later, New Harmony. New Lanark had an international reputation, and the future Tsar Nicholas 1 of Russia was known to have visited.

In comparison, Sir Titus, the writer posits, was a Capitalist-Philanthropist who used the Saltaire experiment to manage and control his workforce, controlling their living conditions and livelihoods. The writer posits that Sir Titus viewed schooling as a functional and legal requirement to maintain his ability to employ child-labourers. The writer could find no evidence of a particular interest in education or pedagogy. Saltaire's residents were not required to be there. All of them held tenancies of one type or another to the Mill Company or were regular boarders at the registered boarding houses. All child-residents lived in their parents' rented accommodation. There were no orphans, ex-workhouse or poor-house child labourers. Saltaire provided a 'voluntary' stream of child labourers

for the mill by the provision of factory-schooling. Sir Titus firmly believed in the tenet of 'laissez-faire' but did wish to improve the living and working conditions of the millworkers. This was an experiment in labour-relations. The writer posits that Sir Titus was paternalistic, but he was not a social reformer of the likes of Robert Owen. All his investments made sound economic sense. There was no significant 'social risk or demand'. Salt's Mill and Saltaire were a very viable commercial entity. Sir Titus 'locked out' his workers on two occasions as they struck against the lowering of their wages. However, he did compensate for a reduction in wages by temporarily lowering the workers' rents. This occurred during the two-week Mill-lockout in 1876 and to offset the reduction in weekly wage, their employer and landlord resolved to reduce the weekly rent by 10 % per week which represented an overall 2% increase to weekly income (5.15 & Figure 27).

Sir Titus forbade the sale of alcohol (although he was not himself teetotal). Salt Jnr. did show an interest in schooling and there are excerpts in the logbooks that mention Froebelian education teaching methods and phonics being introduced at the Victoria Road and Albert Road Schools. Salt Jnr. adapted the Victoria Road building to accommodate infants. Education was never free at any of the three factory schools or indeed across the age-spans. It is well documented in the logbooks that the latter two schools had regular visits from eminent politicians, industrialists and social reformers, (Simeon, 2017; Kaplan, 1987; Sharp, 1984).

3.14. Child Labour in the North of England During the British Industrial Revolution with Particular Reference to The Ten-Hour Movement as a Catalyst for Change at a Time when Titus Salt Opened His First Factory in Bradford (1834).

Titus Salt opened his first lone-enterprise factory-mill in Bradford town centre in 1834. Being an active Chartist he supported the move to reduce working hours and was one of the first employers in the worsted industry to introduce the 10-hour working day. But in a strange dichotomy, he fervently disagreed with Richard Oastler and John Fielder who wished Parliament to pass law on the

restriction of child labour. As a committed Liberal -Radical Salt Snr. believed in the tenet of laissez-faire and did not think it was the government's role to intervene on the employer < employee relationship.

3.15. The Sadler Report 1832.

Less than a year earlier in 1832, Michael Sadler, then the Tory Radical MP for Aldebrough, proposed a Bill calling for all employees to have a ten-hour working day and to restrict the numbers of hours worked in a working week. It reached a second reading but was referred to a Select Committee of which Sadler chaired. Evidence gathered for the Sadler Report, published in 1833, contained some damning evidence on the treatment of child and young person employees. However, some of his conclusions appeared to be of no substance (Pike, 1966, p.115). Sadler was not re-elected when he stood for the newly enfranchised seat of Leeds in the December, 1832 General Election. MacCaulay, a rival candidate called Sadler a 'convenient philanthropist'. Robert Oastler claimed that Sadler had offended some leading Leeds Tories (many of them leading industrialists and factory-owners), with his accusations that many mill owners employed under-age children as young as six years old, (whilst compiling the evidence for the Sadler Report) and that factory-mill owners had badly treated the child workers (some two decades hence) including the Mill in Shrewsbury owned by the family of a rival candidate and elected Member John Marshall MP (Pike, 1966, pp. 115 -162). And so, the mantle was passed to Lord Ashley (later to become Lord Shaftesbury, upon the death of his father in 1851) who was later particularly involved in a subsequent revision of the legislation restricting child labour.

It should be noted that it was not until the 1918 Representation of the People Act that suffrage for men was no longer based on owning property or at least paying high rent. When the Act passed into law, as well as enfranchising 8 million women, 5 million more men were given the vote too. According to Balgarnie, (1970, p.133) Titus Salt supported adult male suffrage. Salt was recorded as such during his Candidacy speech for MP for Bradford in 1859. "Whether they are shop-keepers or the working classes...I would have them all independent by giving them the vote."

As history tells us, this was not the complete story. However, it was better than what preceded it, with only elite males allowed to vote, a number with more than one vote. To succeed in its determination, the campaigners were to be steadfast and persistent and enrol the influential and powerful to their cause. Salt did not agree with the recommendations and that the 1832 Reform Act went far enough and confirms the same in his MP Candidacy speech (Balgarnie, 1970, p.133).

3.16 The Ten-Hour Movement.

At the time, Whig MPs, highly sceptical of the Sadler Report and the evidence presented, proposed a Royal Commission to re-examine the issues with the social reformer Sir Edwin Chadwick as Chairman. This outraged those campaigning for reduced factory hours under the banner of The Ten Hours Movement. They had successfully mobilised thousands of child labourers during the Spring and Summer of 1833 from the towns of Leeds, Manchester, Huddersfield and Bradford to present addresses to Commissioners tasked with providing evidence to The Royal Commission. As well as highlighting the conditions that these children laboured in, it also began to shift societal attitudes and public perception on the issue that maybe children themselves may be considered actors in the debates surrounding their employment? The writer posits that a voice was at last being mooted for the ‘othered’. Cunningham presents an authoritative and thoughtful insight into the debates perplexing contemporaries at the time of the Ten-Hour Movement (Cunningham, 2006, p.139).

3.17. The Child’s Rights to Health, Food, Education and Protection.

Cunningham explains the nascent perception that children had ‘rights’ to health, food, and education and that children must be protected to allow them to flourish without excessive impediment. Nardinelli, (1980, pp. 739 -55) claims that the typical starting age for factory labourers from the mid-18th Century was 10 years old and the overall number of child labourers was declining across England as a whole. However, this was not the reality within the factory-mills straddling both sides of the Pennines.

During the time of the Ten-Hour Movement, supporters for the improvement of conditions for child labourers, such as Oastler (a Tory paternalist and leading campaigner), used the alternative narrative of the anti-slavery rhetoric to support the cause. Calls for the abolition of ‘Infant Slavery’ became the rallying cry (Goose, 2013 Ch. 9). Those staunchly opposed to the Ten-Hour Movement (predominantly but not exclusively Whig pro-government campaigners who supported the manufacturer’s cause) claimed that the children had been incited to riot and they depicted the young labourers as unreflective and unruly being in “...high glee, playing all sorts of pranks...and if they are slaves they are the most happy of the race. After a little more jollification, they all went home and to bed” (‘Leeds Mercury’, 1833).

‘The Times’ newspaper (somewhat indifferent to the Whig government and a supporter of the reduced hours movement) reported an address by the child labourers of Bradford on 22nd May, 1833 which was of a petition couched in child-like, colloquial terms:

“Tell King William we’ll love him if he’ll give us a Ten-Hour Bill...several are sadly crooked, and knocked up, and dished for life.”

(‘The Times’, 22nd May, 1833).

The Manchester children’s petition drew upon a rudimentary tenet of justice:

“We do not think it right that we should know nothing but work and suffering...to make others rich...Surely the King does not intend that his youngest subjects should be worked the hardest?”

(Goose, 2013, p.220).

Goose (ibid., p.220) further states that certainly on occasions the children did feel empowered to act in a confrontational manner. It was reported that when the Assistant Commissioners arrived in Bradford in 1833, they were spotted by “...one hapless wretch...” who alerted the other children who then surrounded the Commissioners. The children began to chant the lyrics of their rousing battle-song:

“...We will have the Ten-Hour Bill; we want no Commissioning.”

(‘The Times’, 5th June, 1833).

The reporter noted of the child labourers’ “...sundry ejaculations” and “...antagonistic lyrics.” It was reported that the Commissioners were “...forced to take refuge in a mill yard,” until the factory bell called them back from their lunch hour (ibid., 1833). A counter narrative might be that the children grabbed an opportunistic time to petition the Commissioners whilst on site. They were not so disobedient as to ignore the factory-bell call back to their work. It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore in any greater depth the complex interplay between adult supporters, parents, employers and child labourers themselves and the rhetoric of the oppressed ‘infant slave.’ This was all set within the context of direct politicisation through mobilisation of the young labourers within a subservient rhetoric.

It should be noted that The Slavery Abolition Act had just reached the statute books in 1833 and took effect from 1st August, 1834 and was therefore very much at the forefront of Westminster’s mind and work.

3.18 The Royal Commission 1833.

The Royal Commission did report in 1833 and reported that child factory-mill children did work unruly hours which led them:

- “To production of disease often wholly irremediable.”
- “Permanent deterioration of the physical constitution.”
- “The partial or entire exclusion (by reason of excessive fatigue) from the means of obtaining adequate education and acquiring useful habits or profiting by those means when afforded.”

‘ Report of the Select Committee on Factory Children’s

Labour , Parliamentary Papers 1831-32, volume XV’.

The Factory Act 1833 (Althorp's Act) was entered on the statute book. The Act had the following main provisions:

- “Children (ages 9 -12) are limited to 48 hours per week”
- “No child under the age of 9 could be employed in textile manufacture (excepting silk mills).”
- “Children under 18 must not work at night (i.e. after 8.30pm and before 5.30am).”
- “Children (ages 9 -13) must not work more than 8 hours with an hour lunch break”
- “Children (ages 9 – 13) could only be employed if they had if they had a schoolmaster's certificate which confirmed that the previous week, they had two hours of education per day. The cost of which was to be deducted from the child's wage of 1s per week). “[Writer's note – this was a first step in the establishment of the Half-time System which remained in place until the early 1900s.]
- “A Factory Inspectorate was to be appointed to facilitate compliance by the employers”

(Nardinelli, 1980, pp. 739 – 55).

3.19 The Memoir of Robert Blincoe.

A contemporary writer of the time wrote ‘Memoir of Robert Blincoe’, the subject being a factory boy, who had attempted to escape the factory by asserting his rights by bringing his case to the local magistrates (Brown,1829, p.22).

In the memoir, Blincoe himself, described by Brown as a “protagonist” (ibid., p.22) is claimed to have said, “I cannot deny that I feel a glow of pride , when I reflect that, at the age of seven years and a half, I had courage to resent and to resist oppression.”

The memoir was published by Doherty (1832), some two years after Blincoe took his own life at the age of around 29 years old. The Publisher's preface appeals to the readership on the basis that should not Mr. Wilberforce's anti-slavery passion also be focused at home? Perhaps over simplistically Parliament and the people (including the industrialists) saw slavery as an 'overseas problem' that deprived some of wealth but not to the magnitude of strict curtails on the child capital at home. If nothing else, a study of the Ten-Hour Movement campaign helps to unpick contested contemporary understandings of childhood and identifies a dominant discourse of the decade. A further analysis of child workers in Salt's Mill will examine whether they were 'happy with their lot' or were other factors at play in their multiple roles of child, offspring, employee and wage-earner?

It is these petitions so powerfully made by their simplicity, that surely could not have failed to draw the industrialists' attention and notably, their fire. (Note that Titus Salt was vehemently opposed to any new legislation restricting the hours of children's work.) Both petitions had positioned children as political subjects. Goose argues that:

“Evoking the relationship between children and their Monarch was one of the ways in which children's voices could be constructed as appropriate interventions within the political process. Minors could construct politicised identities, sometimes adopting the sentimentalised personas of suffering children, which could be subsequently employed in the virtual sphere of public discussion.”

(2013, p.20)

It is noted that this campaigning for the rights of workers was a tumultuous time of turn and change. It was happening exactly at the same time as Titus Salt, with his entrepreneurial drivers for the production of alpaca wool and worsted cloth, had acquired his first mill as a lone enterprise, Hollings Mill in Bradford in 1834 and by 1837 had 5 mills in operation and had become one of Bradford's leading and wealthiest industrialists.

3.20. Summary.

Whilst the full social motivations for Sir Titus' building of Saltaire are yet to be fully identified, the writer posits that whilst Sir Titus may indeed be described as a Capitalist Philanthropist, he neither strived for nor attained an evidenced reputation as a social reformer of the likes of Robert Owen. However, his power, entrepreneurialism and paternalism awarded him the respect of his contemporaries, both in industry and public service. He established and mainly maintained the control and respect of his workforce and tenants.

Chapter 4.0. Socio-educational Conditions: State Policy in the Education of the Poor.

4.1. Elementary Education from the Factory Act 1833 to the 1880 Education Act Through Cycles of Adaption and Implementation.

During the period of this study, Bradford and other significant industrial cities, on both sides of the Pennines, were in the brace of rapid industrial and urban developments. There followed, with increasing regularity, national and local demands to improve the social, health, education and employment conditions of the working classes, who were in the significant majority. Amongst these was the heated debates around the education of the working poor.

The Half-time System operating in the factory-mill schools following the Factory Act 1833 (Althorp's Act) and subsequent legislation covering the period 1853 – 1880 is examined with the implications it had for factory-schooling in Salt's Mill.

The following paragraphs give a broad introduction to the literature in the field of elementary education and will cover the period between 1853 and 1880 (the period of this study) as it applies to the general child population. Barnard (1957) posits that "...[Educational history] can never be completely separated from the general history of a nation, of which... [education] forms only one aspect, and

particularly from its social and economic history” [Writer’s parenthesis] (Barnard, 1957, p. Intro).

The following sub-sections are not intended to comprehensively cover all pieces of legislation that were made statute during this time as this was a period during which a whole raft of laws was laid down in addition to numerous administrative orders and amendments. The writer refers to key legal events within elementary education and where appropriate, to the education received by the Half-timers during the same period. Derek Gillard ‘Education in England: A History’ (2018), provides a comprehensive timeline of key events, for further study.

4.2 The Early State Education Grants.

Over this four-decade period there was extensive change as elementary education evolved through cycles of implementation and adaption. To the population at large , certain phases or policies may have appeared failures. Others argue that change occurred with a wakening of wider society to the benefits of education, changes in attitudes across classes and changes to the power bases and self-interests of groups, e.g., the Church and in the case of child factory-mill workers, the ‘millocracy’ and industrialists (Midgley, 2016 p. 681).

4.3 Developments prior to The Revised Code 1862.

Up until The Revised Code of 1862 (Arnold, 1908) the Government funded elementary education through grants- systems, partially monitored by the Factory Inspectors through the 1833 Factory Act [Education Regulations] for the education of child workers and other ‘poor children.’ Kestner (1988, p. 58) describes that it was not until The Revised Code, as the first major piece of legislation to include provisions for the working poor, that an increasingly complex grants system operated. Other grants were awarded by the first School Inspectors (HMIs appointed by Committee of Council for Education Committee) in 1837 (Young,1956) From 1833 all education grants were overseen by the Committee of Council for Education (£20,000 per annum to voluntary societies). The Education Committee in 1843 began making grants for furniture and

apparatus as well as buildings. In 1846 they awarded grants to day schools in industry. 1855 saw the laying down in law of The School Grants Act which demanded stricter conditions relating to Parliamentary grants for education i.e., caps on spending. These included the School Sites Acts of 1841, 1844, 1849, 1851 & 1852 (Gillard, 2018). The Acts increasingly moved to fund the (partial) capital cost of school buildings, the maintenance of schools including (partial) costs of certified Headteachers', Teachers' and Assistant Teachers' salaries together with graduated costs towards utilities and school materials. The cumbersome grants system/s caused consternation in the House and the Government given the burgeoning costs, burdensome administration and increasing demands on inspection & monitoring. A total annual grant of £500,000 was granted to the societies in 1857 but had risen to £800,000 in the early 1860s (circa £98 M at today's rate). These were huge numbers of public-funded grants that caused significant alarm.

4.4 The Revised Code 1862.

In 1862, Robert Lowe, accepting the Newcastle Commission's recommendations, petitioned the Whig Government to abolish all earlier grants. The Revised Code 1862 replaced them with a single set of grants, except those still administered by The Factory Inspectors, for factory schools not receiving direct government grants. These separate grants were awarded from a pool of money collected from fines imposed on non-compliant factory owners (Refer to sub-section on Child labour). The Revised Code determined that all schools, in receipt of any public funding, should be Inspected annually by HMIs. The Revised Code introduced the system of 'payment by results' of which it continued to be known throughout its duration. Its main purpose was to ensure schools receiving any grant-aid met minimum standards. These schools will have included some factory-schools (including the Dining Rooms factory-mill school, Victoria Road factory-mill school and Albert Road Board School). Many factory-schools remained largely independent from government grants. Payment of the grant depended significantly on the number of children in school achieving the expected grade and to a lesser extent, the number of pupil attendances over a

fixed period. Analysis of the school logbooks of the Victoria Road and Albert Road schools over the period 1853 – 1880 have revealed how important both attainment and attendance figures were, and which will be analysed in the research data. Although the Revised Code did incentivise schools to improve pupil attendance levels, in reality this did not happen. This was for two main reasons. Parents preferred the certainty of early employment for their children as related to families' incomes and secondly, the school system still had limited capacity (Elliot, 1981 p. 18). As well as scrutiny of pupil attendance levels, schools were subject to annual inspections during which HMI examined the pupils against set standards. Successes in these main criteria ensured sustainability for the following school year, including all levels of teachers' salaries and monies for ongoing running, maintenance and resources costs. A succinct summary of The Code setting out its main requirements regarding inspection of each school "by a competent authority" (usually HMI) and the attendance targets has been produced by (Rapple, 1992, pp. 303-304). Article 44 of The Revised Code stipulated the amounts forfeited for failing to pass the Inspector's test was for very scholar attending more than 200 times in the morning or afternoon, for whom 8s. is claimed, forfeits 2s. 8d. for failure to satisfy the Inspector in reading, 2s. 8d. in writing and 2s. 8d. in arithmetic (Arnold, 1908).

This system further evolved over time until its complete removal from statute in the 1890s. This study will examine the impact of The Revised Code from entries included within the logbooks of the Victoria Road and Albert Road Schools. From the Revised Code 1862 came the requirement that a logbook should be kept by the Head Teacher in which regular entries should be kept that were to be objective and checked during the annual Inspector's visit. This will be discussed in more detail in the presentation of data.

4.5 The System of Payment by Results.

The system of payment by results had several immediate and long-term effects. Selleck (1968, p. 31) described how underpayment of a grant, which was dependant on the number of passes attained by the pupils at the annual

inspection, had the effect of focussing only on obtaining maximum passes to the detriment of the wider curriculum. The best teacher was the one whose pupils earned the most money. An immediate effect of that was that School Managers and Head Teachers might enter students at a 'Standard' below their capabilities. A common complaint was that the curriculum was being debased (Rapple,1992 p. 307) A further consequence might be that more able pupils, having attained Standard VI , would be held back. During the early years of payment by results, only reading, writing and arithmetic (the 3 Rs) were eligible for grants and were subsequently the only subjects taught in most schools, together with compulsory Religious Knowledge. An analysis of the subjects taught at the Salt's Mill factory-schools will follow later. The essential minimum which all elementary pupils had to attain for the awarding of the grant became the maximum to be aimed at.

A significant impact of The Code was a loss of teachers' status, in a fledgling certified profession, as they no longer received salary directly from Government. They had to negotiate their pay with the School Managers. This was wholly justified by Robert Lowe on the grounds of market economies.

Lowe has since been called 'The Father of Company Law' (Micklethwaite, 2003, p. Intro.). Lowe was appointed Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education from 1859 and had a substantial legal and economics career. Immediately preceding his appointment to the Education Committee, Lowe was Vice-President of the Board of Trade. According to the Annual Report of The Education Committee (Selleck,1968 p.224), in the early stages of the payment by results system, teachers generally earned less than they earned previously. Some teachers were dismissed for not achieving the number of desired passes and others moved to different schools to improve salary levels(Rapple,1992, p.309). For others it meant a complete change of profession altogether. Recruitment of pupil teachers reduced as the government was now offering fewer financial grants for apprenticeships. Inevitably with an increase in pupil roll together with an adverse student: pupil ratio, standards declined, as those entering the profession were generally of a lower calibre (Troop,1957, p.94), as reported by The Education Committee('Annual Report 1865 – 1866', p. 224).

The Code did allow that infants (5-7) received grants merely for attendance. It was generally accepted that infants received less of the teacher's attention thus it was argued that State funds were being used for 'baby-sitting' (Rapple, 1992 p. 311). The counter argument might be that the school was seeking to benefit from the less arduous means of winning the grants. This may have been the case at the Salt's Mill Factory Schools, as the pence received in fees from parent's would not have covered the whole costs of providing infant places, but with available buildings at the factory-school on Victoria Road, then infant attendance would supplement the annual school budget.

The Education Committee regularly reported that those in the Junior Standard classes, as well as the less-able pupils who counted the same in financial terms, benefitted most as the teachers could not just attend to the brighter and/or proficient pupils. But the talented and more able were often ignored (Rapple, 1992 p. 311). On occasion too, very weak children were ignored as they had little chance on gaining a grant. Some schools refused to accept 'dull children' at all. HMI Alderson remarked in 1865 "...that it will soon be necessary for some benevolent educationist to open schools for dunces" ('Annual Report, 1865-1866', p.248).

These hotly contested concerns have caused some modern historians to take a revisionist view of the payment by results scheme arguing that a better system would have been hard to implement given the context of the time and that generally the system did not generally deserve the hostility of criticism it received (Hurt, 1971). However, historians such as Rapple (1992 p.311) counter-argue "...this system of educational accountability, this exercise in developing education according to the dictates of market economics, was misguided, illiberal, anti-educational and reeked of control."

4.6 The Elementary Education Act 1870 and the Formation of School Boards.

The Elementary Education Act 1870 (Forster's Act) sought to remedy deficiencies in elementary education across England and Wales and not just for previous specially identified groups such as child labourers and the poor. This Act introduced compulsory universal education for children aged 5 -13 years but

left enforcement to School Boards (Gillard,2018). The main provision was the formation of School Boards, locally elected and supported by the ratepayers, and who were granted authority to provide schools to fill ‘gaps’ in provision but just as important (Musgrave,1968, pp. 43-45) could create bye-laws to compel compulsory school attendance , in some local areas, up to 13 years. School Boards could appoint local attendance officers to support the schools in this task. School fees remained in situ for parents as well as compulsory attendance. Both attendance and some contribution to fees were now the responsibility of the parents. For those children in work, albeit seasonal or fluctuating depending on demand for labour, school attendance levels remained static excepting the variables previously mentioned and the rise and decline of the industry in which they worked. Pupils continued to pay the school 2d or 3d. fees. Elementary schooling did not become free for all children in England and Wales until 1893 with the Elementary Education (School Attendance Act) 1893 (Midgley,2016 p. 691) which also raised the age of compulsory attendance to 11. The factory school provided by Salt’s Mill lacked capacity for increased numbers of Half-timers living in Saltaire and the bordering Shipley Town owing to an increase in productivity in the factory-mill, supported by a rise in birth rates during the late 1860s to 1870s. However, a decline in worsted production saw the need for fewer Half-time pupil places at the newly built Albert Road Board School opened in 1878, although it had increased capacity for pupil numbers and so they began to admit day students.

4.7. Elementary Education and Implications for Employment.

Children attending elementary schools would have gained two distinct advantages in the wider labour market. First, literacy was primary as a requirement for general human capital. Whilst many factory jobs did not require the worker to be literate, simple problem-solving and reasoning skills could increase a worker’s productivity and potential for promotion. McConnell’s factory was an excellent example of such(Brown,1983 p.26). They articulated pride in their factory-school pupils’ achievements, several whom made

advancement in the world of work outside of the mill. Further there were specific human capital benefits of the child worker employed in an industry-specific school where the requirements of that sector would have been incorporated into the curriculum and organisation of the school. Apart from the benefits of specific skills and knowledge, elementary education conveyed a sense of discipline, routine and a willingness to accept supervision. Not within the scope of this study, but this introduces the ideas of curriculum delivery by the variations of methods used e.g., Monitorial, Madras or Lancasterian systems. There were other specific educational approaches too such as the Froebelian ideas of Kindergarten (introduced in the Infant Departments of Victoria Road and Albert Road factory schools.)

Long (2006, pp. 1026 -1051) provides detailed statistical evidence involving variables of father's occupation, family income, attendance duration and age of pupils. His analysis presented the following main conclusions; that the father's occupational class exerted much greater influence on the child's future adult class, there is provisional evidence to demonstrate elementary education provided low return for the home nations and that this may be an indication schools were of low quality or that a high level of "intergenerational stasis minimised the value of primary schooling". Either way, the study does offer some evidence that whilst elementary education may have offered measurably positive societal outcomes i.e., control and discipline, it provided a limited path to social mobility.

4.8. The Elementary Education Act 1876.

This Act tightened the rules on school attendance subject to the provisions of previous Education Acts and Factory Acts. It created a system of certificates to give free education in certain cases and made other administrative provisions. No child under the age of ten years was to be employed in a factory and for any child so employed between the age of 10 and 13 years they were to have either a certificate of attendance or a certificate of attainment to leave school. An employer shall not be deemed in contravention of the legislation if he employs a

child aged 10-13 and the child is unable to attend elementary school given there is not an elementary school within 2 miles of where the child resides. Those children in attendance under the provisions of the Factory Acts, i.e., Half-timers, should continue. Fees would be paid for poor parents.

“It shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic , and if such parent fail to perform such duty , he shall be liable to such orders and penalties are provided by the Act”.

(Elementary Education Act, 1876, p.473).

Should a child fail to attend elementary school then the parents could be fined subject to an order by the Courts. Should a child not attend for a second time they could be ordered to attend either a certified day industrial school or a certified industrial school by the Courts. Roderick & Stephens (1978 p.16) identify that Winder, Assistant Commissioner for the Newcastle Commission, reported that in Bradford, apathy and poverty were widespread and was the main reason for parents not ensuring their children attended any school.

4.9. The Changing Societal Attitude to Elementary Education.

The topics of education and human capital investment, particularly of the Victorian era, have long been areas of particular interest to researchers within many disciplines including sociology, education and economics (Long, 2006 p.1026) concluding that underinvestment in educational provision during the period, with identified issues of quality and quantity, were a key driver in Britain’s growth slowdown in relation to the relatively dynamic economies of Germany and the USA. However, others took a different view. West argues that whilst the uptake and availability of elementary education was lower than within counterpart nations, the quality was no less inferior. West,(1970) identifies a positive indicator that in 1841, before the introduction of Forster’s Act, marriage registries containing grooms’ signatures by name were 67.3% but by 1871 the figure had risen to 80.6%. There appeared a positive association between signature ability and upward occupational ability but there is some evidence to

suggest that the effect may have been stronger in rural than urban areas (Long,2006 p.1027). However, literacy and schooling are not synonymous. As Long claims, "...it was entirely possible to attend some school yet not acquire literacy or to acquire literacy outside of school from a literate parent or adult." (ibid., p. 1027). This was entirely the situation with Joseph Wright who taught himself to read at the age of 15 years using the New Testament and a copy of 'Pilgrims' Progress' (Wright,1932). As discussed previously schooling was thought by some merely to impart discipline and the structured days encountered to prepare pupils for the future labour market.

In comparison to the English and Welsh experience, Prussia established compulsory education for young children in 1763, one hundred years prior to England and Wales and long before The Industrial Revolution. By 1860, 97.5% of German children aged between 6 – 14 years attended school as compared to measurements gathered in the 1851 Census [Education Sect.] (1851, p.26, p.58) that only 50 % did so in England and Wales (Crouzet ,1982). Education in the home nations was hampered by the dominant policy of laissez-faire , the intensely debated wisdom of educating the lower classes and especially rancorous arguments over the religious denominational content of elementary education. The 1851 Census however does not divulge at what ages and for how long children attended school. After the implementation of Forster's Act in 1870, with its impact on compulsory schooling, the cost benefit analysis significantly changed the face of child labour and schooling. From this point onwards, the length of attendance probability was around 5 years, though not necessarily complete years. Long (2006 p. 1031) provides a more detailed analysis not within the scope of this study. Prior to 1870 (excepting for Half-timers and other exceptional groups e.g., vagrants, criminals) school attendance was strictly voluntary and pupils either attended private schools, those with limited public funding, religious denominational schools or other miscellaneous philanthropic enterprises. Public schools as described in the legislation until 1870 and in some instances beyond, referred to those funded by the public purse who received a portion of their income from a source other than student fees and were subject to scrutiny by the funding sources.

4.10. Composition of the Elementary Education Curriculum.

The Newcastle Commission (1861, pp. 234 -35) reported a lack of standardization of what was taught within elementary schools. However, the "...general goal for a well-educated elementary school pupil was to reach the 'top class'." Different school evaluators, depending on funding sources, defined the top class differently. It was "...generally accepted that fairly extended schooling, until at least aged 10 and preferably 11 or 12, was required to reach this level", (Long, 2006 p.1031). Some students would stay in the lower classes for years and some never achieved the top class. Compare the Half-timer whose 'Standards' for achievement were the same but which had to be completed in half the time of a day pupil. In both day and Half-time Systems, many schools restricted the curriculum to reading, writing and arithmetic (the three R's) (Stannard,1957, pp.130 – 33). Half-timers performed better in attendance. Half-timers continued employment was dependent upon certification by the Head teacher week by week, which led to some falls and peaks owing to holidays and high days but also illness and the effects of continued poverty in many cases, as shown in the Victoria Road and Albert Road School Logbooks (1853 – 1880) (Table 1). The same applied to day scholars except there was no certification for employment requirements but there were issues of, but not exclusively, gaps in provision, issues of affordability, apathy of parents and truancy. There was still a requirement that parents paid for elementary education excepting for those children receiving other education outside the scope of schools receiving government grants.

4.11. Tensions within Society regarding State-wide Intervention in Elementary Education.

The reasons for England's apparent backwardness in creating a national system, initially of elementary education, are complex and hotly contested both within and between scholars of different disciplines. According to Chitty (1992 p.3) one of the most debated claims are those of Marxist historians who argue that this failure is to be blamed on the "unique quality of the 17th Century English Revolution."

Marx (translated by Callesen, 2002) argued that the French and English Revolutions of the 18th and 17th Centuries respectively were fundamentally different because of the permanent alliance that existed in pre- and post- Revolution in England between the middle class and the landowners. As a result, England failed to become a truly bourgeois state and therefore there was no motivation to create conditions that fulfilled bourgeois needs. The conditions were created that were favourable to capitalism together with "...a reunion of the bourgeoisie and the nobility against religious, political and social radicalism", (Callesen, 2002, p. 92).[The writer acknowledges over-simplification of these complex ideas and theories as not being within the scope of this thesis].

4.12. Laissez-Faire and Objections to State Interference in Education.

From these conditions developed the ideology of laissez-faire – an individualist creed deeply suspicious of the idea of state control of education. This ideology gradually over time gave way to the idea that the "...greatest freedom for every individual was possible only within the framework of the collective state"(Chitty, 1992, p.5). This debate had caused a split in the Liberal Party during the 1870s (around the time of Forster's Act) concerning the State's role in amelioration of societal problems vs the creation of a 'good' society. Traditional Liberal tenet had been based on a belief in individual freedom and diversity and in the supreme virtue of limited government involvement and intervention. Hobsbawm(1968 p. 65) argues that England did not need to use education in the pursuit of national economic development because that development had taken place anyway without the assistance of an educated population (Chitty,1992, p. 5). It should be noted that Titus Salt was returned as MP for Bradford as a Liberal – Radical 1859 – 1861.

Stannard (1933, p. 347) argued that "...their appointment [the Factory Inspectors tasked with the enforcement of the Factories Acts, education regulations] in 1833 was in itself something of a revolution.....and could in a sense be described as the first blow at laissez-faire...charged with the duty of interfering with the processes of laissez-faire was therefore an offence against the ideas of them who then called themselves progressive."[writer's parentheses]. Stannard (1933, p.

347) goes on to explain that once the Inspectors were inaugurated, the system could persist and expand because there were always some humane employers in authority who were willing to give a lead in the acceptance of reforms.” There were many opposed to the Factory Act 1833. To many Victorians the principles of laissez-faire were paramount which persisted throughout the mid to late 1800s. More latterly following Samuel Smiles injunction of ‘Self-help’ (1875) was to be followed at all costs and without any State interference. Smiles believed that change should come through a change in attitude and not through change in legislation. During that same year, the Commissioners on the ‘Employment of Children in Factories’ (Young (Ed.), 1956) published their reports detailing the hours, working conditions, abuses resulting from child labour and physical consequences. Kestner (1988 p.65) further asserts that the Commissioners believed that children’s’ working hours should be restricted to between three or four hours every day in order that there should be three or four hours every day in education. These recommendations were not incorporated into Althorp’s Act, but they announced the arrival of debate about the Half-time System. The Children’s Half-time Act became legislation some eleven years later in 1844. Dr. Andrew Ure, founder of the Andersonian Institute which became Strathclyde University, was a firm opponent of the 1833 Factory Act and a strong advocate for the mill-owners. In his ‘The Philosophy of Manufactures 1835’ (Farrar(Ed.), 1973 p.405) declares “...the Factories Bill is an act of despotism towards trade, and of mock philanthropy towards the works people who depend on trade for support...Against this absurd law , strong remonstrances have been made by the real friends of the poor.” Ure would not countenance the system of simultaneous work and school days (Kestner,1988 p. 68). Titus Salt himself, about to embark on his entrepreneurial worsted career , strongly opposed the Factory Act 1833. His motivations will be discussed later. Maybe there were fears of the repercussions and reprisals for having to dismiss all child workers under the age of 12 years? Interestingly, Finlayson,(1969) observed that the reforms of the 1830s started a process which has never wholly stopped and which, in some respects, is still in progress.

4.13. The Half-time System Operating in the Factory-mill Schools following the Factory Act 1833 (Althorp's Act) and Subsequent Legislation Covering the Period 1853 – 1880.

“I shall be remembered as Lord Ashley of The Ten-Hour Bill, but I shall rather have my memory associated with the Half-time system. This secures for the neglected children of the poor regular training to work and therefore to independence. This in itself is the most valuable kind of education for the poor who must work. This also ensures the education, in the usual sense, of all Half-timers, and is by far the most important service God has enabled me to do for the children. The ten hours the people would soon have secured to themselves, but the half-time system is the defence, the protection, and the boon to the poor, the helpless children, and will be a blessing to them when I have passed away.”

(Campbell, 1902, p.756)

Above is a private comment by Lord Shaftesbury in 1860 to a colleague of Dr. Alexander Campbell, recalled seventeen years after Lord Shaftesbury's death. It highlights the philanthropic passion felt by some of Sir Titus' non-industrialist contemporaries for the abolition of what many regarded as the hopeless situation of many a child labourer.

4.14. Schooling for the Child Factory-mill Workers and the Half-time System.

The previous section has done a broad sweep of legislation as it affected elementary education of the working-classes. This section will explore specifically the Half-time System for child factory-mill workers following the introduction of Althorp's Act in 1833. The detail of this Act has been previously discussed. The new law made provision for the appointment of Factory Inspectors in order to maintain compliance with the law. However, Horner (1857) one of four HMIs appointed, under the Act reported:

“...while it would seem to provide that the children employed in factories shall be educated, [The Act]contains no enactment by which that professed end can be secured. It provides nothing more than the children shall on certain days of the week, and for a certain number of hours in each day be inclosed [enclosed } within the four walls of a place called school , and that the employer of the child shall receive weekly a certificate to that effect signed by a person designated by the subscriber [the factory-mill owner] as a school master or school mistress.” [Writer’s parentheses].

(p.17).

Another Inspector (Cooke Taylor,1842, p.62) complained that unless manufacturers were sufficiently enlightened to ensure adequate buildings and suitably qualified and/or competent teachers available, then little was done. This is reflected in many early reports in which Factory Inspectors poured scorn and contempt both for the wording of the law, but that a large number of employers were complying with the letter of the law but were evading the spirit of the law.

At the opposite end of the quality-spectrum, McConnell’s in Manchester were providing a school for 250 – 300 child labourers of “outstanding quality”(Cruickshank,1978, p.112).

Factory-mill owners opposed the new legislation, displaying alarm at the “...loss of manual dexterity , equated with the exercise of nimble fingers and agile limbs [claimed to be required in the allocation of children to certain tasks of the spinning process such as piecing and doffing][writer’s parenthesis] (Cruickshank, 200,7 p. 111). Factory-mill owners also forecasted growing demoralisation of the child-workers because of enforced idleness(Factory Inquiry Commission,1834, p.299).

Brown (1983, p.10) produced a table, based on the 1851 Census (section Education) that showed that in 1851, whilst Titus Salt was operating his 5 mills in Bradford Town , there were 29 factory-works schools operating in Yorkshire

(out of a total of 130 in England) offering schooling to 5,172 children (out of 17,433 in England).

It seems that whilst several factory schools had operated for many years, some were transitory, dependent on production phases and that in certain situations it was likely that voluntary societies took over the role to enable closure of the factory schools. Of the schools founded and maintained by the industrialists, they were certainly of variable quality with Factory Inspectors having to evoke their powers under the Factory Act 1844, to dismiss incompetent teachers (Brown, 1983, p. 11). Factory Inspector Horner in his Report for 1851 made a point of highlighting instances of good schools. On examining the same, there is no mention of any of the Bradford factory-mill schools amongst his commended schools. Salt's Mill returned a questionnaire to the Paris Commission in 1868 (Jackson, 2010 p. 200). They reported that the factory-mill provided three schools – an Infants', Boys' and Girls' schools. They supplied no other substantive commentary. In comparison the Ashworth's Mill in Bolton spoke with pride of the achievements of their former Half-timers, many of their workpeople were enabled "...to rise from the ranks of labour to become managers...ten of them have become business partners or proprietors of mills" (Brown, 1983, p.13). According to Factory Inspector Baker, who reported that of 23 factory-mill schools surveyed in 1869 from his area in Lancashire, 8 specifically stressed that preference was given to children from their schools for job vacancies and subsequent promotions (ibid., p. 13). The counter narrative might be that as well as other commendable reasons, the factory-schools provided a regular stream of workers, over many years and certainly during the boom years of the 1870s, who were known to the proprietors and with pupils taught their way of thinking and doing. In the declining years it enabled the mill-owners to be selective in their recruitment of child and young workers.

4.15. Pupil Educational Achievement.

Horner in his report of 1855, said that of the 13 mills in Leeds and Bradford, where the schools were on the premises, (this would have included the Salt's Mill provision in the Dining Room), and were conducted on "good systems",

then good progress was made. It might be taken that as Salt's Mill was given a grant to maintain the school located in the Dining Rooms (Sharp, 1984, p. FS5) then they were considered to have good systems and not necessarily good teaching. The number of children employed (note he did not refer to the pupils as being on roll – he was a Factory Inspector) were 487 under the age of 13 years. Of that number, the time of enrolment (not an indication of attendance) was between 1 day and 3 years. On enrolment 147 could read the New Testament and at the time of Inspection 296 could do so. On enrolment, 116 could read the spelling book and at inspection 149 could do so. On enrolment, 121 could read the Primer whilst at the time of inspection 37 could do so. On enrolment, 91 pupils could read the alphabet and 7 could do so now. Finally, 16 could not read on enrolment but now only 1 pupil could not read. No explanation was given as to the reduction in figures regarding reading of the primer and alphabet. Some explanations may be that an accurate assessment was not made on admission or even that pupils had lost skills whilst enrolled? Or it may be that there had been emphasis placed on reading of the Scriptures rather than the Primer and recognition of the alphabet?

In applying the legislation to practice, Horner, Inspector of Factories, had suggested that a relay system for the employment of children would fulfil the requirements of the minimum school attendance and that no child should work for more than the permitted 48 hours in a week. The scheme suggested that three children should work for eight hours each instead of two children for 12 hours each. This might have worked had the children left the factory after their shift finished however some manufacturers realised that if they worked the children for shorter periods throughout the day and kept them on the premises, then they could keep the machines running beyond 12 hours a day and still be within the letter of the law. Howell (1834 p.443) commented that it was his belief that where the relay system was being used then schools were being set up in the factory-mill itself and a schoolmaster, someone from the workforce, will be nominated 'teacher'.

Howell (1834) reported:

“The facility of the children’s transition from the school room to the spinning or the throstle room is obvious ; and their transition from the spinning or the throstle room to the school room , whenever the Inspector or Superintendent may appear at the factory-lodge gate, is not very difficult.”

(p.5).

Whereas no documentation appears to exist regarding how schooling was delivered in the Dining Rooms at Salt’s Mill, it would have been a possibility that this did occur. More will be discussed about the dining-room factory school, but the writer makes the observation, the buildings themselves had multiple uses and were situated opposite the factory-mill lodge gates (Figures 39, 40, 41).

It may have been for convenience, but the factory school was in situ in the Dining Rooms for at least 12 years prior to moving to Victoria Road School. This will have enabled the children to start their early morning until midday shift, then have lunch break in the dining room (if having a pack-up or the means to pay) before starting school or vice versa for the afternoon shift. All under the close supervision of the Over-lookers and Head Teacher.

There were also the practices, described by Inspectors Horner and Howell of extending the working days by extending mealtimes and school times so meaning the children could be kept on the factory-mill premises for up to 15 hours. The Factory Act 1844 tried to eliminate this practice by stipulating a specific time for the beginning of set mealtimes within the Regulations. Howell complained that “Artful men ...could circumvent the restrictions” and the 1844 Act was designed to defeat such abuses (Frow,1970, p. 14).

In Horner’s January, 1837 report (Frow, 1970, p.9) he reported that there were 2,000 children aged 13-14 years old were employed in the Manchester factory-mills and of those children 1,067 were unable to read , 441 could sign their names , 611 could read with some level of fluency and 322 could read the New Testament with difficulty. This is the situation the writer discovered of Joseph Wright (an ex-pupil of the Salt’s Mill factory school) who taught himself to read at the age of 15 years old. Horner described much of the schooling as a “...discreditable mockery of education ”(ibid).

4.16. Requirement for a Certificate of School Attendance and Age Certificates.

Several mill owners did make an attempt to fulfil both the letter and spirit of the law, but others persisted in inventing new ways to try and ‘hoodwink’ the Inspectors. There was a particular problem about the production of the voucher confirming the child’s attendance for the daily two hours. One example reported by the Superintendent to H.J.Saunders, Inspector of the Southern District read:

“this is to certify that 1838 thomas Cordingley as atend Martha insep school tow hours per day January6.”

(Frow, 1970, p. 15).

Another was the difficulty of ascertaining the true age of the child worker. Registration of Births and the issue of Birth Certificates were not introduced until 1837 and in some situations, it was almost impossible to establish the correct age due to the combined opposition from employer, parent and child worker themselves (This was also the case with Joseph Wright whose mother presented him for work in Salt’s Mill at the age of 7 ½ years old) (Wright,1932). The parent sometimes resented the loss of an income stream, the child resented having to spend 2 hours in school and the employer resented the perceived interruption to productivity.

Local surgeons were appointed to examine children on factory-mill premises (not the child’s home to suppress parental pressure) and to sign certificates of age. A test of dentition was regularly used by surgeons. Factory Inspector Horner issued a list compiled by a Preston surgeon of heights and weight relative to age including “...no child of less than 3’ 10” should be passed for a 9-year-old and 4’ 3” for a 13-year-old “(Cruickshank,1978, p. 112).

According to Schuster, Campbell, Mackintosh and Stewart (1913):

“[Surgeons claimed]...the average of the height and weight indices(the combined index number) [of Half-timers] for children is low in

Bradford for children of 12 years old . Its value is actually 95.7, whereas for children of eleven in Bradford it is 99.2, and for children of twelve in Leeds, Sheffield and Wakefield, where the Half-time System is not in use to so great an extent, it is 97.4, 97.8 and 96.8 respectively.”

[writer’s parenthesis).

(pp.223-231)

They argued that half-time labour had a deleterious effect on the physique of the child. However, by the age of 13 years old the combined index number goes up in Bradford to 98.7 which is considerably higher than the corresponding index in Leeds, Sheffield or Wakefield. A study had been completed in Oldham which offered a direct comparison between the Half-timers [in the cotton-mills] and day students. The Half-timers were throughout larger and heavier.

The Medical Officer in Oldham gave the following possible explanations:

- “1. That those working half-time are on average older than those not working
2. That the tendency would be for the stronger and better developed children to go to work, while the weaker and delicate children would be kept at school
3. That the worker, as he is bringing in a wage, is better fed than those not bringing in a wage”.

(Schuster,1913, p.230).

These surgeons and physicians were also subsequently tasked with the granting of fitness certificates to child workers following the Factory Act of 1901. A useful piece of research was conducted by Dr Alexander Campbell and published in ‘The British Medical Journal’ regarding the ‘Granting of Certificates of Fitness to Children and Young Persons for Employment In Factories and Workshops , with Special Reference to the System of Half-time Employment’ (Campbell ,1902, pp. 756 – 761) (Figure 42). Whilst it is outside of

the scope of this thesis, it is interesting to note that a number of the Factory Surgeons and Physicians concurred with the study in Oldham i.e. in their experience, as soon as children start work, this invariably improved their physical condition. They compared day students with Half-timers and claimed that once children had started to work and became Half-timers, after a few months the child workers became stronger and had a better colour. They claimed that Half-timers were physically healthier and stronger than day students.

Pamphlets such as those published by the London School of Economics (1896, pp.1 – 18) refuted the past and current claims of the surgeons with descriptions of deformities of bones and eyesight, puniness and dullness of the child pupil-labourers. The author was Margaret McMillan (1860 -1931) described as a nursery school pioneer, who campaigned extensively for improving the physical and mental condition of the child working poor. She had herself contracted Scarlet Fever at the age of five which left her deaf. She regained some hearing at fourteen. As an early Psychologist and Physiologist, she recognised the connection between the child worker's physical environment and their intellectual development as well as the importance of early childhood education. She became the Independent Labour Party candidate for the Bradford School Board. Latterly she developed an open-air nursery school in Deptford but spent many years prior lecturing and speaking throughout the North of England. She advocated the educational philosophy and practice of those such as Froebel alongside her predecessors and contemporaries in Bradford, and much later in her career of Steiner.

4.17. Froebelian Influences within the Salt's Mill Factory Schools.

The writer has focused on the biography of McMillan as there is , in the writer's view, that it is the local connection with Bradford, and its nursery-education initiatives, that encouraged Titus Salt Jnr. to establish Froebelian education provision at Victoria Road & Albert Road Board Schools. Other more enlightened industrialists such as the Schwabe family of Lancashire, who later visited the Albert Road Factory School (refer to transcript of school log 29th January, 1879), also had an influence on Titus Jnr. Was it Titus Salt Jnr. and his

wife Caroline, who showed an interest in the education of young children and are recorded as providing material for needlework in the logbooks, who first brought the ideas of Froebel to Bradford following their extensive travels in Europe (Figure 43)? Bradford School Board was a forward-thinking and innovative body in most spheres of education and they preceded formation of the Shipley School Board. It would seem Titus Salt Jnr. wished to emulate their innovation. It is also true that the first infant school for the working poor was established by Robert Owen in New Lanark – another philanthropic industrialist but more a Utopian Socialist. There is evidence that Titus Salt Junior would have known about the New Lanark Mill-village which was reported throughout Europe as conducting business on higher principles than purely commercial ones (Podmore, 1906). Initial descriptions of the Victoria Road Factory Schools show plans for two departments, Boys' and Girls' and yet at some point between 1868 – 1878 an Infants' Department was opened. The Schwabe's visited Victoria Road School in 1879. It is likely that the introduction of Infants caused some unsatisfactory conditions for the older pupils. This can be seen in several logbook entries. In addition, the Bradford School Board, just some 4 miles south of Saltaire, was established in 1870 and within 15 years had built 25 schools including open-air nursery schools and high schools. The Shipley School Board was slower off the ground, forming in 1874. They inherited a shortfall of 861 elementary school places for the working classes, according to their initial census but within two years had opened two new elementary schools in the Shipley School Board area. One was Albert Road School (taking Half-timers and day pupils) in 1878. The Central Schools (at the other side of Saltaire Village) taking only day-students from 1876, offered additional school places to the working poor of Saltaire and Shipley (Coomber, 2006, p.6) In the meantime Shipley School Board had opened temporary elementary provision in the Saltaire Institute in 1875.

A significant view expressed by McMillan was “When you have closed your Froebel you can open your Goethe” (LSE, 1896 p.12) The writer takes this within the context of the pamphlet she wrote to mean, when you have understood Froebel and both the theory and practicalities of educating young children...then you can return to your philosophy.

4.18. Circumvention of the Legislation.

Despite the stipulations and the apparent precautions implemented by Factory Inspectors, some mill owners continued to attempt to circumvent the law on the provision of elementary education for child labourers. One such attempt was highlighted in The Factory Inquiry Commission (1834) where an owner had advertised:

“Wanted from twelve to twenty boys , not younger than what will pass for 13 years of age.”

This was a similar circumstance of Joseph Wright who commenced work prematurely at the age of 7 ½, as the legal starting age for work in the factory-mill at the time was 8 years. He describes that he was large and sturdy for his age (Wright, 1932).

Mill owners also complained of burdensome clerical work. Whilst restrictions on hours for child-workers initially led to a dip in child labour, employers set up schools, often within re-designated and wholly inappropriate areas of the mills so that children could move quickly from work to school and described in this paper previously as the relay-system. Whilst Titus Salt did designate the Dining Rooms of Salt’s Mill for his first factory-mill school provision, not an unpleasant environment but not wholly appropriate given the multi-functional use of such rooms and the proximity to the workshops, this might raise the question of why he would do so and that the school remained in that situation for several years? The writer would add here that local historian (Coates, 2017) has produced an excellent timeline of the Saltaire Dining Room from 1853 – 1957.

In view of the continued abuses of the law, it prompted many consultations between the Inspectorate and the law makers. In 1840 Lord Ashley presided over a further Select Committee which was “...set up to inquire into the ‘operation of the Act for the Regulation of Mills and Factories, and to report their opinion thereon to the Houses.” (Frow,1970 p.16). The Committee took evidence from the four HMIs, seven Superintendents, four mill doctors, seven millowners and four

child workers. The intention of the Committee was not to change the law but by taking evidence from a range of witnesses, they wished to ensure "...the fulfilment of the intention of the existing law"(Frow,1970, p.17).

Fundamental to the recommendations of the Committee, which were incorporated into the Factory Act 1844, was a firm recognition that the Half-time System of schooling for child-millworkers was acceptable from both an industrial and an educational point of view. The 1844 Act made further provisions:

- “1.The age a child could work in a factory-mill dropped from 9 years to 8 years old.
- 2.Justified as the daily hours of work were reduced to 6 ½ per day
- 3.A child aged 8 – 13 years old had to attend school for a period of 3 hours each day, before or after lunch from Monday – Friday.”

Other very important provisions included:

- “1.The Inspectors had the right to dismiss incompetent teachers
- 2.The Inspectors could apply for a grant (collected from fines inflicted on employers for breaches of the law), in order to establish or maintain day schools for factory children.”

4.19. The School Sites Acts and Grants Awarded.

Simultaneously, the five School Sites Acts of 1841, 1844, 1849, 1851, 1852 (Gillard, 2018) facilitated the purchase of land for school buildings and allowed for Parliamentary Grants for the education of the poor to be in force. It is not known which piece of legislation Titus Salt relied on to secure grants for the maintenance of the first factory-school provision in the Dining Rooms, Saltaire from 1853 – 68 (when the school moved from the Dining Rooms to the purpose-built factory school on Victoria Road) , or for the purpose-built building of Victoria Road School and its ongoing maintenance or even if any grant was procured when he bequeathed land for the building of the Albert Road(Board) School in 1978 ? However, Sharp (1984 p.FS5) did confirm grants had been

secured from information held in the Saltaire Archive. It is likely that a grant for the on-going maintenance of the factory-school at Titus Salt's mills in Bradford between the period 1844 – 1853, when the grants were first awarded, to the time Salt's Mill was built, were also secured. The writer was unable to locate any record pertaining to there having been separate school buildings for the Bradford town mill-factories. It is very likely the child factory-mill workers were schooled in rooms inside the factories. However, given that Titus Salt had, between the period of 1837 and 1859, the date he was made an MP for Bradford, had pursued an active civic career, including Senior Alderman, Justice of the Peace, Chief Constable, Deputy Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Mayor, it would seem highly unlikely he would be unaware of such grants and not have availed himself of them (Balgarnie, 1983).

Some did not welcome the new Elementary Education law – even with reservations – with MPs amongst them being Edward Baines, Liberal MP for Leeds (1859 – 1874) who had led opposition to it throughout its stages through Parliament. In an article in 'The Leeds Mercury' (date unknown) he claimed it was "...an alarming interference with liberty "and explicitly expressed his views that every individual must be free to "dree his own weird ," (Definition dree - an archaic Scottish verb meaning endure something burdensome or painful and weird – an archaic Scottish noun meaning one's own destiny) (Graham, 1843, p.4).

The counternarrative description - that the young, poor and potentially vulnerable must remain open to exploitation. This was very much in line with laissez-faire capitalism, that a government must abstain from interfering with the workings of the free-market and the notion of free capital. Some even predicted the worst about the dangers of legislating to prevent young children from over-working. They claimed that if owners were forced to employ children of legal age, then this would push the price of textiles up, making the country uncompetitive in the global market (Firth,1990; Jowitt,1989; Taylor, 1898).

Unfortunately, this dominant discourse of the early 1800s perpetuated into the mid-1800s, predominantly by the industrialists and some MPs (who were either the same individuals or sponsored by such individuals).

4.20. Protection from Exploitation.

As the mid- 1800s approached, attitudes to the working classes were changing. There was a recognition that some needed protection from exploitation. The debates raged around whether the government should have a role to legislate in the social domains of education, health, spiritual and moral care of the working classes? Successive governments had bowed, with a graded approach, to humanitarian pressure for curtailing the hours of labour for children, but it had grasped these ideals for dual purposes. One, to secure against overwork but also as a device to occupy children when not at work, to keep them off the streets and prevent "...demoralisation by idleness"(Cruikshank,1978, p. 112).

With the improvement of trade within the cotton and worsted industries in the late 1840s – 50s demanding greater human capital and effort, and with employers now able to manage the administration of the Half-time System regulations more efficiently, the hiring of child factory-mill workers increased. The employers, and indeed the Factory Inspectors themselves, who monitored the law and although not independent, not always representing the full views of their paymasters, continued to defend the system on the grounds that it made pupil-workers docile, tractable and manageable. Early entry to work meant that suppleness could be exploited, and training was easy. A fundamental trait of a child workforce being that they were also amenable to discipline('Letters on the Factory Act as it Affects the Cotton Manufacture' ,1837, p.27). The government advisor, lawyer and economist Nassau Senior observed that "...A strict and almost superstitious discipline is necessary to keep this vast instrument going for a single day." (Cruikshank,1970, p.114). Nassau was referring to the necessary work habits of responding to routines which were strictly regulated by the factory bell. It was common practice that skilled, male, adult-workers would regularly employ their own child-labour. Nassau claimed they preferred to hire children who had been to infant schools before becoming Half-timers because "...they require less beating and they are sooner taught" (Cruikshank , 1970, p.114).

This may offer some explanation as to why Titus Salt, on opening the first purpose-built factory school on Victoria Road, had departments for boys and

girls from 8 to school-leaving age and then introduced an Infants Department for those as young as 2 – 7 years old. From the footprint plan of the Victoria Road building, there appeared to be no purpose-built space for Infants. After all, the pence they would pay would not cover the building development costs of the Infant Department and would only partially cover the employment of Head Teacher, schoolmistress or schoolmaster and pupil teachers. An Infants' Department numerically provided a continuing stream of available child labour of legal age, once these Infants came of legal age (fluctuating between 8 and 9 years of age with successive legislation) as they would have joined the Boys' or Girls' Departments and started work in the factory. Pupils would, at that stage in their schooling, be both compliant to routine and to a certain extent, disciplined. As far as the writer can establish there was no provision made at the Dining Rooms factory-school for infants (probably owing to a lack of space) but at the first opportunity, such was created.

There is also little doubt that many mill-owners and labourers still remembered the impact of the Ten-Hour Movement and the passion of a politicised child workforce.

4.21. The Factory Inspectors as the First Inspectors of Schools and Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

The Factory Inspectors, who were in effect the first Inspectors of Schools, were appointed following The Factory Act 1833 [for England & Wales). The Factory Inspectorate operated to monitor, enforce the regulations and act as Magistrate for the Worsted Acts of 1777 and 1791 amongst other regulations, as well as the education provisions within The Factory Acts. Their appointments superseded the appointment of the first two Inspectors of Schools. They were Mr. Tremenheere and Rev. Allen, hired in 1837 by the Privy Council's Education Committee, to monitor the annual Government grant made to Church of England and non-denominational elementary schools for poor children [extended in 1837 to cover Catholic schools]. Some contemporary academics claim such School Inspectors were middle class and "...fervently believed that everyday education provided outside state-aided schools was of little value." (Davies,2017, p. 292)

.Davies go on to criticise the Inspectors as amateurs and should be considered false experts. They were government appointees whose "...pejorative observations and judgements were frequently biased, distorted, condemnatory and censorious" (ibid., p.293). They claim that Tremenheere was a fervent advocate of school as a means of social control, not education. However, it was successive Factory Inspectors who were tasked with the continued implementation of the education provisions within The Factory Acts, as it applied to the Half-time System. The Factory Inspectorate continued to extol the benefits of the Half-time System, where good schools existed. In his report of 1855, Horner, Factory Inspector, traced the development of the educational clauses of the successive Factory Acts and rebuked those who argued that the Acts were less inclined to provide education but rather to provide a safety net for children, to prevent them being employed in factories for longer than the Acts allowed.

His rebuttal was as such:

"...[where a good school is available]...A most excellent education can be given to the children who work half the day in a factory. Of this there cannot be stronger proof than that there are many pupil teachers in schools, who received all the education that enabled them to pass the strict examinations for that office, while they were working as 'Half-timers' in a factory",

(Horner ,1856 p. 18 -21).

Claims were made that before the Factory Acts very few of the child factory-millworkers had any opportunity for attending school. This would appear to be correct as it was the Factory Acts that addressed the dilemmas of humanity vs human capital that dominated the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Karl Marx commented "The Factory Inspectors soon found out by questioning the schoolmasters , that the factory children, although receiving only one half the education of the regular day scholars yet learnt quite as much and more often" (Marx,1959, p. 483).

Marx was correct in at least the second half of his comment. Because the Half-timers had to attend school to maintain their working status and the law-abiding employers could be prosecuted if they continued to employ them without a certificate of attendance, then their attendance at least was regular and sustained. However, if work stopped off then inevitably school attendance did too, as the fee to attend was prohibitive to un-employed children, at least to attend a factory-school at 2d per week. This occurred during the two-week Salt's Mill lockout beginning 30th June, 1876 and the logbook entries thus reflects a downturn in attendance:

“School work gone on as usual. A smaller attendance in consequence of a ‘Lock Out’ at the works. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-five. None entered, one left.”

Comparatively, day scholars regularly did not attend for a range of other reasons such as illness, apathy, responsibilities within the home, local social events and festivities, lack of footwear or seasonally appropriate clothing and truancy. It should be noted that some Board schools (Following the 1870 Elementary Education Act) made provision for both Half-timers and day pupils together.

4.22. The Disruption Caused by the Half-time System.

Teachers regularly complained of the difficulties and disruption of having both Half-timers and day pupils in the same classes (Frow, 1970, p. 28). The factory-schools in the Dining Rooms of Salt's Mill provided for boys and girls separately. Victoria Road Schools were operated by Titus Salt, and provided for Half-timers in separate Boys' and Girls' Department and an Infants' Department. Saltaire village by that time came within the Shipley School Board district. When the Shipley Board School on Albert Road opened in 1878, it provided for infants, Half-timers from Salt's Mill and possibly other Half-timers from nearby mill-factories, as well as day pupils. Albert Road School was a mixed school and boys and girls were taught together.

The Shipley School Board also opened the Central Schools at the opposite side of Saltaire village and on opening took only day scholars.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to examine in any detail the difficulties encountered by school managers, Head Teachers and teachers when pupil roll consisted of both Half-time and day pupils but to say that the teacher's organisations and senior educationalists regularly expressed deep concerns at the impact each group had on the other. Whilst the work ethic of the Half-timers was often commended, teachers would lament about their fatigue, 'worldliness' (having been exposed to factory culture from a young age) and in some cases unruliness (Cooke-Taylor, 1842; Cowan, 1974; Chesser, 1909). Conversely day students often resented having to attend school and their attendance was often erratic. Some claimed that the Half-timers held back progress of the day students whilst others argued that the Half-timers regularly achieved higher grades than their day school counterparts and in half the time. The writer shall be discussing the thorny issue of academic standards achieved whilst attending school and the requirements set to enable the half-timer to leave school completely. However, the legal provisions on education in The Factory Act 1844 remained the same until it was abolished in The Education Act 1918 (Frow, 1970, p.23)

Arguments and debates continued throughout the 1860s and 1870s. A significant development was the introduction of The Revised Code of 1862 which introduced the payments by results regulations. The standards required and the impact on teachers shall be discussed. However influential educational administrators such as (Wilks, 1859, p.363) Secretary to the British & Foreign Schools Society continued to promote the Half-time System "[the provisions of the educational clauses of the Factory Acts)...has been most healthful, not only in an educational, but also in a social point of view...the results have proved the principle sound in theory, wise in legislation, and practical in working."

4.23. The Benefits of the Half-time System.

Redgrave (186,2 p.419) of the Social Science Association presented a paper at the 'Congres Internationale de Bienfaisance' (broadly translated as those who provide charitable works) whose claims provided an interesting narrative on the

provisions of The Factory Acts as follows “...but few of the children [prior to the legislation] had any opportunity of attending school...for the last 30 years every child under thirteen who works in a factory for only half the day , and attends school for three hours on the same day. At this time upwards of 24,000 children are attending school, making good progress and attending to the earnings of the family.”[writer’s parenthesis].

Redgrave (1862) further presents a pragmatic argument here on the perceived benefits for all stakeholders, the child, family and employer. He elaborates and explains further but in doing so perpetuates the increasing influential state paternalism argument:

“...[I congratulate the masses]...who have proved themselves worthy of the boon conferred on them; they have not abused the gift; their intelligence has increased; their habits have improved; their social happiness has advanced; they have gained all, and more than all, they expected from factory legislation ; and they have not been intoxicated with success.”

(p.420)

4.24. The Claimed Benefits of the Half-time System as Compared to the Disadvantages.

Enforcement of compulsory education following The Education Acts, together with the ‘payment by results’ provisions of The Revised Code 1862 made no distinction between the attainment of Half-timers and day students in the schedule of Standards I – VI. This resulted in a Half-timer having to ‘keep up’ with a child receiving twice the amount of delivery without the burden of work and all its implications of fatigue and focus. It might be argued that any success of the Half-time System could be attributed to the fact it was the first state-enforced school attendance. The Half-timer’s academic performance may be attributed to their regular attendance, as compared to an irregularly attending day

student, together with other motivational factors such as attaining a level as to be allowed to leave school completely, graduating by either achievement or age. Simon (1960, p. 349) and Ellis (1973, p. 314) draw attention to the reality that Half-timers tended only to attend school at all when they were working and tended to be absent when not working. Millworker pupils who passed the required standard for leaving at 9 or 10, in effect the brighter students, were 'lost' to education, as attendance was irregular until leaving school at 11 or from 1899, at 12. Joseph Wright reported he had left school early. The question remains, did he leave unofficially and prematurely with a 'Labour pass' (Figure 38) or more likely with a 'Dunce's Pass'?

Whilst in the case of Joseph Wright it is likely he voluntarily, albeit necessarily, left school to support the family income at the earliest opportunity, employers regularly claimed, as in the case of Joseph, that parents regularly pleaded with employers to offer work to their children at the earliest opportunity. This was clearly identified as in the evidence tabled by The Children's Employment Commission (Macvey, 1842) and later in 'State of Popular Education in England' (1862). It seemed that parents remained the most influential factor in pupil attendance i.e., until compulsory attendance was enforced. However, for parents of factory-millworkers, attendance at school was something that had to be tolerated given that was how their children could only be employed in places such as Salt's Mill. Wages for a child worker could keep a family out of destitution. Between the 1840s – 1850s, when Salt opened his first factory-mills and therefore had to provide schooling, a child aged 8 -10 could earn between 2s and 8s per week. In the 1860s – 1870s (pre-decline), they could earn between 7s and 12s per week. Compare this to an adult working in the same mill during the first period earned between 16s and 18s per week. Relatively speaking a child earning the best rate of pay earned as much as half of what an adult might earn. Let us say for example the family had four children of legal working age, they could earn between them almost the equivalent weekly wage of two adults (Ellis, 1973, p. 317).

There would of course, be a deduction for schooling at 2d per child but even with that, the children could contribute significantly to the family income. But it was not only on financial grounds, less so in factory-mill areas, that parents objected. Some had active hostility to schooling, particularly in the more conservative agricultural regions. It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore in any more depth the inherently conservative or apathetic attitudes to parents given that it was of little significance to Saltaire and its environs. In both the factory-mill regions and otherwise, there were parents who were very aware of the benefits of education, if not always, of at least schooling for their children. As is the case today, where a good school exists, parents tended to show more interest and strove for their child to securing a place. This often resulted in hardship for the family, either by school fees or the impact it can have on parent's livelihoods and in the case of the Saltaire families, loss of child income. This is particularly the case if the child went on from elementary factory-school education to the Higher-Grade Schools such as Titus Salt Jnr. opened in the ex-factory school buildings of Victoria Road in 1878.

It is unascertained whether the Board schools of Victoria Road or Albert Road offered the extension of National Standards that were introduced in The Codes of 1871 & 1875 as in a few the better elementary schools. Study of the school logs books and Shipley School Board Reports may hold this information, but it is not within the scope of this thesis to examine further. It is certainly the case that more latterly the factory schools at Victoria Road suffered what many other factory schools did i.e., severe monetary constraints resulting in not fit-for-purpose buildings, paucity of resources, inadequate sanitation, heating and lighting and ineffective teachers. Reference to these were identified in the logbooks. It was a vicious cycle. Poor attendance and inadequate results produced by the annual Factory Inspector's Examination (to be discussed with respect to the Saltaire factory-mill schools) led to a reduction in grants. This was the impact of the 'payment-by-results' clauses of the 1862 Revised Code. Some working-class Victorian parents valued the efficiency, sanitary conditions and what was taught within school. The journalist J. Runciman alluded to this in his

publication of 1887 and was reported in ‘The Saturday Review’ in February, 1887.

Whilst some millowners, sometimes described as the ‘millocracy’, continued to complain during the 1840s and 1850s, by the 1860s the majority of factory-millowners realised and reluctantly accepted the state of things. Some, albeit a small minority of employers took an active interest in educational provision, “...both by generous subscriptions and by personal influence” (Ellis, 1973, p. 319.) This appeared to be the case of the Salts in their factory schools. It is worth recalling that Half-time schooling was a requirement for employment of child workers. Given the family’s high profile locally and nationally, it would be highly unlikely for them not to be involved. However, aside from the legislative requirements, their motivations require further analysis and will be completed when the schooling and education delivered in Saltaire is examined further in the next chapter.

4.25. Other Views on Half-time Education.

The reader’s attention should be drawn to a fascinating article written by T.J. Macnamara in ‘The Practical Teacher’ called ‘The Half-Timer – Hard Swearing Somewhere’ (1878, p.291) which summarises succinctly the arguments (often direct quotes) given for and against the introduction of the Home Secretary’s Bill to amend the Factory Act of 1878. The article proceeds to identify debates around the educational aspect of half-time, the health of the Half-timer and half-time as a ‘splendid technical training’. These are reported in the appropriate journalistic style as direct quotes of what was said or written. However, it prefaces thus:

“To the upmost astonishment of every one interested in the well-being of the little toil-stained moiler, whose pattering clogs the long day through vamp a particularly monotonous accompaniment to the whirr of the looms; to the upmost astonishment of every one who had noted with satisfaction the full and complete acquiescence given by the British Government to the Berlin International Congress to raise the

age for labour to 12 years.....England alone of all the great European States is to go on wringing its manufacturing supremacy out of the puny muscles of its infant operatives.....England.....descends to put the labour harness around the feeble neck of the 10 year old, and in England alone is his yielding frame made to bend beneath the yoke of exacting , long-protracted physical effort. The moloch [the practice of child sacrifice] of greed and selfishness is again set on high. His brazen hands clutch his victims. His inhuman needs are copiously satisfied by in a wretchedly cheap market...[writer's parenthesis]”.

(Macnamara, 1878, p.291).

Even into the latter half of the 19th Century and early 20th, campaigners such as Paediatrician and medical journalist Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser continued to describe Half-timers as:

“...victims of an iniquitous system which permits[them] to labour amidst the dust and heat ... They are the helpless child toilers of the community, exploited on the one hand by their parents.....on the other by the employer who recognises the commercial value of the child in certain spheres of labour”.

(Sloan Chesser,1909 p. 406). (Figure 58).

A recognition of the exceptional working conditions and perceived exploitation of child labourers was being reported across the Atlantic too with ‘The New York Times’ who ran an article on September, 8th, 1877 titled ‘NEW AGITATION IN ENGLAND’ with the report explaining “...Yorkshire Education Board Rescinds Measure Permitting Children Between 12 and 14 to be Employed.” The political pressure was being placed on the State from many sources.

4.26. The Royal Commission 1880.

The Government's continued interest in the operation of the Half-time System is clearly demonstrated in the terms of reference of The Royal Commission (1880, pp.160, 161, 212.). One of the key purposes was to investigate whether the Half-time System should be abolished. Evidence from Leek (Staffordshire) and Bradford pleaded that the system should be retained and indeed extended because they claimed simply but powerfully "...the money earned by the child, feeds it"(ibid). The Commission raised the problem that it was absurd to expect the same educational attainments from Half-timers as their full-time counterparts. The Committee, although complacent about the detrimental effects on the Half-timer, accepted that the educational performance of the Half-timers was lower than those attending as day students. Opinion, from eminent public figures who themselves had experienced the Half-time System such as the Rt. Hon. J.R. Clynes MP(1937) were vivid in their accounts as a Half-timer. Born in Oldham ,he was a British Trade Unionist, leader of the Labour Party, MP for Manchester for 35 years and serving Home Secretary. He commented that he was lucky to have been a Half-timer at the time he was so.

Born in 1869, he commenced work in the cotton mill at the age of ten and experienced life as a Half-timer for two years. He vividly recalled the impressions of a young boy working amongst the noise, dirt and danger of the machinery. These memories must have been at the forefront of his mind when he watched the Education Act of 1918 become law so raising the compulsory school leaving age to 14. So, the Half-time System, which was first introduced in 1802 (limited in scope and easy to evade at times during its evolution) was to continue until 1921 with the introduction of the Act in 1918 (Clynes,1937).

There were expectations of the schools by Government, School & Factory Inspectors and Clergy (of most denominations) that the education provided to Half-timers was to act as moral and religious stabilisers in their crowded and often immoral communities. However, little was legislated for regarding what was to be taught, how it was to be taught and who was to teach it? What did schools achieve against the expectations?

4.27. The Elementary Education Syllabus.

The Syllabus from the New Code for Standard V is contained within Sykes 'The Factory Half-timer' (Sykes, 1889).

Often employers revealed their belief that Half-timers should only receive a narrowly interpreted curriculum offer which included the need for basic literacy and numeracy and which was enhanced by religious teaching for social control purposes (Brown, 1983 p.14).

There were a small number of mill-owners who had better aspirations for the child workers and recognised the need for wider educational opportunities. The curriculum offer for the child workers at the Salt's Mill will be examined further.

To recap, the 1833 Factory Act contained the rudiments of a Half-time System whilst the 1844 Factory Act legislated to overcome the abuses of the system by requiring the statutory working day of child labourers to be performed in one stint, with regular start and finish times evolving round a set lunchtime. Whilst it might appear that the majority of industrialists were against education some were not. Some perpetuated the philosophy of not let those in the working classes rise above their station and saw school as an institution for taming and training the young, undisciplined working-class. However, there were a few genuine philanthropic employers. The 'Edinburgh Review' produced an editorial in 1831 that through basic literacy and religious instruction:

“...the poor ought to be made acquainted with those circumstances which principally determine their condition of life...they should be instructed in the plain elementary doctrines respecting population and wages...and in the causes which give rise to graduation of ranks and inequality of fortunes that are as natural to society as heat to fire and cold to ice.”

(Rose, 1991, p. 108).

4.28. The Requirement for a Trained and Skilled Workforce.

Half-time regulation and the increased mechanisation of industries, excepting the textile trades, saw a reduction over time in child labour. By 1870 the school as an institution was being used as an instrument to "...soak up unoccupied children"(Rose, 1991, p.108). The Chartist outbreaks of 1842 created civil disobedience which had kindled "...fears of an excitable , reckless industrial proletariat which was easily inflamed and moved to turbulence."

(Cruickshank, 1978, p. 113) were feared. The Home Secretary, Graham, at the time cried of the need for school so "...that sober self-control ...would enable them [the working classes] to govern and repress the promptings of their passions "(Graham, 1843). But there was another reason why education of the masses had become important. There was fierce competition from the 1870s onwards on the global stage for a workforce that was not deferential but was trained and skilled. The Paris exhibition of 1867 created shockwaves around the Government and industrialists when it was realised that British manufactured goods were of an inferior quality to many of their global competitors. They began to realise the benefits and importance of a literate working class. Half-timers could provide that future semi-skilled and skilled workforce such as workers, tradesmen, overseers and the clerical staff required to keep the machinery running and production increasing to maintain profitability. It was possibly too soon for them to have thought about the potential for engineers and other skilled professions. But attitude and will appeared to be moving in a forwardly direction. From 1870 onwards rewards were offered to pupils to encourage attendance. These were often full or partial refund of school fees. The reasons, the writer posits being four-fold in the case of the Saltaire factory-mill schools: paternalism, grant-receipt, human capital and reputation.

Overwhelmingly it was the textile areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire that sustained the Half-time System. The Shipley School Board Report shows a decline in the three non-Board schools (which excluded Salt's Mill as it was under control of the School Board) numbers of Half-timers from 430 in 1874 to 288 in 1877 – a 33% decrease. This was because of the closure of Wellcroft Mills,

built in 1840 in central Shipley. Within the same timeframe there were still more Half-timers in Board Schools (including Victoria Road factory school) than day pupils. There were 806 Half-timers in 1874 reducing to 681 in 1877 representing a 16% decrease.

As previously discussed, the worsted trade had slipped into decline from the mid-1870s. Sir Titus Salt had died in 1876. It was earlier that year he would have witnessed the first lock-out of labour at the mill which gets recorded in the school logbook with pupil attendance significantly down. Titus Salt Jnr. passed the factory-school at Victoria Road to the jurisdiction of the Shipley School Board in May, 1873 but he continued to administer and manage the school until 1878 upon its re-location to Albert Road. The Education Act of 1870 (Forster's Act) gave School Boards permissive powers to make education compulsory to any age up to 13 in their districts, but they could allow part-time or full-time exemptions from 10 years where the local leaving age was set above 10 years. The Education Act of 1876 had made education almost compulsory by forbidding child employment under the age of 10 years and requiring a proof of educational attainment before any employer could employ a child full-time until they were 13 years (Figure 44).

These proofs were either a 'Certificate of Proficiency' (known as the Labour Exam) where the child had reached a nationally prescribed minimum standard or a 'Certificate of Attendance' where the child had put in a minimum number of attendances over the past five years (known as the Dunces' pass). However, for a child who wished to leave school at 10 with either a Labour Exam or Dunces' Pass, as would be highly likely in Saltaire, and the child wished to work at Salt's Mill (or other textile factory-mill close-by) then the Factory Act of 1878 prevented full-time employment until 13 years of age so the child would have to remain at school as a Half-timer until they attained the age of 13 years.

The Education Act 1880 (Mundella's Act) went further and made full-time education compulsory to a minimum age of 10 years and allowed School Boards to frame their own regulations for full-time and half-time schooling or total exemption at 13 years. Despite the debates that continued through the latter half

of the 19th and into the 20th Centuries the legal provisions of the Factory Act 1844, which established the Half-time System in law, remained virtually unchanged until it was abolished in The Education Act 1910.

4.29. Summary.

Rapid advancements in worldwide industrialisation and efficiency from the 1870s onwards made the requirements for a skilled and trained workforce more urgent if Great Britain were to maintain its reputation as an industrial powerhouse and competitive exporter of goods across the world. There were increasingly vociferous and influential calls for protection for workers and, in particular, the child labourers. These voices increased in number across the socio-economic spectrum and classes. The workers themselves had become more organised, if not yet powerful, in attempting to determine their futures and improve their lot. Significant advances were made in the provision of elementary education for the masses. The motivations for such ranged from moral, penal, religious and reformist ideals.

Chapter 5.0. Saltaire : Key Findings and Analysis.

This chapter presents further data and analysis with an examination of Sir Titus Salt's motivations for the founding of Salt's Mill including rare excerpts from the words of Titus Salt himself and his contemporaries and benefactors. The semi-autobiographical work of Joseph Wright (a former Half-timer at the Salt Factory School) is also examined as being probably the most famous ex-factory school pupil from Salt's Mill.

A simplified description and examination of Saltaire village is conducted to allow the reader to make comparisons with the conditions from which a large majority of the population will have come.

The work of Coates and Smith, (2016) is examined as Titus Salt's vision for his business was always much greater than the building of the mill, albeit it large,

modern, and able to combine all processes of worsted production on one site. Contemporary reports are identified from public servants and Chartists which draw important attention to the unusual and significantly healthy conditions of Saltaire.

The chapter goes on to examine comparatively the mortality rates in Bradford and Shipley which were high and there were numerous incidences of epidemic disease.

Discussion involves the regular outbreaks of cholera and typhoid (with the latest typhoid epidemic of 1849 killing 400 people in Bradford) and the effects that child labour and poverty had on the health of a number of child factory-mill workers who suffered frequent bouts of childhood illnesses such as Typhoid Fever, Scarlet Fever, Dropsy, Smallpox, Measles, Mumps, Whooping Cough and Croup. Table 1 is produced which records the deaths of pupils recorded in the school logbook 1873 – 1880.

Applicable legislation (as relevant to the two factory-schools and Board school) is examined providing Half-time education for the child factory-mill workers of Salt's Mill over the period of study.

A broad discussion is introduced on Schedule of Standards I – VI of Elementary Education (the 3 Rs.). The study identifies implementation of the Revised Code 1862 as there would be a requirement to provide an extended curriculum to the 3 Rs to include foreign languages, pure and applied sciences or other defined subjects at Standards IV, V and VI. In addition, there was a requirement for girls to be taught needlework. A primary source of such needlework is presented as photographic examples held within the Bradford Industrial Museum.

Descriptions are given of the interiors of each school building and where available photographic evidence. Archival photographs are shown of the pupils themselves.

The formation of the Shipley School Board and in particular the role of Titus Salt Jnr. as School Manager is discussed.

The chapter then moves to identify and examine the school buildings and facilities, pupil roll and teaching methods where sources are available.

The writer then examines a primary source, a small booklet produced by the participants of ‘Saltaire Our Memories, Our History’ course of 1983/84 who met weekly, as a community history class organised by Leeds University’s Department of Adult & Continuing Education. This published booklet, held in the West Yorkshire Archive, and found after extensive search, in the University of Sheffield University Library (Town Planning Section) is based on the memories and experiences of these Half-timers. Whilst the memoirs are of child-workers of the period circa 1880 – 1920, there is nothing significantly different in their recollections from what the writer has previously identified in other primary and secondary sources. Between the twenty authors they had a combined service at Salt’s Mill of 278 years.

The full transcript of the logbook is available *unabridged* in the Appendices.

5.1. Description of Saltaire Model Factory-Village.

“A gentleman by the name of Salt, one of the most extensive spinners and manufacturers in this neighbourhood is removing the whole of his works to Shipley, they will comprise of one of the largest mills in the kingdom; very extensive weaving sheds, and from 200 to 400 cottages, besides houses for the superior workmen and clerks, a place of worship, a music hall...”

(Joseph Thompson, Shipley Board of Health in Procuring a Public Health Act, 1851 cited in Jackson, 2010).

Above is a quote from a public servant describing the momentous move of Sir Titus to Saltaire. The conditions therein for the millworkers and labourers follow.

Salt’s motives in building Saltaire remain obscure. At the banquet for the opening of Salt’s Mill on 20th September, 1853 his address included the following:

“...he [Titus Salt] would do all he could to avoid evils so great as those resulting from polluted air and water; and [he] hoped to draw around him a population that would enjoy the beauties of the neighbourhood, and who would be well-fed, contented and happy..... [He] had given instructions to his architect, who was quite competent to carry them out, that nothing shall be spared to render the dwellings of the operatives a pattern to the country...if [his] life should be spared by Providence, he hoped to see satisfaction, happiness, and comfort around him.” (Figure 5) [writer’s parentheses].

(Holdroyd, 1873, p.14):

Joseph Wright himself spoke well of Salt’s Mill despite , according to his wife and biographer, him remembering into old age how “...his legs used to ache on a Monday morning, when I started work again after some rest on Sunday, but they got right again by the course of the week.” This meant him getting out of bed at 05.00, as he lived two miles from the mill, for six days a week alternating to afternoons the following week finishing at 17.30 whilst attending the factory school from Monday to Friday for two hours (Wright,1932, p. 29).

“Saltaire Mills...they did all they could for their work-people, being much ahead of other mills at that date in providing facilities”(Wright,1932, p 30).

James (2004) claims the circumstances for the founding of the village was a mixture of sound economics, Christian duty and a desire to have effective control over his workforce. Intimate and precise documentation of Titus Salt Snr’s public and private life do not exist (Reynolds,1983, p.1). He was a man of few written words and even record of his public discourse remains sparse, even within the large Salt archive in Saltaire. But he was certainly a highly influential public figure. His Parliamentary record as a speaker on the benches as MP for Bradford is spartan. The writer can find no significant number of spoken contributions on record. There were certainly very good reasons, as discussed previously, for leaving Bradford with its urban squalor and depleting resources. As both employer and landlord Saltaire did provide him with an amenable,

handpicked workforce with a steady stream of child labourers through his factory schools.

5.2. Saltaire as an Industrial Settlement and Labour-Relations Experiment.

Reynolds,(1983) offers a further explanation as to Sir Titus' motivations in that Saltaire (Figure 10) was one of several industrial settlements developed by savvy employers who were not solely paternalistic philanthropists:

“It was a company village subject to the control of an employer/landlord and it is primarily as an experiment in industrial relations that it ought to be seen and was in fact seen by contemporaries. It was Salt's personal response to the pressures urging peace and stability between Capital and Labour which emerged in the aftermath of Chartism.” (p.159).

He rightly describes the factory-school as “a fruitful ground of recruitment”(Reynolds, 1983, p.159)

There are numerous primary and secondary sources that describe the model-village Saltaire, set within the context of contemporary model-village, philanthropic ideals. Many of the sources have been authored subjectively through lenses that span the centuries. But there are equally as many, which although laudable in their intentions to demonstrate gratitude to one of the greatest northern industrialists, are subjective and view Sir Titus' works through rose-tinted spectacles. There was dissent on occasions at Salt's Mill and Saltaire. As discussed previously there had been a short strike in 1868(Balgarnie,2003, p.35) together with a 2-week lock-out in June 1876, the year of Salt's death. This was much about the rates of pay that were paid to the millworkers which was below what they could earn in Bradford and other mills in Shipley.

Much is yet to be identified as to Titus Salt's motivations for building such a place and comparisons are made to other social experiments such as Robert Owen's mill and housing at New Lanark (Jackson, 2010 p. 27). Jackson in the same article further quotes Edward Ackroyd, from Halifax, describing his worker's village and school in 1874 as another mill-owner philanthropist who is

known to have said "...it was not the objective of education to bring up clever rogues, but to raise a body of orderly and loyal citizens"(Jackson, 2010, p.27).

There is much more to know about the village and its inhabitants that are beyond the scope of this study.

Here follows a simplified description of the village to allow the reader to make comparisons to the conditions from which a large majority of the population of Saltaire will have come from.

According to Coates and Smith (2016, p. 23) Titus Salt's vision for his business was always much greater than the building of the mill, albeit it large, modern and able to combine all processes of worsted production on one site. The first plan was to build an industrial settlement to be named Saltaire and was recorded in 1854 as "...provided for a population of 9,000 to 10,000 and sites for a church, baths and washhouses, a Mechanics' Institute, hotels, a covered market, schools and almshouses, an abattoir and dining hall and a music room."

As it turned out the population was nearer 4,000. The abattoir and covered market did not get built, but boarding houses, shops, Sunday School and factory schools together with a hospital did. All boarded on one side by the Bradford- Keighley road with the canal and railway on the other. The village was adjacent to a large park and succeeded in creating a model-village of little comparison to conditions within the Boroughs of Bradford and Shipley at the time. Titus Salt purchased the land at Saltaire in eight simultaneous but separate transactions (Figure 11). This confirms his determination and forward-planning. The residential area covered just over 25 acres and building began immediately following completion of the mill in 1853. When completed the village comprised of 21 streets, 2 roads, 2 terraces and 4 'Places'. Eight hundred and fifty residences, including almshouses were built and by 1871 the village had 4,389 residents.

Alexander Redgrave (1854) 'Reports of Inspectors of Factories' draws important attention to the unusual and significantly healthy conditions of Saltaire:

"The town will be thoroughly drained, amply supplied with water[initially supplied from the factory] and will be lighted by gas [again supplied by the factory]....the streets are to be spacious , the cottages

of various sizes, small separate dwellings and boarding houses for single people; each house will contain every possible arrangement for adding to the comfort and health of inmates, the water is to be pure unaffected by drainage and smoke is not to contaminate the atmosphere.”

[writer’s parentheses]. (Figure 45 showing sanitary conditions).

Samuel Kydd reporting to ‘The Reynolds News’ (1857, pp. 8-9) [whose founder was Chartist George Reynolds in 1850]:

“The houses are of superior kind – they usually consist of three rooms and a kitchen. The rooms are lofty and means for cooking and washing are provided [no washing was allowed to be hung outside so a laundry with drying racks was provided in the village]. Each house is lighted by gas, for which the tenant pays 3s. 6d. per 1,000 feet; this is considerably under the current charges of Bradford and Shipley. Each house has a separate yard [also privy and ash-pit]; due attention has been given to decency and cleanliness.”

(pp.8-9).

Had the mill failed or the village abandoned, then it could have remained viable as an operating village, in its own right, however, it was a calculated risk on capital expenditure which Salt was willing to take(Jackson,2010 p.101).

Saltaire. 5.2.1. The Role Buildings Played in Saltaire.

The writer now moves to the critical examination of the notion of institutions, buildings and power. Building on Henry’s (2006) thoughts, the writer wishes to address how researchers sought to understand the social roles of buildings – ideologically constructed physical spaces. After all, Saltaire was, and remains so, notorious and famous for its model-village structures and its status as a World Heritage Site since 2001 (Figure 7). Its accolade is borne of its status as a pioneering model-village. The village cannot be described as picturesque, but it is logical, tidy, functional and above all has great public transport connections – at one time, road, rail and canal (now only for recreation purposes). Amongst its

public buildings were churches, stables, hospital, alms-houses, bathhouses (Figure 32), laundry and drying rooms, library and Institute, shops, dining rooms (originally additionally accommodating the factory school since 1855) but no public or ale houses and of course the magnificent Salt's Mill. At the heart of the village lies the original purpose-built school building. The school buildings are still accessible, the first on Victoria Road, completed half-way through the original scheme in 1868 and now is occupied by the further education college. The newest Board School, Albert Road, built in 1878, two years after Sir Titus' death is still a school in operation. All three school facilities are very different to each other which the writer believes reflects the changing status of schooling and education during the research period. There was also the need for buildings to reflect evolution in understanding of pedagogy, teaching methods, increased pupil numbers and the growing profession of school management. The original purpose-built school building is a grand affair in the Italianate style, as a single-storey stone building, fronted by four huge stone lions (Figure 31 originally destined for Trafalgar Square) with a central belltower (just as the factory bell called the children to work) and the adopted Salt coat-of-arms above the grand and imposing stone and arched doorway. The Boys' and Girls' entrances are situated prominently to its left and right. (Figure 46). There was a large room for 'babies' with the boys' and girls' rooms at either side. There was an outside recreation area for the girls and babies, partially covered for inclement weather and a separate exercise area for the boys, again partially covered. Sanitary and cloakroom facilities were limited but functional and heating and lighting were given consideration.

The school operated on the Half-time System. This building says everything about the wealth, power and control its industrialist and paternalistic benefactor wished to convey to his child-workers and the working-class millworkers of Saltaire and the control he had over their lives. The writer has access to some of the original school architectural plans which show such contrast between the schools built a decade apart when Sir Titus was no longer the paternalistic provider of schooling for his child workers and the duty to provide both schools and education lay with the local School Board.

No marble columns or Italianate style were built in 1878 but two separate buildings of red-brick, one for infants and the other for a mixed boys' and girls' school with shared play and exercise facilities. (Figure 24.) The school buildings were two-storey built around a central hall with a balcony around the 1st floor with classrooms off this main hall on both floors which accommodated up to 40 children.(Figure 14). There were shared playgrounds and adequate sanitary and cloakroom facilities. This building demonstrated at the time, that although comparatively expensive to build as compared to other local Board Schools of Shipley, the nearest town, that it was purpose built, fully functional to meet the pupils and staffs needs and given it was funded by the public purse, was good value for money. There was no need to flaunt wealth, power or status but a requirement to build fit-for-purpose utilitarian buildings in which to deliver education to the young millworkers of Saltaire who still attended school on the Half-time System. The work of Groves & Lawn is discussed and developed by Henry(2006,p.76) saying , this writer was able to engage in an archaeology of the school "...to see layers of change over time, the sedimentation or routines and the changing contours of schooling and work practices." As the writer I have attempted to demonstrate that all historical discourses and sources, are fraught with power-play, as well as conscious or unconscious intent and purposes.

5.3. Mortality Rates and Health in Saltaire.

For all the above benefits there remained significant numbers of health problems which Kydd identified as being caused by the carding and weaving processes of the mill. "The facts are very well known in Saltaire , and are subjects of frequent conversation"(Kydd,1857 ,p.9).

Mortality rates in Bradford & Shipley were high and there were numerous incidences of epidemics. There had been regular outbreaks of cholera and typhoid with the latest typhoid epidemic of 1849 killing 400 people in Bradford. As well as the previously discussed effects that child labour and poverty had on the health of several child factory-mill workers, there were also frequent bouts of

childhood illnesses such as Typhoid Fever, Scarlet Fever, Dropsy, Smallpox, Measles, Mumps, Whooping Cough and Croup. The statistics of child deaths are recorded and produced in Table 1 of school pupils as deaths and were regularly reported in the school-log of Victoria Road Factory School and Albert Road Board School.

The earlier Woolcombers' Report 1845 (Jowitt, 1989) disclosed that the average death of all who died in Bradford town between 1839 and 1841 was 18.69 years. Shockingly the average age of death of Woolcombers hovered around 15 years old. There was a desperate public health situation. Sanitary and social conditions in Saltaire were much improved to other worsted areas offering much needed housing to the working classes of the worsted trade.

On examining the school log there were recorded 14 deaths in a seven-year period (Table 1). These figures cannot be considered fully comprehensive nor fully accurate given that it is not known if all deaths were recorded. Further, these figures cannot validly be compared to mortality statistics given that the exact pupil roll numbers are not available to this research. However, the writer feels it is justifiable to say that this number of deaths appears comparatively lower than might be expected as compared to the general child mortality rates. Looking at the causes of death the majority are attributable to the common childhood illnesses e.g., Scarlet Fever. There are a few deaths recorded which are undefined and therefore do not give any clue as to the causes of death. A generalisation might be that much improved sanitary housing conditions together with more regular family income had extended a child's life expectancy in Saltaire. A more detailed analysis of these figures would prove an informative and valuable study of Saltaire for future study.

5.4. Testing of the Sources.

All the sources had to be collected, research catalogued and critically evaluated with the following criteria in mind; is this a forgery or genuine, who where and when was it written, is it their own observation or hearsay, if hearsay where and how was it known and finally what is the value of each source? If it is forged, either in whole or part (interpolation) it cannot be used as evidence. There is the

test of style and comparison must be made as to the general attitude of the subject at the time according to other sources? An example of this was a copy found of an application made to the Paris Exhibition (1867) for the awarding of a prize. Certain information was recorded about apparent strike action of the millworkers in other sources which was omitted from the Paris application so suggesting a forged document, or at least an incomplete record. Where we have nothing but the printed source we must depend on style and content adjudged against contemporaries.

Even if a source is considered genuine it must be localised before it can be used i.e., assigned to a certain author, writing in a certain place and at a certain time e.g., Hansard. It is also worth noting that handwriting is not a final test of authorship, a letter may be dictated or copied as was the case of a letter written by Joseph Wright, to a friend about his experience as a half-timer at the Salts' Mill factory school and dictated to his wife who acted as his secretary. It should also be considered by the researcher that often letters and notes can be partisan and the longer the interval of time between the activity and the writing or recollection, the more untrustworthy the record – a problem in memory and psychology. As for memoirs, the researcher needs to heed the length of time at which the *terminus post quem* (of the activity) draws near to the *terminus ante quem* (to when it was written). There are other factors to be considered within the difficulties associated with localisation and that is for the researcher to ascertain where was the source written, was the writer in a position to obtain good second-hand evidence or was he at (or returned) to the place where the events took place and was therefore able to refresh his memory? On examining 'Salt' (1876 reprinted and afterword added 1970) a biography authored by the Reverend Balgarnie about the life of his patron Sir Titus, it is full of recollections of times when he witnessed first-hand numerous actions by the late man, numerous second-hand accounts on which he placed his own inferences and a significant amount of personal and non-malicious sycophantic affirmations, recollections and assumptions of his patron. However, the source does contain copies of several interesting documents including sketches, invitations, bills of sale, newspaper articles and speeches delivered on official record, about Sir Titus' philanthropic acts in the building of the model-village of Saltaire. There are even

a few limited examples of truly authentic and objective statements about the life and works of Sir Titus, all written within ten months of his death. However, the writer ascertained that this particular source was re-quoted across a plethora of other articles, books and thesis and authenticated as the truth and Balgarnie's particular version of events did not correlate using localisation techniques. Some activities were not witnessed first-hand as the prose seem to suggest but sometimes were prose of inference. The record often did not only contain what Balgarnie actually saw or heard but was interspersed with inference and possible speculation.

An obvious example of this was that Balgarnie reported that 100,000 people lined the streets of Bradford and Saltaire to see Sir Titus' funeral procession including all his millworkers, of which there would be around 3000 at the time (records differ in the numbers employed). It was inferred they were all there voluntarily however, as the factory was closed in respect for Sir Titus, the millworkers may have had no choice to be there if they were to be paid, which seems highly unlikely given they were on piecework. Balgarnie assumed that they were there to pay their respects but what of morbid curiosity or even with a village of that size, around 800 houses, then the villagers could not avoid being in or around the mourners as the villagers went about their daily activity?

Even assuming familiarity and a well-organised observation in mind, Balgarnie will have no doubt availed himself of the local newspaper reporting of the event, which was recorded in his biography of Sir Titus, and it is a possibility that the reader of either the newspaper and/or the biography would themselves correct the account, supporting the author convey the intended meaning. The aim of any criticism is the evaluation of sources and the determination of the relationship between the event and the witness. Sir Titus was Rev. Balgarnie's patron, indeed Sir Titus built a new church in his parish in Scarborough. Whilst Balgarnie may have felt able to claim such numbers of attendees and their motivations, there is a critical difference between affirmation and a fact. Here one enters the realm of self-deception and non-maleficence.

5.5. Working With/in the Archives.

Historian (King, 2011 p. 13) argues that the systematic, painstaking and methodical task of working within the archives is “the bread and butter of their professional existence, as paradigmatic a disciplinary marker... as fieldwork for the anthropologist... often the transformative liminal experience that distinguishes them... [as a] practising historian.” [writer’s parentheses].

And yet she claims that modern historians have only just begun to examine the methodological basis on which their work is built, suggesting that archival research has both potential and limitations which the writer has discussed when considering the field of historical method particularly around the work of Morrow Fling (1920) in his seminal text ‘The Writing of History : An Introduction to Historical Method.’ The maintenance, fabrication, organisation and destruction of the archive has led to different groups laying claim to their own version of the past and therefore control over the present(King, 2011, p.15).

Sir Titus Salt was an intensely private man, despite being an elected Mayor and MP for the City of Bradford, and he rarely spoke publicly or put his thoughts into writing. This has allowed the archivist, and there are a number across West Yorkshire, with the most prominent one being of course ‘Saltaire Stories’ based in Saltaire, that have proceeded to lay claim to their own version of Sir Titus’ life and works and the people whose lives he touched. The writer’s own experience is that the Archivist(s) therein have created a fascinating labyrinth of artefacts which are sometimes hidden, sometimes difficult to find or sometimes dismissed as not of significance. They are an absolute treasure trove of trinkets but sometimes these trinkets or finds are merely ‘fool’s gold’. However, the historian cannot help but delve in and sift, sift, sift. The modern historian distinguishes themselves from their predecessors by basing their histories on documentary evidence, gleaned from archival research as they strive to present objective analysis of historical events.

According to historians such as King, this scientific trend first developed among German academics and whilst this approach is now considered outdated, prominent scholar Leopold von Ranke expounded a methodology that influenced the male, Eurocentric dominant discourses of the 19th and 20th centuries

previously discussed. As King describes it “...gendered notions were woven into the very fabric of the research process itself, as Ranke and his contemporaries often compared their archival finds to sexual conquests” (King,2011, p. 16). The elite, privileged males were the bastions of not only the type of history worth writing but also determined the methods to be used(*ibid*). They introduced the ideas of reliance on primary sources (empiricism). Previously historians had expounded the quality of their writing. Rankeans emphasised the quality of their research through their archival work.

5.6. Legislation applicable to the Dining Rooms Factory School, Victoria Road Factory School and Albert Road Board School.

5.6.1. The Dining Rooms 1854 – 1868 (Figure 12).

The Dining Rooms provided elementary half-time education for up to 400 children, in two sessions, mornings and afternoons for 2 -3 hours each session for pupils aged 7 - 13. It is not clear whether the factory school will have received any grants awarded under The Factory Act 1833 (Education Regulations). However, both Sharp (1984 p.FS5) and Balgarnie (1970) claimed this was the case. There is no doubt that the child labourers would also have been monitored by the Factory Inspectors, whilst both in the factory and at school. There was no logbook kept and therefore it suggests that they were not in receipt of any grants through the ‘payment by results’ scheme of the Revised Code 1862. Although the school did receive some grant-aid under the Factory Act 1833 (Sharp,1984, p.FS5).

5.6.2. Victoria Road School 1868-1878 (Figures 13, 33, 46).

Victoria Road School was an elementary school and had separate departments (inter-changeably referred to as schools) for Infants/Babies aged 2 – 6 years and separate departments (or schools) for Boys and Girls aged 7 – 13 years. They had capacity for around 800 pupils. The school implemented the Half-time System.

Following registration as a Board School from 1873, the school would be subject to the education legislation in force at the time. The first key piece of educational legislation was The Revised Code 1862. Schools were subject to annual inspection and grants were awarded for exam results and attendance. However, the grant could be withheld altogether if the school building were not considered healthy, properly lighted and ventilated. In addition, there was to be 80 cubic feet internal space per pupil. Girls were to be taught needlework. Further, registers must be kept with sufficient accuracy to warrant confidence in the results. (Part I. Sec.I.40(5.1a,b,c,d.). (Figure 47).

In addition, whilst Infants were not examined by HMI, they could earn attendance grant of 6s 6d per capita per annum, Part I, Sec. 1. 40 (17.a.2). However, if the pupils were under 6 years of age the Inspector would have to report that the Infants are instructed suitably to their age and in a manner not to interfere with the instruction of the older children. The School Manger had to make an annual statement that the teachers' character, conduct and attention to duty have been satisfactory (Part II, Sec. II. 79.80).

The Boys' and Girls' Departments would be obliged to provide a Schedule of Standards I – VI of Elementary Education (the 3 Rs.) From implementation of the Revised Code 1871 there would be a requirement to provide an extended curriculum to the 3 Rs to include foreign languages, pure and applied sciences or other definite subject at Standards IV, V and VI. In addition, there was a requirement for girls to be taught needlework.

In addition to the pupils having to be examined under the Revised Code 1862, there were also attendance requirements. As Half-timers, the pupils would have had to achieve 100 attendances during the previous year for the school to qualify for the attendance part of the grant. Further, the Infants could 'earn' grant by attendance alone but may be subject to oral and reading testing by HMI. This happened first in January, 1876 according to the logbook.

Following an inspection visit by HMI on 1st May 1873 (reported on 1st May 1874) on application for grant-aid from the Education Committee, the first requirement for a logbook at the factory school was 2nd May, 1873. The pupils were then

examined annually by HMI. During the course of 1873 – 1880 the school/s were visited a total of 12 times by HMI.

The school would have to deliver the requirements of the Revised Code 1862 and Revised Code 1871 together with implementation of the Revised Code 1875. This further extended curriculum requirements to include compulsory subjects reading, writing and arithmetic plus needlework for girls and religious knowledge for all. There would be grammar, geography and history for the whole school above Standard I. There would be a requirement for individual more-able pupils to follow a further extended curriculum for Standards V – VI for pure and applied science and foreign languages.

The Elementary Education Act 1870 ordered the creation of School Boards with the powers to create provision for the working classes where there were gaps in provision. Shipley School Board was created in 1874 with Victoria Road becoming a Board School in March, 1875 with Titus Salt Jnr. being named as the School Manager (a post with Statutory Responsibilities).

Following the Elementary Education Act 1876 the rules on school attendance were tightened, holding parents responsible for non-attendance.

5.6.3. Albert Road School 1878 – 1880 (Figure 14, 15, 48).

Albert Road Board School was a mixed school for pupils aged 7 – 13 years with a separate school for infants aged circa 2 – 6 years. It is difficult to ascertain the exact ages of pupils' entry into school in the absence of school registers. It is also difficult to establish exactly the numbers on roll over time. However, there were 16 classrooms with a school capacity of 960 and they operated both day pupil and half-time pupil systems of attendance (Coomber, 2006). Coomber further claimed each classroom had a capacity for 40 pupils. This seems an underestimate given that figure meant that at any one time 640 children could be accommodated in classrooms, so what of the remaining 320 pupils? The writer believes he may have assigned the remaining 320 pupils to the eight classrooms in the Infant Department. It is unlikely that the school would have provided for 320 infants

representing a third of the school population however, more work will be required to ascertain the reality.

According to the 'Shipley & Saltaire Times' report of 4th February, 1878, following a visit to the newly built Albert Road school, the journalist described how it had recently opened with 815 scholars. The newspaper described the school as being based upon the "American mixed system" which the new headmistress, at the opening ceremony described the system as ".....never even dreamed of here a short time ago.....and is perfectly natural and beneficial for both sexes"('Shipley & Saltaire Times', 4th February,1878). Coomber refers to the school as revolutionary (Coomber, 2006). Whilst the writer feels this is exaggerated, Titus Salt Jnr., as Chairman of Shipley School Board and Manager of the school was at least interested and proactive in bringing new ideas to the area. The principles of Kindergarten and Froebel's ideas had been introduced into Victoria Road Factory School and then into Albert Road Board School. Teachers from the school had attended Kindergarten training in Bradford (Logbook entry 13th April, 1878).

Interestingly, Coates (2016, p.47) describes how Titus Salt Jnr. resigned from Shipley School Board in September, 1883. According to Coates (2016 p.45) Titus Jnr. had signalled the same and reported his intention to do so when the Board had rejected a policy of exclusion for Half-timers from Shipley Schools. This is such a dichotomy of behaviours. Salt Jnr. had devoted much time, effort and expense in providing education for the child labourers. Coates claims this indicated the forcing of a hard attitude on behalf of employers (ibid., p. 45). The writer posits that Salt Jnr. knew that as a worsted mill owner in a declining industry, there was no longer any motivation to ensure a literate workforce or at least it was no longer in the industrialist's benefit to do so when the State could provide. It was also a means to manipulate the workforce to compliance in what was a further period of disquiet. This will be discussed further. It may be that in education and the innovations Salt Jnr. introduced gave him a means to have authority over the workforce? Was it a means to achieve self-aggrandisement? There was no Baronetcy for Salt Jnr. His Father was a hard act to follow. All the factory-schools had attracted eminent and influential visitors It seems particularly odd that Titus Jnr. would wish to deprive the Half-timer's access to

the education system that had after all, provided the company with labour for the Mill, unless he recognised, he would not need that workforce much longer. In 1884 Salt Jnr. wrote to the Shipley School Board claiming that the Board was not managing the finances effectively (Coates, 2016, p.49). Salt Jnr. explained his resignation did not make him happy and that he was still very interested in their work.

In brief, it has been previously discussed how Salt Jnr. was instrumental in establishing the Salt Schools and arranging for the Saltaire Exhibition. Regrettably, the exhibition was significantly under-subscribed leaving the schools with a £12,000 debt and in a “bad-state” (Coates, 2016, p.49). The writer raises this matter as a suggestion that perhaps Titus Jnr. was an innovator but did not always have the professional acumen and aptitude to sustain and manage his ideas?

During the period 2nd May, 1873 to 23rd December, 1880 (7 years and 7 months) Titus Salt Jnr. visited the Albert Road School 73 times either as School Manager, Chairman of Shipley School Board or Member of Shipley School Board. It is not within the scope of this study to examine the formation of School Boards and the roles of key individuals, but the writer recommends Peter Gordon’s ‘The Victorian School Manager, which gives a comprehensive analysis of the same (Gordon, 1974).

It is worth noting that following 1874 and the formation of the Shipley School Board when responsibility passed from proprietor of the Salt’s Mill to the School Board, Titus Salt Jnr. continued to devote considerable time and effort into the provision of elementary education for the child labourers in attendance at both Victoria Road and Albert Road Board Schools. Whilst Salt’s family had considerable vested interest pre-1874, post-1874 the reasons for his efforts are less easy to discern excepting continuing his father’s legacy, paternalistic responsibilities and a genuine interest in education and particularly educational innovation. Whilst Titus Salt Jnr. was an innovator in his bringing Froebelian Kindergarten teaching to the schools, it seems he may have been thwarted in the appointment of staff (refer to the logbook e.g., 10th September, 1878) and

conditions were not always ideal e.g., ventilation and heating problems in Victoria Road School.

What is clear is that the tasks involved in managing schools, were often arduous and although rewarding could be both time-consuming and expensive. The Committee of Council in 1912 wrote to HMI, Rev. Kennedy:

“HM Inspectors cannot too carefully bear in mind that in the local Managers of schools they have to deal with persons who are voluntarily imposing upon themselves a great deal of trouble and expense for a public object. In communicating, therefore, with such persons it is the duty of public officers to be as courteous and considerate as possible.”

(United Kingdom Parliament ,1912 p.306).

Titus Salt Jnr.’s motives may have been the same as his father’s. Titus Salt Snr. was an intelligent and wealthy entrepreneur, used to experimentation and risk and who recognised the human capital value of a literate workforce. He was a non-conformist Christian, latterly a paternalistic reformer with a feeling of God-fearing moral duty(Balgarnie, 1970). Titus Snr. recognised the social and economic necessity for change which inspired his benevolence. Titus Salt Snr. amassed a huge fortune which he then proceeded to distribute to many beneficiaries. Maybe Titus Salt Jnr.’s motivations were different?

Father and the Salt family profited enormously from enterprise in the early Industrial Revolution. Titus Salt Snr. set about trying to remedy its excesses through environmental and social innovation whilst Titus Salt Jnr. tried to ameliorate the excesses through educational innovation. What is likely in both cases is that their motivations were mixed. Titus Salt Jnr. was the youngest son who was the only son who demonstrated any significant interest in the ongoing running of the mill. It is unclear if the son’s faith was such a driver as his father’s but in both cases, managing the schools afforded them the opportunities to exercise varying scales of authority, and the efforts involved would also hold intrinsic reward and gratification. It is outside the scope of this study to analyse the significant initial losses made by the Salt High Schools managed by Salt Jnr.(Sharp,1984). On examining the logbooks, it is clear that a large number of

Salt Junior's visits involved accompanying eminent visitors, influential in philanthropic, educational and political spheres such as the Schwabes (wealthy millowners from Lancashire who also adopted a philanthropic approach to their workers whilst promoting the capitalist ideal, Mundella & Forster. Titus Salt Jnr. did appear to take a broad and general interest in education such as Froebel's methods and with his later involvement with the Salt High Schools and the Saltaire Institute. There are a few log entries which mention practices at the Victoria Road and Albert Road Board Schools which may be of Froebelian origins.

Another area of research interest would be why was Albert Road School based, as previously discussed, on the 'American Mixed-system' and does this in any way dovetail with significant developments in the Froebelian origins of the significant Kindergarten movement in the USA (Hawes,1985, p.1) ? Such a State-wide programme was widely accepted as an effective way to assimilate immigrant children and their parents into the mainstream of the Nation's culture in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. Titus Salt Jnr. had significant involvement in the USA having established, in the early 1880s, an iron ore plant in Dayton, Tennessee. He would have had to make several trips to the State of Tennessee, which is well documented in the Saltaire archive and it is likely he would have availed himself of the opportunity to visit social and educational projects whilst there.

5.7. Shipley School Board and its Schools in Saltaire.

Following the Elementary Education Act, 1870, a School Board was formed in Shipley in 1874. Information prior to 1870 is not abundant, patchy in quality and in some cases contradictory. The Shipley townspeople and local officers were reluctant to do so given the perceived additional burden on the ratepayer. Titus Jnr. pointed out that if they did not form a School Board voluntarily, then it could be legally enforced ('Bradford Daily Telegraph', 29th April, 1874). Titus Salt Jnr. was elected Chairman of the first Shipley School Board.

Shipley School Board, in line with their legal responsibilities to plug 'gaps' in provision, conducted an initial census in 1874 which revealed a shortfall of 861

places within the township. In addition, the existing elementary schools were so overcrowded that HMI, following their Annual Inspections on which grants for exam results and attendance were awarded, could reduce and/or remove grants (Coomber, 2006, p.6). (Figure 17).

To ease the over-crowding and create more places, the School Board rented space in the Saltaire Institute, opposite Victoria Road factory-mill school whilst they constructed the Central Schools, again in the village, for Boys', Girls' and Infants' with a potential pupil roll of 900 places. The school provided for day students and no Half-timers ('Shipley School Board Report', 1877). There was some discontent amongst the population of Shipley town and its officials, as the Central Board Schools and the future Albert Road Board Schools, built in 1878, were both built on Salt land. There was discontent as the townspeople claimed that the children of Shipley town had too far to walk to get to school. This prompted Titus Salt Jnr. to write to the local newspaper 'Shipley & Saltaire Times' on 24th June, 1876 reminding the readership of how much his father had done for education in Shipley and at low cost (Coomber, 2006, p.7).

5.8. Pupils on roll in Shipley during the period September, 1874 –September, 1877.

Table 3 also contains schools not controlled by the School Board (shown as Non). Victoria Road came into full control of the Shipley School Board in March, 1875. Pupils attending Salt's Mill factory-mill school were included in each of the yearly columns. There shows a decline of Half-timers in September, 1876 both for Board schools and other schools. The main reasons being given as the closure of the Well Croft Mills. The Central Board School in Saltaire, for day students, opened in temporary premises in 1875 and opened fully in 1876 and shows the incremental increased numbers in day pupils. The Albert Road Board Schools opened in March, 1878 and numbers are not reflected within the numbers within this table.

5.9. Build and Furnishing Costs of the Various Shipley School Board Schools.

Table 3. was drawn from the ‘Shipley School Board Eighth Report February 1895 – January, 1898 (Sharp, 1984 p.BS3) and shows the comparative build and furnishing costs of the Shipley Board Schools. The writer suggests the reasons there may have been some discontent expressed by the ratepayers of Shipley (Coomber,2006). The five school-build projects in Shipley are listed. The two most expensive are the schools of Saltaire. The reader can see from the first line that the total cost of providing 926 places at the Central School was circa £16.6k which excluding site costs represented a cost per child of circa £14. On the second line comes Albert Road School which provided 960 places at a cost of circa £14.8 representing the cost per child of circa £16. Had Sir Titus Salt not given the site to the Board for the building of the school, the costs per head of the Albert Road School would have been even higher. When the calculation is based on average attendance the cost (not including site and legal expenses) is even higher for the Central School at circa £21 per capita and Albert Road School at circa £26 per capita. In comparison ,a non-Saltaire school such as Wood End build cost per head was circa £10 per head and if based on attendance circa £13.

The results are clear, even if based on approximate costs, that the Albert Road Street was the costliest build and furnish project, followed by the Central School. There is quite a contrast to the cost of building and furnishing of one of the Shipley schools within the same School Board. (Table 4)

5.10. Attendance figures during the period September 1874 –September 1877.

The other significant trend is that School Board Officers do seem to have had some success in increasing pupil attendance.

Table 5 shows attendance levels of pupils are across all schools in Shipley School Board Area. Number in attendance figures are not separated into day and Half-timers and therefore a comparison cannot be made of how the percentage of attendance of Half-timers changed over the same period.

5.11. Newspaper Report on the Opening of Albert Road Board School, 11th March , 1878.

“This department has been opened in these new schools today”.

Logbook entry 11th March,1878.

The following article called ‘Albert Road Board Schools’ appeared in the ‘Shipley & Saltaire Times’ on [Monday] 4th February 1878. The writer will now examine the article, **making comment in parentheses:**

“The boys’ and girls’ departments of these new school buildings – erected by our School Board to provide accommodation for the children, Half-timers, hitherto taught in the Schools [Victoria Road Factory Board Schools] opposite the Institute, Saltaire and which are in the future to be devoted to the purposes of the Salt Schools – were opened on Monday last [Monday, 28th January,1878] with 815 pupils. [This was a novel approach to teaching where boys and girls were taught together in classes]. The formal opening, however, will take place a month or five weeks hence, when the building in course of erection for the infants is expected to be ready for occupation.[A separate building for infants was currently being completed.] The principle upon which the schools are worked is, as many of our readers are aware, what is known in America, as the mixed system, boys and girls being taught together in one class and by an adult female teacher. But before referring to the method of instruction to be followed here, we will glance at the structure itself. This is in every way satisfactory. It is two storeys high, a central hall 92ft by 36ft, rising the entire height and being lighted by from the roof. [Better lighting]. Around this sixteen classrooms, [separate classrooms not one large hall portioned by furniture]each of which is 22ft by 21ft , are arranged, eight on the ground floor and eight on the first floor, the latter being reached by two staircases (one for each sex) and a balcony, which gives an

*appearance of relief to the hall. [An attractive aesthetic]. Between the two staircases just mentioned are placed two teachers' rooms. [This is the first example of teacher's facilities mentioned for either of the previous factory schools]. On each floor are two cloakrooms (one for boys and one of girls), provided with umbrella stands and excellently ventilated; [a much improvement on Victoria Road School], indeed, in this respect every portion of the building is as perfect as it possibly can be made. Separate covered **playgrounds [Better facilities for all-seasonal play and recreation]** are placed in the rear of the school, with lavatories near at hand. **[Better sanitary conditions]**. Each classroom is surrounded by ample glass lights so that the headmistress may see at a glance what is going on within, either looking from one room to another or from the central hall. **[Much improved supervision possible by Head Teacher whilst significantly reducing noise and crowding and so improving discipline and supervision by staff]**. It is however, intended to have frosted the lights communicating with the several classrooms, as it is found that the attention of the children in one room is apt to be attracted by what is going on in the apartment immediately in front. But this arrangement, which enables the headmistress to see, while at her desk in the hall, what is transpiring with four classes or standards, is a feature which at once commends itself to one's mind. Each classroom is furnished with fixed desks and American chairs. **[Much improved for posture and potentially comfort- replacing long benches. Better discipline.]**. The framework of the desks has been supplied by Mr. Hird of Shipley. The tops are polished beech, with a groove for the pen or pencil, and glass inkwells. **[Pupil's slate use reduced]**. The teacher stands on a platform 12 inches high, has in front of her a table, with a large slate panelled in the wall, thus dispensing with the orthodox but oftentimes awkward and troublesome easel and blackboard; and an air of comfort and order pervades every class.*

The central hall is paved with wooden blocks laid on sawdust, and it is surprising to what a great extent this arrangement prevents noise. The children, many of whom wear clogs, pass along the room in single file

but a fraction of the din usually attending the marshalling of the schoolmaster's troops, if not his forces. There is a fixed gallery at one end of the hall capable of seating about 250. [For whole school assembly]. The walls of the building are lined with red bricks, with no plaster is used, [Less maintenance required and a better aesthetic] and the ceilings are of wood. The heating, as well as the ventilation, leaves nothing to be desired. [Better equipped for the changing seasons]. A word or two, now, as to the method of teaching adopted in these schools. As has been previously stated, boys and girls are taught together. Each classroom contains forty children, who are under the care of one teacher, the girls to the right; and this plan is also adopted when they are assembled in the central hall. Corporal punishment is entirely discarded. If any scholar misconducts himself or herself – and the males were the principal offenders on the morning of our visit, as they probably are as a rule – he or she is sent into the presence of Miss Stephens, the Headmistress, who detains the offender in a prominent position until he is penitent, when he is told to ‘ go and sin no more.’ [These rules for discipline had been introduced in part at the Victoria Road school]No pupil teachers are employed, the staff of assistants being those who have already gone through their training as pupil teachers, and who have either taken certificates or are preparing for them [Appointment and retention of competent and effective Pupil Teachers was a constant problem in the previous factory schools].

Financially considered, a saving will be affected, as compared with the cost of working under the old system; and calculating an increase of twenty-five per cent on the number of children passed and a consequent Augmentation of the Government grant, the saving will be considerable. [No mention though of significantly high build and maintenance per capita costs Fig.18]. There are eight classrooms unoccupied but as the Central Board Schools are quite full, it is probable some of the children will be transferred to Albert Road; and then it is expected the number of scholars will increase. In any case, however, the accommodation will be utilised before long without

difficulty. Mr Titus Salt, Chairman of the School Board, was present at the schools during the whole of Monday, and he continues to take great interest in the working of a system of education which he believes will be crowned with enlarged success. A short time ago, when the intentions of the School Board were made fully known, we took occasion to question the desirability of relinquishing an old and tried system to adopt a new and to say the least, a somewhat novel and untried one, believing we spoke the feelings of the ratepayers on the subject. It has since transpired, however, that the general condition of the Saltaire [Victoria Road] Board School was not satisfactory, and this is confirmed by the results of the recent examination, which have just been received. [Refer to the last HMI report 17th Feb. Summary of HM Inspector's report on the examination held in Dec. 1879, when he reported "The School is in a very fair condition, but it has lost ground somewhat rather than made the advance which I hoped for. The change of teachers does not appear to have been a very fortunate one."

We therefore wish to put ourselves right with the public, lest it might be hinted that we were inconsistent, in as much as at one time we in a measure condemned what now we approve, for after spending a couple of hours in the Albert Road School, we willingly confess that the impression left is exceedingly favourable, and we anticipate a successful working of the mixed system under the Shipley Board."

('Shipley & Saltaire Times' on [Monday] 4th February, 1878.)

The following week 16th February, 1878 the following correction appeared:

"In reference to the paragraph in our last issue, as to 'the general unsatisfactory condition of the Saltaire Board Schools' the Chairman of the Shipley School Board (Titus Jnr.) has called upon us, asking us to correct the wrong impression which our remarks may have conveyed, and which may be prejudicial to some of the teachers. The statement

was, it seems, of too sweeping a character, and should only have referred to one department. We regret if our remarks have caused annoyance to the late headmaster, or to anyone they ought not justly to apply. We understand the Board decided upon the new system, which is being carried out in the Albert Road Schools, quite irrespective of the condition of the Saltaire Schools; and the limited experience they have already had, justified them in the opinion that the experiment is likely to prove a great success. “[HMI’s report was clear in that it referred to delay overall to the whole school. The writer suggests that Titus Salt Jnr. had significant influence in the later printed correction].

(‘Shipley & Saltaire Times’, 16th February, 1878.)

5.12. Description of Albert Road Board School as Provided to the Paris Commission in 1868.

Salt’s Mill returned a questionnaire to the Paris Commission in 1868 (Jackson, 2010, p. 200). They reported that the factory-mill provided three schools – an Infants’, Boys’ and Girls’ schools. They supplied no other substantive commentary. In comparison the Ashworth’s Mill in Bolton spoke with pride of the achievements of their former Half-timers, “many of their workpeople were enabled “to rise from the ranks of labour to become managers - ten of them have become business partners or proprietors of mills” (Brown, 1983, p. 13). According to Factory Inspector Baker who reported that of 23 factory-mill schools surveyed in 1869 from his area in Lancashire, & specifically stressed that preference was given to children from their schools for job vacancies and subsequent promotions (ibid., p. 13). The counter narrative might be that as well as other commendable reasons, the factory-schools provided a regular stream of workers, over several years and certainly during the boom years of the 1970s, who were known to the proprietors and with pupils taught the company’s way of way of thinking and doing. In the declining years it enabled the mill-owners to be selective in their recruitment of child and young workers.

Horner in his report of 1854, said that of the 13 mills in Leeds and Bradford, where the schools were on the premises (this would have included the Salt's Mill provision in the Dining Room) and are conducted on "good systems", then good progress was made. It might be reasonable to expect that as Salt's Mill was given a grant to maintain the school located in the Dining Rooms (Sharp, 1984, p. FS5) then they were considered to have good systems and not necessarily good teaching. The number of children employed (note, he did not refer to the pupils as being on roll – he was a Factory Inspector) was 487 under the age of 13 years. Of that number, the time of enrolment (not an indication of attendance) was between 1 day and 3 years. On enrolment 147 could read the New Testament and at the time of Inspection 296 could do so. On enrolment 116 could read the spelling book and at inspection 149 could do so. On enrolment 121 could read the Primer whilst at the time of inspection 37 could do so. On enrolment 91 pupils could read the alphabet and 7 could do so now. Finally, 16 could not read on enrolment but now only 1 pupil could not read. No explanation was given as to the reduction in figures regarding reading of the primer and alphabet. Some explanations may be that an accurate assessment was not made on admission or even that pupils had lost skills whilst enrolled? Or it may be that there had been emphasis placed on reading of the Scriptures rather than the Primer and recognition of the alphabet? Analysis of the school logbooks may have given some explanation; however, the writer was unable to identify any such explanation or comment by the school as recorded by the Head Teacher.

5.13. The Stories and Recollections of Half-timers at Salt's Mill Factory Schools.

In conducting this study, the writer found a proliferation of sources, predominantly secondary but a many primary sources which offered information not within the scope of this study. The focus of this study was to attempt to tell something of the lived experiences of the pupils of the factory-mill schools of Saltaire. On examining the archives, most primary sources tended to be codified records and reports, some objects and artefacts of reference, commercial and trust deeds, architectural plans and memorabilia in various guises. There are also

to be found transcripts of speeches, newspaper articles, invitations and advertising material. Most of these sources were written by those perpetuating the dominant discourses of the day, who were numerically in the minority. What seemed to be missing was testimony of the child labourers who were schooled and toiled at Salt's Mill and for the majority lived in the model-village of Saltaire. This missing testimony may otherwise be identified as being the voice of the child-labourers of the working classes – the 'others'.

A few memoirs and prose do remain. Amongst them the memoirs of Reverend Balmgarnie who as previously discussed, animatedly and fondly described the life and times of his Patron, Sir Titus Salt. There are a few paragraphs written in the semi-autobiography of Joseph Wright (Wright, 1932) describing his time as a seven-and-a-half-year-old mill-boy at Salt's Mill. Another key primary source is the Elementary School Logbook of Victoria Road and Albert Road Schools, completed by the School Mistress, which has been transcribed and examined.

The writer then came across a small booklet produced by the participants of 'Saltaire Our Memories, Our History' course of 1983/84 who met weekly, as a community history class organised by Leeds University's Department of Adult & Continuing Education. This published booklet, held in the West Yorkshire Archive, and found after extensive search, in the University of Sheffield University Library (Town Planning Section) is based on the "...memories and experiences of the twenty students...[who] have lived – or still live[d]- in Saltaire, three for over seventy years.....And many of us have years of experience working in Salt's Mill" (Hall, 1984, p. Intro.). Whilst the memoirs are of child-workers of the period c. 1880 – 1920, there is nothing significantly different in their recollections from what the writer has previously identified in other primary and secondary sources.

Between the twenty authors they had a combined service at Salt's Mill of 278 years; exceptional service was Nellie, 30 years as a doffer, Frank 50 years in tube piling, gate house, enquiry office, design and sales costing and Lilian, 46 years in burling and mending.

As discussed previously the textile industry was based in workers' homes. With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, with its mechanisation and mass-

production, spinning then weaving moved into factory-mills. Even the processes of combing, originally done by outlying, moved inside the mill. However, according to Hall (1984 p. 25) one process – burling and mending – was still done by hand even in the late 1800s. During busy periods Salt’s Mill would put out some of the work for women to do at home. Hettie wrote:

“My mother was born in 1887 and never went out to work, for with three children she had plenty to do cleaning, washing, baking and making our clothes but the next-door neighbour took pieces in.....I remember when I was quite small sitting beside my neighbour learning to burl and mend.”

(Hall, 1984, p.5)

The writer feels this is an important set of circumstances to mention from a perspective that conditions were, in a significant number of cases, very poor for worsted workers prior to mechanisation. Children will have had full exposure to those conditions up until the building of the mills and the mechanisation that occurred at that time. For some it was jumping out of the fat into the fire i.e., from industry at home to industry in the factory. Many of the offspring of worsted combers, would have experienced extreme environmental conditions. It seems highly probable that even if they were not physically involved at the work in hand themselves, they would have been exposed to the cramped, hot and stinking conditions within their own homes. Moving to work in the mills themselves may have, to a certain extent, exposed the child millworkers to similar conditions but in the formalised environment of mill as workplace and as employees in their own right.

Their recorded memories, supported by a social historian, Jill Liddington of the University of Leeds, open in 1881 and as they rightly record “is just beyond the reach of living memory” (Hall, 1984, p. 2). However they relied on family histories, told by the generation before and vividly recall their own early memories and photographs. The writer purposefully came to read their stories toward the end of the research period. What is evident is their stories both corroborate and fill the gaps in knowledge which this researcher held. The

authors describe how they set about filling gaps in knowledge, tracing links between the past and describing the now of Saltaire, a model-village with familiar family and community. All the authors highlighted appear to have been part-timers at some point during their school careers and started work at Salt's Mill at different ages dependent on the legislation in force at the time of their attendance.

For the purposes of this part of the study, the writer will follow the structure of the booklet they produced in 1984 (some 36 years ago) and will make commentary of their recollections as necessary and appropriate. What makes these writings so valuable is they are mainly objective and contain facts and practices that can be validated by other sources. The reader does get glimpses of feelings and opinions but overall, they appear a fair and accurate recollection of their own experiences. The authors appeared to engage with research methods which give structure and validation to their findings.

5.14. Tracing the links between then and now (Figure 19).

The authors (Hall,1984) wrote:

“In 1850 the site the Saltaire was to be built upon was just open fields and farming land. Very few people lived here then. We only know of one family, the Rileys, who have lived here all that time. Everyone else moved to Saltaire from somewhere else. In fact in the late 19th Century, Saltaire was a community of immigrants.....the first wave of immigrants to Saltaire came straight from Bradford itself, a distance of only 3 or 4 miles. By 1871, when the building of Saltaire was virtually completed, most came from neighbouring West Riding Villages: 75 % were born in the West Riding Textile Area and only 12% from outside Yorkshire. This is certainly borne out by our own family histories.”

(p.3).

5.14.1. Bessie's story. Born c. 1908.

Bessie describes below how the family (Figure 20, 22) moved from Nidderdale, 18 miles north of Saltaire, following the closure of the local flax mill where Bessie's mother worked. Bessie's grandfather was also unable to find work as a stonemason, a skilled tradesman job, so the family had to move to Bradford where there were a number of mills where work could be found. The family eventually moved to Saltaire c. 1913/14. Bessie's descendent by Marriage, Nellie, a writer within the booklet, was married and lived in her husband's family home of 41, Titus Street from the 1870s. The Holdsworths had this house for over 100 years.

Nellie still lived here in the mid mid-1980s (Figure 21).

5.14.2. Journeys from Further Afield to Saltaire - Bertha's Story.

Some journeys to Saltaire were made from much further afield. Emma, Bertha's mother born 1863 moved from Market Deeping in South Lincolnshire in around 1889 to be in the service of Mrs. Edward Salt, daughter-in-law of Sir Titus Salt, as Upper-house Maid. Her wage was £20 a year all found which is today's equivalent of £2,587. Emma married Bertha's father Richard, who was shown on the 1881 Census to have lived in Titus Street, Saltaire at the time of Emma's arrival in the village. They had two boys (who both died as children) and three girls who were all living at the time of authorship of the pamphlet. One of the girls was Bertha, who still lived in Harold Place, Saltaire and was at the time of writing of the pamphlet, Saltaire's longest-living inhabitant at 91 years old and had lived in the village all her life (Figure 23).

It is not uncommon for a mother to have given birth to several babies, many of whom would have died in infancy or childhood. This is discussed further in sub-chapter on illness and deaths.

5.14.3. Schooldays at Albert Road. Nellie's Story.

The authors discussed growing up in Saltaire. All of them contributed to the memories of their schooldays. Here are Nelly's recollections.

Nellie wrote:

“I started going to Albert Road Infants when I was three years old, in 1911. My grandmother took me for a while, then I went by myself. The first class I was in was called the ‘Baby Class’ ... We used slates and slate pencils in that class, as far as I can remember...”

(Hall,1984, p.8).

The school log for the period of the study regularly referred to the Baby Class and Infant Class interchangeably. Whilst blackboards were installed, according to the newspaper article Ch.5.12.

5.14.4. Out of the Classroom and into the Mill.

According to the authors (Hall,1984, pp. 12-13) most of the village children went from Albert Road School (Figures 19, 24) to Central School; and then left Central School as soon as they were old enough to get a job – usually at Salt's Mill. They recalled that younger members of the history class had a very different experience of those aged 75 years and older. The younger persons had left school at 14 years old to start work at Salt's but for the older members, they were taught under the Half-time System whilst working at the mill from 12 years old.

It is interesting to note that the former Half-timers matter-of-factly said that the mill needed to employ cheap child labour to keep costs competitive with the emerging competition in India & Japan (Hall,1984, p. 12).

An examination of the 1881 census was completed to identify how many child labourers/Half-timers were working in the factory-mill from 10 years old and lived in Titus Street.

From this data we can see there were 17 children aged between 10 – 12 who were Half-timers and went to work. Sixteen of these worked in worsted textiles and its highly likely many of these worked at Salt's Mill. There were a further 6 children in Titus Street who were listed as scholars. So, of the 23 children living in Titus Street in 1881, 74% went out to work.

Here follows an example of Gramsci's theory of common sense. Bessie recalled how it was 'automatic' for Saltaire children to go from Central School into Salt's Mill as a half-timer. She was interviewed and a tape recording made:

"I do remember quite well, when you got to be 12, they sent these little papers round: 'who's going half-time? Well everyone in class put their hand up...It was the millowners, such as Salts. They wanted all this work out. There was such a lot of work, you could get a job anywhere. But of course, with us living near, naturally we went to Salt's. They brought these forms round. And teacher read these forms out. And she said 'So-and-so', and read a lot of names out, mine among them, and my sister. So, she said 'These forms are for those going half-time at the mill.' You could go to any mill. But we went to Salt's because it was, like, bottom of street here. And she said 'Well, I'd like to see your mothers'. So I remember going home and taking my mother this little slip. She said 'What's that for? So I said ...we have to go half-time. She said ' Oh, I'll come down after dinner with you'. So we went across. And I suppose, if I remember right, there was a right bust-up. You see, teacher naturally didn't want you to go half-time. But you see there were such big families; and my father suffered a lot with rheumatic fever. So we had to go. And I always remember going in that big classroom. And we all went in and sat down in our chairs. And all the mothers came in, and they all sat down, and teacher said what was the idea, like, of letting the children go half-time? Didn't they think education was more important? Well, naturally they did. Everybody wanted to be educated, you know, properly. But you were forced to go. They were upset. I remember my Dad and Mum talking it over. My Mother said, 'Well, whatever have we to do?' It was so common. Everyone went. It were a way of life."

(Hall,1984, pp. 16 -17)

5.14.5. Beginning Work as a Half-timer at Salt's Mill. Nellie's Story.

“...I was taken to the mill by a friend and we had to wait in what was called the gate house until the Manager of the Spinning Department arrived. I was feeling really frightened by then. My friend then left to go the weaving shed. I was very small walking along the mill yard with the Manager. He took me up the hoist which nowadays are lifts. We then went into a spinning room and I was taken to the overlooker who sort of looked me over and then took me to a spinner to learn how to spin.

It was fly spinning and I had first of all to learn how to stop them. I don't know how many revolutions they went but to me it was terrifying. You had to push very hard on the flyers with your hand and you didn't half get a rap on your fingers.

But as the day wore on I think I began to shape a bit. I was waiting for breakfast time, and dinner time when I could go home...One thing I didn't like was the closets. They were great dark places and they were called tiplers, and you got a shock when it tipped. Well. That was my first day.”

(Hall,1984, p.17)

According to (Jackson,2010 p. 201) the shareholders of Salt's Mill (Titus Salt and his three sons plus Charles Stead) declared in 1867 that they employed 8-year-olds in their factory. They gave no instruction on site or apprenticeships but that all children 8 – 13 years old were required to be in school for one-half of the day (then The Dining Rooms opposite the lodge gates) and worked for 30 hours per week. They also declared that male workers were paid wages sufficient to discourage the necessity for married women to work. At the time of their submission Salt's Mill employed 958 adult males, 566 adult females, young male

workers (13 -21) 408, young female workers 645, male children (8 -13), female children 239. There were 3,070 employees in total. (Figure 25.)

5.14.6. Bessie's Story.

Bessie's remembers being given a cursory:

“...medical examination by Dr. Ward Smith.....the children were just checked off in penny numbers ...and so long as you had two eyes, two legs and two arms, you were accepted....The long awaited age of 12 years had at last arrived for me, and I was about to begin a long term (which I did not know then) of 56 years of working for Salt's.

Off I went at 6 a.m. with my two eldest sisters. In those days a very large bell called the workers to start another day, and as we lived in Rhodes Street, what a din it made, enough to waken all surrounding districts.

Anyway we arrived at the gatehouse, which was packed to the limit, where my two sisters went on to their jobs in the twisting department, and I was clutching a note in my hand, stating that I hadn't to go in the spinning. I don't know why...I really enjoyed it, and in the ensuing years I never altered my liking for it. I still treasure the friends I made in the village hall, namely the one sat next to me, Phil.”

(Hall,1984, p. 20).

The writer was struck by the prose of the memory. Her final words might be called sentimental, but the writer was struck by the sincerity and strength of the bond and commonality with her friends and co-workers of Saltaire.

5.14.7. Authority in the Mill and Control of the Workforce – Gramsci's theory in Action.

The writers (Hall, 1984, p. 23) expressed the dominance of Salt's Mill in their lives, which had enormous consequences for local Saltaire girls especially. There

was very little choice of employment for girls and women and once employed in the mill, the girls found that the all-male overlookers wielded considerable authority over every aspect of their working lives. The following commentary these women make clearly demonstrates Gramsci's notion of common-sense...the way things were or were meant to be, a non-coercive way of controlling the workers' behaviour. The workers demonstrated they had problems but resigned themselves to the channels available to them to voice their concerns. It was only after prolonged attempts to sort things out with a supervisor, who did not appear interested in them raising their hands, that they approached someone, a manager with more authority.

Phyllis says:

“[if we had a problem]...we had to raise our hand. We felt we were a very low form of life. He [the overlooker] said it was up to [him] to see to these things [problems]...and left it at that. But the thing was, it was only after a long time of getting absolutely nowhere with the overlooker that we finally had to approach him [the manager].”

(Hall,1984, p. 24) [writer's parentheses].

Lilian wrote:

“I worked for three different overlookers during my time there [10 years]. Two of those were really stern and rather frightening characters, one of whom I was really afraid of- especially when I mixed the bobbins” (Hall,1984, p.25).

5.14.8. Paying Rent, Wages and Living in Saltaire.

Like several other textile communities, the surrounding textile village/s were dominated usually by a single factory-mill e.g., Ackroyd's in Halifax(Jackson,2010, pp. 199 -207). This created an economic dependence by the workers on the employer. According to Reynolds (1983), Saltaire was an even more complete authority than other industrial villages given that the employer was also the worker's landlord. Norah explains how the tenancy arrangements worked in practice:

“Salt’s Mill was very busy, and there was considerable demand for mill workers. As a result, there was great pressure on houses in Saltaire. This meant that if a tenant did not work in Salt’s Mill. The family had to move out of the house – and therefore out of the village.”

(Hall,1984, p. 25).

Nellie remembers that her mother had to move out of her home and move to a nearby village for this reason.

The average weekly wages of a family (a father and 6 children) was 84s. A single worker’s wage was 24s. per week. The highest weekly wage was 35s. The lowest weekly wage was 15s.

The average weekly rents varied between 2s. 4d. to 7s. 6d. according to size. These payments included all rates and water supply: gas was supplied at a low rate. Gas and water were supplied initially from the factory. This information is extracted from the questionnaire supplied by the Salt Mill to the ‘Imperial Commission for the Paris Exhibition 1867’ (Jackson,2010, pp. 199 – 207).

It should be noted that representatives from Salt’s Mill, led by Charles Stead (a then Partner in the business), in Sir Titus’ lifetime , met with the Home Secretary to argue against some of the provisions of a new Factory Act which would raise the age of child workers from 8 to 10 years old (Coates, 2016, p.45) The 2-week lockout of the Mill happened in 1876. The year of Sir Titus’ death. It should be noted that Titus Salt Snr. had made similar arguments against the Factory Act of 1833 which sought to raise the age of child workers from 8 to 9 years. The writer posits that the Salt family had no hesitation in exploiting young millworkers for the sake of profits. What the writer finds most interesting is the large number of mainly secondary sources, and some primary, where these facts are known but passed over. Both past and contemporary researchers perpetuate the dominant discourse. The hidden histories of the child labourers remain hidden in plain sight. These are the subjugated knowledges (Foucault, 2002) of the ‘othered’.

5.15. The Decline of the Worsted Industry.

As previously discussed, the Worsted industry went into decline from the mid-1870s and the newspaper clip above (Figure 26) reports how the mill workers wages were cut. There had been a two-week lockout at Salts Mill during 1876 because of disputes over pay which did not benefit the workers at all. This is likely to be the reason the report claims the workers would quietly accept the cut. The clip below reports that the wage cut amounted to about 8% which for a single worker would mean a cut of c. 2s per week and for a family of father and six children a cut of c. 7s per week. This cut would have a significant impact on the family's living wage. If work stopped off then inevitably school attendance did too, as the fee to attend was prohibitive to un-employed children, at least to attend a factory-school at 2d and then 3d. per week. This occurred during the two-week Mill-lockout in 1876 and the logbook entries reflect a downturn in attendance. However, to offset the reduction in weekly wage, their employer and landlord resolved to reduce the weekly rent by 10 % per week which represented an overall 2% increase to weekly income.(Figure 27).

The clip (Figure 23) reports that the mill workers were to be awarded a weekly pay rise but were disappointed with the offer. Here was the beginning of a cycle of industrial relations discontent which persisted over the next 10 years and ended with Salt's Mill going into bankruptcy in 1892. However, the mill survived long into the 1950s.

5.16. Summary.

This chapter has given a full physical description of the three Salt's Mill factory-schools and, where an appropriate source is available, identifies physical features and learning activities evidenced. A comparison is made between the local Board schools of building costs and running costs per capita. Albert Road Board School had much higher costs by far when compared to the nearby Board Schools of Shipley. A discussion has taken place around the apparent much improved living and social conditions within Saltaire which appear, from the data available in the census and the school log, to have reduced child mortality rates significantly compared to those of Bradford the nearest large urban settlement where a large

majority of the families are likely to have relocated from. Space is given to a number of former Salt's Mill factory-school Half-timers as they described their lives and work within the factory-village and their memoirs are examined and triangulated with other primary and secondary sources. Further discussion has identified that whilst living and environmental conditions may have improved, the workers at the mill were increasingly dissatisfied with their pay which resulted in two incidents that can be identified in secondary sources, but the writer has been able to identify the exact dates of the 2-week 'lockout' of the workers, including the child-labourers by entries in the school logbook. The first mini-strike in 1868 followed by a full 2-week lockout in June 1876, the year of Sir Titus' death, was recorded in the school logbook (reporting that school attendance was significantly down). The writer could not find any other primary source, but these occasions were mentioned briefly in some secondary sources. Recollections of the Half-timers regarding authority in the mill and the control which their supervisors, managers and ultimately their employer had over them completely fits with Gramsci's theories of common-sense and the 'way things were' and were 'meant' to be.

An analysis of the Shipley Times newspaper reports dated 14 February 1878 and 16 February 1878 show how the quality of teaching and learning at the Albert Road Board School was below standard which was corroborated by a later HMI Inspection of December 1879 where it was stated that the school had not made the improvements expected since moving to the Albert Road site.

Chapter 6.0 Further Discussion.

Chapter 6 begins by re-examining realism and the range of primary and secondary history sources presented as data and identified in this study as being very important to filling some of the 'gaps' in our historical knowledge of the lived experiences of the Half-timers and Salt's Mill child labourers.

Despite the difficulties of definition of the term realism, there are some characteristics that commonly arise in discussions of the 19th Century. It is for this reason that the writer has identified and, where possible, corroborated the experiences described by the authors of the History Group from other sources.

Conversely, photographic sources have been cross-referenced to the oral histories and other primary sources, sometimes printed, handwritten, photographic or exhibited. Interestingly, those authors are both participants in their national culture, able to share the limited perspective of their characters in the story-space, and like the writer of this study, distanced observers in the pamphlet's discourse-space, and so between them can connect relevant details to make sense of the whole (Levine, 2009).

The writer has included in Appendix 2 a selection of primary source photographs together with commentary that have not been discussed in the text.

The writer discusses key theories of oral history, autobiography and images coming together into something called memory. Nora's (1989) seminal work identified memory as a primitive or sacred form opposed to modern historical consciousness. Another way of thinking of this might be that the person's memory recorded as an oral history is recalling history through a contemporary lens as opposed to through a 21st Century one. Oral history methodologies can also tell us something about the ways in which people produce, evaluate, and transmit knowledge about the past, and thus these methodologies can be useful in studies of popular change (Behar, 1986; Brown, 2001; Casey, 1987).

6.1. Realism and Oral History.

Some historians claim that oral history methods can throw light on dimensions of the past and provide perspectives that other methodologies investigating history, such as archival searches or statistical software and tools, simply cannot do (Perecman, 2011). It is with this in mind the writer emphasises the importance of including the discovery of the autobiographical stories within the published pamphlet of the Saltaire Residents' History Group which are examined in Chapter 5 as a significant source of oral history and fundamental to the study's purpose. The writer posits that where documentary evidence is limited, oral histories can provide illumination into the past that might otherwise remain inaccessible to social historians (Perecman, 2011). Such methods have usefully revealed the ways in which individuals for example, may recall past livelihoods

and ways of life. Oral history as a source and a method has been important to this study.

Studies such as this attempt to examine the lives of child factory-mill labourers from their own perspective. It uses a different lens from those who have historically recorded such histories through the dominant discourses that have permeated through different past recordings such as photographs and documents. Maybe because of their endearing tone and accounts of memory which may present as antihistorical discourse (Cohen, 1999) the writer found these works compelling and intriguing. Colloquially they came ‘from the horse’s mouth’. History could be substantially made richer if social historians could understand how participants in these past events understood themselves and how events and processes unfolded (Perecman, 2011). Historians have sought to investigate new subjects of historical inquiry and to recover the “voices” of eyewitnesses to and participants in major historical changes such as the Industrial Revolution. The development of social and later feminist histories, which sought to excavate “history from below,” facilitated the use of oral accounts to shed light on the experiences of the ‘others’ who are in this study the child labourers (Thompson, 1964; Humphries, 2010). It is the intention of this study to not only focus on those with the power and the control of the child’s life i.e., parent, teacher, landlord, employer and the State. The writer’s impulse, akin to other social historians is to illuminate the perspectives of ordinary people which has persisted for decades. Whether these methods can shed light on what actually happened is up for debate, but they can allow researchers to gain insight into the ‘othered’ perspective. Klein argues that “Despite or perhaps because of their elegiac tone and accounts of memory as antihistorical discourse, these works found an amazing popularity and were quickly joined by others” (Klein, 1996, 2000 p.2).

Following publication of Pierre Nora’s seminal work ‘Between Memory and History: Les lieux de Memoire’ (1989) this work amongst others, identified memory as a primitive or sacred form opposed to modern historical consciousness. Another way of thinking of this might be that the person’s memory recorded as an oral history is recalling history through a contemporary lens as opposed to through a 21st Century one. Oral history methodologies can also tell us something about the ways in which people produce, evaluate, and

transmit knowledge about the past, and thus these methodologies can be useful in studies of popular change (Behar 1986; Brown 2001; Casey 1987).

Some historians such as (Perecman, 2011) argue that oral history methods have advantages over some other investigative methods into the past as they can help to illustrate in specific, rich, personal and engaging ways that people understand their changing selves in relation to broad historical processes. An example of this is the intriguing re-telling of particular life chapters such as where they lived and worked as such recorded by members of the Saltaire Local History Group whose memories are re-told within this study. By utilising oral history methods, the writer can gain insight into the ordinary people of Saltaire who did not usually write about their conceptions of themselves or of the historical moments in which they lived (Barber,1991; Behar, 1993; Brown, 2001; Fabian & Matulu, 1997; Giles-Vernick, 1996).If by remembering their stories this has the capacity to disclose how people understand themselves and interpret their own pasts, then oral historians must heed Alon Confino's caution concerning memory (Confino, 1997).Historians, he argues, need to distinguish "...memory as a heuristic device and memory as part of the mental equipment of a society,

of an age" (Confino, 1997, p.1403). Oral history methods provide a glimpse into how people of the past constructed their worlds, what they believed, imagined, and valued.

The writer agrees with MacKay (2007) when they argue that our informants filter such interpretations through their perceptions of contemporary personal, social, political, and economic relations which makes them all the more exciting and revealing as sources.

The writer is cognisant that whilst oral historians might assume that the process of collecting oral accounts and integrating them into a master narrative produced history that informants found useful, this is not always the case. It is interesting that in this study, the informants themselves chose to record their stories, either orally then have them transcribed, or put straight onto paper and produced a primary source of significant social-historical value. The writer must take from the pamphlet the motivations for doing so being their desire to express with

fondness and honesty their lives in Saltaire. A researcher drawing from oral histories can produce studies that may achieve:

“ ...an understanding of a people, through a study of their treasure chest, the profounder aspects of their culture, knowledge of their history, literature, and world-view ... not for curiosity, or out of antiquarian interest, but as fit explanation for contemporary situations.”

(Miescher, 2001, p. 32).

These narratives offer the participants an opportunity to express their own conceptions and interpretations of their pasts and to deploy those interpretations in their own contemporary struggles (Cohen & Odhiambo, 1989). Encouraging actual people's voices to talk about their past life-experiences may sometimes prove difficult. This is not the case in this study given the voluntary and spontaneous way in which they participated in their very own accounts and subsequent publication. Respectfully all the participants have now died. It is accepted that some oral history projects documenting historical events in the first decades of the 20th century are now almost impossible to conduct because of the difficulty of finding living informants. Indeed, it is extremely fortunate that this study includes stories from a participant who was born in the late 19th Century. The writer recognises that the transmission of historical knowledge is a specific social process in which the researcher is usually a participant. The historical evidence that one seeks through oral historical methods is often part of a body of knowledge about the past that certain people possess (Perecman, 2011) This appears to be the case in this study as all the participants lived and worked in Saltaire. For some it had been their only family home for several decades and for others Salt's Mill was their only ever workplace. They knew their stories and wanted to tell them in their own words, for their own reasons.

Megan Vaughan has emphasized:

“Voices are voices, not choruses; they cry in the wilderness of history and speak, apparently directly to experience. They represent another kind of fantasy of authenticity, our access to the “real thing.” ...
Inserted into our texts at appropriate moments.”

(2001, pp. 65 -66).

In other words, these are the person's own histories from their own personal perspectives. They cannot claim to represent everyone living and working in Saltaire at the time of their experiences. In this case the writer cannot claim that their stories are the stories of all child millworkers but that they are reliable examples of the lived experiences of a few whose words can be corroborated in a wide range of both primary and secondary sources.

The school logbooks completed by the Head Teacher are interesting. They should be regarded as primarily factual, being a legal requirement of The Revised Code 1862 and corroborated by contemporaries at the time of completion e.g., School Manager, HMI. The Headteacher did however select which information to include and which to omit. Examples of this occur where the Head Teacher has omitted to record when the extended curriculum was to be on offer. The Boys' and Girls' Departments would be obliged to provide a Schedule of Standards I – VI of Elementary Education. From implementation of the Revised Code 1872 (Arnold, 1908) there would be a requirement to provide an extended curriculum to the 3 Rs to include foreign languages, pure and applied sciences or other definite subjects at Standards IV, V and VI. There is no recording or mention of this key curriculum requirement. This seems a very odd thing unless of course it was not to be implemented by the school?

In examining both these primary sources, the pamphlet and the school logbook, realist writers according to Levine (2009):

“...focus on revealing truth, morals, and motives...All three of these paradoxical traits relate to what might be called a realist epistemology: the attempt to gather empirical evidence about the world, to then represent that evidence selectively so as to make the others we encounter as intelligible as possible, but all the while acknowledging, implicitly or explicitly, that such complete knowledge is unattainable. In this way, realism continually comes up against its own epistemological endeavours. “

(p.72)

The writer posits that not all the authors within the pamphlet are equally knowledgeable or eloquent about their pasts. They may forget, too, although this process of forgetting is never “natural” but needs to be explored (Passerini, 1987). This may form the basis of future study (Vaughan, 2001). Informants can decide to recount their pasts for many reasons and in many ways. Relations with audiences (real or imagined), with other researchers (this was a group project), and with broader social and political influences can influence the telling and subsequent recording. As (Levine, 2009) argues, tellers can omit, elide, or prevaricate for any number of reasons, all which investigators need to explore (White, 2000).

Beginning in the 1970s (the pamphlet was published in the mid- 1980s) as oral historians began to favour what they imagined to be the “voices” of ordinary people, they adopted a broad range of methods that they anticipated would capture the perspectives of the previously “silenced.” It should be noted that whilst the stories of the social history group were their own personal stories, the class itself was facilitated by a Researcher from the Adult Education Department of the University of Leeds. Profoundly influenced by social and feminist histories, some researchers sought to excavate an alternative narrative of the past, assuming that ruling elites had ignored and suppressed a nonelite “voice” that could provide a different and perhaps more authentic rendering of past events. In this situation it is likely that the Researcher facilitated the group by supporting informal interviews, collecting dialogue from participants and engaged in informal conversations with individuals and groups and supported the publication through university resources. These methods remain widely used today (Bryman 2004; Henry 2006). The writer posits that scholars interpreting oral histories need to remain aware that these methods and the narratives that they generate do not provide unmediated access to truths about the past any more than any other form of historical evidence can (Levine 2009). MacKay, (2007) argues that the task and theme of oral history is:

“...to search out the memories in the private, enclosed space of houses and kitchens and—without violating that space, without cracking the

uniqueness of each spore with an arrogant need to scrutinize, to know, to classify—to connect them with “history”—and in turn force history to listen to them.”

(p.20).

6.2. Summary.

More simply defined, oral history is as a method of documenting recent history through the words of those who lived it. The writer would posit that it is a way of documenting their own version of history. By doing so, researchers have refined the definition to include these characteristics so as to distinguish oral history from, for example, journalism or ethnography.

Chapter 7.0 Conclusion and Limitations of Research.

This chapter presents the writer’s conclusions in answering the research question and comments on the limitations of the research. The writer signposts areas for future research and examination.

7.1. Revisiting the Research Question.

In this final concluding chapter, the writer returns to the main and subsidiary research questions. Has new light been shed on the lives of the child factory-millworkers? Further, why might these lives have been so hidden and what is the value of conducting such research? Perhaps these questions raise difficult or embarrassing issues involving the ways in which historiography may have perpetuated the dominant discourses of capitalist philanthropy and the significant higher and middle social-classed individuals involved? Or maybe the remains and traditions of the sources the child labourers created have inadvertently not been preserved and long disappeared in the annals of time? Maybe the working-class traditions were not considered of any value and therefore worthy of preservation? Or maybe other significant political and/or philanthropic events such as the abolition of slavery, of those ripped from their homelands, dominated the Nation’s psyche which had the effect of causing the

misery of child-labourers at home, hidden in plain sight, to be overlooked until much later? The writer argues that historians have neglected the stories of child-labourers and that it is not simply that ‘gaps’ exist in this body of knowledge, but rather that much of what has been written has disguised our ignorance of these gaps. One motivation for writing this thesis, therefore, is to attempt to fill one such ‘gap’.

In whichever case, such realities should be examined within the context of the contemporary controversies at play and that they should be viewed additionally through a 19th Century lens and not simply a backward examination through a 21st century lens.

McCulloch (2012,p.295) argues that “Interdisciplinary approaches to educational studies have a great deal of potential for enhancing our understanding of this field – its past, its present and indeed its future – and for promoting its contribution to education and the wider society.” In conducting this particular study relating to Saltaire and Salt’s Mill, the writer has researched across the educational, social and economic dimensions. Integral is the interplay between them as they have affected the telling of the child labourers’ stories.

Cohen, in a seminal text published in the ‘Harvard Educational Review’ in 1976, argued that research into the history of education should not simply be about filling in a missing chapter in the history of education as a field of study, or discussing the uses of history in schools of education, but should rather aim to “...restore the broken links between our generation and our predecessors, to fill in certain gaps in our memory” (p. 303). Cohen argues that historiography of the ways in which the history of education has been researched and presented is not a narrowly academic exercise. The writer posits that it affords the researcher an exciting opportunity to re-discover rich and prophetic material which is not time-bound.

The answers to the research questions are multi-faceted but the writer concludes this study is an attempt to present the counter-hegemony argument to the largely absent hidden histories of the child labourers of Saltaire. The writer has located significant numbers of primary and secondary sources, in public archives, the private collections of the industrialists' descendants or trade unions' archives, about the local history of Saltaire and its founder, Sir Titus Salt. The writer concurs with academics (Gramsci, 1971; Boggs, 1976) who claim hegemony is the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations. Hegemony extensively organises the process of socialisation in every area of daily life and is so successful that this prevailing consciousness is internalised by the population and it becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural way of things.

The writer reminds the reader of a quote from the memoir of Bessie:

“[the parents]...Didn't they think education was more important? Well, naturally they did. Everybody wanted to be educated, you know, properly. But you were forced to go [to the mill]. They were upset. I remember my Dad and Mum talking it over. My Mother said, 'Well, whatever have we to do?' It was so common. Everyone went. It were a way of life.”

[writer's parentheses] (Hall, 1984, pp. 16 -17).

Profound in its simplicity it summarises the notion of 'how things are'.

Schools fulfilled the role of both coercive and non-coercive institutions, (Burke,2005). During the period of this study, parts of school life were clearly coercive (compulsory education, ‘Payment by Results’, attendance requirements of the Half-time system, national standards) whilst others were not (the hidden curriculum) of controlling the behaviour, beliefs and even morality of the pupil-labourers (Burke, 2005).

Gramsci claimed that the ruling class maintained its domination by the consent of the mass of the people and only used its coercive apparatuses, the forces of law and order, as a last resort. Sir Titus did mobilise these forces in the enforcement, for example, of the Worsted Acts of 1777 and 1791 and in calling in the army during the Chartist uprisings.

On the whole, hegemony of the ruling capitalist class resulted from an ideological bond between the rulers and the ruled as in this case the industrialist-capitalists millowner and the working-class millworkers. Sir Titus and Salt’s Mill controlled most aspects of the pupil-labourer’s lives as provider of education, employer and landlord. Ideological hegemony meant that the majority of the population accepted what was happening in society as ‘common sense’ or as ‘the only way of running society’.

Sure, the child millworkers had complaints (e.g., The Ten-Hour Movement) about the way things were run and people looked for improvements or reforms (Chartism) but the basic beliefs and value system underpinning society were either neutral or of general applicability in

relation to the class structure of society.

Schooling played a vital role in how society worked. The school system was just one part of the system of ideological hegemony in which individuals were socialised into maintaining the status quo (Gramsci,1971). The writer posits that whilst the introduction of elementary education, and in particular the Half-time system, had been created to ‘modernise’ the UK , in a global market and in a democratic way, just as Gramsci had claimed, the new schooling was “...advocated as being democratic, while in fact it is destined not merely to perpetuate social differences but to crystallise them in Chinese complexities”.

(Gramsci, 1971, p.40).

According to Simon (1960), the chief lesson that history must show with regard to education is that the ruling class has always without exception used education for its purposes as a buttress to support and perpetuate its dominating position, and has always opposed the extension of education to other classes except too the limited extent which, at certain periods, may have been necessary for its more effective domination. (Simon, 1960). This is true of the Half-time system of schooling at the factory schools of Salt’s Mill, a key function of which was to supply a steady stream of half-literate and docile child labour. McCulloch (2011)

continued this argument and expanded it to argue that working-class schools in the nineteenth century had been essentially education on the cheap for the masses, and since the Elementary Education Act of 1870 "...the ruling class working through the bourgeois state has dominated the education system both as regards its form or structure and as regards its content" (p. 46). It is evident from the school logbook that significant emphasis was placed on the '3 R's' at Standards I -IV. There is limited evidence that any further extension of curricular content was made at Standards V – VI. However, Titus Salt Jnr. was not slow at opening an Extended Elementary School for higher fee-paying students which was clearly demonstrated in the finding of pamphlets and billboard material.

The writer concurs with Gramsci who described the social character of traditional schools as being determined by each social group and that throughout society each group had its own type of school "...intended to perpetuate a specific traditional function, ruling or subordinate" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 40). There was little doubt in some academics' thoughts that schooling and the education taught therein was one way in which the mass of the population was kept in its place (Gramsci, 1971, p. 43; Entwistle, 1979; Allman, 1988; Smith, 1994). This is true of the factory schools of Salt's Mill. Their main purpose was to fulfil a role of providing basic elementary education for the Half-timers. The quality and delivery of that curriculum is at best patchy. It is difficult to ascertain whether the statutory requirements of curriculum content were fulfilled and taking evidence from the school log, the quality and effectiveness of the teaching was

variable and on occasion, very poor.

Opinion is sharply divided between those who argue that power is dependent upon the ownership of the means of production and those who are more inclined to stress control of the major bureaucratic organisations (whether these be located in the corporate, political or military spheres) (Altbach,1979) All sides, however, recognise that those who hold power will try to establish their cultural hegemony and the ways of achieving this are relatively similar regardless of what the actual basis of power may be. The writer posits that the power generated from the life works of Sir Titus Salt spans across both the means of production, as a leading industrialist - capitalist-philanthropist - employer and from the bureaucratic organisations in which he officiated.

The writer firmly agrees with the persuasive argument of Cole (2020) in referring to Gramsci's 'The Study of Philosophy' (1971). In it the role of 'common sense' is discussed. The writer argues that if the child factory-millworker believes that all it takes to succeed is hard work and dedication, then it follows that the system of capitalism and the social structure that is organized around it is just and valid. It follows that the same child labourer will believe that those who have succeeded economically, such as Sir Titus Salt, have earned their wealth in a just and fair manner and that those who struggle to make ends meet, in turn, deserve their impoverished state. This form of "common sense" fosters the belief that success and social mobility are strictly the responsibility of the individual, and in doing so, obscures the real class, racial, and gender inequalities that are built into the

capitalist system. The child, through tacit agreement, will have experienced processes of socialisation.

This exposure resulted in the achievement of cultural hegemony through social institutions, cultural narratives and imagery, all of which reflected the beliefs and values of the ruling class, in this instance Sir Titus Salt, his family and industrial contemporaries (Cole, 2020). These ideas are very much in line with the Radical-Liberal capitalist tenet of 'laissez-faire' of which Sir Titus Salt was fervent promoter. The writer posits this is a significant reason why the cultural narratives (in all their forms) of the child labourers of Saltaire have been hidden from the population through the actions of political or civic institutions.

The writer presents the work of Vicinus (1974) of who made similar discoveries. The writer observes that during the mid- to late-nineteenth century the working-class writers of northern England attempted to create a distinctive working-class voice to represent themselves. They were cognisant of the cultural capital an authentic variety of their Northern dialect carried, and they were keen to make this linguistic characteristic work for them. Safely codified in the pages of literature, a traditional dialect could represent all classes of the deeply divided world of the industrial towns. It was Lancashire at the forefront of these acts of resistance against cultural hegemony in Northern England (Hakala, 2010). Regrettably, there is some evidence to suggest that in the mill towns of

Yorkshire, they were not as successful, and this is reflected in the dearth of recorded stories of the working classes and in this study, the hidden stories of the child labourers of Saltaire.

Where homogenized, white working-class identity is ignored and that issues of class, gender and ethnicity are never explicated. Whilst conducting the research the writer was drawn to explore the work of such historians as Annette Henry whose work has focused on the research of many scholars on the margins and of whom Henry views herself as one. Henry posits that for historians, those scholars silenced, who are invisible to the general discourse of historical academia, their silence represents great gaps of which critical questions can be asked. Henry and her contemporaries (Samuelsson, 2008; Smith, 1999; Watkins, 2001) attempt to revise the historical past and contemporary knowledge production. The writer argues that power is persuasive in the narratives of history. Further the writer posits that when the histories of 'non-dominant' groups have been analysed, they have been examined from Eurocentric and patriarchal perspectives (Henry, 2006). This struck a chord with the writer given the mass of prose written about child millworkers and the only voice given to these children are the rare and recorded evidence given by such individuals to certain Inquiries and Commissions. Further, it appears that even this voice is recorded and analysed within a patriarchal gaze. These oral histories are regularly audited and re-presented in minutes and other such government or quango publications. History, in this case, has been told from the point of view of those who hold the power and the 'other' seems odd and even dysfunctional to

those who wrote the record and influenced the writing of the history. The writer concurs with Theoharis (2001) who explained that when such records

Cultural relativism is the concept that the child millworker , the millowner, the teacher, the parent's beliefs, values and actions should be understood within the context of the subject's own culture, rather than be judged against the criteria of another (Tilley,2000). The sharing of the ideas that reality is socially or culturally constructed undermines the traditional distinction between what is central in history and what is peripheral, Burke (1991). The writer is cognisant that historians such as Silver,(1977) have argued that there are difficulties inherent with this approach as it encourages only a new 'version' of an old discussion or theory to be produced, instead of basing the discussion or theory in and around new insights into historical reality. The writer, in an act of resistance, took a leap of faith to escape from untested, comfortable realities i.e. of the dominant dialogues and take the difficult path which leads to serious questions around the reality of complex societies. These paths followed opened questions with sharper analysis and insight. By using effective methods of identification and interpretation they also raised difficulty, embarrassment and maybe even discomfort(Henry ,2006).

Prentice (1977) adds the argument that certain knowledge and realities are deemed low on the hierarchy of knowledge and more powerfully claims that

certain lives, practices and ways of being are omitted from history. The writer posits that there is strong evidence of this within this study. As this body of knowledge around the pupil-laborers of Saltaire expands and alternate ideas and theories are raised and discussed, it has become apparent that the field of historical knowledge is splintered and fractured. With this study, old history is being revisited and a new history is being written within a consciousness that new history starts with the philosophical foundation that reality is socially or culturally constructed. The writer identified this as cultural relativism. The writer posits the idea, that new research into the same past gives voice to the researched by revisioning history. This undermines the traditional distinction about what is central in history to what is peripheral. The writer has previously alluded to their own positionality and this notion is of particular resonance within this study

Educational historians, in seeking to identify and examine, even impugn, marginalised histories are interested in the “subjugated knowledges” of (Foucault,2002), as histories that are disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated. This concept is evident where child millworkers were interviewed by Her Majesty’s Factory Inspectors for various Commissioned Enquiries such as the Newcastle Commission (1861) which had been tasked with examining the conditions for child workers, especially in the factories and mills. The interviews, in most instances have been paraphrased by the Inspectors and the reports littered with their own affirmations. At the other end of the axis, when the vociferous Ten-Hour Movement produced pamphlets for distribution across the wealthy middle-class industrialists, factory managers and over-seers and the working-classes themselves, within them were short biographies of children who had been injured in the factories, characterised as poor, waifish and disabled but

they were dismissed as mere fickle. Thus, the dominant discourses of the day attempted to silence the voice of the ‘other’. The majority of those taking part in the meetings and demonstrations of the Ten-Hour Movement were white working-class, including many child workers. Therefore, it follows that the majority would not be able to read and a larger number to write. They shared their common experience through songs and chants as they took part in the marches. Research continues to locate those lyrics.

Whilst examining both primary and secondary sources as related directly to the Saltaire factory schools the writer did not find any evidence that pedagogical research had been conducted by any contemporary educationalists relating either to the curriculum taught to boys and girls, or the methods used. Excepting a brief description within the school-log that kindergarten lessons were to resume within the infant department, that teachers had attended training in Bradford (logbook entry dated 30th April, 1878) and some entries regarding how particular lessons were conducted (usually in preparation for the annual HMI Inspection visit and examination). There was a brief entry that the teacher was to receive Phonics training but no further log of its implementation.

Neither was there any explanation as to why boys and girls had separate departments excepting during the opening speeches of the new Board School, Albert Road in 1878. Neither is the matter of differences in salary for male and female teachers and Head Teachers recorded anywhere to which the writer had access. The State position was clearly known and communicated.

It was noted that HMI did comment following their visit, of the general progress pupils made and their behaviour, the efficiency of management of the school and

comments regarding the fabric of the building. It is noted that the first female HM Factory Inspector was not appointed until 1893 and the first HM Inspector of Schools until 1837. This is worthy of note because well over 50% of the workforce at the mill were female over the age of 18 years and a significant number were children and young people under the age of 18. Rury (1989) argues it is the task of the historian to make inferences with the evidence at hand. However, often the structures of power and control ensure that evidence is hard to locate; or it may be poorly organised or uncatalogued. Data by some dimensions (sexuality, gender, race etc) may be particularly difficult to find. The writer would add that original and uncensored evidence from the working-class children of the mill could be added to this list.

This study relies on the school logbook as a useful primary source. According to The Revised Code 1862, which stated that the "...principal teacher must daily make in the logbook the briefest entry which will suffice to specify either ordinary progress, or whatever other fact concerning the school or its teachers, such as the dates of withdrawals, commencements of duty, cautions, illness, etc., may require to be referred to at a future time, or may otherwise deserve to be recorded." (Sections 56- 63). The directions went on to specify that no reflections or opinions of a general character are to be entered in the logbook and that once an entry had been made, no such entry may be removed nor altered otherwise than by a subsequent entry.

Within the entries, the writer searched for any comment regarding the conduct of the Half-timer child whilst at school. This was usually a comment regarding

punishment of some description. The writer identified brief comment of their achievements and failures, their fatigue, illnesses and deaths. The school logbook reveals their lack of shoes and appropriate seasonal clothing and at times hunger. Beyond that no professional comments exist regarding the informal relationships within and beyond the school. What the logbook was very clear in delivering was the long list of eminent visitors, the majority of whom were from the upper-middle and upper classes. They mainly represented the ruling elite and were without exception received by Titus Salt Jnr. Taylor (1998) discusses how one Headteacher's entries (from another factory school) includes the names of those who employ under-age children. Titus Salt was known to employ under-age children, confirmed in multiple sources, however no such logbook entry occurred in the logbook of the factory school of Saltaire. A further issue of limitations of the log as a source, as being a record of the school, contains only indirect references to conditions of families in the village. However, the logbook does corroborate claims of key events (albeit a very brief few words) and the writer was able to establish for example, the exact dates for the 1876 lockout, which the reader was unable to locate in any other sources. One might claim this was a definite attempt to erase the event from the public record. However, given the logbook had numbered pages, it was not possible to erase it from this primary source.

The writer has previously referred to the paternalistic, male and Eurocentric gaze which have been the dominant research discourses, and which were particularly dominant during the current period of study. Whilst it may be relatively more straightforward to identify the overtly political or propagandistic realities, it is much less straightforward to locate the hidden assumptions about gender, class,

freedom, justice and identity. The lived lives of the ‘othered’. It is only with the retrospective lens of subsequent historians that these practices have been identified and studied. For the Victorians themselves had viewed their contemporary research practices as exemplifying the traditions of neutrality which emerged with the empirical method (Gallois 2011). These debates persist on the borders of historiography and history as the debates rage about epistemic struggles over language and how the truth is presented. In the first instance historians and ethicists use different language from their academic toolkits. Ethicists talk and write of justice, autonomy, good and bad. Historians of truth, reality, right and wrong. However, they share an understanding of professional ethics and conduct, honesty, the use of sources and confidentiality. Unfortunately, the writer discovered breaches in this conduct when finding that persons unknown had been given unfettered access to school logbooks. A very few pages had been torn out (not for the period under examination in this study) and a few had been defaced. The writer is not able to speculate the content of the entries removed, why they were removed and by whom?

The public records examined have, over the last 150 years perpetuated the dominant discourses of the elite by focusing on the philanthropic and paternal actions of Sir Titus Salt whilst much less obviously re-telling his acts of suppression and exploitation of his workers, particularly the young child labourers. It raises difficult questions about Sir Titus’s actions and motivations; however, it remains important to examine his actions and motivations through a 19th Century lens and not dismissively through a 21st Century lens. There is evidence that his workers and tenants benefitted greatly from his paternalism. The evidence suggests that Sir Titus founded Saltaire as an experiment in

industrial relations and this is how his contemporaries viewed his actions. The writer argues that similarities between the founding of Saltaire as a factory-village and the founding of the factory-village of New Lanark do exist as labour-relations experiments. However, Saltaire does not reflect Utopian Socialist ideals as those advocated by Robert Owen. The quality of the housing is certainly better in Saltaire than in New Lanark but this may have been more for commercial reasons as a stand-alone suburb suitable as housing stock for the extended conurbations of Shipley and Bradford. Social-community enterprise was better in New Lanark e.g., the raising of orphans from the poorhouses and the formation of the Co-operative Movement and possibly the most important difference was the provision of free education from infant to adult. Sir Titus had no choice but to provide factory-schooling. Being in a position of such high civilian and political standing meant that at least minimum standards were to be achieved and it appears this was the case as evidenced in HMI Reports. Sir Titus' aim was to create a company village built to heal the wounds left by Chartism that existed between the industrialists and the workers. At best it created sanitary living conditions for the millworker families and at most times during Sir Titus' lifetime a family together could earn a living wage. Sir Titus recognised the significance of worker allegiances and, at worst, control was exercised over the lives of the residents of Saltaire. It should be recalled that had the mill failed or the village been abandoned, then it could have remained viable as an operating village; however, it was a risk on capital expenditure which Salt was willing to take (Jackson,2010 p.101).

The factory school provided semi-literate child workers who were mostly biddable and compliant. But Sir Titus on a few occasions could not hide his

exploitation of the youngest and most vulnerable. This is not the history that those who benefitted from his works wish to be recorded and thus remembered. The remains and traditions of the working classes, in particular the child labourers, and the sources they created are rare but have been inadvertently preserved and can be located if the researcher is diligent. Many sources however have been inadvertently mislaid or not preserved and have long disappeared in the annals of time.

Through the late 1890s leading politicians remained smug or smarting from significant political and/or philanthropic events such as abolitionism which continued to dominate the work of the UK Parliament until the Brussels Conference Act in 1890. Anti-slavery remained in the Nation's psyche but the misery of child-labourers at home, hidden in plain sight was to be much overlooked until the early 20th Century. Half-time education persisted until the system was made the subject of a further official enquiry. The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children (published 1902) prompted the passing of The Employment of Children Act 1903 which Social Democrats described as a "piecemeal restriction of child slavery" (Simon, 1965, p. 290). Following this The Employment of Children Act 1909 recommended a ban on the employment of under-13s. This Act did not fully do away with the Half-time system but by simply restricting under-13s from working, the system naturally dwindled.

The writer argues that academia has neglected the field of child-slavery in the Worst Industry and in particular the lived experiences of the child labourers of Saltaire and that is not simply just 'gaps' in this body of knowledge that have

been neglected but that most of which has been written has disguised our ignorance of these gaps.

In either case such realities should be examined within the context of the contemporary controversies at play and that they should be viewed additionally through a 19th Century lens and not simply a backward examination through a 21st century lens.

Saltaire model-village is the epitome of success of a paternal philanthropic-industrialist who recognised early on in his career the value of human-capital. Sir Titus Salt made his fortune with his entrepreneurial spirit and his willingness to take risks. He controlled his workforce and sought their allegiances by permeating most aspects of his millworkers' daily lives. None more so than the child-labourers he controlled by maintaining the Half-time System, which gave him access to an unfettered stream of at best, semi-literate child labourers. On more than one occasion the Company he founded petitioned those in Government against raising the legal age of employment of child factory-mill workers. Despite the raft of enforceable Factory Acts he employed under-age child workers and did very little himself to reduce the long hours of hard-toil these child labourers endured (excepting introducing the 10-hour working day). His youngest son, Titus Salt Jr was a dichotomy in terms of his promotion of new methods and pedagogy of instruction education into the Salt Factory Schools whilst only a few years later was disappointed that the local Shipley School Board rejected a policy that would no longer grant the Half-timers' access to elementary education and so resigned from the School Board. The child-labourers used to the discipline and regularity of the factory-bell were the

lifeblood of the worsted industry at Salt's Mill and the willing inhabitants of Saltaire model factory-village.

That said, viewed through both a 19th or 21st Century lens, there is evidence that the working classes benefitted from the improved living and working conditions of Saltaire. Within a few years it had become a community of workers in contrast to the immigrant enclaves of Bradford from where most of the Half-timers' parents migrated from.

Yet, despite their role and importance, equal only to the wool they spun, the children's voices remain largely ignored in the canon of research around Saltaire. Their exploitation hidden in plain sight. Sometimes acknowledged but never really considered worthy of exploding the myth. On taking a walking tour around Saltaire one cannot but be struck by its typical northern austere beauty sprinkled with a little Italian flair. You cannot but wonder which part of the 'Grand Tour' inspired glimpses of another place in another time?

Countless scholars have perpetuated the male Eurocentric dominant discourses – telling and re-telling the 'his-tory' of Sir Titus Salt and the village of his creation.

Hidden histories exist of a fledging certificated teaching profession, that has existed for centuries, swayed under the demands of a payment-by-results system whose supporter's arguments still resonate today. Future research may examine the stories of the Saltaire teachers. Primary and secondary sources of their lives are still accessible in archival places such as Saltaire Stories Collection and other public collections.

The child labourers' stories of Saltaire need further telling too in the tradition of Yorkshire and its proud industrial heritage.

7.2 Limitations of the Research.

Limitations are influences that the researcher cannot control. Foremost, primary sources of the period and within the subject of study are limited. Sources which the writer considers important to the hidden histories of child -labourers of Saltaire in particular, appear to have been overlooked as of less importance to those who viewed the sources through a lens of the dominant discourses such as Capitalism and Laissez-faire. The result being that the resources, where catalogued and archived, remain difficult to locate. It was suggested to the writer that the topic of education in Saltaire is a complex one therefore inferring that is why it has not been examined in a comprehensive way. The writer does not claim that this study is a comprehensive study of education in Saltaire. Indeed, the study raises more questions than provides potential answers.

In commencing the research, the writer attempted to identify the dominant discourses within the canon of academic social, industrial and educational historical academic research of the period already in place and it became noticeable, at the early stages of the literature review how this discourse has placed a blanket over the histories of the child millworkers themselves. The dominant discourses have permeated the proliferation of written word that has come to be written following the death of Sir Titus. These dominant discourses, as being the accepted 'truth' have then mutated over time, perpetuating what the authors would like society to remember and this has then penetrated the local memory perpetuating falsehoods, all be they pleasant and nostalgic memories. The thesis attempts to 'get under' this dominant discourse to locate and examine

the child millworkers reality through a different lens. These ‘gaps’ or ‘hidden histories’ in the canon of knowledge about elementary education in Victorian England and in particular in the model factory-village of Saltaire, appears not to have alerted historians to the dangers of this path. It would seem that past researchers have not recognised the inherent dangers of seeing local studies merely as an extension or corroboration of the dominant discourse and/or confirmation of national trends. The writer would argue that local studies provide the lens of how education history could be viewed affording opportunity to conduct bottom-up historical research

In perpetuating the dominant discourses there is a proliferation of secondary sources which are in several cases contradictory. Several secondary sources present facts as true which on further examination proved not to be the case. Validation of sources has been a time-consuming element of this study.

The quality of the cataloguing and archiving procedures is variable. Access to archives has been difficult at times. Material that ought to have been managed by data protections have not. These are the shortcomings, conditions and influences that cannot be controlled by the researcher. Restrictions on time and access to such resources, have been nominally affected owing to the Covid-19 epidemic.

Delimitations are choices made by the researcher which should be mentioned. They describe the boundaries that the researcher sets for the study.

In as far as delimitations are concerned, the writer chose this period of study as coinciding with the foundation of the model-village in Saltaire through to the death of Sir Titus Salt and the demise of the worsted industry in West Yorkshire. Within this period the State became increasingly involved in providing

elementary education for the working classes. Some key pieces of legislation were laid out in statute. As a result of these events, both primary and secondary sources are dominated by such.

There are numerous primary and secondary sources that describe the model-village Saltaire, set within the context of contemporary model-village, philanthropic ideals. Many of the sources have been authored subjectively through lenses that span the centuries. But there are equally as many, which although laudable in their intentions to demonstrate gratitude to one of the greatest northern industrialists, are subjective and view Sir Titus' works through rose-tinted spectacles. There was dissent on occasions at Salt's Mill and Saltaire. As discussed previously there had been a short strike in 1868 (Balgarnie, 2003, p.35) together with a 2-week lock-out in June 1876, the year of Salt's death. This was much about the rates of pay that were paid to the millworkers which was below what they could earn in Bradford and other mills in Shipley.

Interestingly (Coates, 2016, p.47) describes how Titus Salt Jnr. resigned from Shipley School Board in September, 1883. According to Coates, (2016 p.45) Titus Jnr. had signalled the same and reported his intention to do so when the Board had rejected a policy of exclusion for Half-timers from Shipley Schools. This is such a dichotomy of behaviours. Salt Jnr. had devoted much time, effort and expense in providing education for the child labourers. Coates claims this indicated the forcing of a hard attitude on behalf of employers (ibid., p. 45). The writer posits that Salt Jnr. knew that as a worsted mill owner in a declining industry, there was no longer any motivation to ensure a literate workforce or at least it was no longer in the industrialist's benefit to do so when the State could provide. It was also a means to manipulate the workforce to compliance in what

was a further period of disquiet. This will be discussed further. It may be that in education and the innovations Salt Jnr. introduced gave him a means to have authority over the workforce? Was it a means to achieve self-aggrandisement? There was no Baronetcy for Salt Jnr. His Father was a hard act to follow. All the factory-schools had attracted eminent and influential visitors. It seems particularly odd that Titus Jnr. would wish to deprive the Half-timer's access to the education system that had after all, provided the company with labour for the Mill, unless he recognised, he would not need that workforce much longer. In 1884 Salt Jnr. wrote to the Shipley School Board claiming that the Board was not managing the finances effectively (Coates, 2016, p.49). Salt Jnr. explained his resignation did not make him happy and that he was still very interested in their work.

In brief, it has been previously discussed how Salt Jnr. was instrumental in establishing the Salt Schools and arranging for the Saltaire Exhibition.

Regrettably, the exhibition was significantly under-subscribed leaving the schools with a £12,000 debt and in a "bad-state" (Coates, 2016, p.49). The writer raises this matter as a suggestion that perhaps Titus Jnr. was an innovator but did not always have the professional acumen and aptitude to sustain and manage his ideas?

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Unabridged Writer Completed and Corrected Transcript of Full Entries from School Logbooks with Analysis and Commentary. Note the Spellings and grammar remain as transcribed.

Victoria Road Factory School / Albert Road Elementary Board School Logbook
2nd May 1873 – 23rd December 1880.

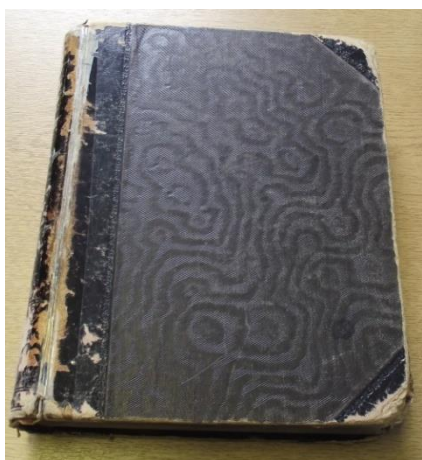


Figure 16 - School Logbook.

“Description.

A card-covered volume measuring 18cm x 23cm. Published by Thomas Brear, Bradford (1873).

502 lined pages of which 500 are used. The log section is preceded by an index used for names and addresses of teachers and local trades people.

The unprinted sections are preceded by a page on which is printed:

In Accordance

REVISED CODE OF MINUTES AND REGULATIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, 1862.

(Arnold, 1908)

[The Revised Code]

55. In every school receiving annual grants is to be kept, besides the ordinary registers of attendance -

(a) A diary or logbook.

(b) A portfolio wherein may be laid all official letters, which should be numbered (1, 2, 3, &c.) in the order of their receipt.

Diary or Logbook of School

56. The diary or logbook must be stoutly bound and contain not less than 500 ruled pages.

57. The principal teacher must daily make in the logbook the briefest entry which will suffice to specify either ordinary progress, or whatever other fact concerning the school or its teachers, such as the dates of withdrawals, commencements of duty, cautions, illness, etc., may require to be referred to at a future time, or may otherwise deserve to be recorded.

58. No reflections or opinions of a general character are to be entered in the logbook.

59. No entry once made in the logbook may be removed nor altered otherwise than by a subsequent entry.

60. The inspector will call for the logbook at his annual visit and will report whether it appears to have been properly kept throughout the year.

61. The inspector will not write any report on the good or bad state of the school in the logbook at the time of his visit, but will enter therein with his own hand the full name and standing (certificated teacher of the ---- class, or pupil-teacher of the ---- year, or assistant-teacher) of each member of the school establishment. The inspector will not enter the names of pupil-teachers respecting whose admission the Committee of Council has not yet pronounced a Decision.

62. The summary of the inspector's report when communicated by the Committee of Council to the manager must be copied into the logbook by the secretary of the latter, who must also enter the names and description of all teachers to be added to, or withdrawn from, those entered by the inspector, according to the Decision of the Committee of Council upon the inspector's report. The secretary of the managers must sign this entry.

63. The inspector before making his entry of the school establishment in the following year will refer to his own entry made in the preceding year, and also to the entry which is required to be made by the secretary of the school pursuant to Article 62, and he will require to see entries in the logbook accounting for any subsequent change of the school establishment.

Transcription of School Logbook Entries

Victoria Road Factory School 1873 (Half-timers)

2nd May

This is the first week in which the School has been put under Government.

Admitted two hundred and fourteen scholars

9th May

Mary Milnes away from School two days on account of illness.

Admitted twenty-seven scholars.

16th May

Admitted twenty scholars. School work gone on as usual

23rd May

Twenty-eight scholars admitted.

School work as usual

30th May

School work as usual.

6th June

The School was visited by Lord Lyttleton Lord Fredrick Cavendish, Sir Andrew Fairbairn and other distinguished gentlemen.

Miss Shuttleworth & Miss Edwards entered upon their work as Assistants.

13th June

School work as usual. Ten Scholars admitted. Eight left.

20th June

School work as usual. Fourteen admitted. Seven left.

27th June

School work as usual.

4th July

A very large school. Work gone on as usual

11th July

Breaking up for Summer Holidays. School work gone on as usual.

15th August

First week of school work after Summer Holidays. A large School. Twelve admitted, one left.

22nd August

School visited by Rev. Cowan & Mrs Cowan and friends. Eight scholars admitted, three left.

29th August

School work gone on as usual. Nine scholars admitted.

5th September

Miss Edwards away from School on Monday morning. School work gone on as usual. Six scholars admitted.

12th September

A holiday on Tuesday the 9th of September. The opening of Bradford Town Hall. Five admitted.

19th September

The School was visited by several members of the British Association. Seven scholars admitted. School work gone on as usual.

26th September

Monday and Tuesday the School visited by other members of the British Association. School work gone on as usual. Three Scholars admitted.

3rd Oct.

A very full school work gone on as usual. Nine scholars admitted

10th Oct.

School work as usual

17th Oct.

School work gone on as usual. One Scholar admitted. Five scholars left to go into the other School.

24th Oct.

School work as usual. One scholar admitted.

31st October

Four scholars admitted, three left.

7th November

Nine scholars admitted, none left.

14th Nov.

School work gone on as usual. A very large School. One admitted

21st Nov.

School work gone on as usual. The largest number of scholars. Three admitted

28th Nov. School work as usual. None admitted

5th December

Two admitted. School work as usual

11th Dec.

Not as large an attendance. School work gone on as usual. Three admitted

19th Dec.

Six Scholars admitted

22nd Dec.

Broke up on Wednesday afternoon for Christmas Holidays, a week and three days. Miss Edwards away from School Tuesday and Wednesday. A very small attendance, not any Scholars admitted.

Victoria Road Factory School 1874

8th January

Commenced School after Christmas Holiday a week and two days. A very fair attendance. Five Scholars admitted, Miss Shuttleworth and Edwards did not return until Tuesday. Mrs Salt and friends visited the School on Friday.

16th Jan.

W Bailey Esq Her Majesty's Inspector visited the Infant Scholars on Thursday morning and in the afternoon. Mr Sedgwick on Friday morning.

23rd Jan.

A small school owing to the removal of scholars to the Boys' and Girls' department. Thirty-three boys left & eighteen girls. Found a great advantage so many boys leaving had much better order and got on with work much better

30th Jan.

Twelve Scholars admitted three left. Work gone on as usual.

6th February

Six Scholars admitted. None left. One Scholar Deceased. School work gone on as usual.

13th Jan.

Miss Shuttleworth and Edwards away from School on Tuesday afternoon. A half holiday on Friday to prepare the room for a private Ball. Two Scholars admitted four left.

20th Jan.

Five Scholars admitted three left. School work gone on as usual

27th Jan.

Eleven Scholars admitted, eleven left. A large attendance this week, Mr Titus Salt came into School on Thursday afternoon

(Revised Code 62. Sec II. 79).

6th March

Eight Scholars admitted, Ten left. School work gone on as usual.

11th Mar.

School work as usual. Three Scholars admitted, none left

20th Mar.

Five admitted one left. School work gone on as usual

27th Mar.

Seven Scholars admitted. School work as usual

2nd April

A whole holiday being Good Friday. Three admitted. Broke up for Easter Holidays

10th Apr.

Commenced School on Wednesday. Miss Shuttleworth away in the morning, Miss Edwards all day

17th Apr.

A much larger attendance. Ten Scholars admitted. School work gone on as usual

24th April

A large attendance. Thirteen Scholars admitted one left. School work gone on as usual.

1st May

[HMI] Inspectors Report for 1873

“This school is conducted with spirit. The singing and exercises are well done and the attainment of the first class are very good. It would be an advantage to have a separate class room for the youngest children. [Remainder defaced]
.....keep infants within agreed numbers

Mistress Anne Wade

Assistants Miss Edwards, Martha Shuttleworth

[signed] Titus Salt Jr

1st May

School visited by Mr and Mrs Wright of London also by Dr Russell. Six scholars admitted

8th May

Miss Edwards away from School Thursday and Friday on account of illness. Two scholars admitted, one left. Work gone on as usual.

15th May

Dr Russell and other gentlemen visited the Schools. One Scholar admitted.

22nd May

Broke up at half past three for Whitsuntide Holidays. A very small attendance owing to the outbreak of Small Pox in the place. One admitted one left.

29th May

Commenced School on Wednesday morning only an average attendance of forty-nine.

5th June

A small attendance. Parents keeping their children from School on account of the Epidemic. One admitted, one left.

12th Jun.

A little better attendance. Three admitted none left. Miss Shuttleworth gave a month's notice, having obtained a situation nearer home

19th Jun.

Sixteen left & six admitted. An increase in the attendance. School work gone on as usual.

26th Jun.

Thirty Scholars left, six admitted. Miss Shuttleworth left before her notice was up, her sister a Pupil Teacher in her third year to take her place. Miss Evans from St John's School Newbolt engaged to take Miss Shuttleworth's place after Midsummer Holidays.

14th August

Commenced School after Summer vacation. A very large attendance. Miss Edwards unable to return until Thursday on account of the Serious illness of her Father. Miss Evans declined to fulfil the engagement she made before the holidays. Eighteen Scholars admitted.

21st August

A very large attendance only one Assistant. Twelve Scholars admitted, one left. Received a Testimonial from Mr Woodman in favor (sic) of Miss O'Neil who was engaged as assistant in Miss Shuttleworth's place.

28th Aug.

Miss O'Neil commenced her duties on Monday morning. A very large attendance. Two scholars admitted.

4th September

A large attendance. Nine Scholars admitted. School work as usual.

11th Sept.

Six Scholars admitted, Nine left. Work gone on as usual.

18th Sept.

Two Scholars admitted, eight left

25th Sept.

Away from School all the week on account of illness. Doctor attending.

2nd October

Eight Scholars admitted, three left. School work as usual.

9th Oct.

Five Scholars admitted, six left. A large attendance. School work gone on as usual.

16th Oct.

Mr Ball a gentleman connected with Borough Road Training Institution visited the School on Monday Morning and Afternoon. W Wright Esq of London visited the School on Friday Morning. Five Scholars left, one admitted.

21st Oct.

Sir Wilfred Lawson & W Roper Esq of Manchester visited the School. Two scholars left, one admitted.

30th Oct.

Miss Edwards away on Monday ill. One Scholar left. School work gone on as usual.

6th November

Two Scholars left, one admitted. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-six.

13th Nov.

One Scholar left. School work gone on as usual. Average attendance ninety.

20th Nov.

One left. None admitted. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-five.

24th Nov.

Seven Scholars admitted, two left. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-three.

3rd December

Scarlet Fever very prevalent. One scholar died very suddenly. Seventeen Scholars admitted, two left.

11th Dec.

A much smaller attendance owing to the severe weather. Average attendance one hundred and sixty. Five Scholars admitted one left.

18th Dec.

A very deep snow very small attendance in consequence. Thirteen Scholars left, three admitted.

23rd Dec.

A very small attendance. Three Scholars left, one admitted. Broke up on Wednesday for Christmas Holidays.

Victoria Road Factory School 1875

[defaced] January

Commenced School after Christmas Holidays. Miss Edwards and Miss O'Neil not able to return until Thursday morning. Traffic obstructed on account of the deep snow. A good attendance.

15th Jan.

A large attendance. Five Scholars admitted, eleven left. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-five. School work gone on as usual.

19th Jan.

Registers examined and Schedules signed by Managers, Titus Salt Esq on Thursday afternoon. Reverend D R Cowan, W H Ellis Esq on Friday afternoon. Average attendance Boys one hundred and nineteen, Girls Seventy-eight. Total one hundred and eighty seven. Nine Scholars admitted, eight left.

Revised Code 1862 (Part I. Sec. I. 51.d).

29th Jan.

Examination W Bailey Esq heard the Scholars sing and the Teachers give their lessons on Wednesday. On Thursday the Scholars names were called, Registers examined and First Standard examined in Girls' School.

5th February

Today six Girls sent into Girls School and Seventy-five Boys into Boys School. Eighteen Scholars admitted. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-one. Miss Edwards and Miss O'Neil gave a month's notice.

12th Feb.

A very small attendance. A number of children away with Mumps. Average attendance ninety-one. Four Scholars admitted.

19th Feb.

A great many absent through illness. Average attendance 108. School work gone on as usual.

26th Feb.

Miss O'Neil away from School three days ill. A very small attendance owing to the weather and illness. Mr Salt came into School. Average attendance ninety-one. Three admitted.

5th March

Two Scholars admitted. Miss O'Neil away two days on account of illness. Left with Miss Edwards on Thursday the fourth day of March.

12th Mar.

Two Scholars admitted. A better attendance. Average one hundred and one. Without Assistants.

18th Mar.

Mr Salt visited the School and informed me the School was under a board and my arrangement would be the same as before. Assistants here to be advertised for. Four Scholars admitted. Average attendance one hundred and twenty-one.

25th Mar.

A Holiday on Friday being Good Friday

Came to School on Wednesday morning. A very small attendance. Mr Salt came into School and authorized me to send the Scholars home for the remainder of the week

9th April

Average attendance one hundred and fifty. First week under the School Board. Mr Salt and Mr Stainsby came into the School on Monday and Mr Salt and Mr Fyfe on Friday. Met the School Board on Wednesday to see a young Lady who had answered the Advertisement for Assistant. She was engaged by them.

Copy of Report for 1874

This School is well conducted and the First and Third classes show very satisfactory attainment but I thought the Second Class were hardly as forward as they should be. The Singing and Exercises are well done

Mistress Anne Wade

Assistant Sarah Wormald, Lavinia Peters

April 16th 1875

[signed] Titus Salt Jnr.

Manager

17th April

Miss Wormald commenced her duties as Assistant Mistress in the School on Monday Morning April 19th 1875

Mr Ingham received the School Pence on Tuesday. Mr Salt came into School on Monday. Average attendance one hundred and thirty-five. Seven Scholars admitted. Seven left.

23rd April

Fourteen Scholars admitted five left. Mr Salt came into School on Monday. The Clerk (sic) of the School Board received the School Fees on Tuesday. Work goes on much better with reduced numbers. Average attendance one hundred and thirty-five.

30th April

Fees received by Mr Ingham on Tuesday. A large attendance. Mr Salt came into School on Wednesday. Average attendance one hundred and forty. Nine Scholars admitted

5th May

School fees paid to Mr Ingham on Wednesday the 5th May. Seven Scholars admitted five left. A very good attendance.

14th May

Miss Peters commenced her duties in the School on Monday morning. Was away on Thursday by permission of the Chairman of the Board. Sent in a list of articles required for teaching Sewing to Mr Ingham

17th May

Whitsuntide Holiday in the School

28th May

Purchased Articles for Sewing by permission of the School Board. Commenced teaching Sewing on Wednesday. A large attendance. Two left four admitted.

4th May (sic)

The Chairman of the School Board visited the School on Wednesday. Thirteen Scholars admitted one left. Average attendance 167.

[crossed out] Miss Wormald left

10th May

Miss Wormald left. A large Attendance. Average one hundred and seventy. Mr Salt visited the School on Friday. Fifteen Scholars left. Three admitted.

18th June

Without Assistant. An increased attendance. Mr Ingham received the School Fees on Tuesday.

25th June

Mr Stainsby visited the School on Monday morning. School Fees received on Tuesday. Eight Scholars Admitted Seven left. Average attendance one hundred and eighty.

5th July

Laura Belden Pupil Teacher from Girls School came to assist until an Assistant is procured. Find her a great help. Two Scholars left. Classrooms commenced.

9th July

Mr Salt visited the Schools. A large attendance. Four Scholars admitted and one left. Miss Fox commenced her duties as Assistant.

16th July

School Fees received on Tuesday. Three Scholars admitted. Summer Holidays commences on Friday the 16th July.

13th August

Commenced School after three weeks holiday. Laura Belden assisting. A large attendance. Average one hundred and ninety. Mr T[Titus] Salt visited the School on Tuesday. Twelve Scholars admitted

20th Aug.

School work gone on as usual. A large attendance. Two scholars died suddenly. Average attendance one hundred and eight.

27th Aug.

School work as usual. Mr Salt visited the Schools. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-one. One scholar left, one admitted.

3rd September

Twelve left four admitted. Average attendance one hundred and ninety. School work as usual. Mr Salt visited the Schools.

10th Sept.

Mr Stainsby with the Members of the Keighley School Board visited the Schools on Tuesday morning. The Children sang one School song to them. Six Scholars left one admitted. Average attendance Two hundred and three.

17th Sept.

Two Scholars admitted, one left. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-six. Mr Salt visited the schools.

24th Sept.

Five admitted, six left. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-five. School work gone on as usual.

2nd Oct.

None left, four admitted. Average attendance one hundred and eighty-six. Commenced working on the new Class. Miss Faux taking the second class in one and Miss Peters the third in another. Find them a very great benefit they accommodate one hundred Scholars.

8th Oct.

A large attendance. The heating apparatus in Classrooms not acting so hindered work going on. Briskly have written to the Board to have it remedied.

15th Oct.

Applied to the Board for a Mistress to take fourth Class. Had a reply from the Clerk that the Board have received my Application favourably. School work gone on as usual.

There appears to have been the creation of four classes which on average would be occupied by circa 50 pupils per morning or afternoon session.

23rd Oct.

Sarah Ainsworth commenced her work here as Monitor. Find her a very great assistance. A large attendance. School work gone on as usual.

29th Oct.

A Scholar away ill with Typhoid Fever. Two Scholars left. Six admitted. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-five.

5th November

Closed School at half past three on Friday afternoon. Two Scholars admitted, three left. Average attendance one hundred and seven. School work gone on as usual.

12th Nov.

A death in the first Class from Typhoid Fever. Much Sickness among the younger children. No Scholar admitted. Five left. Average attendance two hundred. Number on books two hundred and sixty-two.

19th Nov.

Mr Henry Mason, a Member of the School Board came into School on Wednesday. Average attendance two hundred and three.

29th Nov.

Away from School a day on account of illness. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-seven. Thirteen left, six admitted.

3rd December

A small attendance, weather severe. Average one hundred and ninety. Three admitted, none left. School work gone on as usual.

11th Dec.

Smaller attendance than week before. Average one hundred and fifty-nine. None admitted, three left.

17th Dec.

A larger attendance. Average one hundred and eighty-nine. None admitted one left.

Victoria Road Factory School 1876

7th January

Commenced School after a weeks' holiday. Had good numbers. Average attendance one hundred and eighty-one

14th Jan.

Called away suddenly on Wednesday morning on account of family affliction. Two Scholars admitted. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-eight.

21st Jan.

Returned on Tuesday. A large attendance. Two Scholars admitted. Average attendance. Fees book and School book examined and found correct.

28th Jan.

The examination of Scholars by HMI took place on Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning, the first class only being examined on Monday afternoon and second and third on Tuesday morning. Only two pieces were sung by the Scholars which were these 'Two little Kittens' and 'Pretty Kit, Little Kit.' Mr Bailey praised the needlework. There were present two hundred and thirteen Scholars. A holiday was given on Friday by permission of the Chairman of the Board.

4th February

A small attendance having sent twenty Scholars to the Temperance Board School. The children from the second class put up into the first find them much forwarder than those put into the first class after last year's removals. Average attendance one hundred and fifty-three.

11th Feb.

Small attendance. Average one hundred and thirty-six. Five admitted, three left. All classes conducted in larger room. The cold is intense in the classrooms.

18th Feb.

Average attendance one hundred and fifteen. Small on account of the weather. Deep snow. None admitted, none left. School work gone on as usual. Mr Ingham received School Fees on Thursday instead of Tuesday.

24th Feb.

Little better attendance. None admitted, none left. Average attendance one hundred and thirty-six. Number on Register one hundred and ninety-six. Mr Ingham did not receive Fees until Thursday.

3rd March

Seven Scholars admitted not any left. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-eight. School work gone on as usual.

10th Mar.

Two left, three admitted. Seven children brought from second class into the first making first class very large. All very backward. Brought them up to make room for others.

17th Mar.

Children very irregular. Weather very severe. Average attendance one hundred and forty-six. Working from new time-table

24th Mar.

Weather still very cold accounting for the numbers not increasing. Promised a monitor. Four Scholars admitted, six left. Average attendance on hundred and forty-two. Mr Ingham received School fees for two weeks

30th Mar.

Florence Tiplady commenced her duties at this School on Monday morning. Appears to have a very good idea of teaching. Six Scholars were admitted and five left. Average attendance one hundred and forty-five. Sent into the Board on Thursday the return for the month of March.

7th April

A better attendance weather being much finer. Twelve Scholars admitted, none left. Mr Stainsby came into the School on Tuesday. Children able to have recreation in the playground. School work gone on as usual.

14th April

Away from School Thursday by permission of Chairman. School broke up on Thursday afternoon. Mr Salt visited the School on Thursday afternoon. One Scholar admitted, none left. Average attendance one hundred and thirty-two.

21st April

Commenced School on Wednesday morning after Easter Holidays. The Scholars by permission of the Board have to pay half fees consequently we have had a better attendance than on any other holiday break. Average attendance ninety-five.

30th April

A large attendance. Average one hundred and seventy-five. Two left, eleven entered. Mr Ingham received fees for the past week. School work gone on as usual.

5th May

Titus Salt Esq visited the School on Monday afternoon and introduced the new Clerk informing me that the latter would visit the School every day and obtain a list of absentees & enquire into the cause of absence. A list was made out and given to him on the Wednesday. A very good attendance. Average one hundred and eighty. Two hundred and thirty-eight on the books.

12th May

The visits of the Clerk have brought a half dozen back who have been absent some time. The Clerk finds that most of those who still are absent are in ill health.

Two left and seven admitted this week. Number on books two hundred and forty-three. Average attendance one hundred and ninety.

19th May

Average attendance one hundred and ninety-one. Admitted three, left five. School work gone on as usual.

24th May

Copy of Report [defaced]

The infants look very happy and they have been well tAug.ht. They are forward in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. They sing nicely and have made good progress in needlework.

Mistress Anne Wade

Assistants Susan Faux

Lavinia Peters

Monitor Florence Tiplady

[signed] E V Elvsham

Clerk of the [School] Board

26th May

Seven Scholars admitted, none left. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-four. Not able to have any play time on account of the Ashphalt being raked up by the children.

16th June

Commenced School after Whitsuntide Holidays. A very good attendance. The School was visited by Dr Jenkinson, Rev. Arthur Cowen, Miss Criven and other ladies all of whom were very much pleased with the room, thought it well adapted for infant teaching. They were also much interested with the look of the School and pleased with the singing. Average attendance for the week one hundred and eighty. Two Scholars entered and two left.

22nd June

Ten Scholars left and eight admitted. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-five. Number on the books two hundred and fifty-five.

30th June

School work gone on as usual. A smaller attendance in consequence of a 'Lock Out' at the works. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-five. None entered, one left.

7th July

Mr Stainsby visited the School on Monday morning. A better attendance than last week. Average one hundred and seventy-nine. One admitted, none left.

14th July

Away from School on Monday ill. On Tuesday J Fyfe Esq visited the School. The Clerk has paid three visits this week. Three Scholars admitted, none left. Broke up on Friday afternoon for Summer Vacation. Three weeks.

[Circa 11th August]

Commenced School after three weeks vacation. All the Teachers present. Several Shipley scholars left to go to Central Board Schools. A very good attendance for a beginning. Florence Tiplady away, gone to assist at the Central

Infants School, the teachers there being insufficient. Twelve Scholars admitted, nine left. One hundred and seventy-five average attendance.

18th August

Sarah Ellen Constantine began her duties here on Monday morning. August 14th having changed places with Florence Tiplady. The former living at Saltaire & the latter at Shipley it was thought better by the Gentlemen of the Board to make this arrangement. A larger attendance than last week. Not able to get on well with their work on account of the intense heat. Average one hundred and ninety-one. Twelve admitted, one left. Number on books two hundred and seventy-three.

23rd Aug.

Commenced [preparing]for Examination. A large attendance. One hundred and ninety-seven average attendance. Several left to go to the Central Infants School residing in Shipley. Fifteen taken off the registers and seven admitted.

1st September

A large attendance Average one hundred and eighty. Twelve left, seven entered. School work gone on as usual.

8th Sept.

Mr Titus Salt visited the School on Wednesday. A light falling off in attendance. School work carried on as usual.

15th Sept.

Seven left, six admitted. Average attendance two hundred and six. Number on the register two hundred and fifty nine. School work gone on as usual.

29th Sept.

One Scholar admitted, four left. Average attendance two hundred and two. School work gone on as usual.

6th October

One left, three entered. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-four. A great many children absent being ill with measles and bad [bowels?]. Received a

letter from Local Board urging that great caution should be exercised in not allowing any child to attend School if Measles are in their houses.

13th Oct.

Mr Titus Salt, Mr Dale of Birmingham and other gentlemen visited the School on Wednesday. Measles still very prevalent among the children. Average one hundred and forty-eight.

20th Oct.

A still smaller attendance. Average one hundred and twenty-nine. Attendance decreased every day. Measles very bad among the children. Two admitted not any left. Number on the books two hundred and sixty-four.

27th Oct.

School visited by Rev. Marsden of Bingley. First Class have made great progress in Reading. Attendance very small. Whooping Cough detaining those who have recovered from Measles. Sarah Ellen Constantine away on Monday and Thursday mornings for Sewing in Girls Schools.

3rd November

Still small attendance. Sarah [defaced] away for needlework two mornings. Number admitted three. School work gone on as usual. One Scholar, [name removed], died from measles. Several very ill indeed.

10th Nov.

A little better attendance. Whooping Cough still very bad which will prevent a great many children making up their attendance. Girls making great progress with their needlework and boys with their Arithmetic. Average attendance one hundred and five. Two Scholars admitted.

17th Nov.

Visited a number of Scholars and found them all unfit to attend school. Also sent out a number of Absence forms to parents and have thus found out that all who are absent are ill.

24th Nov.

A little better attendance. Average one hundred and twenty- five. Girls finished their examination work and getting on nicely with their knitting.

2nd Dec.

Away from school all the week in consequence of death in the family. School carried on in my absence by the Assistants. Found on my return all had gone on satisfactorily. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-five.

9th Dec.

Whooping Cough still very bad among the Scholars which will prevent a great many making up their attendances. Upon enquiry have found them unfit to attend School. Two Scholars have left none admitted. Average attendance one hundred and thirty.

15th Dec.

Four or five Scholars left who had turned seven years of age. Taken several names off the register. They have been ill some time and not likely to return to School this winter. Two children died this week who were scholars in this school. Misses Faux and Peters away from school sitting for their Certificates. A pupil teacher from the Central School rendered me

22nd Dec.

Miss Peters away from School all the week having an abscess on her foot. Broke up on Friday for one week holiday. Took several more names off the register. Only a small attendance.

Victoria Road Factory School 1877

5th January

Commenced School on Monday morning. Miss Peters still away from School. Several Scholars returned who had been absent some time. A Holiday on Friday.

Sir Titus Salt visited. Average one hundred and seventeen. Nine admitted one scholar deceased.

12th Jan.

Miss Peters resumed her duties. A larger attendance. Nine Scholars admitted two left. Average attendance one hundred and fifty-one. School work gone on as usual.

19th Jan.

Songs to be sung at the Inspection on Friday January 19th 1877

‘Watching for Pa’

‘Now Let Us Watch Our Teacher’s Hand’

‘What Shall We Have for Dinner Mrs Bond?’

‘A Fox Went Out One Winter’s Night’

‘I Have a Little Doll’

‘A Little Cock Sparrow’

‘Tie Tie Tie Tie’

‘Here We Go To and Fro’

Inspected the School

19th January 1877

R M Fowler HM Inspector of Schools

The School was Inspected by the HMIs Fowler & Smith on Friday. There were one hundred and fifteen names on the schedule. Five of that number were absent. Pieces sung were a ‘Fox Went Out’ and ‘Now Let Us Watch’

26th Jan.

Admitted several new Scholars. School work gone on as usual.

2nd February

Sarah Ellen Constantine left to go to the Girls’ School. Applied to the Board for a Monitor to supply her place and in reply have had permission to engage Ada Binns a Scholar out of Mrs Watkin’s School and recommended by her.

9th Feb.

Ada Binns commenced her duties here on Monday morning. Has had a large class but managed it very well for a beginning. Have admitted nine Scholars, two have left. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-two.

16th Feb.

Have sent thirty girls to the Central Schools our numbers being so large. Miss Peters away from School on Monday Morning. Admitted six Scholars. Thirty-three left.

23rd Feb.

Several children away ill. Whooping Cough still pervading among them. Admitted 5 new Scholars and five left. Average attendance one hundred and fifty-eight. School work gone on as usual.

29th Feb.

Miss[es] Peters & Faux obtained Certificates applying for Testimonials to myself and Chairman, the latter declined to give them but allowed his name to be used as reference. Small attendance owing to the severity of the weather. Average one hundred and thirty-two.

2nd March

Ten Scholars sent to Boys' Central School. The children now in first class very backward most of them not able to write a letter or read a word in their books. It seems now almost impossible to work them up anything like to pass a creditable examination. Average attendance one hundred and forty.

9th Mar.

Miss Faux away on Friday afternoon to meet a Committee and has been engaged as Mistress of an Infants' School at Bedford. Several children away from School deep snow keeping them. School work gone on as usual.

16th Mar.

Misses Faux and Peters sent in their resignations having obtained Certificates. They were accepted with permission for Miss Faux to leave on 29th day of this month.

Copy of Inspectors Report for 1876

This school is conducted in a very efficient manner as regards order and singing and the instruction is on the whole very satisfactory. The Reading is very good throughout and the writing of the first class is good, that of the second is rather backward. Arithmetic of the first class is fair. The children are bright and intelligent and sing well. Their Physical Exercises are Decidedly well performed and the needlework shown was good.

Mistress Anne Wade

Assistants Susan Faux

Minnie Peters

Monitor Ada Binns

March 16th 1877

E. V. Elvsham

Clerk of the Board

23rd Mar.

The Fees book was sent for on Monday morning for examination. When scrutinised it was pronounced correct. Rather better attendance being more favourable weather. Seven scholars left. Average attendance one hundred and fifty.

29th Mar.

Miss Faux finished her duties her this week. No school on Friday being Good Friday. Three scholars admitted, none left. One hundred and thirty-five average attendance. Two hundred and thirty-five on the books.

6th April

Commenced school on Wednesday morning. A small attendance. Average attendance ninety-five.

13th Apr.

Miss Nisbet commenced her duties as Assistant in the school on Monday morning April 9th. A small attendance owing to the very wet morning. Away on Wednesday afternoon ill.

20th Apr.

Admitted eight scholars not one of which knows a letter in the alphabet or make a stroke on their slate, the girls can neither knit nor sew. The Members of the Board visited the school on Tuesday afternoon. The children were assembled in the Gallery and sang two or three pieces to them. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-five. Left none.

27th Apr.

A little better attendance. Not able to let the children go out to play. Being so dusty they make themselves too dirty to do their work. School work gone on as usual.

4th May

Miss Peters finished her work as Assistant Mistress here on Friday. Admitted three scholars, four left. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-six. School work gone on as usual.

11th May

Miss Hill commenced her duties as Assistant Mistress in the School on Monday Morning May 7th. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-two. Eight scholars admitted, none left.

18th May

Examined second class, found them very backward in writing. Had made little progress in reading. Broke up on Friday for Whitsuntide Holiday, one week.

1st June

Commenced School on Monday morning all teachers present. A very good attendance. Average one hundred and seventy-one. Two left and eight admitted.

8th Jun.

Made out a list of absentees to be visited by S B[School Board] Office. All gave sufficient reasons for non-attendance. A smaller attendance than last week.

15th Jun.

Several absentees visited and promised more regular attendance. Two scholars gone to Boys' Central School. Four admitted. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-six.

22nd Jun.

The heat so great the girls could not sew or knit. Had writing lesson instead. A better attendance owing to visits made by School Board Office. None left, three admitted. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-six.

29th Jun.

Re-writing names in registers. Put several scholars out of second into first class, third into second and fourth into third. Average attendance one hundred and seventy. School Board Office visited several absentees, found two had been playing truant.

6th July

School work gone on as usual. Mr Slainsby visited the school on Monday morning. Five scholars admitted. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-seven. Number on the Books two hundred and fifteen.

13th July

Mr Fyfe paid a visit to the school on Thursday afternoon. Broke up on Friday afternoon at half past three for three weeks holiday. Two scholars admitted, none left. Average attendance one hundred and sixty.

10th August

Commenced school after three weeks vacation, all the staff present. A very good attendance. Mr Slainsby visited the school on Monday afternoon. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-one. Four admitted, two left.

17th Aug.

Mr Slainsby visited the school on Monday afternoon. First class commenced their needlework for examination. Average attendance one hundred and eighty-eight. Twelve scholars left and nine admitted.

24th Aug.

Titus Salt Esq visited the school on Friday. Sent several children who are seven years of age to the Central School. First class making progress in their writing. Admitted seven scholars. Average attendance one hundred and eighty-three.

29th Aug.

Titus Salt Esq visited the school on Thursday. Made out a list of absentees which have been visited by the Office. First class getting on better with Arithmetic. A very good attendance.

7th September

Mr Forsyth visited the school. Four left to attend Central Schools. School work gone on as usual. Average attendance one hundred and eighty-three.

21st Sept.

Four left, eight admitted. Average attendance one hundred and ninety-three. Miss Hill away on Wednesday afternoon. School work gone on as usual.

28th Sept.

A number of scholars absent on Monday, it being [?] Tide. Average attendance one hundred and eighty-three. Ten scholars left, one admitted.

5th October

Several scholars being seven years of age sent to Central Schools. A falling off in attendance from various causes as removal from neighbourhood, sickness and ailment [& others]. The second class examined by me. Found great improvement in the writing.

12th Oct.

A list of absentees visited by SB[School Board] Office found to be away from lawful causes. Ten scholars admitted, none left. Average attendance one hundred and seventy-nine. School work gone on as usual.

19th Oct.

School visited by Mr Salt. A small attendance. Miss Hill away from school on Wednesday ill. Ada Binns took her class.

26th Oct.

Examined fourth class and found they had made very fair progress in writing. A larger attendance. School work gone on as usual.

2nd Nov.

Miss Hill tAug.ht in the Girls School on Thursday. Ada Binns took 3rd class. 1st class began to do subtraction. Made out a long list of absentees all of which have been visited. Most of them away from illness.

9th Nov.

A better attendance. Average one hundred and sixty-five. One admitted, four left. TAug.ht two new school songs. Mr Salt came into school Tuesday and Wednesday.

16th Nov.

Mr Fyfe visited the school. Four scholars admitted, five left. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-two.

23rd Nov.

2nd class did Arithmetic at reading lesson one time this week at Miss Nisbet's request. Two admitted, two left. Average attendance one hundred and fifty-five.

30th Nov.

First class finished their sewing and took writing instead of that lesson for remainder of the week. A very good attendance considering the unfavourable state of the weather.

7th December

First, second and third classes practised singing together for twenty minutes three times this week instead of playing on the playground. Examined fourth class writing. Average attendance one hundred and sixty-five.

14th December

Miss Hill's class took writing lesson instead of singing and Miss Nisbet's arithmetic instead of reading. Several absent, wet and windy.

21st Dec.

Mr Salt visited the school on Tuesday. Mr Fyfe on Friday. Miss Nisbit left school at half past eleven on Friday. Broke up on that afternoon for a fortnights holiday. Dismissed the scholars at a quarter to four. Took ten names off the register.

Victoria Road Factory School (Half-timers) then Albert Road Board School
March 1878 (Half-timers and day pupils)

11th January

Commenced school after fortnight holiday. All the teaching staff present. A large attendance. Mr Fyfe visited the school on Friday. Admitted twelve scholars.

18th Jan.

Mr Titus Salt visited the school on Tuesday. Register examined by the Clerk on Tuesday. A large attendance, the highest number present one hundred and ninety-two.

Songs to be sung at the Inspection Jan. 21st :

'The Railway Train is Clocking off'

'Roll Your Hands'

'Drummer Boy, Drummer Boy'

'Who So Full of Fun and Glee'

'A Hungry Fox'

'I Will Not Hurt My Little Dog'

20th Jan.

Inspected the School

20th Jan., 1878

R M Fowler HMI

25th Jan.

Did not mark the register on Wednesday morning it being the Inspection. Presented one hundred and twenty-eight for examination only two absent and those had left the district. The school examined by R.M. Fowler Esq and Mr L. Smith.

1st February

A holiday on Friday. Mr T. Salt came into school on Thursday afternoon to say Miss Nisbet was to be transferred to the Albert Road Mixed Department and Miss Greyson who had been Assistant in the Girls' School to take her place here.

8th Feb.

Miss Greyson and Esther Cox commenced their duties here on Monday morning Feb. 4th. Also Sarah Ainsworth who has been employed three days in making out the returns required by the local authority of the district. Two hundred and five present on Wednesday afternoon. Mr Salt has visited the school twice this week.

16th Feb.

A large attendance. Mr Salt gave instructions for all scholars who would be seven years of age before next examination to be transferred to the Albert Road mixed school on Monday next. Made out a list of eighty. Sent notice of the same to the parents.

22nd Feb.

Have been put to great inconvenience by the sudden removal of the school to classrooms in the Albert Road department. In consequence of (sic) alteration of premises for the Salt High School. Assembled the scholars at nine thirty and dismissed them at twelve thirty so as not to interfere with the other scholars. Miss Hills removed to the mixed school with first standard scholars, Sarah Ainsworth to Miss Tattersall Infants' Central department. Average attendance one hundred and thirty.

1st March

Seven scholars admitted, four left. School work gone on as well as possible under the circumstances. Average attendance one hundred and thirty-three.

8th March

Compelled to put two classes together having to give up one classroom. Ada Binns away ill

Copy of Inspectors report for 1877

This department is conducted very efficiently and the teaching is good. All the work is well done except the arithmetic of the second class which might be a little better.

[in a different hand]

11th Mar.

This department has been opened in these new schools today by the mistress Jane Smith. 181 have been transferred from the old school and 30 children have been admitted. On Monday afternoon the infants have had a tea.

Mr Titus Salt visited the school every day.

18th Mar.

Mr Fife visited on Monday. The children are very restless & the teachers are noisy & rough in their manner to the children.

There was to be no corporal punishment in the new school. The new headmistress reported this during the opening ceremony, Coomber (2006 p. 8).

25th Mar.

The parents seem pleased with the difference in the cleanliness of their children & the little ones seem to enjoy their games & occupations.

5th April

Mr Hanson & Mr Taylor from Bradford visited, also Miss Carbott.

Lilly Atram has this week been appointed as a candidate.

9th April

Mr Salt brought Miss Pickles to see the school. Minnie West commenced duty as a teacher in the place of Miss Grayshon. Three children admitted. There is a great difficulty in getting the children to remember their caps, several are left unclaimed every day.

15th April

Mr Fyfe & his ladies visited. Hester Cox has given notice. The first three classes are now in nice order but in the three lower ones there is much room for improvement.

18th April

Closed school for the Easter vacation.

29th April

Re-opened school. Admitted 13 children

30th April

230 children present this afternoon.

They have commenced working on their little gardens. The first class planted the seeds this morning at game time. Mr Salt & a gentleman visited.

6th April

Admitted 7 children. 234 present today

7th April

Wet day, attendance thin

9th April

Miss Wade failed in giving her lesson on 'Nice' today. Lilly Atram gave a very nice lesson on 'Honesty'

10th April

Mr Fife & Mr Salt visited today

13th April

Esther Cox left on Friday. Emily Thompson takes her place today as Monitress on trial. Examined the first four classes this week. Progress is very slow but the improvement in discipline is great.

24th April

Babies extremely noisy this week. Emily shows no aptitude in teaching so she leaves today.

31st April

Annie Taylor is appointed Monitress in Emily's place & gives promise of being a very fair teacher. Mr Salt visited today. 240 children present.

3rd June

A great many children away this morning only 203 present

7th June

Closed school rather earlier than usual

11th June

Whitsunday & Tuesday holiday

12th June

Opened school this morning but scarcely half the usual number present.

20th June

Mr Fife visited the school

21st June

Mistress took the school gallery in a model lesson

28th June

The weather has been so extremely hot this week that the children have been very restless & difficult to manage. Have changed several of the young teachers to different classes because Annie seems incapable of managing the babies. An error in the 5th class register.

4th July

Mr Fife visited this morning. Numbers good 244 present

11th July

Anne Taylor is very careless with her register. She has another error today. Have forbidden her to mark it for some time.

Closed school for the holidays.

Midsummer Vacation

From July 11th to Aug. 5th 1878

5th August

Reopened school. Numbers very fair. All the teachers have returned. Mr Salt visited this afternoon.

6th Aug.

Mr Fife came in this afternoon. Miss Ward forgot to prepare her moral instruction lesson so it is postponed till Friday.

15th Aug.

Mr Salt visited. Very wet. Children very restless.

19th Aug.

Have changed the teachers of 4th & 5th classes, Minnie being quite unable to manage the 4th.

20th Aug.

Scarlet fever is very prevalent. One little girl died of it last week.

23rd Aug.

The object lesson was given to the upper division this week by Miss Nisbit. Her report was 'A very good lesson, order good, information full & well arranged, the lesson was on Leaves'. The same lesson was given to the lower division by Annie Taylor. She kept very fair order and gave a good lesson but order was only fair (sic)

27th Aug.

Two teachers from Worcester have come to spend a fortnight in the department.

28th Aug.

Lilly gave a very good lesson on 'Fruit' to the 1st division.

2nd September

Miss Ward has permission to be away for two days on account of her brother's wedding. Mr Salt & a gentleman came in school.

5th Sept.

Miss Ward returned to her duty

6th Sept.

Pupil teachers have had an examination this week

9th Sept.

250 children present this afternoon as this is the highest number yet attained the children were allowed a long playtime

10th Sept.

The result of the [Pupil] Teacher's examinations is far from satisfactory. Lily's papers are the best but her marks come below Minnie's as she loses so many for spelling. Minnie's arithmetic is a complete failure as she has not one right. Ada & Annie have done badly in everything & are not fit to pass 1st year at all.

16th Sept.

1st & 2nd classes missed their games this morning in order to have a little more time at reading.

19th Sept.

Miss Nisbet gave a thoroughly good lesson 'Apples'. She fixes her information well on the minds of the children.

Mr Hanson chairman of the Bradford Board brought an invitation for infant mistresses to attend a meeting on Kindergarten teaching in Board offices Bradford with the object of introducing the system into their schools.

23rd Sept.

Lord Carnarvon Lord & Lady Fred Cavendish & several other distinguished visitors visited the school this morning.

25th Sept.

The Clerk of the Chief Heads in England having held their conference at Leeds came over to pay a visit to these schools this afternoon.

4th October

Miss Nisbett gave a beautiful lesson on 'Coal' the children were exceedingly attentive.

11th Oct.

The numbers are keeping up. Average for this week is 231.

21st Oct.

Two members of the [defaced] visited this morning.

25th Oct.

I visited the school today at 3.30

25/10/78 R M Fowler HMI

Number rather lower today, the weather stormy

28th Oct.

Children learnt a new game today which they enjoyed very much, called 'the Rider'

2nd November

Sickness prevalent among the children, many absent.

5th Nov.

The result of last week's examination is an improvement on the last. The first class read very fairly.

12th Nov.

Miss Ward gave a lesson 'Tea'. The children were very attentive & interested. Snow-storms in the afternoon.

15th Nov.

Many children away because of severe weather

22nd Nov.

[Children] learned a new game 'Long'

28th Nov.

Examined 2nd class today. They are still wanting in intelligence but have improved much in writing

4th December

Kept the girls longer than usual at sewing today because they are so behind though they have kept their work very clean

10th Dec.

List of songs for examination

- 1 'Now Boys Let's Play at Soldiers'
- 2 'The Bass Drum'
- 3 'The British Child'
- 4 'The Hares'
- 5 'The Sign Post'
- 6 'See Saw'

[in a different hand]

Recitations for 1879

- ... (New Year) { 'My Mother's Picture' – Cowper
 { 'Grace Darling' – Wordsworth
 { 'Mary Queen of Scots' – Bell
 { 'Lady of Lake' – (Paring of Marmion & Douglas)

J A S Haslam

12th Dec.

[back to Head Teacher's hand]

20th Dec.

Close school for the Christmas Holiday. Mrs Haslam visited with her husband today

Christmas Holiday

Albert Road Board School 1879

6th January

School re-opened. 90 children transferred to the Mixed School for this reason & because of the severe weather the average is very low

13th Jan.

Mrs Haslam brought a lady & her two boys to see the school. Ten children admitted who have been absent through Whooping Cough

14th Jan.

Mr Salt came in school today. This week the work has been apportioned to each class for the fortnightly examinations.

21st Jan.

Special time is being devoted this week to finishing sewing & Kindergarten work which is intended for sale.

29th Jan.

Madame & Major Schwabe visited school today.

The weather continues severe & the numbers low since the transfer to the Mixed School so I have recommended the two mistresses to go to the Mixed School for a few weeks until their services are again required.

Mistress's resignation sent on to the Board.

7th February

Mr Salt came into school

13th Feb.

Mr West the Schoolmaster from Rhodes visited with Mr Salt. The numbers are considerably higher this week owing to the disappearance of the snow & frost

14th Feb.

Today received the report of examinations (see next page)

Copy of HM Inspector's Report

On the examination in Dec. 1878 - 'Infants' School. The school is well conducted & the children are in excellent order. Their attainments are at present very fair & I anticipate very good results as the school staff become more settled & acquire experience under a thoroughly good Head Mistress.

I regret that the present excellent Head Mistress is soon to leave. The Kindergarten teaching has been very well introduced here.

Geo Linden

Clerk to the Board

18th Feb.

Four children admitted this week but the weather still continues severe

21st Feb.

Children were very attentive to Miss Ward's lesson on 'Self denial'

26th Feb.

Mistress absent for the day. Mr Salt called to ask for a list of children wanting shoes.

5th March

Three ladies visited

6th Mar.

Commenced sowing seeds in the garden today. Took the 1st class boys out.

13th Mar.

The discipline throughout the school is better than last week.

20th Mar.

Mr Salt brought some visitors this morning amongst whom were Mrs Salt, Mr & Mrs Fitch, Mrs Miles, Miss Atkinson. They were pleased to see the games. Miss Nisbet gave a good lesson on 'Time'

28th Mar.

Resigned my situation as mistress today. Received some very pretty presents from parents, teachers & children. Also a beautiful volume of Tennyson's poems from Mr Salt.

4th April

I Crowther took charge on Monday morning. T Salt Esq visited the school.

10th Apr.

T Salt Esq visited the school. Closed school today for today's holiday.

25th Apr.

Numbers this week much improved. Admitted a boy over seven years of age, the mother stating that he was too weakly to come regularly.

2nd May

T Salt Esq visited the school on Monday afternoon.

Taught the children the game of the 'Fishes.'

9th May

Mrs Harper teacher of the Phonic System, Leeds, visited the school.

16th May

Weather very stormy this week, average much reduced

23rd May

Attendance very good this week, average 194

30th May

School closed today for the Whit week holiday.

Five boys kept in for staying on the playground during part of the afternoon. Mr Salt visited the school.

13th June

Attendance this week improved, average 190

Two ladies visited the school on Friday morning, also Mr Fife.

[in different hand]

I visited the school this afternoon

J B Haslam

25/6/79

[back to Head Teacher's hand]

20th Jun.

J Haslam HMI, Mrs Haslam and several ladies visited the school on Friday afternoon.

Mistress absent from school two half days to attend a class in Leeds with the permission of the Board.

27th Jun.

Weather very showery, many children prevented from coming several afternoons.

4th July

Children photographed on Thursday, Mr Salt with Mrs & Miss Bucton from Leeds visited the school.

11th July

Presented Miss Stephens with an easy chair as a wedding present.

Closed school for the summer vacation.

8th August

Re-opened school after the holidays with an attendance of over 200. Mrs Salt accompanied by two ladies visited the school.

16th Aug.

T Salt Esq visited the school twice this week.

TAug.ht the children a new song.

22nd Aug.

Taught the children a new Kindergarten game.

Attendance this week very good.

One child dead of Scarlet Fever and Dropsy.

29th Aug.

Ada Binns absent day on account of sickness.

Week very wet & stormy, several children absent from sickness.

5th September

Had to speak to Ada Binns for leaving her classroom so often.

Ada Binns – Pupil Teacher

12th Sept.

Attendance this week very good. Average higher than any previous week.

19th Sept.

Taught the children a new song. Gave pupil teachers an hours examination in Arithmetic.

M West one sum right, E. Pechy, L. Akam & A. Morris had not one correct.

[different hand in red ink]

I visited the school today

R M Fowler HMI

22/9/79

[back to Head Teacher's hand]

24th Sept.

Teachers' lessons very imperfectly said this week.

Mr Graves HMI and Mr Salt visited the school on Tuesday afternoon.

Ten children in the 1st class absent from school with Measles and Scarlet Fever.

3rd October

Numbers in classrooms I & VIII much reduced

10th Oct.

Many children still absent with measles.

Mr Fyfe visited the

17th Oct.

Lilly Akam absent from lessons on Thursday morning. Many children still absent with measles.

The Right Hon W. E. Forster visited the school.

24th Oct.

Numbers still very much reduced with measles.

Lily Akam's lessons very carelessly done this week.

31st Oct.

Minnie West absent from school with measles.

Miss Ward also absent on Thursday with a violent cold.

Resigned my situation as mistress today.

3rd November

I Ellen Nisbet was put in charge of this school between the resignation of the late mistress Miss Crowther and the arrival of the appointed Head Teacher Miss [?]Bates.

14th Nov.

Owing to the very cold weather an arithmetic lesson was substituted for modelling lesson.

18th Nov.

Kept the girls of the first and second classes longer at sewing than time allowed on timetable.

[missing pages pp. 85-86]

Albert Road Board School 1880

22nd January

Mr Fyfe visited school today

23rd Jan.

P T's [ibid] lessons as usual. Ada Binns has left the school. Ten more standard children are to be transferred. I have chosen the eldest. Many standard children do not know their letters and all the 6- year old children, about 80, all learning theirs.

27th Jan.

No 2nd class boys marked absent, present in another class. Corrected by 1.
Teacher: Lilly Akam.

4th February

No 2[two] 1st boys marked absent corrected by +1. Teacher: Miss Nisbet.

Have obtained leave of absence for tomorrow and Friday to attend the examination at my previous school

6th Feb.

Average for week 177

9th Feb.

Mr Salt & Mr Linden called today

12th Feb.

Pupil Teachers have had lessons from 8 to 9am this week. Average 184

16th Feb.

Attendance rather poor owing to the wet and stormy weather.

17th Feb.

Summary of HM Inspector's report on the examination held in Dec. 1879.

'The School is in a very fair condition but it has lost ground somewhat rather than made the advance which I hoped for. The change of teachers does not appear to have been a very fortunate one.'

C. M. West 'Grammar. & Map drawing'

L. B. Akam 'Geography'

A. Binns 'Pasture' [Pastoral]

[signed] Geo Linden

Clerk to the Board

Teaching Staff:

Lois Bates Principal Teacher

Edith Ward [Ex Pupil Teacher]

Ellen Nisbit [Ex Pupil Teacher]

Lilly B. Akam [3rd Year Pupil]

Minnie West

Emily Pechey [Monitor]

Mr Fyfe called today

19th Feb.

In marking 4th class register this afternoon Lilly Akam altered a[absent] into a 'present' mark. On Tuesday afternoon also there appears to have been some slight erasure. I have told her that erasures or alterations of any kind must on no account be made.

The I standard and 1st class kept in very fair order by their respective teachers, but the Pupil Teachers and Monitor do not manage the children allotted to them at all well. I have forbidden all the teachers to inflict corporal punishment of any kind.

No corporal punishment. Poor quality teaching by the Pupil Teacher and Monitor. Again alterations made in the register.

20th Feb.

Pupil Teacher's lessons as usual.

Mr Salt and General Goddard visited school this afternoon.

26th Feb.

Edith Clough has commenced teaching here today. She will remain until another teacher is appointed. Mr Fyfe visited today.

27th Feb.

Mr Richardson Chairman of Sch[ool] Board Jarrow on Tyne with Mrs Richardson visited school today.

Have examined all the classes this week. The following are the results: - The order of standards I and 1st class is very good. Teachers have worked well with good results. I should like better reading in both these classes. Teachers Misses Nisbet & Ward. Lilly has kept the 2nd class in fairly good order but the attainments of this class and Miss West's are very poor.

Now that we have another teacher they will have smaller classes and I trust better results. I cannot commend either the work or order in the Babies' class.

Marks for order:	1 Stand[ard]	1st class	2nd class	3rd class	Babies
	10/10	9/10	8/10	7/10	5/10

PT's [Pupil Teachers'] lessons as usual

2nd Mar.ch

The attendance is much smaller this morning in consequence of the severe weather.

4th Mar.

Mr Salt called today

5th Mar.

PT's[ibid] lessons as usual

12th Mar.

Have recommended E. Clough to be permanently employed as Pupil Teacher here; she has performed her duties well during the past fortnight. PT's lessons as usual

19th Mar.

Elizabeth Crow has been here on trial since Monday last in lieu of Emily Pechey who was dismissed last week. Pupil Teachers begin to work more carefully with their lessons.

22nd Mar.

No 5 [five] - 1st class girls marked absent by mistake corrected by foot note.
Teacher: - Miss Nisbitt.

25th Mar.

Close school today for Easter Holiday, one week. We are sowing seeds in the garden today. Pupil Teachers' lessons as usual. After Easter children over 5 are to pay 3d instead of 2d per week.

5th April

Reopened school. Minnie West absent sick. Number 1, 3rd Boys Mar.ked absent is present, corrected by foot note.

9th April

Pupil Teachers have had lessons from 8 to 9am this week also some special instruction in Kindergarten after school.

Lily Kay & Annie Normington have come for a month on trial as Monitors.

12th April

Minnie West is back to school

15th April

This morning have obtained leave of absence for tomorrow to attend a Kindergarten bazaar at Manchester.

22nd April

Children have begun to have Kindergarten lessons again; they are given and received much more intelligently than before.

23rd April

Mr Salt called today

30th April

Miss Ward finished her duties in this school on the 12th inst.

7th May

PT's [ibid] lessons as usual. Order is improving and children seem brighter. We have been working from a permanent time table since April 5th. Owing to a misunderstanding the Babies' [Infants] teacher commenced marking the Babies' register this morning. I had told her to mark not the attendance but school money. She made six mistakes which I rectified & now record.

13th May

Mr Salt called today

14th May

Have given cards to the children who have not been absent during the week; about 140 earned them.

This afternoon at 3pm the children assembled in the Hall and some games were played, also the 1st Standard children plaited the ribbons of the Maypole. About 100 parents and friends were present. We broke up for a week's holiday for Whitsuntide.

24th May

Returned school; good attendance

25th May

Mr Salt visited school this afternoon

28th May

Mr Stainsby called this afternoon; the children had radishes and cress from the garden before going home today.

2 children have died in Scarlet Fever.

3rd June

Average 203. Today the school was visited the Baroness Burdett Coutts accompanied by Mr Salt, Bishop Hyam and several others

7th June

Mr Fyfe called today

10th June

Mr Salt visited the school today

11th June

Minnie West absent sick. PT's [ibid] as usual. Average 207. A great number of children stay away on Fridays to [defaced] lowering the average considerably. Yesterday 220 children were present today only 190

18th June

Mr Fyfe visited today. M. West absent sick all the week. Annie Normington has left school (21st) Mary Bateson and Martha Stubbs have commenced to teach as monitors. (23rd) Mr Salt visited school today; he has presented 12 handsome frames for Kindergarten work to the school.

30th June

Girl in 2nd class marked absent was present in Babies' class, corrected by foot note. 230 present this afternoon.

7th July

Mr Stainsby called yesterday afternoon.

9th July

PT's[ibid] lessons as usual

12th July

Mr Salt, Dr Edith Peachy and two other ladies visited school this morning.

14th July

Number 4, 1st class Boys did not answer to his names and was marked absent by teacher, corrected by me.

16th July

Minnie West absent this week sick. We break up today for 3 weeks' holiday. PT's[ibid] have had an examination. E. Clough stands first with 152 marks, M. West 142, L. Akam 127. marks attainable 200. E. Clough's paper was very creditable.

9th August

Reopened school today all the teachers are present and a good attendance of children.

10th August

240 children were present today.

13th Aug.

PT's lessons as usual. L. Akam and Minnie West have maintained good order in their classes this week.

19th Aug.

Yesterday Mr Fyfe and a number of gentlemen visited the school. Today Mr Howson from Woking visited.

20th Aug.

Mr Stainsby visited today. PT's [ibid] lessons as usual.

28th Aug.

Mr Salt called this afternoon. PT's lessons as usual. [ibid] The teachers have worked well this week and the school is in much better order. E. Clough, M. West and L. Akam have done their lessons well.

2nd September

Mr Linden brought a gentleman to visit the school today.

3rd Sept.

The weather has been very warm this week and this has caused the children to be somewhat restless but the order has been good on the whole. M. Bateson and Lily Kay have improved the order of their classes.

10th Sept.

PT's [ibid]

Lessons as usual. Average 230.

Mr Fife and Mr Stainsby called today. Attendance this afternoon 254.

17th Sept.

Miss Nisbet and M. West gave good lessons on the garden today; the children were arranged around the garden paths and listened intelligently to the lessons.

22nd Sept.

Mr Salt & another gentleman called today

24th Sept.

Mr Stainsby and Mr Fyfe have visited the school today. PT's [ibid] lessons as usual. Average for the week 241.

1st October

Attendance this week has been very good

5th October

PT's[ibid] lessons as usual. Wet weather has reduced attendance somewhat.

12th October

Mr Salt visited today

15th October

Average attendance 250

22nd October

[defaced]

8th November, 1880 Visited the School this afternoon

J B Haslam

9th Nov.

Miss Grant from Edinburgh accompanied HMI Mr Haslam yesterday. The children plaited the Maypole and did games for them. Mr Salt called today. Correction made on 2nd girls.

12th Nov.

Pupil Teachers are having an examination this week. In the last; given about a month ago,

17th Nov.

L. Akam had the highest number of marks and M. West was next.

19th Nov.

PT's[ibid] lessons as usual. Average attendance 229. One little girl has died of croup during the week.

26th Nov.

Mr Fyfe visited yesterday. A gentleman from Silsden came to see the closing of the school this afternoon. He is a member of the School Board of Silsden.

3rd December

Children have attended well this week, average 248.

6th Dec.

Mr Fyfe called this morning. Mr Salt visited school this afternoon.

8th Dec.

This is the day appointed by HMI J B Haslam Esq for inspecting the school.

List of songs

'Ten Little ++++++' (Game)

'The Garden' (Game)

'Now Let Us Watch & Co' (Song)

'Let Me Kiss You, Father' (Song)

14th Dec.

One of the Standard Boys maked absent through not answering to his name, corrected at the time.

17th Dec.

Mr Haslam HMI visited the school this afternoon.

21st Dec.

Today we have had an exhibition of Kindergarten work: the children sang and did games. A great number of people were present also Mr Salt, Mr Fyfe, Mr Geo Taylor, Mr Crowther, Members of the Board.

23rd Dec.

We have broken up this morning for Christmas holidays, 2 weeks. Weather has been unusually severe and attendances very small.”

End of Transcripts.

Appendix 2. Figures.

Appendix 2. Figures:

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Photograph Taken Circa 1911

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Housing the Original Factory School

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Figure 56. Albert Road Board School

Figure 57. Model of a Victorian Classroom Circa 1870

Figure 58. Child Factory Millworkers in Bradford Circa 1880

Figure 59. Sir Titus Salt Bart

Figure 60. Wool Sorting



Figure 1. Young child labourer circa 1860 ('The Guardian', 2020.)



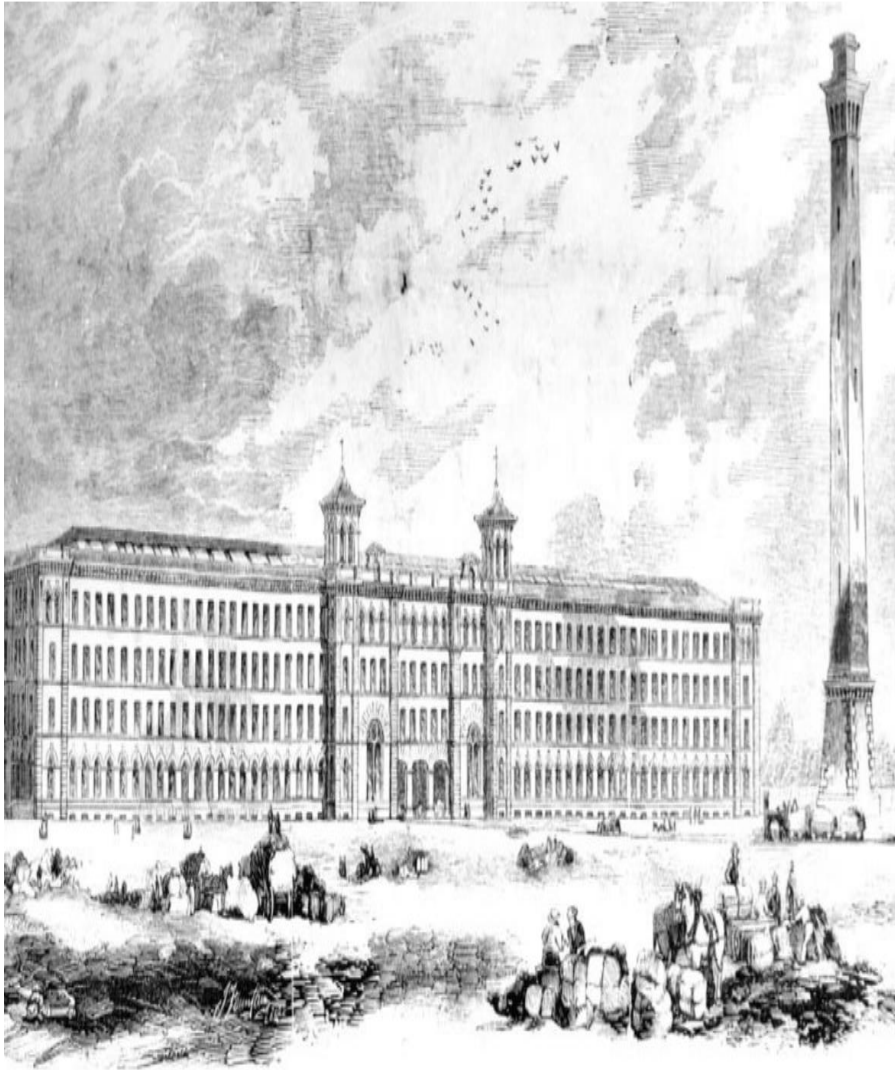
Figure 2 .Image of Child factory-millworkers (BMBC,2020)



Figure 5. Writer's photograph taken at Bradford Industrial Museum of Millworker's cottage circa 1870 taken, July, 2020.



Figure 7. Aerial view of Saltaire,(BMBC, 2001).



20 | SALTAIRE WORLD HERITAGE SITE NOMINATION

Figure 8. Salt's Mill (BMBC,2001 p.20)..



Figure 10. Cottages Near the Canal with Salt's Mill as a Backdrop.
www.saltairecollection.org



Figure 11. Showing the acquisition of the eight separate plots of land purchase.
www.saltaircollection.org



Figure 12. The Dining Rooms (BMBC,2001).



Figure 13. Victoria Road Factory School c. 1868
www.saltaire.collection.com.

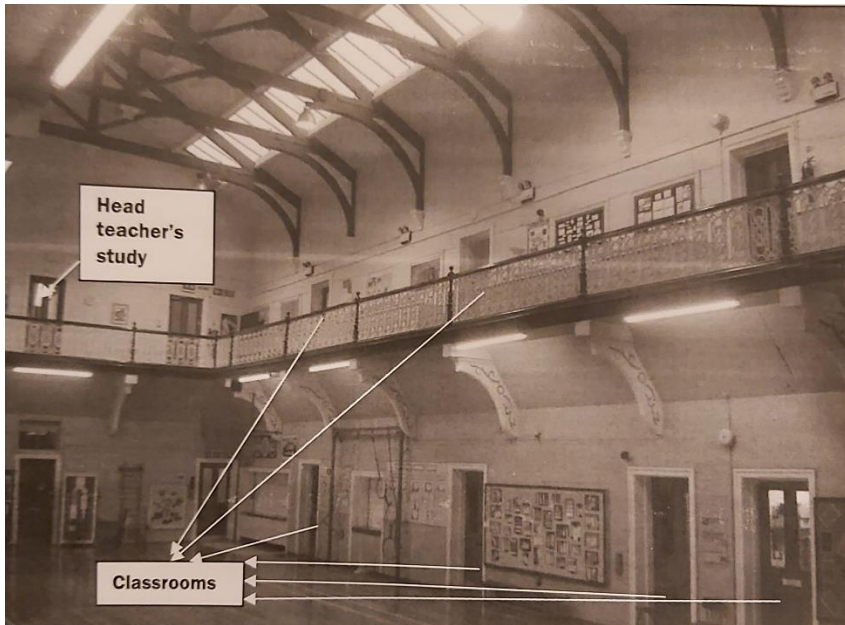


Figure 14. Interior Albert Road School (date unknown but post 1900).
www.saltairecollection.org



Figure 15. Pupils from Albert Road Board School, circa 1890.
www.saltairecollection.org

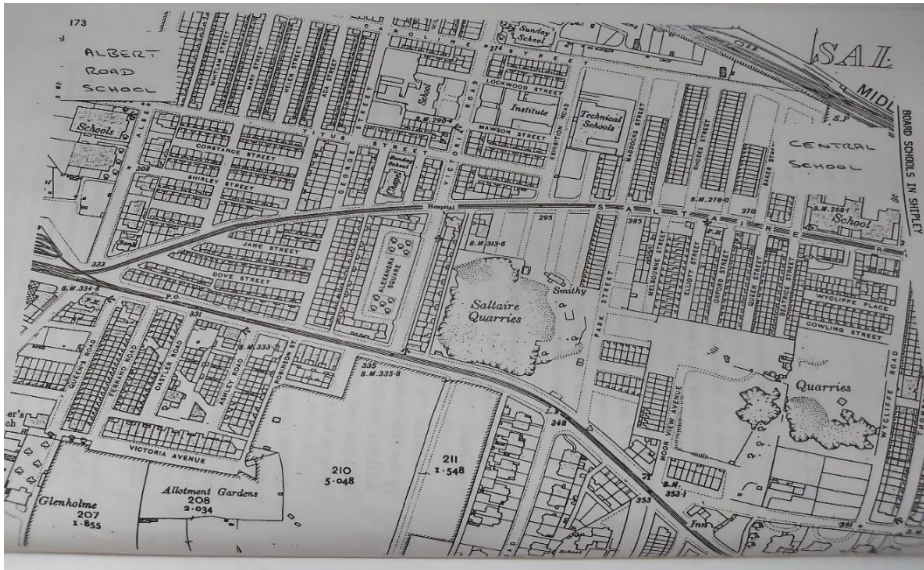


Figure 17. Map showing position of Saltaire Board Schools (Sharp,1984 p. BS2).

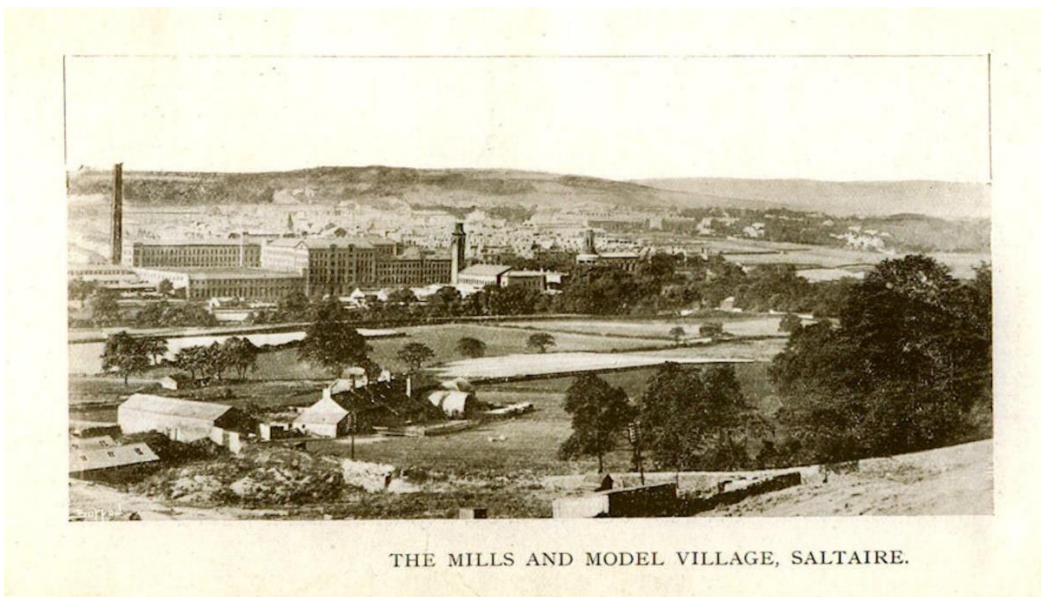


Figure 19. Saltair c. 1860. www.saltaircollection.org



Figure 20 - Bessie's eldest sister, Clara, aged 80 in 1984 (centre), her middle sister Mercy (left), Bessie herself (right, aged c. 4 years): photograph taken c.1911, (Hall,1984, p. 4).



Figure 21. Writers own photograph taken of 41 Titus Street, July, 2020.

Well, in time this flax mill closed down. And so my grandad, my mother's father, was a stonemason in a quarry - Brinham Rocks near Pateley Bridge - well, he worked there. Well, there was no work there, you see, for girls...My grandad...there was no work for stonemasons, so - with the mills, a lot of mills round here - they came over here with the family. And I don't know where they lived first. I've no idea. But I do remember we all went to live - I remember Thackley (near Idle) when I was a little girl. I was born - there was a little cottage attached to this farm, and I was born there. And I do remember living there, and it was lovely... 9

Figure 22. Bessie describing her move to the area (Hall,1984, p. 5).



Figure 23. Bertha's family home in Harold Place where she had lived all her life. (Hall, 1984, p.10).



Figure 24. Albert Road School c. 1880. www.saltairecollection.org



Figure 25. Showing a mixed workforce in the mill c. 1880.
www.saltairecollection.org .

Messrs. Titus Salt, Sons, and Co. have informed the operatives at Saltaire that, owing to the condition of trade, some deduction of wages will be made after the close of the present week. From what our correspondent can ascertain, he states that it seems highly probable that the workpeople will quietly accept the change.

Figure 26. 'Saltaire & Shipley Times' 4th June, 1878.

The reduction in operatives' wages which has just taken place at Saltaire has varied in the different departments of the works; but upon the whole may be said to have amounted to about 8 per cent. The Messrs. Salt, however, have resolved to reduce the house rents in Saltaire 10 per cent., the reduction to take effect this week.

Figure 27. 'Saltaire & Shipley Times' 6th February, 1879.

ADVANCE OF WAGES AT SALTAIRE.—In response to an application from the operatives in certain departments of employ at the Saltaire Mills an advance upon the wages previously paid has been given. Spinners are to receive an increase of 4d., and half-timers in the same department 2d.; twistlers, 3d.; and drawers, 6d. The hands express themselves disappointed in the amount, having expected an increase more nearly approximating in inverse ratio to the reduction made twelve months ago. Another advance is likely to be demanded at no distant time.

Figure 28. 'Saltaire & Shipley Times' 24th, January, 1890.



Figure 31. Writers own photograph taken of the Lion Statue (one of four) outside Victoria Road Factory School July, 2020.

The Baths and Wash Houses

On this site were Saltaire's Baths and Wash Houses. Designed by Lockwood and Mawson, the architects for Saltaire, they opened on 6th July 1863.



Sir Titus Salt was concerned for the health and welfare of his workers. An 1867 medical report recorded that the erection of the Baths and Wash Houses had been a great advance, noting that *"indoor washing (in private houses) is most pernicious, and a fruitful source of disease, especially to the young."* Sir Titus did not like to see lines of washing hanging up across the back yards as he wanted to keep the streets open and tidy.

The Italianate architectural style of the Baths and Wash Houses was similar to the other public buildings in Saltaire. There was a tall chimney, columns at the entrance and possibly a glazed roof. There are very few photographs of the Baths and Wash Houses in existence.

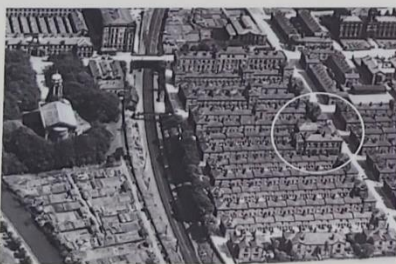


Interior of Frederick Street Wash House, Liverpool; the first public Wash House. This picture gives us a clue about what the interior of Saltaire's Wash Houses might have looked like.



19th century engraving showing the Baths and Wash Houses - you can see the chimney at the far right of the image.

It is known from written accounts that there were 24 baths for use by the public with separate entrances on the right for men and left for women. There was also a Turkish bath. The baths were open every day 8am - 8pm, except Sunday.



Aerial view of the houses which had been converted from the former Baths and Wash Houses. 1935.

Residents of Saltaire could also bring their dirty washing to the Wash Houses on Monday to Thursday to use the very latest appliances. There were six washing machines powered by three steam engines, 48 rubbing and boiling tubs using hot and cold water and steam fed around the building by pipes. Clothes were put through the wringing machine and dried in a drying closet before being mangled and folded. The whole process could be completed within an hour.

Notwithstanding their health benefits, the Baths and Wash Houses proved unpopular and the building was converted into housing in the late 19th century. These houses were demolished in the late 1930s and by the 1950s garages were built. The site is now a community garden area.

You are very welcome to enjoy and respect this community space.

Figure 32. Baths and Wash Houses. Writer's own photograph taken at Bradford Industrial Museum, July, 2020.



Figure 33. Writer's own photograph of Victoria Road Factory School taken July, 2020.

“...bits of fingers cut off and it was like the norm to see that...”

(Woman born 1955)

Mills were difficult and dangerous places to work. Children were often unwell, and even seriously injured or deformed. Accidents you might have suffered whilst working in the mill include: losing your fingers and limbs, and scalping, which was when your hair got caught in a machine and was pulled off. You would also have been exhausted and probably suffering from ‘mill fever’. This was the name given to the sickness and headaches caused by the high temperatures and dust in the mills.

The Accident Book

Extracts from the Workmen's Compensation Acts 1906 and 1923 Accident Book

29/4/30	Mechanic's Shop	Badly trapped thumb on right hand nail torn very badly.
29/4/30	Mechanic's Shop	'Badly trapped thumb on right hand, nail torn very badly.'
4/11/38	Weaving Dept	Putting piece beam back into loom, and in doing so it dropped on to his finger, crushing the nail & afterwards, developing septic.
4/11/38	Weaving Dept.	'Putting piece beam back onto loom, and in doing so it dropped onto his finger. Cutting and crushing the nail and afterwards developed septic.'
26/5/34	Weaving Dept.	Cleaning the warp of one from loom, whilst in motion, he prevented a stain on the warp, thereby preventing a stain on the warp.
26/5/34	Weaving Dept.	'Cleaning a drop of oil from the loom, whilst in motion, to prevent the oil dropping onto the warp, thereby preventing a stain. Crushed finger on right hand.'

“Arthur, he'd caught his fingers in the wheels, and they'd torn three of his fingers off, and they were on the floor, and there was blood on the floor and the girls were fainting. And somebody said, “You better get in there Mr Pogson, and pick those fingers up, otherwise it will stop the production”...”

Man, Born 1924

“I once saw a girl have her clothes ripped off by a belt that had snapped. I think it caught her legs and the fact that it had wound her clothes round the flyers cushioned it, but it had pulled her clothes off, literally torn them down the back, and nobody heard her screaming it was so noisy in there. I always remember because she had green bloomers on underneath.”

Woman, Born 1933

Figure 34 . Writer’s own photograph taken at Bradford Industrial Museum showing Claims of Children’s Accidents, July 2020.



Figure 36. Writer's own photograph of urban poverty in Bradford circa 1880 taken at Bradford Industrial Museum, July 2020.



Figure 37. Writer's own photograph of exhibit taken at Bradford Industrial Museum, July, 2020 showing young child working at machinery c. 1870.

Registered No. 51816
 Labour Certificates are issued in duplicate.
 This Certificate should be retained by the Head Teacher of School.

A Labour Certificate issued by another Local Authority is of no value in this School District.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.
 Form 146 b.
 To Messrs. Smith & Sons
 This Certificate should be retained by you
IF THE CHILD IS NOT EMPLOYED AS STATED.
 Kindly return the Certificate.

SCHEDULE III.
 Local Education Authority CITY OF BRADFORD EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

LABOUR CERTIFICATE, No. 2 (for partial exemption only).

AGE AND EMPLOYMENT.	PREVIOUS ATTENDANCE
<p>I certify that <u>Annie Galloway</u> residing at <u>80 Arcadia Street</u> was on the <u>12</u> day of <u>April</u> 19<u>02</u>, not less than <u>twelve</u> years of age, having been born on the <u>9</u> day of <u>April</u> 18<u>78</u>, as appears by the Registrar's Certificate (or the Statutory Declaration) now produced to me, and has been shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority for this district to be beneficially employed.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> <u>Chas. G. Garton</u> (Signed) _____ <small>(*) Clerk to the Local Education Authority.</small> </p>	<p>I certify that <u>Annie Galloway</u> residing at <u>80 Arcadia Street</u> has made 300 attendances in not more than two schools during each year for five preceding years, whether consecutive or not, as shown by the (*) certificate furnished by the Principal Teacher of the (*) <u>St. Paul's School</u>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> <u>Chas. G. Garton</u> (Signed) _____ <small>(*) Clerk to the Local Education Authority. (*) or other officer.</small> </p> <p>Dated the <u>13</u> day of <u>April</u> 19<u>02</u></p>

Labour Certificate 1910

Figure 38. Writer's own photograph of exhibit Labour Certificate taken at Bradford Industrial Museum, July, 2020.



Figure 39. Writer's own photograph of Salt's Mill Main factory gates taken July, 2020.



Figure 40. Writer's own photograph of tunnel leading from Salt's Mill gates, under Victoria Road and towards Dining Rooms housing the original factory school. Taken July, 2020.



Figure 41. Writer's own photograph of the Dining Rooms taken July, 2020.

This Part is also issued separately (Form 71).

If the separate Form be used, it must be kept with this book.

Certificates of Fitness for Employment, in case of those under 16 years of age.

TO BE FILLED IN BY THE CERTIFYING SURGEON.
Cols. 7 to 11 to be filled in within the period specified on page 2 of cover.

Name of Father. (7)	Name of Mother. (8)	Date of Birth, as ascertained from (9)		SIGNATURE OF CERTIFYING SURGEON (10)		Date of Signature. (11)	REMARKS. (12)
		(a) Certificate of Birth;	(b) sufficient evidence other than a Certificate of Birth.	I certify that I have today personally examined the person named in cols. 2 and 3 and am satisfied on the grounds indicated in col. 9 that each person is of the Age denoted by the entry in col. 9 and is not incapacitated by disease or bodily infirmity from working daily in this Factory for the time allowed by law for a young person; subject however to any conditions entered in col. 12 and signed by me.			
1 Hermann	Mary Anna	Feb 15 '98		W. Hange		4-3-13	Left
2 Ernst	Annie	Aug 13 '99		E. C. Coward		30-11-13	Left
3 Herman	Macka	Feb 27 '90		E. C. Coward		31-11-13	Sixteen
4 Alfred	Mary	Sept 29 '99		E. C. Coward		5-1-13	Sixteen
5							Sixteen
6 Amos	Rose	Nov 17 '99		E. C. Coward		5-1-13	Sixteen
7 Thomas	Ellen	Jan 22 '99		E. C. Coward		5-1-13	Sixteen
8 Robert	Lavinia	Oct 6 '98		E. C. Coward		3-11-13	Sixteen
9 William	Ruth	April 15 '90		E. C. Coward		3-11-13	Sixteen
10 Dick	Fily	April 17 '90		E. C. Coward		3-11-13	Sixteen
11 Charles	Ellen	Feb 21 '90		E. C. Coward		3-11-13	Sixteen
12 George	Rebeck	June 16 '90		E. C. Coward		30-11-13	Left
13 Robert	Beatrice	June 15 '90		E. C. Coward		31-11-13	Sixteen
14 George	Marian	Aug 11 '90		E. C. Coward		22-11-13	Left
15 Wright	Sarah	1-5-98		E. C. Coward		1-11-13	Sixteen
16 Frederick	Edith	April 15 '90		E. C. Coward		1-11-13	Sixteen
17 Arthur	Ellen	July 5 '99		E. C. Coward		1-11-13	Left
18 George	Fanny	March 27 '99		E. C. Coward		20-5-13	Sixteen

Figure 42. Writer's own photograph of Certificate of Fitness for an under-16 millworker circa 1913 taken at Bradford Industrial Museum, July, 2020.



Embroidery
 Samplers were used to practise different types of stitches and act as a reference to use in later projects. They normally included an alphabet and an improving motto. This one was sewn in 1849 by Mary Ann Mcree

Figure 43. Writer's own photograph of example of needlework sampler c. 1860 taken at Bradford Industrial Museum. July 2020.

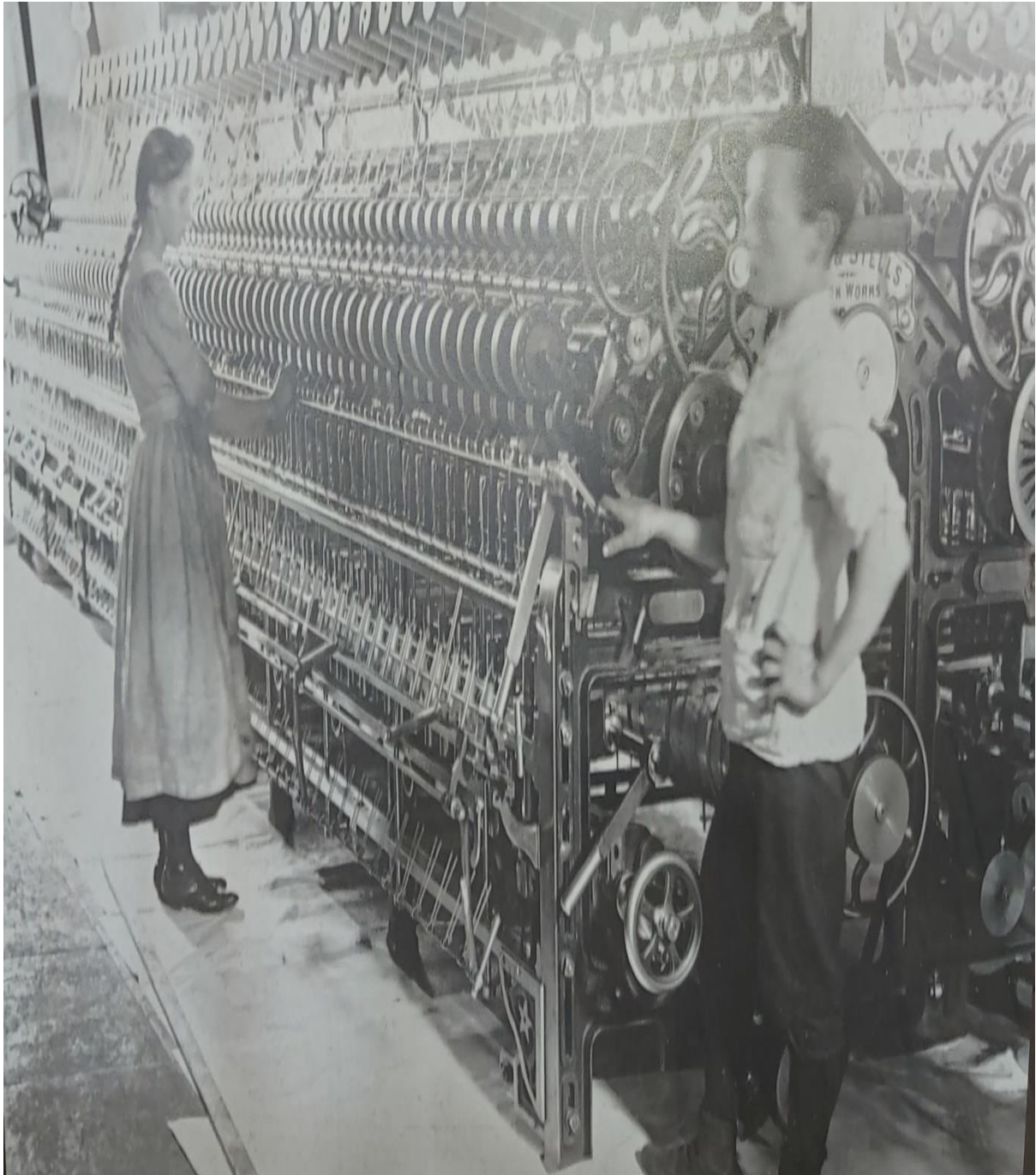


Figure 44 .Writer's own photograph taken of Older child millworker labourers, c. 1880 at Bradford Industrial Museum,July, 2020.



Figure 45. Writer's own photograph of back-to-back Saltaire Houses showing small yards and privvies taken, July, 2020.



Figure 46. Writer's own photograph of Victoria Road School taken July, 2020.



Figure 47. Writer's own photograph of Standard I & II (here labelled 1 & 2) needlework taken at Bradford Industrial Museum. July, 2020.



Figure 48. Writer's own photograph taken July, 2020 of original at Bradford Industrial Museum showing a class of pupils at Albert Road Board School, 1898.



Figure 56. Albert Road Board School (now Saltaire Primary School) c. 2020.
www.saltairecollection.org



Figure 58. Child Factory-Mill Workers in Bradford c. 1880. Bradford Industrial Museum. July, 2020.



Figure 59. Sir Titus Salt Bart c. 1870. www.Spartacus-Educational.com. July, 2020.



Figure 60. Wool Sorting. Bradford Industrial Museum. September, 2020.

Appendix 3. Tables.

Table 1. Deaths of pupils recorded in school logbook 1873 – 1880.

Year	Deaths	Victoria Road VR / Albert Road AR	Illness
1873	2	VR	1 Scarlet fever/1 undefined
1874	0	-	-
1875	3	VR	2 undefined/ 1 Typhoid
1876	3	VR	1 Measles/2 undefined
1877	1	VR	1 undefined
1878	1	VR	1 Scarlet Fever
1879	1	AR	1 Scarlet Fever/Dropsy
1880	3	AR	2 Scarlet Fever/1 Croup
Total	14	(VR 10 deaths in 5 years) (AR 4 deaths in 2) years	

Source: Victoria Road/Albert Road logbook 1873 - 1880

Table 2. Table showing the comparative project costs for Shipley School Board schools.

School	Cost per head	Cost per attendance	Cost equivalent in 2020 at time of build
Central School 1876	£14	£21	£1626/£2439
Albert Road School 1878	£16	£26	£1917£3115
Wood End School 1897	£10	£13	£1308/£1700

Table 3. Pupils in school in Shipley between 1874 – 1877 from, ('Shipley School Board Report 1877').

	Sep 1874			Sep 1875			Sep 1876			Sep 1877		
Numbers	Board	Non	Total	Board	Non	Total	Board	Non	Total	Board	Non	Total
Half-timers	806	430	1236	821	408	1229	745	281	1026	681	288	969
Day school	454	480	934	595	586	1181	820	680	1500	1099	588	1687
Total	1260	910	2170	1416	994	2410	1565	961	2526	1780	876	2656
Attendance	665	491	1157	853	574	1427	1016	586	1602	1207	542	1749

Table 4 - Comparative Costs of School Builds. Shipley School Board, (Sharp, 1984).

SCHOOL.	Date of Opening of School, or of Completion of Payment for Work.	Accommodation.		Area of Site, in Square Yards.	Cost of Site.	Legal Expenses.	Cost of Buildings and Furniture.	Total Cost.	COST PER CHILD.			
		Average Attendance, 1897							On Accommodation.		On Average Attendance	
		Total Cost.	Not including Site and Legal Expenses.						Total Cost.	Not including Site and Legal Expenses.		
Central ..	3rd July, 1876	926	606	6270	£ s. d. 3762 0 0	£ s. d. 51 2 10	£ s. d. 12826 19 8	£ s. d. 16640 2 1	£ s. d. 17 19 4½	£ s. d. 13 17 0½	£ s. d. 27 9 2	£ s. d. 21 3 3½
Albert Road	4th February, 1878	960	575	7136	Site given by the late Sir Titus Salt, Bt.	94 14 8	14729 1 4	14823 16 0	15 18 9½	15 6 10½	25 15 7½	25 12 3¾
Otley Road	Mixed Dept.— 25th Nov., 1889. Infants' Dept.— 6th Jan., 1890. 27th Oct., 1893 (Asphalting). 28th Mar., 1894 (making of Back Road).	547	465	5975	1819 11 4	62 17 0	6271 5 5	8153 13 9	14 18 1½	11 9 3½	17 10 8½	13 9 8¾
		..	..	..	..	..	171 12 10	171 12 10	..	..	..	..
		547	465	5975	1819 11 4	62 17 0	44 0 6	44 0 6	..	..	..	..
		..	..	..	..	..	6486 18 9	8369 7 1	15 6 0	11 17 2	17 19 11½	13 19 0
Crag Road	26th Sept., 1891 30th Nov., 1896 (Asphalting).	620	466	7260	909 8 1	15 15 0	6474 12 4	7399 15 5	11 18 8½	10 8 10½	15 17 7	13 17 10½
		..	..	..	..	..	268 12 10	268 12 10	..	..	..	..
		620	466	7260	909 8 1	15 15 0	6743 5 2	7668 8 3	12 7 4½	10 17 6½	16 9 1½	14 9 4½
Wood-end	30th May, 1885 17th July, 1897 (New Infants' Department). 20th Dec., 1897 (Asphalting).	468	372	6000	825 0 0	22 10 0	3821 19 3	4669 9 3	9 19 6½	8 3 3¾	12 11 0½	10 5 5¾
		260	173	..	..	..	2868 0 1	2868 0 1	11 0 7½	..	16 11 6½	..
		..	..	..	..	..	212 7 6	212 7 6	..	..	..	..
		728	545	6000	825 0 0	22 10 0	6932 6 10	7779 16 10	10 13 8¾	9 10 5½	14 5 5¾	12 14 4¾
Totals ..		3781	2657	32641	7315 19 5	246 19 6	47718 11 4	55281 10 3	14 12 5	12 12 4¾	20 16 1½	17 19 2½

Table 5. Attendance figures during the period September 1874 –September 1877.

Year	1874	1875	1876	1877
Percentage	53%	59%	63%	65%

Table 6. Child Residents in Titus Street who were Half-timers - 1881 Census.

House Number in Titus Street	Name of Child	Age of Child in Years	Occupation in Mill
3	Annie	12	Worsted Spinner
6	Margaret	11	Mill Hand
6	Harry	11	Mill Hand
10	Sarah	11	Worsted Spinner
13	Walter	11	Doffer
15	Sarah	12	Spinner
26	Jonathan	12	Worsted Spinner
26	Arthur	10	Worsted Spinner
31	Eve	12	Worsted Spinner
38 & 39	Harry	12	Butcher
40	Joseph	12	Mill Hand
41	Sam	10	Worsted Spinner
43	Sarah	11	Worsted Spinner
48	James	11	Worsted Mill Hand
55	Clara	10	Worsted Spinner
57	Illingworth	11	Mill Hand
58	Polly	11	Worsted Spinner