'SHE APPEARS A PROMISING CHILD':

THE ROLE OF THE C19TH ORPHANAGE

IN CATEGORISING YOUNG CARE LEAVERS IN TERMS OF PRODUCTIVE LABOUR

A CRITICAL CASE STUDY OF MULLER'S NEW ORPHAN HOMES' DISMISSAL BOOKS 1830s-1890s.

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Abstract

This thesis uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to address the ways in which an evangelical Christian orphanage evaluates the potential productivity of its young people. Plymouth Brethren founder George Muller's nineteenth century orphan homes, Bristol, were in their day, 'a wonder even in this age of wonders', housing over 2,000 orphans in five large institutional buildings. Orphans left around age 14 (boys) and 18 (girls), generally destined to work in labouring jobs as apprentices or in the domestic sector as servants. Covering the latter half of the nineteenth century, the study focuses on the language present in the institution's Dismissal Books. These were ledgers listing the leaving date and destination of each young person, categorising them as 'recommendable' or 'unrecommendable' for work. These archive materials have not been used in scholarly research before now, and are not generally available to the public. The findings discussed in this thesis thus focus on this hitherto untold story.

I start by using CDA to extend the existing archigraphic approaches to archival analyses, in order to answer calls for more epistemological clarity in archival practice (Moore et al 2016). In doing so I make more transparent the process between archival retrieval, and the eventual, interpretive analysis of materials. My findings reveal that the orphans who were deemed 'unrecommendable' were either expelled, or deemed unable to or unfit for work, or were categorised as failing to reach the standard of the Muller institution. These young people were not always returned to family members as the conventional history of the institution states, but could be sent to the workhouse. I use CDA to map out the classifications of these unrecommendable orphans into discursive patterns and themes. I go on to identify how these themes link to wider, ideological discursive formations present in nineteenth century thinking. As the theoretical underpinning for this analysis, I draw on Guery and Deleule's (1972/2014) concept of the 'productive body' in nineteenth century capitalism, as used by Foucault (1977), as the thesis' theoretical framework. In doing so, this thesis also rectifies the current marginalisation of education in Foucauldian ideas around discipline and dividing practices.

This study contributes to wider dialogue, about class, power and the working body in the nineteenth century. The concept of the productive body enables me to show how the institution, whilst exhorting its evangelical rhetoric, works along lines of capitalist efficiency. Whilst the orphans' souls are saved and their 'characters' converted, made respectable, through the institution's drive for social reform and evangelical conversion, their bodies are judged in terms of productivity. Whilst some are judged fit, reformed and refined, the unrecommendable are deemed 'spoiled' products, excluded and marginalised. I go on to argue that such categorisations are ideologically and discursively entwined with the racialised perspectives of imperialist administration, eugenicist rhetoric and pseudo-scientific themes, which operate as nineteenth century, normative common sense. I suggest that the discourses present in the Dismissal Books create norms which bind together those who are 'normal' and productive into an imagined community (Anderson 2006) , and portray the unrecommendable, unproductive orphan, as 'polluted, dangerous, taboo' (Hall, 1997, p.258).

Thus in this thesis' account of the history of institutionalised care, the orphans are not perceived as 'rescued', but are instead conceptualised as fragmented subjects (Guery and Deleule 2014). They are not all saved, but selected. The orphanage, in its role as mediating authority, discursively invites the orphan to accept this process of selectivity and judgement of their working potential as inevitable, factual and true. Their categorisation is 'proved' by both the

expert scientific observation of their body's potential productivity by the institution authorities, and by the institution's assertion that this is 'the way things are', and 'God's will.' The child returned to the workhouse is thus conceptualised as belonging there.

In setting out this account of the Muller New Orphan Homes in this way, it is acknowledged that this research has not been undertaken in order to denounce or accuse Muller, but in order to understand the discursive processes of the institution's categorisations. This thesis is not undermining the good of these 'good works'. Rather, it is locating Muller – for the first time - in the complex social, economic and cultural contexts of nineteenth century Britain, and mapping out, discursively, the 'messier mingling of good intentions and blinkered prejudices' (Koven 2004, p.3) which informed such works, as demonstrated in the Dismissal Books.

This thesis illustrates how using critical methods of analysis can be used to deconstruct archival materials. It defines the institution as conceptualising, managing and educating the young people in care within the dominant values and ideologies of the time. In doing this, my research enables us to move away from the 'grand narrative' of the individual, pioneering reformist in history, and instead trace more critical and contextualising paths through the largely hidden histories of welfare and care.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This thesis analyses the institutional language used in evaluating young people leaving an evangelical Christian, Victorian orphanage in Bristol, UK, from the 1830s to the 1890s. Muller's New Orphan Homes were typical of the large, charitable institutions which characterised the nineteenth century, and whose aims were to train those without immediate families to support them, in terms of 'practical training, discipline and…religious instruction' (Higginbotham 2017, p.vii). To contemporary thinking, the forms of institutionalised care these organisations offered are now widely acknowledged as, at best, inadequate for such children. Indeed, even at the time, campaigners such as W.T. Stead and other journalists working and writing about workhouses and other institutions in the 1800s, were raising awareness about the treatment and abuses of young people within them (Koven 2004, Higginbotham 2017). Nevertheless, such institutions did potentially provide opportunities for those who may otherwise have been left destitute, with a dangerous and uncertain future. Many did go on to successfully work and make lives for themselves (Higginbotham 2017, Humphries *et al* 1988), including my great grandfather, orphan no. 458, a 'Muller's boy'.

However, at Muller's, not all orphans were deemed able to work. This thesis focuses on a sample of archive materials which illustrate the ways in which approximately one third of the orphans in Muller's Orphan Homes appear discursively categorised as lacking suitability for work, following their training as they leave the orphanage in their early teens. The thesis then goes on to identify and examine broader discursive formations, in order to locate these institutional categorisations within the socio-economic context of the mid-late nineteenth century, a time period which has been termed, the Victorian 'golden age…the years when British capitalism…came of age' (Royston Pike 1967, pp.8-10).

To do this, this thesis systematically examines approximately five hundred entries in the Muller Orphan Homes' Dismissal Books (1836 – 1894). These Books, as defined further, later in this chapter, set out the orphan's aptitude and destination, as decreed by the institution, at their time to leave. It draws on Foucault's ideas of discursive power formations (Foucault, 2006,

1989, 1977, 1975; Rabinow, 1991), as used in post-structuralist archival critiques such as that of Farge (2013) and Stoler (2009). It utilises current, more self reflexive and ethnographic approaches to archival analysis, such as that of Moore *et al* (2016) and Hamilton *et al* (2002) and Steedman (2001), to initially explore the Dismissal Books. In doing so, it responds to calls for a more transparent process of archival analyses (e.g., Tamboukou 2016), extending this approach to include Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a key, systematic link in the analysis process (e.g., Mullet 2018, Ball 2017, Hyatt 2010, Reisigl and Wodak 2009, Fairclough, 1992). Thus, utilising an innovate approach to archival analyses, this thesis maps out how the Dismissal Books work to categorise the orphans in terms of their perceived unproductivity, and links the findings to wider attitudes to pauper education, family values and young labour in the nineteenth century.

The Dismissal Books are original materials which are not generally available to the public, nor used before in secular scholarly research. The archives are held at the Muller Museum, which is also the headquarters of Muller's, an evangelical Christian outreach and missionary charity. Muller's continues the work of its founder George Muller, who the organisation describes as setting up the vast Orphan Homes on prayer alone, 'praying in' for supplies (Garton 1987, p.15). Muller is also founder of the religious – and contentious – evangelical Christian group, the Plymouth Brethren.

Up until the 1940s and the Curtis Act (Heywood 1959), the Muller Orphan Homes did not follow the increasing trend for 'scattered homes' in which smaller groups of children were housed, often in more isolated and rural areas (Higginbotham 2017, p.203), as taken up by Barnardo and others (Wagner 1979). Despite the concerns around the treatment received inside such institutions (Koven 2004), Muller's remained large and industrial in style, similar to the 'ragged' and industrial schools designed for 'vagrant and homeless children,' considered a potential danger to society (Stephens 1998, p10). The institutional education in such places is typified in the Muller Homes' own educational instruction, ultimately following two key aims: 'instruction in religion [and] instruction considered appropriate to their lowly station' (Sutherland 1971, p.5). In that, the institution was also akin to the 're-education' homes for 'juvenile delinquents' critiqued by Dekker as prison-like incarceration (2001, p.30).

Although there were more calls for more child-centred approaches to education and care elsewhere (Ball 2013; Harris 1993; Heywood 1959), throughout the nineteenth century, Muller's remained the same, in terms of the treatment and discipline of those inside. This tension between discipline and reform, and 'rescue' and care, in the Muller orphan homes, epitomises the nineteenth century 'rescue' movement in which 'a good deal of secular philanthropy became infused with…evangelical Christianity' (Dekker 2001, p.25). Muller's can be thus seen as a significant and visible symbol of both Victorian philanthropy (Higginbotham 2017) and of the Brethren 'trust in the living God' (Elfe Tayler 1871, p.30). As a popular, evangelically funded cause, the Poor Law Guardians were under no obligation to have to fund such projects as George Muller's. The evangelical orphanage was therefore a particularly economical and efficient way for the state to ensure the basic education criteria of the Poor Law and Factory Acts were met, but without the 'taint' of the workhouse, or the 'ragged' and reform schools. The institution was both convenient for the state, and popular with sympathetic and like-minded donators and benefactors, who as Muller's *Narratives* attest, were largely 'Brothers and Sisters', that is, supporters or members of the Plymouth Brethren (Introvigne 2018).[1] Attention to these tensions between care, welfare, evangelicalism and secular concerns around the workforce, subsequently threads throughout this thesis, and forms the focus of the analysis chapters.

Thus this thesis offers fresh insight into Victorian philanthropic and evangelical attitudes to care, education and training, and the institutional processes and practices associated with them. It suggests new ways of mapping the journey from archival observation and retrieval, to interpretation and analyses**.** In doing so, it occupies a complex position between History and Education Studies. In studying Muller's, as an academic, a Bristol-based foster carer and a non-Christian, I too existed in a liminal 'space between,' negotiating my role between volunteer and guest, between great-granddaughter of orphan no.458 and critical academic researcher, as I will go on to explain.

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[1] Snell's *Crumbs for the Lord's Little Ones*, published between 1853 – 1857, was a Brethren book for children focused on conversion: 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ' (1857, p.3).

Guery and Deleule's (2014) notion of the 'productive body' in nineteenth century capitalist ideology specifically underpins the thesis' theoretical framework. The thesis makes the claim that the process of categorising a section of the orphans as 'unrecommendable' for work placements, works to construct and label the orphan body in terms of lacking 'productivity,' a process which disempowers and 'fragments' the care leaver, and is discursively justified though the institutional language of religion, morality, 'fitness' and personal responsibility and duty. Such a perspective, drawing on archival studies, Critical Discourse Analysis and Education studies, offers more critical ways of engaging with the conventional narrative of the 'great reformer' which informs much of the existing education and care history, and offers a more nuanced approach to the more critical histories of power and 'reform' (Ball 2013; Dekker 2001; Foucault 1977), focusing as it does, on those who are deemed '*un*reformable,' or in the parlance of the Dismissal Books, unrecommendable.

1.1 Introducing George Muller

George Muller founded the five large orphan homes, between 1849 and 1870, on Ashley Down Hill, Bristol, between them housing at any one time, around 1,200 orphans. The five Homes were built on the city's then outskirts, and remain significant on the city skyline: now part of Bristol City College, and highly sought after residential flats. The Muller museum and organisation are in a wing of House No. 2. Muller was a Prussian immigrant to Bristol, arriving to preach in the city in 1832, and co-founder of the 'Open' branch of the Plymouth Brethren, who, since their beginnings in the early 1830s, remain a controversial, evangelical Christian group, the more extreme membership variously referred to as 'fanatics' (Harding 1914, p.35), a 'cult' (Stott 2017, p.18) and 'a fundamentalist niche' (Introvigne 2018, p.15), particularly following recent scandals.[2] Staff and volunteers at Muller's, once the George Muller Charitable Trust, no longer refer to themselves as Plymouth Brethren but identify as evangelical Christians, and share with the Brethren, belief in the significance of conversion, and in the second coming, the 'personal

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[2] Stott recounts how the more 'exclusive' tranche of the Brethren were rocked by scandals including sexual abuse, mishandling of funds and extremism, during the 1970s and 1980s (Stott 2017).

and visible return of Jesus Christ' (*Muller's statement of Faith*, https://www.mullers.org). All museum volunteers and Muller's staff are part of this religious group.[3]

The 'Muller story' – including the founding of these five, large orphan homes – has been, up until now, almost exclusively written about from an evangelical Christian perspective.[4] This includes a very small handful of scholarly articles, in theology journals such as *Christianity Today* and the International Journal for Evangelical Theology, *Foundation* (Thomas 2018, Shaw 2018, Lenz 2014, 2010). Alongside these theological articles, the Muller Story exists in an extensive range of biographical, promotional literature exclusively published by evangelical Christian organisations (including a dramatized film, a ballet, and in one of a US, vegetable-themed cartoon series of religious stories, in which Muller appears as a kindly stem of asparagus[5]).

This particularly 'extensive hagiography' as Introvigne (2018, p.41) describes the attention to Muller, has been in almost constant publication since the mid 1800s, and publications are markedly similar. These include Elfe Tayler's *The Bristol Orphan Houses, Ashley Down*, first published in 1860, to *George Muller* (Ripley Smith 2014) as well as numerous republications of the older versions.[6] *George Muller: Life of Trust* for example has been in constant reprint from 1861 to 2016, and is now – along with numerous other versions- available in digitised form,

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[3] Visiting the museum as either a tourist or a family member (by appointment only), you are greeted by a volunteer, who guides you through the museum, and talks about the 'miraculous' story of Muller's achievements. All volunteers during my weekly visits to the institution, in 2018-9, were from The Woodlands Church, an evangelical christian church set up in the 1980s by the then manager of Muller's, Rob Scott-Cook, who I had met and interviewed on an earlier project. (see https://www.woodlandschurch.net/about-us) A key aim of the church is to convert the 'unchurched,' especially young people, described by Muller's on their website as 'spiritual orphans'. This appears to be a shift away from the Plymouth Brethren by name, whilst maintaining their particular form of religious practice and belief.

[4] Higginbotham (2017) mentions Muller as a religiously motivated philanthropist in his history of Children's Homes. In my extensive reading of accounts of the Muller homes, I have been surprised to find hardly any criticism of Muller himself. In his history of Bristol philanthropy, Gorsky notes in passing that Muller tended to use the evangelical press to 'mythologise…his fundraising success as the direct result of the power of prayer' (Gorsky 1999:158). This sentence in a single paragraph regarding Muller's as an example of nineteenth century voluntary charities, remains a rare critique of Muller. I have found three others: a local newspaper article by an Muller girl, a newspaper report on the 'hideous' old fashioned uniforms, and a school inspection in 1911 which appears to have been 'hushed up' with a subsequent agreement between certain staff to have an informal conversation with the then manager). These are mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.

[5] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hl430lYNMII

[6] The very earliest is *Faith in God as to Temporal Things: An Account of the Rise and Progress of the New Orphan House, Ashley Down, Bristol* (London: Houlston & Stoneman, 1855), referenced in Lenz (2010). The book appears to have an anonymous author, which may be due to the Brethren practice of not honouring oneself. According to biographer Harding (1914) this is why Muller and his family rejected the suggestion of a statue in Bristol, after his death (Harding 1914, p.377).

along with equally numerous websites and educational resources.[7] Newer biographies all appear to be based on the earlier version of events (particularly Elfe Tayler 1861, Pierson 1899, and Harding, 1914), and repeat *verbatim*, from each other. Muller's *Narratives*, originally diary format accounts of the orphanage, including lists of donations and regularly published in pamphlet form, are consistently reprinted as an autobiographical collection, the latest in 2017. The books are published in a range of languages including Arabic, English, German, Portuguese, Tamil, Hindi, Spanish, Korean and Telugu.

Muller, the story goes, was a dissolute youth until a chance meeting with an informal prayer group causes him to convert and become an evangelical preacher and missionary. In all these accounts, it is stated that the Orphanages are miraculous: funded only by spontaneous donations. Muller is said not to have asked for funding, but 'prayed it in', a term Muller's and the museum volunteers continue to use. This is widely celebrated in all the Muller biographies: Garton's (1987, p.15) account is typical in its repetition of earlier descriptions of the orphanages as 'visible proof that God…respond[s] to …prayers'. In more general histories of institutionalised care, Muller's Homes are simply mentioned as an example of nineteenth century philanthropy: in Higginbotham's history of children's homes, Muller is cited as a typical example of Victorian institutions. The Homes are mentioned in passing in Heywood's (1959, p.34) otherwise comprehensive history, *Children in Care*, in which it is noted that Muller's only accepted orphans from married parents.

In one respect, the constant celebratory retelling of 'The Muller Story' is not surprising, as during his lifetime, Muller was indeed famous throughout the world. Numerous newspaper articles admiringly describe the Homes as, for example, 'the most wonderful work that has been accomplished in modern times' (*Leeds Mercury*, August 1869). Indeed it was to rival the other 'great work' going on in Bristol, the Clifton Suspension Bridge: the building of the Homes was 'more daring and exciting…than the construction by Brunel' (Steer 2012, p58). Charles Spurgeon, the renowned, nineteenth century, 'prince of preachers' and who was a close friend of the Evangelical Christian Prime Minister, Gladstone, was a close friend and admirer (Lenz

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[7] See for example, this 2019 Australian resource, part of a series on Missionaries entitled 'Torchlighters: Heroes of the Faith' : https://www.clickview.com.au/curriculum-libraries/video-details/?id=33318600&cat=3705578&library=primary [accessed 25th Oct 2021].

2010, p.210). Charles Dickens, a visitor to both London's Foundling Hospital and Muller's, published admiring articles on 'Our Brother Muller,' (Morley 1857). Guidebooks to Bristol, exploiting the new trend for travel and sightseeing in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Simmons 1984), also exhorted the 'wonder' of the institution, the highlight of any charabanc trip to Bristol: 'Everyone has heard of the…Orphan asylum…one of the wonders of this wonderful age' (Jennings 1872, pp.91-95).

Muller was 'second only to Barnardo' in terms of his work and reputation (Higginbotham 2017). Indeed Muller can be credited for influencing Barnardo. As a fellow philanthropist (also with Prussian heritage) Thomas John Barnardo lived in an Irish Brethren community, which was part of what Elfe Tayler (1871, p.221) describes as the 'revival in Ireland…occasioned by the perusal of Mr Muller's autobiography'. This religious conversion caused Barnardo to change his initial plans to become a missionary overseas (Wagner 1979); instead, Barnardo went on to set up his own institution for destitute orphans in 1870 (Higginbotham 2017). Forty years Muller's junior, Barnardo corresponded with Muller in his early days (Introvigne 2018), the two apparently meeting in 1875 at Barnardo's East End missionary centre, previously a 'sing-song…low type' of gin palace (Harding 1914, p.239). In addition to influencing and mentoring both Barnardo and Spurgeon, Muller provided 'spiritual comfort' to Hudson Taylor (Garton 1987, p.148) and was an associate of Conrad Finzel, an influential and very wealthy Bristol sugar magnate. Finzel was also, notably, a 'fellow émigré and coreligionist' who regularly donated vast sums to the upkeep of the orphan homes (Gorsky 1999, p.158).

Other supporters included aristocracy: Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Derby and Hampton all visited the Muller Homes (Steer 2012, p.242; Garton 1987, p.147). Muller also visited the US and was received by the then president, Rutherford B. Hayes, on one of two, extensive and apparently very well received, world preaching tours, taken in his seventies and eighties (Langmead 2006, p.163).

Despite this, the evangelical authored biographies described earlier consistently promote a perception of Muller as a 'humble' man, 'of child-like simplicity…[and] cheerful self surrender' (Pierson 1899, p.373), as 'prosaic…plain…conscientious' (Garton 1987, p.138), an unassuming 'austere…saint' who had 'no clever business plans…or indirect sponsorship…He just prayed'

(Langmead 2006, p.9). However these descriptions belie Muller's renown in the nineteenth century. The Brethren were not, as Introvigne (2018, p.41) points out, 'an unsophisticated movement of marginal believers': Muller's work was well connected, well renowned, with 'international and interdominational influence'. Muller remains a household name in certain parts of the Christian world today, particularly in North American, evangelical societies (Lenz 2010). For example, a missionary centre based in the Black Hills of Dakota, US, which aims to convert young Lakota Sioux to Christianity, is named after Ashley Down, the address of the Muller Orphanage in Bristol, and cites George Muller and his work as its inspiration.[8]

Yet other than in this body of evangelical literature, Muller is little known today in UK philanthropic, care or education history, and little commemorated in his adopted home of Bristol. Muller exists in a couple of road names, and in the Christian outreach charity and its small museum, both housed in a wing of one of the original orphanage buildings. Over 10,000 children came through the then world renowned Muller's doors (some accounts put this number as high as over 18,000), a number of whom stayed in or around the city, possibly going on to have families themselves - including my own great grandfather.

There are also numerous nineteenth century newspaper accounts of the Orphanage's annual parade[9] – and Muller's funeral- bringing the city to a standstill. Yet, there is little mention of George Muller in the 'Bristol People' gallery at the M Shed, the relatively new museum of 'Bristol places, people and their stories.'[10] Nor does there appear to be any mention of Muller at the long-established Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.[11] Notably, there is no significant mention or commemoration of the young people themselves, other than a small quote from two 'Muller orphans' and a couple of photographs in the 'People's Museum'. It is perhaps because of the consistent and exclusive emphasis on Evangelical Christianity and the miraculous, and the

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[8] https://ashleydownmission.weebly.com/about-adm.html . The Ashely Down mission does not identify with 'any particular denomination' but is a 'Christ centred mission' inspired by Muller's work at the orphanage. Like Muller's itself, it seems to be an evangelical movement arising from, but not obviously identifying with, the Plymouth Brethren. See Introvigne (2018) and Stott (2017) on Brethren scandals in recent years.

[9] A typical newspaper account describes 'the annual parade…an army of little ones' setting off for Pen Pole Hill, Bristol: 'Mr Muller's great family…over two thousand…[a] spectacle…most novel and extraordinary…so vast a school' (*Western Daily Press* 16th August 1873)

[10] Muller can be glimpsed eleventh from the left, in the back row, in Board's painting, 'Some who Have Made Bristol Famous' on display at the M shed, a few small photographs, and a sampler, sit to the left of the larger display of Victorian schooling.

[11] See: (https://www.bristolmuseums.org.uk).

institution's control of access to the archives, that the oft-told, internationally renowned Muller story, presents a challenge for the city to commemorate.

1.2 Muller's 'first scholar'

When I began my research in the Muller archives, and before my (and subsequently, the institution's) discovery of theological articles by Thomas (2018), Shaw (2018) and Lenz (2014; 2010) in journals of theology, the then CEO would introduce me to visitors as 'our first scholar.' The archives had been kept in a filing cabinet, and as I will go on to discuss, there had been a series of volunteers working to organise the archives. However whilst during my time there, there were a succession of three museum curators at Muller's, there is, as yet, no professional archivist for the body of archived records at the institution. The administrative staff and volunteers use the archives to answer queries from those (like my father and myself on my first visit there) researching their family history.

Initially, I had approached Muller's in the more conventional 'hobbyist' way (*cf* Moore *et al* 2016, p.1) with my father, when tracing my paternal, great grandfather, Orphan No. 458, Joseph Lowe (1853-1925). Joseph's family were from Willenhall, part of the Black Country, an infamously polluted, densely populated area then famed for its metalwork (Burritt 1868). In 1854, Joseph's parents had died of cholera within days of each other, leaving six orphaned children, aged between nine and two weeks. The youngest were taken in by neighbours (Joseph, aged one, and almost three-week old Agnes). The four older children (aged three to nine years) were sent to the workhouse, where their heads were shaved, as was routine for those from particularly destitute and disease-ridden parts of the city. After much correspondence, the younger five of the children were eventually admitted to Muller's (1856-7)

thanks to a local vicar's petitioning of the institution.[12] The eldest boy Henry went from the workhouse aged 12 to work for a distant relative in Staffordshire as a 'puddler'.[13]

According to the correspondence filed at Muller's, Joseph's foster carer Lydia Tonks, a neighbour of the family, had pleaded in vain with the institution to let her keep him, and had had a request written on her behalf sent to Muller, the day after he had been taken away. However there was no record of an answer from the institution, and he remained at Muller's until he was 15.[14] All siblings survived: Joseph's sisters all went into service in Leeds, Bath and London, and Joseph himself worked as a tailor's apprentice at Bristol's Victorian 'lunatic asylum' in Fishponds, Bristol. The asylum is now part of the University of the West of England's Glenside Campus (and represented by a small museum in the grounds).

I had lectured at the University, and had lived five minutes' walk from Glenside (where I still live) for many years before I was aware of these connections. Before I became aware of my family history, I had trained as a foster carer, which had in turn influenced my return to academia as a researcher and lecturer in education, particularly interested in inclusion, widening participation and institutionalised care. I now occasionally foster young asylum seekers. I had, like Lydia Tonks, found myself challenging the decisions made by the care authorities, to little avail (Brooks 2022).[15]

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[12] In an early biography, Pierson talks of 'four children…of one family' being admitted in 'a deplorable state' of malnutrition, around this same time. The institution was unsure as to whether to take them on, but was persuaded that not to do so would be 'inhumane'. Thus, they 'were taken in….[F]our graves less to be dug' (Pierson 1899, p.226). This may not refer to my family, but theirs was a similar situation.

[13] An 1865 report on the 'Metal Manufactures of the Sheffield District', describes 'puddling' (working with molten steel) as 'Boys…exposed to considerable heat…One, aged ten…stands a few feet from the furnace and draws up the door when the hot metal is drawn out…boys also drag hot metal from the rollers…' (in Royston Pike 1967, p.135).

[14] Muller records show the Workhouse Union had stopped paying Lydia Tonks the boarding fee when she refused to hand Joseph over, and that following this, she had given the infant up, implying her desire to keep him was financially motivated. In her letter, she writes, she had been 'frightened out of him' by the Union officials. Whilst the reality remains unknown, Royston Pike quotes a- possibly idealistic- 1863 article on the Black Country, in which '[t]he ties of kinship are felt in the Black Country, with the force of Highland clanship…the inhabitants…show great kindness to each other in times of difficulty and distress. In one poor looking cottage, perhaps, may be found an orphan child adopted by a kind neighbour' (Royston Pike 1967, p.82).

[15] I discuss this in a blog article for the West of England and South Wales Women's History Network, on Joseph's carer Lydia Tonks, which links her experiences to my own, over 160 years later -
https://weswwhnblog.blogspot.com/2022/03/would-you-be-so-kind-as-to-let-me-have.html

I was lucky enough to receive a student stipend for a PhD, having applied in order to build on my master's dissertation, in which I had interviewed elderly ex-residents of Muller's Homes. It felt like this pulled together my interests in education, social justice, children in care and my own interest in my family's history. However, as an atheist, writing and researching on inclusion and inequality in education (Brooks 2019, 2008), I was conflicted in my approaching the Muller organisation. As a foster carer and researcher who had encountered some of the issues and abuses of power in so-called care institutions, including, anecdotally, Muller's itself, this was not, as I will go on to recount in chapter four, always an easy relationship. However, the Muller staff were initially welcoming and friendly. On very cold days in the first museum, in the large house in Cotham Park, I would be given Muller's own desk to sit and work at, in the centre of the small, informal museum space (where, as I have recounted, I would be introduced to all visitors). This put me in the warmer but somewhat uncomfortable position of being both researcher and museum exhibit.

1.3 The Dismissal Books

In my initial phases of 'scoping and mapping' the archives (Moore *et al* 2016), it became clear that the Dismissal Books, the series of large handwritten ledgers detailing each care leaver and their destination after the orphanage, were a rich source of information as to how the young people were categorised. Initially, in their original building, these ledgers were left in an unlocked cupboard in the back of the large house Muller's used as their offices. These Books thus offered a way 'past' the generically evangelical Muller Story to tell a more nuanced and contextualised version of the institution, which focused on the treatment of the young people themselves, and linked the institution with its socio-historical context.

In the volumes of the Dismissal Books, the orphans leaving the institution are each given a reference number, and a paragraph detailing their behaviour and attitudes to schooling and training, achievements at the institution, suitability for employment, and usually, the address of their destination and details of their placement type (e.g. 'housemaid', 'apprentice to tailor'). These entries were much more detailed and individual for those who were unrecommended, than for those who were. Whilst the recommendable orphans were described in a couple of

short lines, those who were unrecommended had entries of varying lengths from a paragraph to almost a page. The entries vary in tone: some children are described in emotive terms such as 'much beloved' or 'giving no comfort'.

Others are written about in factual terms, simply stating their departure date and destination. It also became clear that, whilst the institution claimed in both the museum and promotional literature that, 'no child left the Muller Homes until employment had been found for them' (for example, see *The Bristol Miracle,* a pamphlet currently published by Muller's), this had not been the case.

As will be discussed in more detail in this thesis, around a third of my sample were deemed by the institution to be unfit for a placement, following both education and training. They were described as 'unrecommendable' by the Dismissal Book author. Such young people were either sent to distant relatives, who had been contacted by the institution, or sent back to the workhouse at the parish from whence they had come, although some are expelled, including at least one sent on to the 'House of Industry', a workhouse on the Isle of Wight. Some of the girls with perceived physical or mental shortcomings, it is suggested, may be able to 'earn their bread' with light housekeeping duties or dressmaking, a notoriously precarious form of employment (Royston Pike 1967).

Reasons for this categorisation included physical attributes: scrofula, short-sightedness, or being 'too small'; or perceived mental shortcomings such as hysteria, muteness or enuresis. a A frequent description of such entries includes the phrase: 'an inveterate wetter of [their] bed'. Other categories included perceived personality traits: for example, laziness, foolishness, or wilfulness. Often, personality and illness went together: one child is described as 'wayward and maybe syphilitic', another has both 'weak ankles' and a 'weak mind'. A small but notable number, as I will go on to discuss, are simply (and somewhat shockingly, to a twenty first century reader) described as 'evil'.

Such categorisations chimed with dominant ideological perspectives circulating in nineteenth century England, such as the dominance of a eugenic spin on debates concerning philanthropy and welfare, and concerns around sexuality, gender and class, as I shall go on to discuss. The

Dismissal Books enabled me to chart the purpose of education and training, and the ideological assumptions behind it. The analysis then goes on to explore the ways in which the orphans were categorised in ways which answered nineteenth century calls for: 'orphanages…to produce sensibilities that were fitting, aspirations that were appropriate, dispositions that would confirm…social membership' of the appropriate working class (Stoler 2009, p.61).

Before my research, specific entries in the archives were only made accessible to family members, who can view their relatives' records on request, or used by Brethren or sympathetic evangelical Christian authors to illustrate the Muller story. Some of the museum artefacts had been made available to volunteer and 'amateur' historians interested in, for example, the Muller girl samplers, as illustrated in the excellent research work of Bower and Dutcher Kistler.[16] Other than that, the archives have remained, until now, largely unseen, and unread.

Lenz (2010), for example, in writing on 'the Muller story' from a theological perspective, draws on the archives more generally, to show how Muller was administratively efficient, and that the prime concern of the institution was conversion. Lenz's unpublished thesis and later article, focus more widely on the enduring popularity of the Muller story in evangelical writing (Lenz 2010, 2014). However, Shaw (2018, p.73), writing in *Foundations*, argues that the archives have 'not been drawn on in any of the published accounts of his life'. Shaw goes on to draw on anecdotal examples to show how Muller's work 'may prove relevant for twenty-first century Christians…an exemplar for today (*ibid*, p.73), as does Thomas (2018), who refers to Muller's work as both 'substantial' and 'miraculous' (p.9).

In contrast, this thesis pays more critical attention to the Muller archives in order to contextualise and explain the rationale behind the Dismissal Books' categorisations, specifically of orphans it deems lacking in abilities and aptitude. In concluding, the thesis starts to make links with these categories and contemporary issues in the care system. In doing so, this is not to ignore or marginalise the experiences and treatments of the 'good' orphans: such young people were sent on to placements arranged by the institution.

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[16] See: https://www.bristolsamplers.com/ . The samplers, made to demonstrate skill at needlework, use red thread and always feature a bible in the design.

1.4 The Recommended

Those orphans who *are* recommended by the institution, are written up in the Dismissal Book in short and formulaic entries. As Stoler (2009, p.15) describes of the 'deserving' poor as categorised in colonial archives, the obedience of the 'good' orphan remains 'unwritten because it could go without saying and everyone knew it'. A typical example of a 'good' and recommendable orphan entry in the Dismissal Books is thus:

[Name and date] Sent to James Walter, Builder and wheelwrights…South Petherton. A believer (DB3/2318).[17]

Thus whilst as I will go on to argue, the treatment of those who do *not* fit the institution's criteria is explained and justified in detail, the categorisations of those who *do*, appear standardised and interchangeable (Guery and Deleule 2014). Thus in looking at why certain orphans were not deemed recommendable, and why, we can explore how these ideologies worked in practice, and the institutions' values regarding both fitness and unfitness. By focusing on those whose bodies were *not* categorised as standard or productive (Guery and Deleule 2014), successfully reformed (Dekker 2007) or docile and disciplined (Foucault 1994, 1977), this thesis provides further insight into how these classificatory systems of normalisation worked more specifically, and into the processes through which these categorisations were discursively justified and rationalised.

In mapping out this process, through looking at the unrecommended orphans, and extending that focus to the wider family, this study contributes to a picture of both the unspoken norm, the common sense understanding of what constitutes the deserving poor (Berger and

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[17] DB3 = Dismissal Book 3; the following number is the orphan number reference in the Dismissal Book. I explain this in more detail later in the thesis. A significant number of the sample are sent to apprenticeships in South Petherton, a small town near Taunton, Somerset, often to a 'Brother' (this is written as 'Br' which through comparative analysis of other cursive writing, can be differentiated from the more conventional, 'Mr' of non-Brethren members. A local 2017 report on Brethren communities notes that there are two Brethren-run schools nearby (and not far from Wells, where Monelle's the tailors took in many Muller apprentices including my great grandfather), in Wilton and Yeovil: https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/who-are-the-plymouth-brethren-140380

Luckmann 1984), and a more detailed picture of the ways in which the undeserving are discursively positioned and categorised. Thus this study addresses both the unspoken 'good' orphan, and the 'unrecommendable' orphan, currently hidden from Muller's historical narrative. It illuminates what Douglas calls the otherwise 'shadowed places' in the ideological value system of institutional thinking, places 'in which nothing can be seen and no questions asked' (Douglas, in Stoler, 2009, pp.32-3).This approach thus offers a fresh way of looking at the workings of a Victorian orphanage such as Muller's, and rather than a demonstration of the reality of God as promoted by the institution today, opens up the possibilities of new perspectives on the values and ideologies behind nineteenth century welfare philanthropy.

 In taking this approach, then, I *am* the institution's 'first scholar,' in that this is the first time the archives have been the subject of scholarly attention and critical discourse analysis from a secular perspective, an approach which holds to account the process of 'rescue and reform' assumed in this and other institutions, concerned with the education and welfare of pauper orphans in Victorian Britain.

Inevitably this is a selective approach, as I will go on to discuss. Whilst I set out my justifications for my timescale and sample size, I note Steedman's (2001) and Stoler's (2009) observations that such writing is not 'fixed in stone' but a dialogue between myself and the materials, the findings inevitably, as Farge puts it, 'unfinished', allowing for further and alternative interpretations and readings (Farge 2013, p.122). Also, as Moore *et al* (2016) argue, 'archival research…is among the few aspects of method and methodology that remain mysterious because there are still few detailed accounts of a 'how to' kind, which are joined up with relevant theory' (p.170). In making the processes of sampling, writing and analysis as transparent and as detailed as possible, including discussions of my own positionality, threaded throughout, this thesis aims to contribute to Moore *et al*'s (2016) call for more transparency in archival analysis, and subsequently to the debates around the 'nitty gritty,' as they put it, of archival research.

1.5 Education in the orphanage

Initially, my plans had been to focus specifically on the education the orphans received in the orphanage. However, preliminary visits to the institution revealed that very little material relating to the day to day running of the schools had been archived. When questioned, Muller's staff suggested that the archives existed primarily for those exploring their family history, to see their relatives' admission and dismissal records (as I had done initially, with my elderly father). Thus the archive did not maintain school books or school work. Also, as the education had been primarily monitorial, according to Lenz (2010), there may not have been a great deal of paperwork left behind.

Typical of charitable organisations such as Muller's, and funded schools for the working poor, the Monitorial system was made popular in the UK by both Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster (Evans 1997). With this system, large numbers of children could be taught via the catechism, taught by older pupils, in the role of monitors. This was a cheap, and efficient method of education with which to inculcate pupils with a sense of basic literacy and Christian morals, and in its 'manufactory' style, to ready them for work (Sutherland 1979, p.10). Pioneered by Bell in the colonised 'Raj' Madras area, as a way of cheaply educating orphans, abandoned children and 'poor whites' (Brendon 2005, p.124), this model became the basis for schooling of the urban poor in the UK (Stephens 1998, p.7), used in workhouse education after the 1842 new Poor Law (Ball *et al* 2016, p.85), and used by Coram's Foundling Hospital in London (Evans 1997) as well as by Muller's (Lenz 2010). In his 1865 Report, Muller describes how:

> [The girls] are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, English history, a little of universal history, all kinds of useful needlework, and household work. They make their clothes and keep them in repair; they work in the kitchens, sculleries, wash-houses, and laundries…
>
> The boys have the same kind of mental cultivation as the girls, and learn to knit their stockings. They also make their beds, clean their shoes, scrub their rooms, go on errands and work in the garden around the Orphan Establishment, in the way of digging, planting, weeding &c. (Muller 1865, p.76).

The Monitorial system aimed to both educate efficiently, and to maintain the status quo: Bell and supporters warned against 'indiscriminate education' which would 'elevate the minds' of pupils 'above their condition' which could only lead to social unrest (Sutherland 1971, p.10). This was a common concern shared by philanthropist educators such as Hannah More, among others: whilst Hannah More forbade writing at her Mendip Schools, allowing 'only coarse works as may fit them for servants' (Sutherland 1971, p.9), Muller did teach children to read *and* write, which was apparently deemed by critics as somewhat overly generous (Langmead 2006) .

Nevertheless, Muller schooling was broadly monitorial, and followed by basic training in apprenticeship skills, or domestic service training in the housekeeping department (usually by cleaning the institution and helping with laundry, cooking and the infants), after which, an orphan would leave for a placement. Boys left the institution aged twelve to fourteen, girls aged sixteen to eighteen. Girls were kept longer as they were deemed 'as requiring more sheltering care,' the institution needing longer to 'influence them spiritually,' so they would be 'readiest to give personal heed to the call of God' (Harding 1914, p.193).

The process of schooling the orphans was not the focus of the Museum, which was run by the Muller organisation known as Muller's, who as I have discussed, focused on Christian outreach activities. Instead, the museum display invited the visitor through a series of short paragraphs on the wall, 'spoken' by cartoon orphans' speech bubbles, to celebrate the miraculous story of how Muller had 'prayed in' the funds to maintain the orphanage. Muller, as the museum information recounts, wanted to show the general (and possibly disbelieving) public that 'the orphans under care will be provided with all they need only by prayer and faith…whereby it may be seen that God…hears prayer' (in Langmead 2006, p.108). Other than some materials for school visits (bonnets, desks and some example records) there was subsequently little other detail on the schooling itself.

Just before the start of the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown in March 2020, the organisation moved to a new museum space in one of the original Homes (No.2), which also resulted in materials being destroyed, I later discovered. A graphic illustration of the 'fragility' of the archive (Burton 2005, p3) and its ongoing processes of 'inevitable selectivity' (Steedman 2001, p.5), as well as the serendipitous moments of often accidental discovery (Tamboukou 2020,

p.9), were the papers fished out of a bin for me by a member of staff familiar with my research plans, as the institution moved to its larger premises (see **Appendix 1**).[18]

This document of punishments meted out, is the only existing record of the corporal punishments which occurred in the institution. It was not wanted by staff constructing the museum displays and refiguring the archives, either because such records were deemed unnecessary or irrelevant detritus, or because such an account of corporal punishments for 'misdemeanours' such as bedwetting did not tell the 'Muller story' as the organisation wished to tell it.[19]

This thesis starts by noting that the 'unrecommendable' entries within the Dismissal Books' contents have not been acknowledged by the institution, which continued to claim that all care leavers were found employment, that 'every child, except those few who returned to their extended families, went off to work' (Thomas 2018). Thus, this particular aspect of the education and training the orphans received at the orphanage, and the ways in which they were subsequently categorised, have been, until now, typical of the historic experiences of marginalised groups who tend to be 'hidden from history' (Jackson, 2010, Mintz 2005, Jordan *et al* 2003, Rowbotham 1989). This study will address the tensions between the institution's stated aims of philanthropic rescue (Koven 2004), of 'uplift and respectability' typical of nineteenth century social reform projects (Stoler 2009, p.121), and its exclusionary practices of categorisation, judgment and recommendation. It will for example, focus on the institution's stated assumption that it is not at fault, if the orphans 'do not turn out well…and do not become useful members of society' (Muller, in Pierson 1899, p.215).

In concluding, it will note how such tensions chime with the current education of care leavers and discourses of 'aspirations': how inequality is 'cast as conditions of specific bodies' according to powerful dominant discourses of 'successful normativity' (Berlant 2011, p.106). It will argue that this is a discursive formation that minimises the impacts of structural inequalities within

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[18] Even more precariously, the cabinet containing all the Dismissal and Admissions Books was sold and erroneously allowed to be collected, before it had been emptied, prior to the move. The then CEO had to drive to Oxford, to collect the archives, luckily still intact.

[19] See: https://www.mullers.org/schoolvisits for the Muller museum's display of school related materials.

the school system on disadvantaged young people (James and Biesta 2007; Heath *et al* 2001), particularly those in care (Jackson 2013, 2010, 2001; Heywood 1959). I will return in this, in this study's concluding chapter.

The next section sets out the definitions of care, as drawn on in this thesis, and explains the rationale for the terminology used.

1.6 Defining care

As Sims (1994, p.15) has noted elsewhere in her historical overview of special educational needs and care, 'the different ideologies associated with these [terms] are still evident today', a point to which this thesis will return in the concluding chapter. A dictionary definition defines 'care' as: 'watchful or protective attention, caution, concern, prudence, or regard usually towards an action or situation especially'. The opposite of care is given as 'negligence' (*Collins English Dictionary* 2020).

The *Cambridge Dictionary* defines 'care' more in terms of protection:
'the process of protecting someone or something and providing what that person or thing needs' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2022). A child without sufficient care to thrive, Heywood (1959, p.1) suggests, is defined as 'deprived'.

In her historical narrative of child welfare, which leads up to the 1948 Child Care Act, Heywood (1959, p.7) cites one of the earliest case of 'official' child protection, which occurred in Bristol. In a 1285 report to the King's Bench, a child called Cicely is found 'wandering about without protection' in the (then) town, and is delivered by the mayor to an Uncle, 'on behalf of the community'. Heywood notes the early Feudalistic and informal forms of 'taking a child in' (*ibid.*, p.1) which continued well into the early twentieth century (Rossini 2014). The definition of those who care as 'fostering' can, Heywood argues, be traced back to Chaucer, who refers to how the Miller's wife is 'y-comen of noble kin' and so 'y-fostered in a nunnery' (Heywood 1959, p.3). Poorer children she suggests were communally cared for through use of tithes (*ibid.*, p5).

Thus 'care' – and by association, care of children, and meeting their needs, or what would be deemed 'good' parenting – is essentially, attention, protection and provision. The etymological journey of the word 'care' to represent institutionalised treatment of children without family support, and its opposite terminologies of neglect, disadvantage and deprivation, can be traced via the seventeenth century legal definition of an unwanted, abandoned, or illegitimate child, as 'filius populi…filius nullius' – child of the people, and son [sic] of no-one (Rossini 2014, p.15). A child – specifically, a son- without family or a family name could not inherit, and was a child of 'nothingness and abjection' (Speight 2017, p.7), but, as the law implied, was the responsibility of the people.

In her history of adoption, Rossini (2014, p12) defines 'care' as 'whenever a person or an organisation is *in loco parentis* for any length of time'. She notes that 'for millennia' there have been a number of ways in which unwanted, abandoned, or orphaned children have been taken in by families, organisations and individuals, a process which was only formalised and legalised as adoption in 1926 (*ibid*., p.11). Although as Carlen *et al* (1992) warn, we should not view the pre-industrial era with rose tinted assumptions about inclusive communities.

It is notable that these early definitions of 'care' refer to its opposite as negligence, being care*less* – experiencing a lack of attention, protection and provision – as opposed to having specific needs, or experiencing abuse or danger. Archived correspondence from Medieval hospitals such as that of St Katherine's-by-the-Tower, London, talk of 'orphans placed in danger through the negligence of friends'(Heywood 1959, p.4)[20] but not of actual, physical or psychological harm.

Until the 1870s, this was largely due to the fact that children were 'to a large extent their father's legal property' – as were wives (Harris 1993). Whilst a homeless, parentless child such as Cicely, mentioned above, may be taken in 'on behalf of the community', a father could

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[20] 'Friends' was used during this period to describe relations and extended family, who may take in a distant relative's orphaned, illegitimate or unwanted child (Rattle and Vale 1988). The phrase 'friends' acknowledges that Victorian family networks were 'not necessarily confined to close kin' (Harris 1993, p65). Harris goes on to suggest that informal adoption of children by 'childless aunts and uncles' as well as through newspapers' small ads, remained 'far more common' than more formal fostering, established though the Poor Law in the 1830s (1993, p65). Muller's Dismissal Books also refer to 'friends', who had to be both extended family, and approved of, according to the religious criteria of the institution.

commit acts of violence on both wife and children which would constitute a criminal act if committed on a member of the general public. The word of the husband and father, was law – akin to an 'absolute monarchy' in the home (Harris 1993, pp.76-7). Changes to the law from the 1870s onwards, including more rights for wives and mothers, meant changes to the popular perceptions of childhood and the treatment of children. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, 'child-rearing was no longer a purely private matter' (*ibid*., p.89).

The Muller Homes were established in the 1830s, typical of other evangelical and religiously-motivated groups operating as both philanthropists and educators, as rescuers and reformers, which 'dominated social welfare…and the emerging profession of social work' in the nineteenth century (Koven 2004:2). Following the 1870 Forster Act, which aimed at bringing 'elementary education within the reach of every English home…and within the reach of those children who have no homes' (Hansard 1869 in Williams *et al* 2001, p.1), these included 'expert agencies' who moved in when it was deemed necessary (Hendrick 1994), such as school attendance officers (Williams *et al* 2001; Carlen *et al* 1992) and organisations dealing with abandonment, negligence or abuse.[21] These included the National Society for the Protection of Children (the NSPCC), initially founded in Liverpool by local MP Samuel Smith in 1883,[22] which would display photographs of abused children in their windows as a fundraising and awareness-raising strategy (Rattle and Vale 1988).

The Charity Organisation Society (COS), set up to monitor the welfare of orphans in orphanages, among other things, was consistently 'infuriated' by evangelical groups – such as Muller's - providing and extending these services whilst insisting that the Lord would provide when it came to financing them (Koven 2004, p.98). Even Muller's supporters write that the institution 'weekly…plunged from destitution to deliverance…There was little or no predictability to it' (Langmead 2006, pp112-6). The COS would frequently suggest to 'rescue' organisations such as that of Barnardo that, 'prudent financial planning' would be a more consistent and efficient form of care (Koven 2004, p.98). Thus there were tensions between nineteenth century

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[21] Although beyond the remit of this thesis, whilst the evangelical groups tended to dominate these movements, there was a strong socialist movement in social reform and education, such as that of Margaret McMillan and the socialist Sunday school movement, particularly in the industrial north (Williams *et al* 2001, Steedman 1992).
[22] Smith suggested changes to the then SPCA (later RSPCA) funding appeal for a Dog's Home , which became extended into an appeal for the protection of children (Heywood 1959, p.101).

religious charities, expert agencies and those involved in state education and welfare, when it came to deciding what 'good care' looked like.

Higginbotham's (2017, p.270) descriptive history of children's homes defines these children and young people as, 'children in residential care' including Local Authority homes and charitable organisations, although this does not include those fostered or adopted, or those subject to interventions as children living at home but deemed 'in need' of outside intervention. Jackson (2001; 2010) uses 'children in care' to refer to children cared for outside of their biological parents' home, although suggests in her research that 'in care' does not necessarily refer to adopted children.

More recently, both Harker *et al* (2004) and Carroll and Cameron (2017, p.1) use the term, 'Looked after children,' to define children cared for and educated outside of, or in addition to, the biological family. This phrase is currently regarded as contentious, after a number of campaigns critiquing the acronym 'LAC' and its homophonic implications of 'lacking something,' particularly in the educational context (e.g. Lewis 2019). More recently still, Mannay *et al*., and others, have argued for the term 'care experienced children' to acknowledge the ways in which such children and young people are experts in their own lives (Mannay *et al* 2019). This term is used in, and informs, participatory research, such as that concerning attachment and resilience (e.g. Geddes, 2006; Colley and Cooper 2017).

It is acknowledged here that children and young people are and should be defined as experts in their own lives and experiences. However, as this thesis is an analysis of archived, institutional discourses through which we can only rarely find a report of the children's own voices, the traditional definition 'in care' will be used to describe the provision of institutional residency and education, for children orphaned, neglected or abandoned by families. 'In care' it is argued, connotes an immersive, institutional experience, a concept to which this thesis will return (Foucault 1975; 1966; 1961; Goffman 1961).

The institutional form of care is also 'public,' and 'in public care' may be a more accurate term. As was the Victorian tendency, Muller would regularly parade children through the city, as part of the era's culture of pageantry, a key aspect of 'performative…philanthropy and civic culture'

(Georgiou 2018, p.91). As Koven (2004, p.254) has observed of religious gatherings of this era, '[e]laborately choreographed processions, masses and worship services … with their colourful banners and striking robes, were intended to be aesthetic as well as religious experiences'. Certainly, newspaper reports of the time report a 'vast crocodile' of 2,000 'Muller orphans' in identical, Poor Law style uniforms, singing and waving colourful banners, bringing the city to a standstill.[23] Thus Muller's, like other charitable and religious institutions of the time, were 'at once celebrations of spiritual community and street carnival' (Koven 2004, p.254). 'Public' care indeed.

Such visibility chimes with the experiences of current young people who can feel subject to observation and unwillingly 'on display' at school, subject to curious questioning, teasing and abuse as the 'odd ones out,' met at the gates by different people, and taken out of lessons for meetings and so on (Stein 2001).[24] There is more to be said, about the ongoing 'public' nature of care, and in the conclusion I draw links between the discursive formations of the Victorian orphanage and the present day treatment of young people in care. However for convenience, the term 'in care' is used throughout this thesis.

1.7 The study's research questions

As Johannesson (2010, p.258) has noted, 'the researcher's position relative to the research topic is not a methodological disclaimer, as is often maintained, but inherent in the story.' Johannesson goes on to argue that 'what sparked the researcher's interest' is 'an important part' of that story, in terms of constructing, designing and developing the research.
I have stated my family interest here; I was also interested in care and education generally, through my experiences as a foster carer, my time as a lecturer in both care and education history, and my work with professional educators, developing and facilitating workshops to

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[23] Another report of the Muller orphans' outings describes how the Orphan Homes set off for their annual picnic outing: 'vans, wagons and all manner of conveyance' took the smaller children whilst the older ones walked- 'many hearts were moved at the sight of the vast concourse of fatherless and motherless children, housed, fed, clothed and taught by the immediate Hand of Providence, as the birds of the air' ('A Happy Day Out' *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* September 23rd 1868).
[24] See also Appendix 8 (p253) for an example of current care leavers' artworks responding to this; part of an exhibition I co-curated on the history of care in Bristol, at City Hall in 2019.

share research on the education of care experienced children in terms of attachment, trauma and learning. This positionality is discussed in more detail, in chapter four.

During my initial visits to the archives, I became interested in the ways in which young people were categorised and defined, and how that related to previous research I had done on student identity (Brooks 2008), and marginalised groups and institutional power in education (Brooks 2019). As Tamboukou (2019, p.19) has noted: 'the questions we carry with us into an archive are important because they will have shaped the preparatory work we have done…which is both theoretical and practical'.

Thus I set out here a summary of my research questions, developed during my initial encounters with the archives, 'carried with me' throughout the research process, and informed by my positionality as researcher, discussed later in this thesis.

- How were the orphans at the Muller New Orphan Homes, Bristol, who did not meet the standard for placements, defined and categorised by the institution, in the latter part of the nineteenth century?

- In what ways do those categorisations relate to wider discursive formations regarding young people and their families, and work and fitness, in the nineteenth century, and in what ways can those 'micro' and 'macro' histories illuminate each other?

- In what ways can a detailed analysis of the Muller Dismissal Books contribute to the foregrounding of care history in wider histories of education, in for example, critically examining the narrative of the 'great reformer' and challenging assumptions around histories of institutional care?

1.8 Contributions to knowledge

This is an account of previously unseen, new materials, and a fresh assessment of the 'Muller story', widely known in evangelical Christian culture, but little known in the city in which his work was 'world renowned' in the nineteenth century. This thesis locates Muller in his socio-economic context, and 'writes in' more fully, his role in Bristol history, and in the wider histories of philanthropic and non-conformist education and child welfare. In my analyses of the Muller Homes' Dismissal Books, I make the following contributions to knowledge:

1.8.1 'Untangling' the history of care

Historical accounts of the education and welfare of orphans and abandoned or neglected children tend to be found in other histories, which focus on broader themes such as class, poverty and family. These include accounts of the long-running debates concerning how best to educate and manage 'vulnerable' children by educationalists, reformers, philanthropists and religious groups in the UK, Europe and the US, since the industrial revolution (e.g.: Koven 2004; Dekker 2007; Hendrick 1994; Heywood, 1959), and in accounts of now scandalous treatment of destitute children and orphans (Carden-Coyne 2020; Hodgson 2017; Chiodo and Meliza 2014) and in a number of histories on pedagogical innovation, inclusion and education of children with special education needs (SEN), although this does not always specifically include children in care (e.g., Imray and Colley 2017; Topping and Maloney 2005; Seldon 2000). There are also accounts of orphanages in popular histories of childhood (Higginbotham 2017; Cunningham 2006; Humphries *et al* 1988).

Histories of pedagogical innovations across Europe, discuss the work of Montessori, Froebel and Pestalozzi, all of whom have had a significant impact on the ways in which we educate children, particularly early years (Thomas 2013), and all of whom developed their ideas when working with orphans. Pestalozzi took in war orphans from the Napoleonic wars at Burgdorf (Kendall 1986). His student Froebel 's time running an orphanage in Switzerland in the 1830s, enabled him to develop his educational theories concerning the significance of the early years on development and learning (Manning 2005), and Montessori developed her pedagogical

practices in her *Casa del bambino*, a house for street children, including those who were homeless (Martin 2017).

Thus, as Hendrick (1994, p.xi) summarises, it is not so much that the history of education and welfare of children in care is not there, but such histories are 'subsumed in other narratives'. The marginalisation of the history of care and education is thus a largely 'unmapped' and unconnected series of 'threads' throughout these other narratives of education, institutions, religion, philanthropy, of reformist campaigns, of histories of poverty, urban deprivation and social concerns around childhood. This research contributes to the untangling of those historic threads, which has implications for our current understanding of institutionalised care and welfare, and enhances our understanding of the ideologically entwined roots of education and the institutions caring for the most destitute orphans. In highlighting the 'unrecommended' orphans and the categorisations available in the Dismissal Books, this thesis demonstrates how care history can be foregrounded and critically examined, as well as how historical perspectives could help us make sense of current issues in the contemporary care system.

1.8.2 Questioning the 'total institution'

In analysing the accounts of communications with family members, available in the Dismissal Book entries, I challenge the notion of the nineteenth century, 'enclosed' and 'total institution' (Foucault 2006, 1977, 1975; Davies 1989, Goffman, 1961, 2007), arguing that the Dismissal Books' language shows the institution as more open, operating within a 'rarely static' network of officials, medics, elites, supporters, inspectors, visitors and relatives. In her critique of Goffman, Davies (1989, p.84) notes that, 'some total institutions are…more total than others', and suggests there is room for a consideration of 'how total a particular total institution is' (ibid., p94). Rarely is an orphan alone in the world. This analysis of the Dismissal Books as evidence of interaction with families and others challenges the conventional notion of the orphanage as 'total' (Bhatti 2012, Goffman 2007, Dekker 2001, Foucault 1977) and suggests instead, a more useful conceptualisation of the Orphanage, as a more open networked 'centre of influence' than a 'complete and austere' enclosed institution.

1.8.3 Tracing histories of education and care leavers

Jackson (2013) argues that current attitudes concerning the progress and aspirations of children in care in schools, can 'be traced back to…the Poor Law and assumptions about the level of education appropriate for working class children' (p.17). This study traces these 'ancestries' (Silver 1990, p.2) from the nineteenth century to the present day, in terms of the treatment and categorisations of young care leavers and their extended families, noting that the values and ideologies identified in the Dismissal Books concerning 'fitness' and 'productivity' cast 'long shadows' across the current situation facing children in care, in school (Imray and Colley 2017). The study provides an answer to Silver's (1990, p.3) critique that, 'accounts of the educational past have misrepresented, under-presented or ignored some of the vital actors' including disadvantaged children. In focusing on the 'unrecommended' this study illuminates the ways in which children in care have been historically caught between 'charity and education' (Jacobi 2009, p.51), in terms of how they were categorised, and to where they were subsequently sent.

In noting the role of Muller's in the wider context of working class education and employment, the study relates Muller's categorisations of care leavers to nineteenth century concerns around the 'rootless' urban population, which, it is suggested here, largely consists of young workers from the workhouses and orphanages. Drawing on histories of reform and 're-education' (Dekker 2007, 2001), I suggest that this finds echoes in contemporary concerns around the urban poor, and care leavers. In doing so I note how the orphanage and care systems are largely marginalised from Foucault's writings on institutions, and offers this study as a start in rectifying that omission. As Jackson (2013) and others have argued, care leavers today continue to experience a fragmented support network, and an education system which focuses on a deficiency model regarding educational aspirations: such attitudes continue to carry with them, powerful ideological baggage.

1.8.4 Detailing the 'nitty gritty' of archival analysis

This analysis offers a more transparent account of what Moore *et al* (2016, p.21) call the 'nitty gritty' of archival research and analysis, in which methodology is discussed, and the researcher is the 'vehicle not the focus'. The popularity of 'archive fever' - the psychoanalytic subjectivity in Foucauldian-inspired approaches to the archives, as critiqued by Moore *et al* (2016), Cook and Schwartz (2002) and others - has arguably led to a marginalising of such methodological 'graft' and detail, which this thesis aims to rectify. This thesis answers Moore *et al*'s (2016) call for methodological clarity, suggesting that applying Critical Discourse Analysis to the archive material makes more transparent the analytical processes between archival research, and eventual insight and meaning**.**

Using CDA, I trace how the language of the institution's record keeping moves from the personal to the authoritarian and institutional, and map out the institutional justifications for its categorisations. I map out the categories of 'un-recommendation' and locate these within wider discursive formations around the nineteenth century 'productive body', including discourses of hygiene, eugenics, and the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. This approach enables me to unpack the processes and procedures behind nineteenth century institutional discourses. This more systematic approach to archival analysis thus provides a way of linking the post-structuralist, discursive understanding of the archives as representative of hegemonic power, with the more empiricist and overtly political approaches of 'history from below' (Thompson 1966).

1.8.5 Challenging the 'grand narrative' of the Great Reformer

In my more critical account of the Muller Orphan Homes, I provide a challenge to the ways in which existing reformist histories focus on the philanthropists themselves. Such narratives follow a somewhat formulaic pattern, as exemplified by the 'Muller story', in which it is detailed how such philanthropic moves were often controversial, leading to improved conditions (e.g: Langmead 2006). As will be discussed, this approach can tend towards an 'uncritical...celebrat[ion] [of] the achievements of a handful of visionary mavericks' in education,

welfare and 'rescue' histories (Koven 2004, p.283). This research centres on the ways in which the orphans were categorised and (de)valued according to the dominant ideologies of nineteenth century (both the more micro institutional ideologies and the macro ideologies of the era). In doing so, I aim to provide a balance to these 'grand narratives' of the great philanthropic reformer, as well as contributing to more critical challenges to that narrative form (Macmillan 2009; Koven 2004).

1.9 Chapter One summary

In summary, then, this thesis is investigating the institutionalised power dynamics demonstrated in the language of the Orphanage Dismissal Books. In focusing on the ways in certain orphans are categorised as 'unrecommendable' for work, and the ways in which this is justified, the research provides a critical reassessment of nineteenth century philanthropic reform. In doing so, it complicates the conventional histories of the reformists and the notion of philanthropic 'rescue,' and 'writes in' to existing critical histories of reform schools and education (Dekker 2001; Ball 2013), the evangelical orphanage.

The thesis maps out the ways in which the categorisations used in the Books connect with other nineteenth century discursive formations (Foucault 1970; Ball 2017), including scientific, philanthropic, economic, fictional and Biblical writing. In this, this research is not simply 'unveil[ing] the truths or discover[ing] falsities' (Rabinow 1984, p.12) from the archives. Instead I identify through Critical Discourse Analysis how the language of the Books operated to support and perpetuate this particular version of the (un)productive body (Guery and Deleule 2014) regarding young, orphaned labour, and go on to evaluate its apparent impact on the lived experience and opportunities available to disadvantaged and vulnerable children and young people.

Locating the Dismissal Books within the wider socio-economic and ideological context of nineteenth century philanthropy and education in Victorian England, and drawing on the notions of power and the productive body in order to make sense of these findings, the thesis provides a more critical perspective to the existing and extensive hagiographic genre regarding

Muller. In 'untangling' the histories of education and care, and welfare reform, and in examining the ideological perspectives which inform the categorisation of the orphans in the Dismissal Books, this thesis offers an insight into the bitter debates concerning access to education, as will be discussed in the concluding chapter. Such debates entangled ideological anxieties and concerns, around care, welfare, religion, around the working class poor, and around national standards and social order.

However, as Moore *et al* (2016, p.3) acknowledge, and as has been discussed in this chapter, it is too simplistic to see this a study such as this, as of 'the past' alone, as 'archives are always read and understood within the present moment because of particular concerns that lead researchers to investigate'. This thesis is interdisciplinary, crossing both History and Education. This is a complicated path to tread, and in acknowledging that, I aim to maintain a 'critical consideration' throughout the research process (Miller 2016, p.81).

1.10 Outline of thesis

Chapter Two: Literature Review starts by observing the prevalence of the orphan in popular culture and arguing that this prevalence contributes to the ways in which the history of care is taken for granted, and hidden in plain sight. Recent interest in 'boarding school syndrome' (Schaverien 2015), has started to link Psychological studies on, and definitions of, childhood trauma, care and attachment, to a more contextualised and historical perspective. The chapter explores reasons as to why the history of care in contrast, remains much marginalised, suggesting that stigma and shame contribute to the ongoing marginalising of this history 'from below' (Gunn 2006). The chapter looks at studies from the last two decades, which focus on 'what works' in education and care, and suggests that an historical perspective to these studies would trace the ways in which contemporary terminology can echo nineteenth century values and assumptions, in ways which need challenging. To start to do this, the chapter critiques the existing historical narrative of the 'great reformer' in care history, such as that of Barnardo and Coram, as well as Muller. Research into evangelical literature suggests that the focus on the 'grand *reveil'* or life-changing encounter, which is now drawn upon in reformist history as biographical 'fact,' is in fact an evangelical narrative trope, and should be read as indicative of the power and influence of the Evangelical movement. The chapter concludes by noting that we as researchers, educators and carers remain implicated in these narrative patterns of language, ideologies and values.

Chapter Three: **Theoretical Framework** outlines the theoretical framework informing this thesis' approach to, and analysis of, the Dismissal Books and related archival materials. This chapter focuses on the theoretical ideas informing the analysis. Starting with Foucauldian ideas around nineteenth century classifications of the body, the chapter notes how education and the orphanage are curiously absent from Foucauldian theory, and seeks to rectify this, arguing that the evangelical orphanage offers a new way of theorising panoptical power dynamics. The chapter goes on to explore how the work of Guery and Deleule (2014) links Foucault's writing with a more overt critique of capitalism and labour, through the theoretical constructs of the 'productive' and 'fragmented' body. Such ideas, as I will go on to argue, can be applied to the education of the orphans as well as their work identities, and thus this thesis

takes what can be termed a broadly 'post Marxist' -or as Marwick puts it, 'humane Marxist' (1989, p.116)- perspective to the archives.

Chapter Four: Methodology (A) Approaching the Archives starts by noting how the post structuralist, Derrida-influenced approaches to archival analysis, and the critics of Derrida's 'archive fever,' tend to somewhat overlook the contribution to archival analysis by Annette Farge (2013), Foucault's colleague and a major, though seemingly largely unacknowledged, influence on Steedman's seminal work, *Dust* (Steedman 2010). Instead, Farge is positioned in this chapter as chiming with the approach of Stoler (2009), in her conceptualising of the post-colonial archive as hegemonic, as both metaphorical and empirical resource, an approach which suggests the need to 'read against the grain' (Stoler 2009, 2002) as the following chapter will go on to articulate. The chapter then moves on from conceptualising the archive to discuss my own positionality as researcher, and my relationship with the Muller organisation. It then goes on to address how I set out the processes of 'scoping and mapping' the Dismissal Books in establishing saturation and the sample size. The chapter maps out what Stanley (2016, p.39) refers to as 'the archive of the other archive' in terms of additional, secondary materials drawn on in developing the analysis of the Dismissal Books. Finally, it reflects on two key ways in which my initial assumptions and perceptions – which I 'carry with me' into the archives (Tamboukou 2016:72)- shaped initial findings, in potentially problematic ways. I draw on Farge's (2013) recommendations of self reflection, in order to explore this in more detail.

Chapter Five: Methodology (B) Analysing the Dismissal Books This chapter take Moore *et al*'s (2016) suggestions further in opening the black box, and suggests a more transparent and systematic approach is needed, what Farge (2013) refers to as a 'delicate analysis', to trace the path between archival material and eventual analyses. For this I draw on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and set out in this chapter, how I am utilising what has been referred to as a 'family of approaches', and a 'hybrid framework' for analysing language as representative of ideological power (Jones 2004, p.98). I go on to list key ways in which I will deconstruct the 'discursive bundles' (Ball 2016) within the Dismissal Books, and in the wider social contexts of which the Dismissal Books are a part. In moving the 'Muller story' from the miraculous, to focus on the marginalised, this chapter sets out how my analysis moves in and out of the archives in its more critical and deconstructive analysis. It does so in order to demonstrate that the ways in

which institutions such as Muller's have been conceptualising, managing and educating children and young people in care, are enmeshed within recurring subjectivities and embedded within wider, social, historical and political contexts.

Chapter Six: Analysis of the Orphan Categories provides an initial analysis of the Dismissal Books. It begins by tracing developments from an earlier Book One to the more 'official' Dismissal Book One, noting the discursive processes of institutionalisation as the language shifts from the personal, to the authoritative. In mapping out the key categorisations, firstly, the chapter explores the categorisations of those who are expelled, arguing that the institution draws on a number of thematic, discursive strategies connected to Christian ideologies, to position the orphan as both vulnerable and passive, potentially 'lost' if not saved by the institution. In contrast, the 'outside world' is discursively conceptualised as harmful and 'tainting'. Other discursive themes, such as that of 'insubordination', are addressed, suggesting that the discursive theme of 'harm' linking these reasons for expulsions can be connected with wider anxieties around gender, sexuality and class, which themselves are discursively 'bundled' with the prevalent nineteenth century ideology of eugenicism.

Secondly, the chapter moves on to address those who are deemed as unable to work, arguing that the 'fragmented body' of the unrecommendable orphan can be seen through an eugenic lens as 'other', not belonging to acceptable society, and needing to be 'returned' to the workhouse, or a domestic setting, as a charitable case. The notion of the fragmented body is used to explain how what we would now recognise as trauma-related conditions such as enuresis (bedwetting) and mutism (Van der Kolk 2014), are discursively linked with 'weaknesses' such as shortness of stature, or perceived genetic weaknesses, categorisations which can be linked with circulating eugenicist attitudes. These discourses it will be argued, give an 'evolutionary and eugenic spin' to social and economic inequality (Richardson 2003, p.204). For Muller's, it is an incontestable fact that the unproductive body cannot be part of the 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006) of the respectable and functional working poor.

Finally this chapter addresses those who could work, but cannot work at the standard recommended by the institution. Such workers are deemed capable of very low level work ('in a common place in the country') or piecemeal work such as dressmaking. Again, the chapter

explores how evolutionary metaphor informs the Dismissal Books' authors' writing on the poor or ill. It develops the arguments of the previous section, in suggesting that the 'unrecommendables' are discursively defined as a 'race apart'. Using Guery and Deleule's approach (2014), I go on to identify factory-like discourses, noting the ways such orphans are described as 'spoiled' products, 'raw' and 'tainted'. The chapter concludes by summarising how the institution justifies the ways in which it will only save those who will contribute to a productive Capitalist society, and eject those who risk tainting that production line.

Chapter Seven: Analysis of the Family Categories provides a further analysis of the Dismissal Books, focusing on the ways in which families are conceptualised and categorised in the Books' entries. In this it challenges the conventional notion of the institution as enclosed or 'total' (e.g. Davies 1989, Foucault 1977, Goffman 1961/2007), suggesting instead that the Dismissal Books show the institution as more open, networked and 'porous', in that it must constantly reassert its authority and boundaries. The orphans are not, as popular history tends to assume, alone in the world: family members and family friends petition for their admission, regularly visit them, request their removal and can question or challenge the institution's decisions.

In the Dismissal Books, the institution conceptualises a 'good' family in terms of 'care' and 'duty', which as I will go on to argue, are gendered themes, discursively contrasted with 'unsettling' families, such as those who are deemed immoral. In concluding, this chapter draws on Stoler's argument that the 'total' power of the institution, or the administrative authority, is often revealed in the archives as 'a frail conceit' and that there is always 'room for doubt' (Stoler 2002). This way of seeing the institution as more networked, with more porous and vulnerable boundaries than the model of the total institution suggests, can be drawn upon to explain Muller's reaction to my research, in the present day.

Finally, **Chapter Eight** concludes this thesis, summarising the key arguments and going on to identify how we might start to explore further ways of engaging with the Muller history, in order to contribute to a more contextualised and critical account of the history of children in care generally, and to our understanding of 'what works' for care leavers in the present day. The chapter starts by reflecting on my own encounters with the archive, and summarises how the thesis challenges the 'grand narrative' of reformist history, which focuses on the protagonists

and not those in care themselves. The chapter suggests further attention is needed to explore the ways in which the orphans can and do resist the orphanage's power, whilst maintaining our attention to the 'norm' presented by the institution. It suggests that this work can be built on in further research into the expanding population of industrialised cities during the nineteenth century (Hornsey 2010, Koven 2004, Simey 1992). The chapter then brings care up to date by tracing ancestries between the languages of the orphan homes as identified here, and contemporary rhetoric concerning disadvantaged youth and care leavers in the twenty first century (Vishmidt 2020, Turken *et al* 2015, Chadderton and Colley 2012). In doing so, the thesis concludes that an historical perspective on the ways in which these discursive threads develop and evolve, as this thesis offers, offers a more contextualised and informative insight into in how young people leaving care are treated today.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In reviewing the literature relating to historical accounts of orphan and pauper child welfare, education and reform, this chapter highlights this thesis' position as spanning both Education Studies and History.

In the first part of this chapter (2.1), it is observed how 'boarding school syndrome' has entered the field of studies into care and attachment. This section also notes that both the boarding school child and the institutionalised orphan are prevalent in popular culture. This popularity, it is suggested, has contributed to how care history has become 'overlooked in plain sight' as popular history, and yet is conversely further marginalised in approaches to understanding nineteenth century working class histories. Compared to other accounts of marginalised histories, or 'history from below' (Port 2015) including studies on reform schools (eg Dekker 2001), the histories of institutionalised care appear to be *below* the below, due to the continuing long shadow of stigma and shame relating to care experiences (Mintz 2005). The first part of this chapter concludes by arguing that whilst academic attention to care and education *has* increased, quite substantially so in the last two decades, it has generally done so within the fields of social work and psychology, and subsequently, calls for a more contextualised historical understanding are noted.

In order to provide this more contextualised understanding, the second part of this chapter (2.2) shifts perspective to look at this history from a complementary angle, moving from the histories of care and welfare to the historical accounts of the key protagonists and reformists themselves. This section addresses existing histories of 'the great reformer' in child welfare and philanthropy. I argue that conventional historical narratives of 'rescue and reform' tend to assume an uncritical perspective to previous histories, which means that this narrative has gone largely unchallenged. As this chapter will conclude, this has meant that what is essentially an evangelical narrative, written around the 'grand *reveil*', has become largely accepted as

historical 'fact', with popular histories of childhood and care thus drawing, apparently unwittingly, on the generic conventions of evangelical writing.

2.1 Overworked icons - institutionalised childhoods & history from below

In 2015, Joy Schaverien somewhat controversially compared the boarding school experiences of whom she terms ''privileged' children,' to that of 'looked after children' in the welfare system, arguing that like those taken into care, the children of the generally, wealthy elite were similarly institutionally cared for, and experienced an often traumatic separation from those they loved. Schaverien (2015, p.7) noted that unlike those who were orphaned or otherwise in the social care system, 'boarders cannot console themselves with the thought that their parents did not want them to go'. She also noted that previously, there had been 'relatively little published material on the…impact of boarding schools' (*ibid*., 1). Like Jackson in her accounts of care and care histories, as discussed below (Jackson 2010, 2001), Schaverien links Psychology studies on attachment and care, with an historical understanding of how such issues were dealt with in the past.

After the publication of *Boarding School Syndrome* (Schaverien 2015), there have been a number of more recent books exploring the boarding school experience of the elite, and linking negative experiences with issues of attachment, trauma and separation anxiety– including Renton's *Stiff Upper Lip* (2017), Verkaik's *Posh Boys* (2018) Beard's *Sad Little Men* (2021) and Okwonga's *One of Them* (2021), This previous dearth of critical attention is interesting given the number of famous memoirs of unhappy times at elite boarding schools, such as those of Churchill, Thackeray, Kipling, C.S Lewis, Auberon Waugh and George Orwell, who described the 'squalor and neglect…[of] upper class schools of that period', and himself as a 'miserable…creature…dirty [and] blue with bruises' (Orwell 1947, p.17).[25]

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[25] As in the orphanage, bedwetting was seen in the elite school, as Orwell writes, as 'a disgusting crime which the child committed on purpose and for which the proper cure was a beating' (Orwell 1967). He recounts praying nightly - and unsuccessfully - that this would not happen to him. However it must be noted that, as all the texts mentioned above note, boarding school is not necessarily a damaging experience for all, and like the care system, can provide a place of stability and safety.

It is not surprising then, that given the dearth of material on the experiences and treatment of the elite up until now, that the experiences, treatment and education of the care-experienced child are further marginalised.

Ironic, too, that both the boarding school and the orphan remain prevalent and significant in so much of our popular culture. *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and Hamilton's schoolboy hero *Billy Bunter* of the early 1900s, and Brazil's and Blyton's pre - and post - WW2 girls' boarding school stories, were part of numerous later twentieth century books and comics featuring boarding school tales (Barker 1989). The orphan is similarly, a constant, significant protagonist in popular narratives, from Ancient Greek legends to current films and novels (Peters 2000). The lost, stolen or foundling child is key to a number of Biblical and folklore narratives, which have been and continue to be reworked in novels and films. Orphans appear across time in Western culture, from Biblical characters such as Moses, to Fielding's foundling *Tom Jones* (1749) and Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722), to nineteenth century works such as that of Austen's Jane Fairfax in *Emma* (1815), Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1838) and *Great Expectation*'s Pip (1861), Emily Bronte's Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights* and Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (both 1847), as well as works by Kingsley, Trollope, Wilkie Collins and Thackeray, and post-war, twentieth century orphans such as *Pippi Longstocking* (Lindgren 1945).

More recent accounts include Jacqueline Wilson's Victorian foundling *Hetty Feather* (2015) and J.K Rowling's *Harry Potter* (1998). As the most recent exhibition at the London Foundling Museum attests, almost all of the Marvel superheroes (such as Superman, Batman and Spiderman) are orphaned, including Orphan, a 'suicidal mutant.'[26] Non fictional accounts of unhappy and abusive childhoods, such as Dave Pelzer's *A Child Called It* (2009) and Cathy Glass' accounts of her time as a foster carer, are, like the boarding school biography, a lucrative genre

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[26] See https://foundlingmuseum.org.uk/exhibitions-and-events/, and https://comicvine.gamespot.com/orphan/4005-12912/ for further descriptions of 'Orphan'. Also, popular 2020 *Netflix* series *The Queen's Gambit* and *Ratchet* both featured orphaned, female protagonists, made exceptionally clever (*Gambit*) or dramatically psychotic (*Ratchet*) by their time in orphan homes. Such representations of the 'exceptional' child in care offer limiting, stereotyped versions, often appearing in the press as either the child of 'bad blood' - e.g the fostered 'terrorist' [https://www.fosterline.info/news/foster-carers-of-parsons-green-bomber-sue-surrey-county-council/] or the 'plucky orphan' who overcomes adversity to become an Oxbridge graduate [https://imohub.org.uk/foster-care-to-oxford-uni/.]. The ongoing problematic 'othering' and limiting stereotyping in such 'orphan texts' (Peters 2000) needs challenging and tackling.

of 'misery literature', popularly abbreviated to 'mislit' (Bignall 2008). Similarly, best selling celebrity 'misery memoirs' of abusive childhoods include Lorna Sage's *Bad Blood* (2000), High Court Judge Constance Briscoe's biography *Ugly* (2008) and Lemn Sissay's account of life in foster care, *My Name is Why* (2019). Sissay (2019, p.81) echoes Orwell's descriptions of his elite schooling, in his description of a children's home as 'a forbidding…holding pen…[T]his place wasn't interested in our trauma'.

It seems that whilst the fictional orphan and non-fictional 'misery lit' remain in popular culture, and whilst 'boarding school syndrome' continues to garner attention and further research, the more critical accounts of the care system and its history remained 'a largely neglected territory' in academic studies (Silver 1990, p.6), until recently, 'glimpsed rather than examined' (Hill 2015, p349). Indeed, whilst 'low educational attainment of children in care is a problem which cuts across borders and time' (O'Higgins *et al* 2017, p.198), in scholarly terms, 'almost nothing was written' about children in care and education, until the turn of this century (Goddard 2000, p.79; Jackson 2001). This is despite this issue being recognised as an almost constant problem in the UK, Europe and the US since the before the industrial revolution (Bright 2017; Hodgson 2017; Higginbotham 2017; Chiodo and Meliza 2014; Jacobi 2009).

This neglect is ironic, given both the ongoing prevalence of the orphan in popular fiction (Peters 2000), and the amount of more 'cross over' popular accounts of the history of care and welfare, such as Higginbotham's *Children's Homes* (Higginbotham 2017), Rossini's *A History of Adoption* (2014), C. Heywood's *Children in Care: the development of the service for the deprived child* (1959) and J. Heywood's *A History of Childhood* (2018), which touches on a history of institutionalised care. More locally to Bristol, there is Hodgson's history of institutionalised care and forced emigration, in *Bristol's Pauper Children* (2017).[27]

Such accounts have perhaps contributed to the limited critical attention given to this field. A consequence of this is perhaps, that we now think we 'know' Dickens, orphanages, and Victorian schools. Along with the boarding school tuckshops, midnight feasts and fagging, orphanages, workhouses and Victorian 'street urchins' can appear 'obvious' to the point of

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[27] There are no records of Muller orphans being sent abroad in this way, unlike Barnardo's.

cultural cliché.[28] Whilst the workhouse and the reform school have been paid critical attention (Dekker 2001), the history of the orphanage is relatively unexamined. Perhaps it is not so much marginalised, as overlooked in plain sight, as an overworked icon of our national heritage (Siblon 2012). Indeed, as Peters (2000) has warned, the mass of Victorian, fictional representations of the orphan both created, and continue to reinforce, powerful discourses on 'the difference within' and continue to shape the cultural imagination (p.30). Conversely, however, there is 'a dearth of criticism' on the fictional orphan and, echoing this study's position regarding the real life Muller orphans, 'a lack…of critical analysis on the orphan…in Victorian culture' (Peters 2000, p.2). Thus, whilst playing a significant role in popular culture, both the fictional and real life orphans remain largely unexamined in this way. This has implications for academic research. As Jacobi (2009, p.51) goes on to note, it is possible 'our view of orphans…is shaped by nineteenth century notions of poverty and childhood', affecting the 'attitudes and assumptions [and] ultimately shap[ing] the research experience'.

2.1.1. Identifying histories: below the below?

This 'lagging behind' of a critical perspective to care history is despite the developments of the History discipline in the 1950s and 1960s, in which there has been wide interest in the 'people's history' and, as has been mentioned, 'history from below' (Port 2015). These include more radical retellings of workers' histories, such as that of the Bristol Radical History Group's research into two Bristol workhouses (Caldicott 2016; Ball *et al* 2014), and more critical histories of education, including that of Dekker (2001, 2007) and Ball (2013).

Such work was influenced by interest in 'history from below' from Marxist sociologists and historians such as Thompson (1963) and Carr (1961), and approaches such as the influential Annales school in France (Tosh 1991), which drew on a 'pragmatic and humane Marxism' (Marwick 1989, p.116) to make sense of, and reclaim, such working class histories and working

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[28] Consider the child chimney sweep, in the nineteenth century usually a workhouse or orphanage boy, chosen for his slight build (Royston Pike 1967), now a popular children's 'dressing up' outfit which can be bought on Amazon today (along with a 'Victorian Poor Boy' costume). Will the current child in need, the child worker of the modern day sweatshop, or the hundred million or so working in heavy metal mines in the Congo and Pakistan, become similar 'dress up' characters in the future?

class agency (Fuchs 2021) . This work addressed the 'hidden histories' of minority groups (Rowbotham 1977) with a focus on 'class and gender, ethnicity and race, culture and custom, immigrant or minority groups, women and children' (Black and MacRaild 2000, p.4), championing the value of histories of 'everyday life' (Port 2015). Black and MacRaild's list by implication makes the point - as feminist commentators and historians such as Sheila Rowbotham (1977;1989) Lynne Segal (1984; 1987) and others have argued for many decades now - that the traditional Historical narrative privileges the narratives of the middle and upper class, white European male, and in doing so renders other groups invisible (Rowbotham 1989).[29]

Studies of working class histories were also influenced by a parallel focus in contemporary Cultural and Media Studies on gender, class and youth culture, such as that of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, (e.g. Hall 2006, McRobbie 1991, Cohen 1972). This approach aimed at telling the stories of the disadvantaged and working class, including explorations of youth culture and the ways in which they were 'schooled to fail' academically through 'learning to labour' (Willis 1977). The Opies' work on 'the people in the playground' respectfully brought to life the hidden histories of childhood culture and playground folklore in their decades of ethnographic research (Opie 1993[30]), but it appears that there is nothing of similar significance, which focuses specifically on the worlds of children in institutionalised care.

Despite their focus on disadvantage, researchers such as Willis (1977), Hall (2006) or McRobbie (1991) also fail to focus on care experienced children. As I will return to in the concluding chapter, in studies on disadvantaged youth: 'children in care were not perceived as a separate category, even though...they are among the most disadvantaged groups of children' (Jackson 2001, p.16).

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[29] Despite decades of feminist critique, Mary Beard wrote recently how history writing is still dominated by 'Big Books by Blokes about Battles' as she put it in *The Guardian* 6th Feb, 2016
https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/feb/06/books-blokes-battles-history-written-by-men

[30] In a later work, Iona Opie describes two boys staring at her 'benevolently' and writes, 'I think they were the Plymouth Brethren' (1993:31), i.e. of the sect founded by Muller. No other explanation is given as to what identified them as 'different'; it assumed this is common knowledge (Exclusive Brethren in the 1980 and 1990s were not allowed to eat with non Brethren, and none are allowed TV, computers or other forms of technology (Stott 2017)).

Indeed, until Jackson's seminal work in the 1980s and 1990s, the history of children in care in general, appears to remain largely untold. It appears that whilst more radical approaches to history focus on 'the below', or on childhood 'delinquency' (Carlen *et al.*, 1992) the history of care and those within the system remained marginalised.

Whilst this may be in some way due to existing cultural clichés present in popular histories of children's homes, this invisibility is also due to the system itself, and issues around ethical and confidentiality issues concerning interviews, information, and the archive material of care institutions (Hodgson 2017; Higginbotham, 2017; Vehkalahti 2016; Rossini, 2014; Osten 2010). Potential interviewees may feel issues of stigma and shame in interviews (Miller 2016), particularly shame around being put into care (Higginbotham 2017; Rossini 2014) with its implications of dysfunction and inadequacy within the family (Hill 2015). This is despite developments in Psychology, post-Bowlby (Bowlby 1969; Ainsworth 1973), in terms of understanding the trauma of separation and care (e.g., Brooks 2020, Cameron *et al* 2015, Jackson 2013, Bomber 2007, Geddes 2006, Cairns 2002), and despite more critical attention to class, culture and masculinities, challenging the tradition of maintaining a 'stiff upper lip' in the face of separation and trauma (e.g., Renton 2017, Schaverien 2015, Van der Kolk 2014, Hornsey 2010; Brendon 2005, Mort 1987).[31]

In reviewing her earlier research, Jackson notes her 'despair', that:

> [T]here was not a single book in the English language about the education of children in care…the whole subject had dropped down between the gap of care and education, a gap that runs right through the system from the top of the civil service down to the smallest village playgroup (Jackson 2001, p.135).

This gap not only 'runs through' the system of care from top to bottom, as it were, but 'back' through historical accounts of child welfare and education, and indeed of welfare in general. As

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[31] Puvimanasinghe *et al* have noted similar issues when working with refugees, whose narratives were impacted by past experiences of suppression, trauma and distress, as well as an unwillingness to be associated with 'troubled' countries and cultures. This led, the researchers argued, to 'avoidances and silences' when interviewed (Puvimanasinghe *et al* 2014).

Hendrick (1994) similarly notes in his history of child welfare from the 1870s to the 1980s, there was 'a shortage of general and comprehensive texts focusing on…the history of child welfare' (p.xi).

Goddard (2000, p.79) assumes this lack of critical attention to care, until Jackson's 1987 work, was also due to education being 'too low a priority in childcare assessments', a perspective which is supported by both Harker *et al*'s (2004, p.6) findings that education is a lower priority to social workers than 'placement issues…family relationships and… emotional and physical needs' and Jackson's (2010) anecdotal evidence that professionals tended to assume 'children in care had too much else to worry about to be bothered with schoolwork' as she quotes (p9).

Indeed as Jackson (2001, p.15) notes of her initial despair, the absence of academic and specific literature focused on care and education 'was in itself important evidence' in terms of attitudes to the significance of education for children in care. Despite – or perhaps *because of* – the intense popular interest in childhood 'misery' anecdotes, 'care' was not seen as a sufficiently significant topic for educational research, nor policy history.

2.1.2 Studies since the 2000s: 'what works?'

In aiming to rectify the absence of care studies in pedagogical research, there have been a notable number of more recent studies focusing on 'what works' in terms for children in care and their education (*cf* Jackson 1987; Silver, 1990; Goddard 2000; Harker *et al* 2004; Berridge 2012). Harker *et al* (2004, p.1) for example, note that some research is 'start[ing] to comment on the apparent educational underachievement of children 'looked after' by local authorities', although they also initially appear to support Goddard's (2000, p.79) rather dismissive description of such research as offering little more than 'relatively unspecific encouragement,' as if educational achievement as an aspiration for children in care, was a 'bonus' as opposed to a right.

Other current research – including that of Stein (2001), Jackson and Ajayi (2013) and Jackson and Cameron (2013)- now focus on access to Higher Education for young care leavers in order

to identify barriers to achievement at HE, and to improve the career trajectories of those in care 'in an increasingly competitive and shrinking labour youth market' (Stein 2001, p.118), although it remains to be seen as to how the impact of the Covid pandemic adversely affects those in care (Carpenter 2020).

More general, recent research focuses on 'care-related risk factors' (e.g., Evans *et al* 2016), resilience and agency (e.g., Berridge 2017), children's and young people's participation and decision making (e.g., Graham and Powell 2015) and the impact of corporate parenting roles (e.g., Harker *et al* 2004). In her later work, Jackson has noted that 'entering into care is in itself intensely traumatic for many children' (Jackson 2013, p.34). This is a laudable approach to linking the notion of 'care as therapeutic' with a wider definition that includes the notion of 'care' as supporting the child to thrive educationally as well as physically and emotionally.

Jackson (2013) does draw on a historical perspective in her later review of her earlier findings, noting that 'expert' intervention into child care in the form of the early nineteenth century Poor Law, perceived education as key to the care of children in need, in that it would equip destitute, orphan or abandoned children for a productive and respectable future, through industrial, monitorial or orphanage schooling, as was the case at Muller's (2013, p.12). However this historical focus on vocational education for such children led to, she argues, the 'apparent indifference' of welfare professionals in the educational aspirations of children in care. This was largely due, she goes on to suggest, to the availability of unskilled jobs in manufacturing, to which care leavers – from the nineteenth century to the end of the industrial era, in the 1970s and 1980s – were routinely sent (*ibid*., p.13).

Sims (2006, p.22) quotes Caldwell's notion of 'educare', 'a new, broader conception of services' which follows Jackson's call to break down the old historical and ideological divisions between education and care, defined here in more holistic terms as encouraging resilience and personal development. Jackson and others have similarly argued that care and education still need 'reconnecting' in this way (Jackson 2013; 2010; 2001; Cameron *et al* 2015), recognising both the

caring role of the educator and the educational opportunities of foster placements, as well as calling for raising educational aspirations for young people in the care system.[32]

In determining, 'what works?' for children in care, over the last two decades, these new approaches to understanding 'looked after' children and education tend to come from the fields of Social Work and Psychology. These approaches continue to dominate Education Studies' approach to analysing the educational experiences of children in care. Such approaches include a new focus on 'caring schools' (Clanchy 2019, Cameron *et al* 2015), how early experiences of attachment can affect communication, behaviour and learning (Geddes 2020, Van der Kolk 2014, Perry 2006) as well as considerable research on attachment issues and educational development (Brooks 2020; Carroll and Cameron 2017; Cameron, Connelly and Jackson 2015; Jackson 2013). Related research explores the physical, emotional and developmental impact of early trauma on school age children (Brooks 2020, Perry 2017, Schaverien 2019; Van der Volk 2014). Such research aims to identify the specific factors impacting on educational progress: for example, identifying what enables some children in care to flourish (e.g Berridge 2017) and the specific barriers that problematize this, such as low self-esteem and discontinuity of care (e.g Graham and Powell 2015).

Such research, aiming to identify 'what works,' and how that might relate to education and educational achievement, is laudable and necessary in generating and maintaining meaningful change in education initiatives and policy, particularly given the tendency to limit care leavers to purely vocational routes (Barratt 2004), as discussed above. Yet, as Jackson (2013) has previously noted regarding inclusive education initiatives, generally there can be a problematic tendency to assume factors can be identified and tackled, and therefore resolved, without a consideration of wider historical, social, cultural and economic inequalities. As Jackson (2010) critiques of her own early research, which influenced much of the subsequent studies (for example both Harker *et al* (2004) and Berridge (2012) acknowledge Jackson's influence), such

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[32] As this thesis was being undertaken, during the 2020-21 pandemic, a new form of 'educare' is being discussed, Carpenter for example has suggested a post-Covid 'recovery curriculum' focusing on 'holistic development' (Carpenter 2020), whilst a recent Unesco report has suggested initiatives for resolving inequality and exclusion, exacerbated by the pandemic (UNESCO Report 2021). As pupils return to the classroom during this time of writing (2021-22), it remains to be seen whether substantive change will be implemented, particularly for children experiencing the care system.

approaches tend to 'exaggerate individual factors and take too little account of structural and policy issues' as well as not reflecting critically on 'deeply ingrained notions of social class' (p.9). The focus on individual wellbeing in schools and universities has been similarly critiqued by Furedi (2009) and Ecclestone and Hayes (2009), who argue that terms such as 'emotional literacy' and 'dysfunctional' were problematic 'therapeutic orthodoxies,' marginalising the impact of structural inequalities.

In his review of the last couple of decades' studies into care and educational attainment, Berridge (2012) echoes the critique of the largely social work-informed research, calling it too 'empiricist and atheoretical', similarly arguing that such research needs to start drawing 'from disciplines other than social work' in order to adopt a 'more critical perspective' (p.1172). This critique is taken up by Evans *et al* (2016, p.70) who argue that 'social care evaluation research' lacks 'a more contextualised understanding', given it does not take into account the wider educational and social context of education research. Such contextualising accounts would help us identify the 'long shadows' involved in conceptualising children who do not fit the standard model, in which 'deficiency' in terms of educational progress could be better understood as both culturally produced and socially structured (Imray and Colley 2017, p.8).

2.1.3 Summary

This section, the first half of chapter two, has argued that a path can be traced, then, from the ongoing lack of attention to the aspirations of care experienced children, and the dearth in critical attention to care history. This thesis intends to fill the gap between care and education as identified by Jackson (2001). In identifying this gap in existing research, this thesis aims to contribute to Berridge's (2012) call for a more critical perspective to care and its history, and to extend current critical histories of education and reform (Ball 2013, Dekker 2001) through providing an insightful analysis of the specific ways in which young people in nineteenth century care were conceptualised and categorised. In doing so it will illuminate how institutional care practices and discourses have historically developed, and arguably continue to impact on, those they define. It focuses on those who have been trained for vocational work yet do not meet the standard required to be 'recommended' for work by the institution.

This approach is supported by Silver (1990), who points out that such research includes the study of 'the nature of change, in terms of formation and formulation, planning and decision-making, implementation and adaption' in terms of welfare policy and practices. As such, he argues, the 'absence of historical input' in child welfare history is 'extremely difficult to justify' (p.6). As Ball has similarly noted in his history of English education policy:

> Policy works by accretion and sedimentation; new policies add to and overlay old ones…new principles and innovations are merged and conflated with older rationales….Policy always has to be viewed in terms of both change and continuity…They are rarely 'clean slates' (Ball 2017, p.63).

The approach in this thesis traces the discursive formations available in literature and archives, specifically Muller's Dismissal Books, the ledgers containing the categorisations of the orphans as they leave the institution. The thesis links these materials with wider ideological discourses. In doing so, this looks beyond both the cultural cliches of Victorian orphans, and the empirical Psychology and Social Work approaches to 'what works' in understanding care and education. In exploring why and how certain orphans were 'unrecommended', we can better understand the 'sedimentation' around for example, discourses of exclusion. This is, as Williams *et al* (2001, p.160) note, a contextualising perspective we 'neglect at our peril'.

The second half of this chapter focuses on a specific contextualising perspective, looking critically at existing accounts of philanthropic care, exploring the narratives of evangelical 'rescue and reform', which, it is argued here, continue to shape orphan and child care history.

2.2 History 'with a capital H'

In the decades the Muller Homes were being established, so too were both the discipline of History as an academic subject in its own right, and the professionalising of archivism. From the 1830s, the shift 'towards professional status' and the simultaneous 'turn towards the archive' (Harrison *et al* 2004, p.16) meant that history was becoming a professionalised discipline,

helped along by the expansion of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1860s, and the subsequent emergence of 'professional career tutors' (ibid., p17).

Professionalising history and the creation of the archive both work, as Schieder points out, as 'powerful apparatuses' in the establishing of 'grand' historical narratives (in Harrison *et al* 2004, p9). By the latter years of the century, history 'with a capital H' (MacMillan 2009:39) was an established, largely positivist discipline, taken up by the new Victorian universities. As Black and MacRaild (2000) have noted: 'History as the discipline we know today developed during the Victorian period…It became much more fact orientated…The quest for facts reflected the nineteenth century prestige and example of science…and a great emphasis upon the historical record' (p.39).

Generally, this positivist way of thinking about and valuing history and the archives continued its 'comparatively placid' existence (Banner 2012, p.32) until the 'cultural turn' in Humanities, a century later, when 'History's legacy from the nineteenth century' (Steedman 2001, p.75) became open to more critical debates from the 1950s and 1960s. Those debates brought with them, 'the force and progress of new intellectual winds and realities…[of]…a more diverse intellectual universe' (Banner 2012, p.33), including the 'linguistic turn' (Vernon 1994, p.81) in History, which focused on the ways in which language changed over time (Bauman 2004, p.10) .

These new ways of thinking, saw the epistemological conventions of 'statistics, facts, truth, probability and footnotes' as no longer neutral fact, nor 'innocuous or benign,' but as providing, generating and validating certain sorts of 'qualified knowledges' (Stoler 2002, p.89). This approach occupied a 'much broader intellectual territory', than that of conventional History, as White and Gilliland (2010, p.247) claim, and went on to question the very 'human, bureaucratic and cultural systems within which records and archives reside and perform'. Such approaches continue to challenge the earlier, positivist influences of 'nineteenth century scholarship' (Black and MacRaild 2000, p.4) and to also raise questions about the 'grand narrative' of historic convention, such as that of the individual, pioneering reformist in history, as this section will discuss.

From the 1970s onwards, along with growing interest in 'histories from below' as noted earlier in this chapter, what it meant to research history was controversially impacted by new theories influenced by the work of Foucault (2006, 1994, 1977), Derrida (1996, 1995) and that of Foucault's colleague, Annette Farge (2013), whose work was originally published in 1989. Such work led to further philosophical questionings of the epistemological values of types of historical knowledge. However as I will go on to argue, in chapter three, Farge's influence appears to be somewhat overlooked in this.

This section draws on these more critical approaches, in challenging the conventional 'grand narrative' of both the Muller story and the history of child welfare in general: as Koven (2004, p.284) writes, 'conceptualising the past in terms of heroes and villains, saints and sinners, may serve a powerful…political message…[but] it does not…make for very good history'. Therefore I attempt here some 'good history,' in establishing why Muller is discussed in the 'saintly' terms that he is, and what political purposes these grand narratives may be seen to be serving.

2.2.1 A question of progress

It is notable that evangelical Victorian reformers are frequently defined in even in academic welfare histories, in ways evoking the protagonist or hero of conventional narrative form (Propp 1967). Key figures such as Muller, Barnardo and Carpenter[33] for example, are variously described as, 'pioneers' (Garton 1986, p.11), 'crusaders' (Heywood 1959, p50), 'talented leader[s]' (Koven 2004, p90) and 'buccaneering philanthropists' – as Harris describes Barnardo (Harris 1993, p.75) – or, as in a number of popular books, articles and TV shows, as examples of the 'great Victorians'.[34] As Ball (2017) has suggested, above, history is never a simplistic 'line of progress'. Nevertheless, as Koven (2004) has observed of reformist narratives: 'traditional histories' of social welfare tend to 'celebrate the gradual but inexorable victory of the bureaucratic forces of order over…chaos' (p.185).

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[33] Mary Carpenter founded Bristol's 'ragged school' movement, a year or so (and ten minutes away) from Muller's first Home. An evangelical Unitarianist, she also campaigned against slavery (Dresser 2006)

[34] Whilst beyond the remit of this thesis, it is pertinent to wonder here, if nineteenth century *female* philanthropists and activists are more likely to be described – then and now- as 'difficult' rather than 'buccaneering'.

This is the narrative form of existing biographies of these 'great philanthropists', and of Muller (e.g Steer 2018, 2012, 1986; Langmead 2007; Collett 2001; Garton 1987; Harding 1914, Pierson 1899). It can also be found in popular histories of childhood (Cunningham 2006, Humphries *et al* 1988) as well as Heywood's early, seminal history of child welfare (Heywood 1959). As one of the earliest accounts, described as the 'standard text' on the history of child welfare (Hendrick 1994, p76), Heywood arguably set the tone for these conventional, 'linear' histories of care. Both Heywood, and Higginbotham in his extensive history of children's Homes (2017), focus on the achievements of 'the great reformer'. Higginbotham for example, includes a chapter on Muller, and on other key care philanthropists such as Lord Ashley, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Thomas Bowman Stephenson (founder of the National Children's Homes), and Thomas John Barnardo, who as mentioned earlier, is described in Higginbotham's history (2017, p.70) as 'the only other individual who surpassed George Muller in the scale of his achievement'. These philanthropic 'religious leaders', are cited by Heywood (1959, p.197) as rousing 'the public conscience' leading to the beginnings of the more recent 'social revolution in the work for children'.

The conventional historical narrative of Victorian social reform positions the earlier philanthropic network of nineteenth century England, as progressively leading to 'standardised solutions,' and institutional, state assistance for vulnerable children (Steedman 1990). Heywood (1959) for example charts the development of legislation and 'state obligation towards the child', noting progress, such as the 1908 Children's Act, a 'great and fundamental step in child protection' (p.108). She cites these steps of progress as arising from campaigns relating to, for example, the scandals of 'baby farmers', as detailed elsewhere in Rossini (2014), Haller (1990) and Rattle and Vale (1988).[35]

But, as Hendrick (1994, p.76) and others argue, such narratives of a 'gathering process of enlightenment' are problematic, and child welfare history cannot 'be written simply as a progressive narrative'. Ironically, this assumption of linear progression echoes Victorian

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[35] Baby farmers, usually women, took on illegitimate babies for a fee, but often killed them or allowed them to die (see Rossini 2014, pp39-52). Bristol-based Amelia Dyer remains the most infamous (and still Britain's most prolific) serial killer and 'baby farmer' (Rattle and Vale 1988).

historians themselves, who as MacMillan (2009, p.39) writes, 'depicted the past as an inevitable progress leading to the glorious present when Britain ruled the world'.

Indeed, drawing on Ball's (2017) suggestion to see language and terminologies as working discursively to make 'particular sets of ideas, obvious, common sense and 'true' (p.8), labelling those whose initiatives impacted on pauper children as 'reformists', as almost all histories of this time do, is an ideological assumption in itself, connoting rehabilitation and progress. This perspective is problematised in some accounts, for example, Koven's (2004, pp.23-87) account of 'slum' reformists and workhouse campaigners Barnardo, Greenwood, Mayhew and Stead, and the subjects of their 'elite spectatorship', Dresser's discussion on the complexities of middle class surveillance of working class communities in 'charitable works'(Dresser 1983), Dekker's critical account of 're education' institutions (2001) and Steedman's account of the 'confused set of understandings of childhood' in movements such as socialist educator and campaigner Margaret Macmillan's (Steedman 1990, p.24). However as this section will go on to argue, philanthropic 'reform' is not as simple nor as straightforward in its aims, as it is generally recounted.

2.2.2 Evangelical narratives and networks

Muller's was typical of nineteenth century 'rescue' institutions, in its belief that institutional religious care was preferable to kinship care (for reasons which are discussed more fully in chapters six and seven) and typical in that 'education' was primarily religious, often relying completely on funding from religious bodies, including for teachers' wages.

This overlapping of evangelical, political and radical interest in the welfare and education of the industrial poor illustrates the 'intersecting and overlapping worlds' of philanthropic, religious and political action (Koven 2004, p.208). As Sutherland (1971, p.3) notes, nineteenth century welfare and education schemes are both 'fascinatingly complex' and 'impossible to generalise'. It is however worthy of note that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw a wave of evangelical religious movements loosely termed, 'The Awakening' (Dresser 1996, p.98), which had swept England and America, motivated by widespread criticisms of the established

Anglican church and its relationship to the State. Within this, those who were *in loco parentis* as would-be educators, were so in order to save the souls of the 'heathen masses'.

The significance of evangelicalism on early forms of education for working class and disadvantaged children, however, tends to be 'written out' of education and philanthropic history. As with Berridge's (2012) and Mintz' (2005) critiques of studies into education and care, cited earlier in this thesis, the histories of institutional care, tend towards uncritical popular history accounts, with the assumption that the author is writing from a progressive position of enlightenment (e.g. Heywood 1959).

Dekker's (2007, p.235) discussion of the network of Evangelical philanthropists engaged in working with 'children at risk' in the early nineteenth century, notes that this generation of philanthropists, 'developed a comprehensive philanthropic philosophy', out of which, he argues, 'a specific network developed for the care of children at risk, resulting in standardised solutions for the care of these children'. Similarly, Heywood (1959, p.196) concludes that the history of care has always reflected – and progressed - 'the prevailing social philosophy'.

What was piecemeal, Higginbotham, Heywood and Dekker imply, is now established: care post 1948 is cited for example as the 'next developmental phase of the child care service' as pioneering trailblazers set in motion, structural progress (Heywood 1959, p.197).
Heywood describes 'greater confidence in widespread public understanding of child care' as a 'silent tribute' to these great reformers. She notes that developments in the system of adoption 'show the confidence of the public in its social workers' (*ibid*., p.186) and benefit from a more professionalised and trained workforce, including a 'dramatic improvement in the training of house parents' and the growth of child development research both in the US and the UK (*ibid*., p.188). Child employment regulations, she argues, are now 'tightened up' (*ibid*., p.193).

Whilst the current situation may not share Heywood's optimism for the future (indeed, Higginbotham's later, equally seminal work on Children's Homes (Higginbotham 2017) ends with investigations into abuses in Homes, and the Narey Report critiques) it is acknowledged here that in many ways some of these reformers were indeed trail blazers. For example, the radical and pioneering work of Jeanie Nassau Senior, the first female workhouse inspector, was

enlightened in its approach to workhouse girls' well-being.[36] Her suggestions for a more family-like environment and her critiques of the institutions were indeed deemed so radical, as to cause a media uproar which may, as Jackson surmises, have contributed to her early death (Jackson 2010, p.7).

However, the focus on the myth of the individualistic, the 'pioneer' (Hendrick 1994), the trailblazer, defines the history of child welfare in terms of the 'uncritical celebrat[ion] of the achievements of a handful of visionary mavericks' (Koven 2004, p.283), and ignores the social context and 'prevailing social philosophy' of which they were a part. Indeed as Steedman (1990, p.63) has observed: 'the history of childhood is intensely teleological, much of it presented to illustrate a progress made by a society towards an enlightened present'.

Harris (1993, p.75) for example, discusses the significant changes to fathers' and family rights in her chapter on 'family and household' but appears to minimise Barnardo's contentious treatment of working class families. Harris describes Barnardo as a 'buccaneering philanthropist' who 'increasingly dealt with common-law rights simply by ignoring them' (*ibid*., p75). This dismissal of working class families' wishes concerning their own children, by a member of a well-connected and – as will be noted - well protected, elite group of evangelicals, meant large numbers of children were forcibly emigrated to uncertain futures in Canada and other countries, often against the wishes of their families (Hodgson 2017). This 'standardised solution' to pauper children includes the forced emigration of over 1,500 children in Bristol alone, from the city's industrial schools and workhouses, between 1870 – 1915 (Hodgson 2017, p.13).[37] Now recognised quite rightly as an 'important part of [Canadian] history' (*ibid*., p14), this deserves a more sensitive description than that of simply 'buccaneering' philanthropy, a term which connotes the recurring cliché of Western culture of the 'dangerous' charismatic lone male, the individualist, masculine maverick (Jackson, P. *et al* 2001).

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[36] Nassau suggested artworks and bright colours (Jackson 2010), which was perhaps too radical for an era which praised the suitable style of Muller's buildings as 'scrupulously plain; utility rather than beauty…within and without', appropriate for pauper orphans (Pierson 1899, p.212).

[37] An interesting example of how this history may be introduced in schools can be found in Chiodo and Meliza's suggestions as to how to teach about the US 'orphan trains,' in which destitute, orphaned or abandoned immigrant children were dispatched to rural areas to work (2014). This 'resettlement and foster care' programme is now widely acknowledged as exploitative, enforced slave labour.

Whilst Harris does not go into detail concerning Barnardo's life, it is notable that the historical narratives which do, continue to follow the particular, culturally generic pattern involving a protagonist hero (Berger 1992). In such narratives, the pioneer faces an unexpected, and revelatory, challenge. Biographies of the 'founding fathers [sic] of the philanthropic network'[38] (Dekker 2007, p.235), including Thomas Coram, Hannah More, Thomas Barnardo, Mary Carpenter, and Muller, all tend to emphasise the 'chance meeting' with an impoverished child, which is a revelation, and inspires the reformer to act (a similar account can be found in Sir Frederick Treves' 1884 encounter with 'The Elephant Man', John Merrick, in a travelling exhibition, opposite Treves' medical college (Richards 1980)). Thus, philanthropic actions are 'presented as if it were by chance that they fell upon the founding of their organisations' (Hendrick 1994, p.79). For example, Muller is generally described as determining to set up an orphanage when he encountered 'forlorn little creatures, parentless' on his arrival in Bristol, 1831, which had been 'smitten 'with 'the great invasion, Cholera' (Harding 1914, p.82).

Whilst a number of subsequent biographers cite this as the start of the New Orphan Homes,[39] an earlier biographer, Harding (1914), refers to an encounter with one boy in particular, at a Brethren Sunday school. Muller had set up the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, which ran Day Schools, Sunday schools and adult classes. According to Harding, who is one of the only early biographers to explicitly talk of the role of the Plymouth Brethren in Muller's orphanage work (Introvigne, in 2018, and Lenz, 2010, are the only two other published accounts to acknowledge this), Muller encounters a 'little boy' at the Brethren-run Sunday school. The boy 'comes to desire to know and serve God' yet due to his circumstances, is 'taken away to the poorhouse, lamenting his separation from the school and …the teacher he loves so well'. Muller 'laments' losing a child who 'might perhaps have been trained in the service of the Lord' (Harding 1914, p.80), and it is this moment, according to Harding, when he resolves to 'supply the needs of poor children' by building an orphanage (*ibid*., 80).[40]

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[38] As Vernon (1994) notes of History's development as a discipline, 'in the beginning there was the invention of founding fathers, and they are always fathers, never mothers' (Vernon 1994, p.82). This may also suggest why Macmillan and Senior, mentioned above, are not more widely recognised in care history. Both More and Carpenter were well connected with key male figures of the time.

[39] Langmead for example describes Muller's arrival in Bristol and quotes his subsequent diary entry in August 1832: 'the funeral bell…rings almost all of the day.' Langmead suggests Muller's diary 'is full of comments about…the orphaned children [in] the cholera epidemic' in Bristol that year (Langmead 2006, pp107-8).

[40] It is notable here that what Muller appears to lament, is the loss of a potential conversion, a saved soul – this notion of 'rescue' of souls over bodies is discussed later in this thes

However, later accounts tend towards 'writing out' the influence of the evangelical movement, which informed much of the drive to care for and educate the destitute poor, in the nineteenth century (Dresser 2006, Dresser 1996, Sanderson 1972, Sutherland 1971). As his own diaries show, Muller had been debating this endeavour since encountering the work of August Francke, at Halle University, in Germany (Langmead 2006), which also influenced Wichern's Rauhe Haus movement (Wu 2009), which in turn, inspired Carpenter's Bristol Ragged Schools (Dresser 2006). Wichern's opening of a reformatory in 1833 may have inspired the timing of Muller's first Home, opening in 1836.

Instead of detailing this, Muller's biographies all follow a generic *narrateme* (Propp 1968), focusing on what Dekker (2007, p.239) refers to as the *reveil*, the evangelical moment of awakening. In this they echo the biographies of Coram, the century before, who was said to have been appalled by babies literally on scrap heaps in London's slums, and resolved to set up what became The Foundling Hospital in Bloomsbury (e.g., Bright 2017; Berry 2019). Barnardo (by then a follower of Muller's Plymouth Brethren) has a revelation which is literally enlightening. In 'Our First Arab' (c 1869), using the colloquial term for homeless children, 'street Arabs' (Hodgson 2017), Barnardo follows the young Jim Jarvis to a rooftop, and recounts that:

> There…in a great variety of postures as one may have seen in dogs before…lay a confused group of boys out on the open roof all asleep…Just then the moon shone clearly out. As the pale light fell upon the upturned faces of those sleeping boys, and as I realised the terrible fact that there were all absolutely homeless and destitute, and were almost certainly but samples of many others, it seemed as though the hand of God Himself had suddenly pulled aside the curtain which concealed from my view the untold miseries of forlorn child-life upon the streets of London (Barnardo c.1869).

Francis Kilvert, a young curate visiting Bristol, describes his revelatory encounter with a street child, begging outside a bakery, which echoes Barnardo's earlier revelation:

> [A] barefooted… little girl, with fair hair tossed and tangled wild, an arch espiegle eager little face and beautiful wild eyes…her sad and wistful smile and beseeching look…. Christ

seemed to be looking at me through the beautiful wistful imploring eyes *(Kilvert's Diary* 1874, in Waite 1979:10*).*

Kilvert is sufficiently moved by this intense spiritual experience, to throw the homeless child a bun. Higginbotham, in his comprehensive history of the many and varied childcare institutions, from the likely first Home in 1546 to the 2016 Narey Report, includes a chapter on Muller, describing him as one of a number of the 'best known names who dedicated their lives to institutions…caring for children…during Queen Victoria's reign'. This number includes – again - Barnardo, Lord Ashley the Earl of Shaftesbury (an evangelical supporter of both Carpenter and Barnardo (Koven 2004)), and James Fegan (Higginbotham 2017, p.63).

Fegan, founder of both Homes and Ragged Schools, is not as renowned as 'the big three' reformers of the day.[41] However, like Barnardo, Coram, Muller *et al*, Fegan's work is similarly described as inspired by a revelatory encounter, with a 'ragged boy' named Tom. Tom, out mudlarking on Bognor beach, 'made a strong impression' on Fegan, and influenced his later work setting up 'the most centrally situated of all Rescue Homes in the great city' as he described his five-storey building in Southwark (Higginbotham 2017, p.130).

Thus the histories of key reformists in child welfare history, are generally written as if there is a single moment of revelation, an encounter which becomes turning point, the evangelical, grand *reveil*.

2.2.3 The *reveil* as convenient myth

This emphasis on the *reveil*, the revelatory encounter, obscures how these reformists, philanthropists and philosophers, writing on and working in child welfare, were often part of a powerful, well networked and transnational evangelical culture, with its 'ways of acting, thinking and feeling' (Dekker 2007, p.236).

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[41] The 'Big 3' are Barnardo's, Wesleyan minister and evangelical missionary Thomas Stephenson's Waifs and Strays Society, now known as the Children's Society, and the National Children's Homes, founded by Anglican 'street missionary' Edward de Montjoie Rudolf, now Action for Children (Higginbotham 2017, p.102).

Despite the tendency of evangelical Christian authors to define Muller as an unassuming, austere and rather lone 'maverick' protagonist, inspired by a chance meeting, he was a key figure in nineteenth century education, religion and welfare. As has already been noted in this thesis, Muller was well informed by existing influences in the field, and well connected within powerful networks of elite pedagogical innovators, evangelicals, reformers, and leaders, and supported by wealthy and sympathetic donors such as fellow émigré and sugar magnate Conrad Finzel. He was, in his time, world renowned (Elfe Tayler 1871, p.1). He was a central figure in the New Awakening, 'the most potent evangelistic and instructional force of the century' (Harding 1914, p.79).

Thus, this culture was not only evangelical, but, significantly influenced by the Plymouth Brethren, an aspect which is omitted from Muller biographies, and the more general accounts of nineteenth century child welfare. Such writings and actions were thus 'rarely spontaneous…[but] the products of deeply held and widely debated convictions' (Hendrick 1994, p.28). Not only had these philanthropic 'pioneers' already dedicated their lives to these works (Dekker 2007, p.236), they were immersed in a particular class with its elitist and imperialist perspectives on these issues and how they should be tackled (Koven 2004).

As already quite well known public figures (Koven (2004, p.90) describes Barnardo for example, as a 'master publicist'), such reformists were not acting alone – and being well connected helped. Just as Coram drew on the support of well-known art figures Handel and Hogarth, and the wives of prominent politicians (Moore 2013), Fagen was part funded by supporters, Lord Blantyre and MP Samuel Smith. Like both Barnardo and Muller, Fegan initially rented a private property with financial assistance from wealthy supporters, inviting street children to come and learn - and to be fed (Higginbotham 2017, p.132). And again like both Muller and Barnardo, Fegan was also a 'devout Plymouth Brethren' member (Koven 2004, p.101).

Like Barnardo's, the Waifs and Strays Society and the National Children's Homes, Fegan's organisation was involved in the immigration of orphaned or 'partially orphaned' children to Canada (Higginbotham 2017, pp.130-33; Hodgson, 2018). Whilst it is popularly assumed that Dicken's 'Fagin' is based on a character encountered during his time in a boot blacking factory, Muller biographer Harding (1914, p.175) notes how Dickens had an 'odd fancy for depicting

Evangelical preachers as vulgar and hypocritical'. Given Dickens' colleague and illustrator George Cruikshank's distaste for evangelical philanthropists' propensity towards forced emigration as a 'solution' to poverty – he and Harriet Beech Stowe had referred to it as 'a disgrace to the Christian world' (Hendrick 1994, p.81)- perhaps Fegan is a more likely candidate, although the name is possibly *too* obvious.

Like Muller and others working in this field, Barnardo too was helped by generous financial benefactors, including a wedding gift of such a 'large house…in Essex' that its outbuildings were sufficient to use as a Home for girls (Higginbotham 2017, p.75). Similarly, as this thesis noted earlier, Muller himself could count Charles Dickens, Charles Spurgeon, wealthy entrepreneur and fellow Prussian Conrad Finzel, and the 'poor man's earl', philanthropist and reformer Lord Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, in his circle of wealthy and influential supporters (Introvigne 2018).

Spurgeon was an admirer of Muller, writing that Muller was 'one of the greatest Christians of the age' (Lenz 2010, p.210). A renowned evangelical preacher and writer himself, known as the 'prince of preachers' (Paxman 2009, p.198), Spurgeon was also a close friend to both the evangelical Lord Ashley, and the Prime Minister, Gladstone, whose own 'rhetoric and politics' were 'saturated [with] evangelical theological and social ideas' (Koven 2004, p.94).[42]

As Koven (2004, p94) writes, evangelicals successfully 'mobilised large numbers to support their causes', a significant number of whom appear to be well connected, influential and often wealthy, and like Muller, Barnardo, Fagen and Spurgeon, all notably connected to the Plymouth Brethren. As Introvigne (2018) observes in his history of the early Plymouth Brethren's attempts to set up ministries, despite its existence as a radical Evangelical group, 'the fact that many in this circle were well off made pursuing the ideal easier' (p.42). Indeed, an early biographer of Muller writes that Muller's Brethren circle was 'powerful at [this] specially momentous period' (Harding 1914, p38), and that Muller himself had an 'enormous effect upon Christianity' (*ibid*., p.11), linked as he was, along with Johann Wichern, to The Martin Luther University Halle-

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42 William Ewart Gladstone was a MP from 1832, and became Prime Minister four times between 1868 – 1892. In 1840 he started his long running campaign for the similar 'rescue and rehabilitation' of London's sex workers (Briggs 1990).

Wittenberg, based in Halle, Germany, which Harding refers to as 'the lively centre of Evangelical zeal' (*ibid.*, p.26).

It is notable too that the notion of the revelatory encounter appears in Biblical stories, popular in evangelical preaching (Introvigne 2018), not least, the stories of young Jesus in the Temple, aged 12 (Luke 2:41-52), the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37), and St Paul's Damascene conversion (Acts 22:9). Indeed, the notion of the 'forlorn child' as somehow innocent and Christ-like can be also found in other contemporary cultural sources. As Steedman (1990) has noted: 'Poor children were…investigated, written about, photographed and painted, surveyed and measured, in an unprecedented way in the last decades of the nineteenth century' (p62).

Examples of this attention and the representation of the poor or 'lost' Christ-like child range from popular social commentary paintings featuring street urchins and orphans, such as Mulready's *Uncared For* (1871),[43] to literature and poetry, such as Woodsworth's turn of the century poem, *We are Seven* featuring a bereaved child (who like Kilvert's ragamuffin, is also 'celestial' in her innocence). This notion can be extended to – less romantically- children's employment reports. 'Mr White' investigating a Birmingham button factory and child employment regulations in 1864, writes in the report that he encountered a small girl: 'birthday unknown….had worked…here eight or nine months…She was a beautiful child, with a bright innocent face..looking lost and bewildered' (in Royston Pike 1967, p.127).

Thus for the evangelicals, the revelatory stories enabled them to promote their charitable causes, within the popular narrative form of personal revelation (Lenz 2010). From their advantageous position as key figures in the religious and reformist culture of the nineteenth century, they drew on popular cultural forms, such as poetry, art and fiction as well as reportage, to raise awareness of the social issues, and to critique the failings of the established Church of England in 'preaching' but not 'doing' in helping the British urban poor (Lenz 2010). As Koven (2004, p.95) notes, there was: 'a remarkable fluidity in the way [the evangelicals] understood generic boundaries and conventions'. Fact and fiction were blended in 'hybrid works' in order to, for the evangelicals, 'represent higher truths' (*ibid.*, p.95).

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[43] The painting, aimed at highlighting social injustice and poverty, ironically sold for over ten thousand pounds, at Bonhams in 2010 (https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17844/lot/160/).

2.2.4 Summary

The 'revelatory moment' as discussed in this second section of chapter two, continues to occur frequently in historical accounts of key reformists, in key works such as Heywood (1959) and Higginbotham (2017), and in the existing organisations' accounts of their own history, such as Muller's biographies and Barnardo's website history pages[44]. It is argued here that this evangelical theme of the individual protagonist and the 'revelatory encounter' remains narratively significant, and is repeated uncritically in popular histories of care and welfare. However what is sidelined here, is the existence of the powerful networks of the evangelical influence, and the existing identities of those protagonists as already well connected and active in evangelical work.

Thus, the significance of evangelical groups such as Muller's Plymouth Brethren, and the group's powerful connections with the elite, in the education and welfare of nineteenth century orphaned or abandoned children, is largely written out of existing welfare histories. However, what is essentially an evangelical narrative, reworking both non-fictional and fictional tropes in terms of the 'grand *reveil*' in its formulaic account, remains, and is recounted in popular historical narratives, as factual, and arguably continues to shape our perceptions of children in care (Johannesson 2010; Jackson 2001).

As Ball (2017, p.64) has noted, history is not a 'continuous line of progress or improvement' but of advances, repetitions and retreats, 'points of going back as well as forward'. Applying this more critical perspective enables us to appreciate a more nuanced social history of Victorian philanthropy and the Victorian orphanage, challenging the 'grand narratives' of great reformers and progression, which tend to dominate existing care and welfare histories. It also potentially enables us to write 'back in' to history, the significant role of the evangelical movement, in early universal education, as well as the significant role played by 'orphan work' in developing both care and education.

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[44] See: https://www.barnardos.org.uk/who-we-are/our-history.

Muller Homes are not, then, defined here in this thesis as indicative of a 'trail blazing' moment of change and challenge in child welfare (Ball 2017), but immersed in, subject to, and representative of, the social philosophies, and dominant values and ideologies, of the time.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has set out how child welfare and care have been discussed from the perspective of History studies, and more recently, from the perspectives of social work and Psychology perspectives. It has noted that the histories of institutionalised care can be seen as marginalised and largely untheorized (Mintz 2005). The first part of this chapter concludes by arguing that whilst academic attention to care and education *has* increased, quite substantially so in the last two decades, it has generally done so within the fields of social work and psychology, and notes calls for a more contextualised historical understanding.

The second part of this chapter noted how evangelical writings merged factual and fictional styles in their accounts of the founders of child care movements, such as Barnardo, Fagen and Muller. Such narratives are subsequently repeated in histories of philanthropic care, and appear largely accepted as historical fact. It argued that critically reassessing the conventional narrative of the 'great reformer' can enable us to develop a more contextualised history of the development of education and care. Without this, we are in danger of overlooking and leaving relatively unexamined, our assumptions and stereotypes of care and those experiencing the care system, which can in turn, impact academic research into 'what works'.

As the following chapters go on to set out, by focusing instead on the interplay of micro level institutional accounts and writings in the Dismissal Books, and the macro level of 'public debates about …culture and society' (Koven 2004, p.3) regarding poverty, religion, education and young productive labour in the nineteenth century (Guery and Deleule 2014), this approach offers a fresh perspective to understanding the history of welfare and care.45 Through investigating the

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45 Chadderton and Colley make a further distinction in their analysis of contemporary 'cataloguing' of disadvantaged youth, referring to the institutional as representing a 'meso-level of institutional policy' (Chadderton and Colley 2012, p.340). As I am not focusing on individuals within the system, clarificatory 'macro-micro' levels of distinction will be used here.

categorisations and subsequent exclusions of the orphans in terms of potential labour, we can gain insight into, and trace patterns of, language, ideologies and values, in which we as researchers, carers and educators arguably remain implicated.

Chapter Three: Establishing the Theoretical Framework

3.0 Introduction

This chapter responds to Moore *et al*'s (2016, p.1) call for a more systematic and 'reproducible' approach to one's research in the archives, which acknowledges but does not foreground the researcher's own 'story' but instead develops a 'framework that harnesses both method specific research tools and …theory in the sense of a framework of ideas'. This chapter sets out the 'framework of ideas' which informs this thesis, namely Guery and Deleule's (2014) theoretical construct of the 'productive' and 'fragmented' body, which influences and informs Foucault's work on the disciplinary technologies of the nineteenth century (Vishmidt 2020). The work of Guery and Deleule is drawn on in this thesis to inform and underpin the analysis of the Dismissal Books, thus linking archival analyses with an understanding of institutional and structural power, as this chapter will go on to discuss.

As discussed in the previous chapter, from the 1970s onwards, archival research and what it meant to study history were controversially impacted by the work of Foucault (1977), Derrida (1994) and (the somewhat less acknowledged) Farge (1989). Such approaches were influenced by 'Freudian psychology, existentialism, and structuralism and post-structuralism' (Marwick 1989, p.109), and provided new ways of looking at the historical archive, drawing on cultural theory (Gunn 2006). Whilst the more empiricist, Marxist approach to 'history from below' and this 'sometimes idiosyncratic approach to history' adopted by Foucault *et al* (Gunn 2006, p.89) overlap, complement and inform each other, there were notable tensions. Using the approaches of Foucault and Derrida in making sense of history, were somewhat scathingly described by Marxist empiricist historian E.P. Thompson, as 'catching French flu', a seemingly sardonic nod to Derrida's seminal 1994 lecture on archive theory, *Archive Fever* (*ibid*., p2).

Foucault claimed not be studying 'the past' but 'the history of the present'- notably how: 'certain ideas and practices…came to be installed as representing 'normality…and especially, 'truth'' (Gunn 2006, p.89). Foucault (1991, p.11) saw the archive as essentially, discursive,

functioning as a 'technique' of official power. To explore this, Foucault sets out two 'strategies': the first being 'archaeology, the study of discourses manifested in the archive' (Gunn 2006, p.90), the second, related strategy, 'genealogy', how certain knowledges become the official and authorising, dividing, practices (Foucault 1984). In that way, Foucault's approach has been described as a 'history of knowledges rather than of ideas, and of power rather than politics' (Gunn 2006, p.90).

Less scathing than Thompson, but nevertheless critical, Moore *et al* (2016) argue that there has been a tendency for approaches drawing on this understanding of the archive, to draw too heavily on the psychoanalytical aspects of Derrida's approach. This tendency, they claim, leads to an unhelpful, and arguably self-indulgent, focus on the researcher experience at the expense of the archive encounter itself. Whilst this holds potential for innovative autoethnographies (Steedman's 2001 *Dust* is a key example of this), this 'confessional' style of writing, can as Tamboukou (2016) warns, downgrade the archives to simply becoming 'the backcloth of ethnographic fieldwork' (p.80). This is not only potentially ethically problematic, but can also obscure methodological reality, and marginalises more structural critique. As the next chapter will explain, this approach is also a misreading of Derrida's and Foucault's approach to archive analysis, which as Moore *et al* (2016) argue, includes a more systematic and critical approach to archival analyses than conventional accounts suggest.

This chapter starts by introducing Guery and Deluele's notion of the productive body, and how it has contributed to Foucauldian ways of thinking about nineteenth century ideology.

3.1 Foucauldian theory and the nineteenth century orphanage

The theoretical 'lens' through which I analyse the texts of the Dismissal Books, draws on Foucauldian ideas of the nineteenth century working body, specifically, those developed by Guery and Deleule (2014). Foucault's somewhat eclectic approach to analysing the 'dividing practices' of scientific classification in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has informed the broader 'cultural turn' of History, and influenced recent more critical approaches to archival research, which as the following two chapters will recount, have helped shape this thesis'

methodological and theoretical approach (Cifor and Wood 2017; Caswell *et al* 2017; Port 2015; Cook 2011; Schwarz and Cook 2002). Thus a starting point for this thesis' theoretical framework is Foucault's observation that: 'The body was increasingly treated as a thing during the nineteenth century…this objectification was paralleled and complemented by…dividing practices' (in Rabinow 1984, p10)

Yet despite the considerable body of scholarly attention to Foucault's work, a focus on 'the body' of the pupil in nineteenth century education and institutional care has been, as Deacon (2006, p.177) has noted, 'relatively under-represented' in Foucault's approach. Deacon (2006, p178) goes on to note that whilst the school is referenced in Foucault's (1977, 1994) studies on 'madness, health, knowledge, crime, sexuality [and] identity', most significantly in the 'retraining' of prisoners and the military in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault did not dedicate a specific study to education nor to orphanages, in the way he did these other key themes.

Deacon rectifies this in his own 'technico-political' account of education through the nineteenth century, identifying how education, as a discourse of power 'sought to subject individuals by proactively intervening in their future behaviour' (*ibid.*, p180), and noting that it may well have been a school, not a prison, which was the inspiration for the Panoptican model of surveillance and control (*ibid.*, p181). Similarly, and more recently, Ball's (2017, p207) work on the language of education policy draws on Foucauldian notions of discursive 'dividing practices'.

Given the proliferation of orphanages and evangelical philanthropy in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Higginbotham 2017; Koven 2004), the omission of orphanages, particularly those expounding evangelicalism and conversion, as examples of panoptical institutions and dividing practices appears a curious omission on Foucault's part. It is also pertinent to note here that Foucault's use of 'asylum' to refer to psychiatric hospitals, dividing the 'civilised' from the mad (Rabinow 1984, p141), the 'deplorable…Other' (Hall 2001b), is a somewhat narrow definition of the term. Early orphanages, from the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, were also known as 'asylums', reflecting their role as place of safety, such as the London Orphan Asylum, founded in 1813 (Higginbotham 2017, p.7).

In my analysis, I seek to answer Deacon's critique and rectify this marginalisation of education and institutionalised care in Foucauldian ideas around dividing practices. Drawing on notions of panoptical power and the body, as set out by Guery and Deleule (2014), I construct a critical framework for understanding the Dismissal Books' categorisations as illustrative of an 'emergence of a new…mode of knowing the body' (Barnard and Shapiro, 2014, p.33), particularly the bodies of young, working-class potential labour, in Victorian, Imperialist England. In illustrating the ways in which the institution interacted with the orphans' extended families, the analysis also offers new and useful ways of conceptualising the panoptical model.

Deacon's (2006, p.177) 'mining' of Foucault's work to explore the 'everyday mechanics of schooling as a disciplinary technology' is useful and valid, drawing together as it does, the ways in which school operated alongside key nineteenth century institutions such as the clinic, the military, the 'lunatic' asylum, the hospital, and the prison. In these spaces, it is generally argued, 'a system of normalisation' is imposed, not by force but through 'a continuum of apparatuses' such as medical conventions, labels, administrative authority and so on, until those subjected to this start to 'live' their subjectification (Foucault 1994).

Foucault uses the metaphorical model of the 'total institution' based around the all-seeing panoptical tower, to describe how such authority works, a 'totalising and individualising' power, which makes docile, the potentially 'unruly' body of the prisoner, the lunatic, the soldier, or the hysteric (in Rabinow 1984, p.20). Deacon's approach locates the school within this power dynamic, arguing that there are 'power relations…specific to educational institutions,' noting that whilst we have moved on from the more 'didactic…teacher centred' mode of teaching, power has not been 'dissolved' but 'reformulated' and made less overt (Deacon 2006, p.185).

This thesis develops Deacon's perspective. In focusing on the evangelical orphanage, this thesis offers new ways of conceptualising Panoptical power dynamics, in particular, a rethinking of the notion of the 'total institution' (Davies 1989, Foucault 1977, Goffman 1961). Instead, the institution is conceptualised here as part of a dynamic network, needing to constantly reassert its borders and position of central authority.

Again, in drawing on, and critically reassessing, Foucault's concept of the panoptical, this research balances out the currently relatively narrow understanding of the term, in Foucault's and in subsequent work on such institutions, and suggests a more nuanced version of the power relations within.

3.2 The productive body

As has been noted, Foucault is popularly assumed to represent a post-structuralist break with Marxism. Indeed, as Rabinow (1984, p.13) describes, Foucault is generally seen to be 'resolutely and consistently…anti-Marxist'. However, Foucault's use of Guery and Deleule's (2014) approach in drawing together structuralist, semiotic and discursive analyses, and Marxist theory, offers a way of looking at archived materials through a Foucauldian lens. This approach, as Barnard and Shapiro (2014) go on to argue, 'does not rest on semiotics or the linguistic turn associated with many...post structuralist models…but rather on a renewed focus on…experience through and typified by the capitalist workplace' (p.5).

In his analysis of ' sexuality, health of the individual and the race' Foucault (1994, p.11), does indeed acknowledge Guery and Deleule's *The Productive Body,* originally published in 1972. This is as Barnard and Shapiro (2014, p.3) note, a rare acknowledgement of other sources in Foucault's work, as he was 'hesitant to formally highlight the importance of others' work for his own'. Foucault (1994:xi) himself addresses being labelled a structuralist as a 'half witted' misunderstanding of his 'theory of discursive practice' which he argued took into account the 'conditions that dominate…the rules that come into play' in the wider, socio-historical context.

This thesis acknowledges both the more systematic elements of Foucauldian analysis and the more contextualised and overtly political stance of Foucault's work. It is in broad agreement with Vishmidt's (2015, p.305) analysis of the work of Guery and Deleule as the 'missing link between Marx and Foucault', a position which is as Vishmidt acknowledges is mostly unheralded in existing studies of Foucault's work (ibid., p42).

Elsewhere, Vishmidt (2020) describes Foucault's interest in the body as site of power and knowledge as 'biopolitics' which 'make….explicit [the] linkage between economy and living capacity …differentially applied' in terms of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class and the colonised. She writes how he maps out the 'emergence of 'the body' and 'bodies' as a terrain of class antagonism in nineteenth-century Europe' (pp.38-9). This involved – crucially for this thesis, as I will go on to demonstrate – the 'assertion of eugenic and social supremacy – the fitness to reproduce' and the perception of the working body as containing – both figuratively and physically ' structural vulnerabilities' (*ibid.*, p.39).

In his various analyses of 'the twin terms of power and knowledge' in capitalist, nineteenth century society, Foucault (1991) goes on to argue that:

> The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so one can fight them….to alter power relations (p6).

Guery and Deleule's (2014) notion of the 'productive body,' focuses on the ways in which labour was conceptualised within the context of nineteenth century imperialist capitalism, through the processes of nineteenth century institutions. In providing the link between Marxism and Foucauldian thinking, they go on to explain the relationships between the authorities' discourses of 'a modern form of…expert knowledge' regarding the working mind and body (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.1), and the lived impact of those discourses on the worker's 'fragmentated' self in nineteenth century, industrialised society (Guery and Shapiro 2014, p.51). As Hendrick (1994, p.2) has observed, 'the body does not exist as a timeless entity….[it] differs notably according to century, class, circumstances and culture'.

Vishmidt (2020) sees Guery and Deleule's text as extending:

> [C]ommodity fetishism to all of society, and specifically to its concept of the body. 'Mind' and 'body' are both seen as reifications of capitalist social and productive relations,

separated to create space for management … in industrial production. 'The body' is an artefact of individualising social relations produced by capitalist competition, which splits the social body into individualised productive bodies (p42).

As I will now go on to discuss, this approach enables me to theorise the symbolic 'dismembering' of the orphan body as being judged in parts, in terms of being 'unrecommendable' for work following training and assessment.

3.3 The fragmented body

Marx talks of nineteenth century capitalism as alienating the worker from their labour, through the fragmentalisation of the work process. As machines replaced craftwork, and guilds became undermined, work became 'parcelised' into repetitive actions (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.21), with 'terrible consequences' on the working body (Richardson 2014, p.92). Indeed, Vishmidt (2020, p.42) goes on to graphically describe how this idea of 'fragmentation' can also be read as representing the literal dismemberment of the worker's body by industrial machines. This process of fragmentation of work also impacted on the worker's sense of a collective identity.

Guery and Deleule argue that this 'age of Manufacture' alienates the worker from their own body, particularly those who were institutionalised, in that the body becomes judged and valued by what it can and cannot do (in Barnard and Shapiro 2014). As Vishmidt (2020) describes, this approach argues that, 'deprived of their individual purpose as productive (exploited) bodies, without a social body to fall back on', working class labour is 'exposed to the harm attendant on being barred from access to the means of consumption, that is, to the means of physical reproduction' (p.43).

Guery and Deleule (2014) posit that instead of the machine mirroring or supporting the body, as it did pre industrialisation, the industrialised workplace now demands the body 'fits' the machine or assigned work role. The worker defined in these terms, is thus encouraged to understand their own body's capabilities in a machine-like way. Nineteenth century

industrialised society demands 'subjectivity formation through machinic capitalism' both fragmented and productive (in Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.40).

In defining the fragmented body, Guery and Deleule draw on Lacanian and Althusserian notions of the 'fragmented subject' (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.16) but contextualise this within nineteenth century industrialisation. The fragmented self, working within a chain of production, makes it difficult, they argue, to work collectively, or create a collective identity. As both work identities and the body itself become segmented or 'dismembered', 'structural forces' lead workers to see themselves in terms of individual skills rather than as a group (*ibid*.,p.21). This sets up capitalist insecurity and competitiveness, which works to disconnect individuals from a collective sense of identity, in order to 'make…it seem to workers that they do not belong to a 'class' or community but must rely on their 'individual self' (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.21).

The use of 'social body' as potential buffer to individual exploitation is notable here; it remains against the beliefs of Muller's religious group the Plymouth Brethren to vote, or to join a union (Introvigne 2018, p.3). As will also be considered in the concluding chapter, care leavers such as orphan and workhouse apprentices and servants make up a significant part of the 'rootless' urban working population, a population which was also very young, on average, during the mid to late nineteenth century, and subsequently a cause for reformist concern (Wardle 1974).[46]

3.4 Education and the orphan body

An understanding of evangelicalism as expounded by Muller and the Plymouth Brethren can also help further illustrate how economic power through a 'social body' (Vishmidt 2020) or collective identity is discouraged, and further supports the relevance and use of the notion of the productive body and 'machinic fragmentation' as the theoretical underpinning for this research.

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[46] According to Wardle (1974), in 1841 around half of the inhabitants of Bury, Blackburn and Burnley were under twenty (p. 399-400). The average life expectancy for a servant girl in the early 1800s was sixteen in the city, and twenty five in rural areas (Langmead 2006, p.123).

As Prochaska (1988, p.24) has noted, 'evangelicals…were ardent individualists'. Influenced by Lutherism and Pietism, the more open version of Brethrenism, led by Muller, focused on the 'individual relationship with God' (Introvigne 2018, p.38). In this, activism and collectivism were actively discouraged. Muller's early biographer describes his teachings as: 'If money be needed for potatoes…ask the Lord for it' (Harding 1914, p.379), a sentiment echoing earlier Bristol Evangelical and 'reading school' founder Hannah More's teachings that '[a] dinner of herbs…with quiet/is better than beef amid...riot' (Sutherland 1971, p.10).[47]

The Muller Homes used the Lancaster-Bell Monitorial system of schooling (Lenz 2010). Such schooling had, as has been discussed in the introduction to this thesis, strictly limited objectives in which education was to befit status. As explained by Sir Thomas Barnard, a supporter of the Monitorial system (educated at Westminster, and heir to a Barbados fortune of slaves and sugar estates) 'the principle in schools and manufactories is the same.' Children attending such schools were taught only what was needed, for the jobs to which they would be assigned, and to be taught to 'stay in their places…bound by their betters by ties of gratitude' (Sutherland 1971, p.5).

This process is particularly pertinent in nineteenth century Bristol, in an era characterised by widespread unrest and revolutions across mainland Europe. Bristol as a city saw 'political radicalism and the labour movement' rise up the newly organised working class (Garwood 2011, p.10), including the establishment of powerful unions, and widespread workers' strikes, which were violently opposed by the authorities, throughout the later decades of the century (Richardson 2016, Ball 2013, Richardson 2013). As has already been noted in this chapter, Brethren members cannot join a union, or vote (Introvigne 2018, p.3).

As with the fragmented working body, then, and the fragmented, working community, work-focused teaching was 'broken down into mechanical elements' (Evans 1997, p.3). Social reformer Chadwick for example, attempted to 'calculate …how little time you needed to spend schooling a working class child so that it acquired a desirable minimum of useful knowledge…[for] work' (Cunningham 2006, p.150).

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[47] More's schools were funded by the 'Evangelical Wilberforces' and as noted earlier, allowed of 'no writing for the poor' as befitted their status (Sutherland 1971, p.9).

This was the practical, and as West country poet Coleridge approvingly described, 'moral' solution to both state education and social stability. This was cited by its supporters as opposed to impractical and 'utopian schemes for the universal diffusion of general knowledge,' as Bell dismissively described more progressive pedagogical models (Sutherland 1971, p.10).

Thus to extend Guery and Deleule's (2014) theoretical model of fragmentation, nineteenth century education for the poor and disadvantaged can also be conceptualised as 'fragmented' into the 'need to know' parts. As one School Inspector in 1846 critiqued of early elementary education, 'We break off a fragment from the education we suppose necessary for our own children- its mechanical and technical part – and give it to the poor man's child in charity' (in Sutherland 1971, p.3).

Drawing also on the notion of the archives as representative of institutional and discursive power (Farge 2013, Stoler 2009, 2002), the concept of the (un)productive and fragmented body can be deployed here as a theoretical lens through which to view the Dismissal Books, in order to deconstruct the categorisations of the Muller orphans. As I will go on to elucidate, such an approach sees the orphan categorisations as promoting both 'docile' individualism (the project of self and skills development versus collective strength and resistance) and virtuous, obedient morality involved in accepting one's lot, and one's label. And as the conclusion will note, unfortunately for care leavers in the twenty first century, this is not consigned to Victorian history.

3.5 Conclusion

The theoretical framework used to underpin the analysis in this thesis is Guery and Deleule's (2014) notion of the productive and fragmented body. This framework involves approaching the Dismissal Books as 'social constructions that have been produced under a range of social, cultural and historical circumstances', an approach which 'entails being sensitive to the rich historical context in which the documents were produced' (Vehkalahta 2016, p.29). Through the use of Guery and Deleule's approach to understanding nineteenth century capitalist discourses, the thesis thus suggests how we can conceptualise the Dismissal Books as illustrative of the capitalist need for docile, fragmented bodies, supported by emerging scientific ways of defining

fitness and productivity, the 'machinification' of monitorial teaching, and the evangelical drive encouraging 'reform' and acceptance of 'knowing your place'.

Echoing Vishmidt (2015), Bernard and Shapiro write that, in their conceptualising of the working body, Guery and Deleule's approach is in essence, 'Foucault's conversation with Marx' (2014, p.40).This approach draws on Foucault's notion of biopower and biopolitics, defined by Berlant as the 'long term problems of embodiment within capitalism', in other words, the 'body burden' of those in an unequal society, whose health and habits are seen as essentially their responsibility, not the consequences of capitalism (Berlant 2011, p.105).

Barnard and Shapiro (2014, p.39) go on to describe *The Productive Body* as providing a means of relating 'the history of capitalist phase-changes and subjectivity' to 'Foucault's concerns with the interplay of discourses, institutions and…surveillance'. It provides a way in, then, to linking archival analysis with broader concerns around power and discourse, inequality and class in the industrialised nineteenth century (Laclau and Mouffe 2020, p.xi). Through this approach the institution can be defined as assuming the authority to 'fragment' then reconstruct the docile and 'unproductive body' of the orphan, their identity, family and community.

In summary, the theoretical position drawn on in this thesis can be defined as broadly 'post Marxist' (Laclau and Mouffe 2020) and 'humane Marxist' (Marwick 1989) in that it links the discursive analysis of the archives to wider structural issues of power and ideology. Such an approach draws on 'classical' Marxism, but now includes seeing society as a more 'discursive space' (Laclau and Mouffe 2020, p.x), in which 'capitalist interweaving of society and the body creates a historically new and distinctive category, the productive body' (Barnard and Shapiro 2015, p.12). This study contributes to this ongoing conversation: in the conclusion, I make links between the Dismissal Books' rhetoric and the current situation for young people leaving care today, suggesting directions for further research.

Having set out the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis, the next chapter sets out the methodological 'research tools' used in examining the Dismissal Books, to show how this framework can be used to conceptualise the archives in which the Dismissal Books reside, as a discursive space.

Chapter Four: Methodology (A) Approaching the archives

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will start with a discussion of the 'archival turn' to a more discursive approach to archive analysis, informed as I have argued, by Foucault and Derrida, and by Guery and Deleule. This chapter also places Farge (2013) as a key influence on post-structuralist archival studies. The ways in which I approach, and go on to discuss, the archive, are informed by both Stoler (2009) and Farge (2013) in their conceptualising of the archive and how it constitutes and represents power. Using this approach is *not* to 'catch french flu' as Thompson disparagingly described in the previous chapter (Gunn 2006), but to note that Farge's work suggests a more systematic, methodical and politically critical approach to conceptualising the archives than post-Derrida studies generally acknowledge (Tamboukou 2019).

The chapter then goes on to explore the ethical challenges of my own position in the archives, in order to make more transparent, 'the relationship between the researcher and the researched' (Rose 1997, p.308) and the ethical issues involved in studying a topic with a personal connection (Adam and Manning 2015).

In this chapter, then, I aim to work through my own dialogue with the archives. In doing so, I heed Moore *et al*'s (2016) calls for more methodological clarity, and in the following chapter, go on to show how the language in the Dismissal Books can be systematically analysed, in order to identify links between texts in the archive and wider, ideological discursive formations.

4.1 Making a stand in the archives

Moore *et al* (2016, p.7) develop their critique of the post structuralist approaches to archival analysis, arguing that there is an almost 'fetishized' attachment to Derrida in archival research, which has become 'feverish' in itself. They argue that Derrida's work has become so linked with the archival turn that it is referenced almost 'ritualistically without really engaging with the complexities involved'. In their critique of Steedman's (2001) influential autoethnography on archival studies, *Dust,* they go on to suggest that 'fever, dust, imperial archive, allure' have

become a 'set of circulating…ideas' themselves, 'mythologised' and repeated as if a mantra (*ibid.*,p.7). Indeed, its style and tone significantly echoes that of Farge, Foucault's colleague, as I will go on to illustrate, although this is not as overtly acknowledged in the text.

Such attention, as Moore *et al* (2016, p.13) go on to claim, fundamentally misunderstands that both Foucault and Derrida do, in fact, engage in 'considerable discussion…[of] methodological aspects'. However the ways in which their approaches tend to be interpreted, Moore *et al* (2016, p.20) argue, generally result in a tendency for problematic over-emphases on the ethnographic, the centring of the 'researcher experience, response, presence' and the 'seduction effect of working in the archives'.

Tamboukou (2019, p1) describes Farge's work, as long-time collaborator with Foucault, as 'influential', yet Farge's influence on critical archival approaches often appears overlooked by other writers on the archive. When Foucault is evoked by reviewers of Steedman, for example, this is not the whole picture. Foucault worked with Farge (then a recent post-graduate) on legal records of eighteenth century France (Fontana 2017), later published in 1982 as *Le Désordre des familles.* This work was controversially at odds with the kinds of conventional, positivist historiographies still largely dominating the discipline at the time, despite interdisciplinary moves to challenge that domination (Banner 2012). Critics found it 'too anecdotal…too focused on individual cases and personal emotions, to be historically meaningful' (Fontana 2017). Farge's own authored work, was originally published in 1989, five years before Derrida's 'Mal d'Archive' conference paper (1994), and re-published in 2013, following the success of Steedman's *Dust* (Steedman 2001).

Farge's work I would argue, appears to have influenced *Dust*'s tone. *Dust* and *The Allure of the Archives* share a similar mode of address: both refer to 'you' and 'she' in describing archival research, and move between speaking in the first person to using the second person in present tense, as if observing another person in the archives. For example, Steedman (2001, pp.17-17) entitles a chapter, 'something she called a fever', whilst Farge (2013, pp.47-52) entitles hers to reflect how 'She has just arrived' in the reading room. Whilst Steedman (2001, p.18) talks of how 'your craft is to conjure a social system from a nutmeg grater', Farge talks of 'your' encounter with an unexpected small envelope of wheat seeds: 'you never forget the colour of

seeds, once you have seen them…in the archive' (p.12). Similar to Steedman's lyrical accounts of 'breath[ing] in…old parchment' in the archive (p.81), Farge describes the archive as smelling enticingly of 'wax and faded leather….a peppery perfume' (p.118). Steedman's sensual talk of 'a knot of faded pink tape' (p.81) seems to echo Farge's description of 'gently ..undoing…cloth ribbon that corsets [a bundle of letters] revealing a pale line' (p.2). Both Farge and Steedman discuss the challenge of 'bounding' one's archival research: for Farge, the archive is 'oceanic…unsettling and colossal' (pp4-5) whilst for Steedman, it includes, 'the great, brown…strandless river of Everything' (p.18). A number of reviewers, including for example, Tollebeek writing in *History and Theory* argue against reviewers' tendency to see *Dust* as original or unique, acknowledging Farge's considerable influence on Steedman's work (Tollebeek 2004)[48].

Like Wilkinson, Steedman and others, Farge (2013, p.116) uses wordplay and dream-like metaphor, evoking fairy tale imagery in her word play around *depouiller*, of stripping, undoing, 'skinning' texts. She draws on mythical imagery to describe 'sibylline' indexes and a 'labyrinth maze,' in a place where the clock hands 'hang motionless', representing 'lost time' in 'obsessive' activity (*ibid*., p10). Yet whilst the repeated descriptions of motionless clocks imply Derrida's 'feverish' psychoanalysis (recalling, too, the surrealist imagery of Dali, Bunuel and Bergman [49]), Farge is not creating a dreamlike scenario but one in which she offers systematic 'new ways of seeing', the archive and archival processes. One in which the 'ordinary smooth course of scientific knowledge' can be 'outflanked', by 'other visions' and new conversations, new perspectives challenging the conventional, 'drab restitution of…historical subject[s]' (*ibid*., p123).

Arguably, then, the feverish response to archival approaches is less a misunderstanding of Foucault and Derrida, than it is an underestimation and misreading of the influence of Farge. Indeed, Farge (2013, p.122) conceptualises the 'allure' as a stance of sympathy, a drive to

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[48] See for example Ganaways' review, which acknowledges Steedman's work is 'not exactly a new insight' but positions it as 'borrowing from Derrida', not- as I would argue – from Farge. It must be acknowledged, however, that *Allure,* was only translated into English in 2013. However it has been widely regarded as a 'classic' since its initial 1989 publication, and Farge herself, a distinguished historian (Aldrich 2015).

[49] See for example the avant garde film imageries of both Bunuel and Bergman, such as the opening scenes of Bergman's' *Wild Strawberries* (Bergman 1957), which features a handless clock above two unblinking, staring eyes.

convey 'a sense of human dignity…a language that can rescue [the] relevance' of those she studies, a 'taste for these ragged tatters of words and actions' which will 'always shape the way you write about them'. This suggests more of a political positioning, which links with Guery and Deluele's approach to understanding marginalised histories discussed earlier (2014), than it does a lyrical description of the archives' seductive nature. It suggests a more critical, post-colonial stand in the archives, akin to that of Burton (2005), Stoler (2009, 2002) and others, than the post structuralist, psychoanalytic readings of the archives. It links the Foucauldian ideas about discourse, shared by Guery and Deluele, to the 'humane Marxist' approach of marginalised and hidden histories (Marwick 1989, p.116).

4.2 Reading along and against the grain

This thesis is in agreement, then, with Farge's (2013, p.122) suggestion that we acknowledge history writing as inevitably and always 'unfinished', which allows for 'alternative outcomes…possible futures' for the lives we have encountered in the archives. For Farge in particular, formulaic 'smoothness' in research practice is regarded as suspicious, too tidy. Like Burton *et al* (2005), Farge is also exploring the potential for creative innovation in archival research; unlike them, however, this is not about drawing on the psychoanalytic narratives to describe the archival experience, but to create new ways of thinking about research, to enable oneself to be open to 'surprises …when in dialogue with the archives' (2013:123). As Stoler (2009, p.19) notes, 'knowing what one is after is not always enough'.

The historian, she argues, 'cannot be narrator alone' (*ibid*., p.95), continuing to render their subjects 'unheard', by fixing them to a 'definitive truthful narrative.' Such a narrative, she goes on to argue, is therefore 'a construction, not a truthful discourse' (*ibid*., p.95). In this, Farge's approach chimes with that of Stoler (2009), who argues for reading both 'along' and 'against' the grain: 'read[ing] along the archival grain draws our sensibilities to the archive's granular rather than seamless texture…. Working along the grain is not to follow a frictionless course but to enter a field of force and will to power' (p.48).

The archive as conceptualised by Stoler (2009), which in turn shapes this thesis' approach, is more political, representing an institutionalised, hegemonic power, as 'paper empires' (Trouillot

1995). These 'empires' are 'constantly shifting and unstable' systems, in which there are 'inevitably fissures…ruptures…indeed rips in the paper' (Moore *et al* 2016, p.10). This is drawn on here as a powerful way to view the archive as both empirical resource and as 'powerful metaphor for the processes of collecting traces of the past, and for the forgetting of them'. What is significant here is the archive's systems of 'inevitable selectivity' (Steedman 2001, p.5), something to which I have already alluded, in the account of the list of corporal punishments in the orphan homes, which had been thrown away by staff at the organisation.

Both Farge and Stoler set out their positions, approaching the archives as the spaces through which we can investigate 'principles and practices of governance lodged in particular archival forms' (Stoler 2009, p.29). Stoler goes on to describe how she 'treats the colonial archives as:

[B]oth a corpus of writing and a force field that animates political energies and expertise, that pulls on some 'social facts' and concerts them into qualified knowledge, that attends to some way of knowing while repelling and refusing others….[This] inscribes the authority of the colonial state and the analytic energies mobilised to make its assertions. But it also registers other reverberations, crosscurrent fictions, attractions and aversions that worked within and against those assertions of imperial rights (Stoler 2009, pp29-30).

In her work on colonialist archives, Stoler (2009, p.16) sees the imperial classification of the inhabitants of the 'Netherlands Indies' as subsequently, not fixed, but constantly in process: 'epistemic practices were not just recorded in the colonial archive but developed and worked through the genres of documentation'. Thus the categorisations available for analysis in the Dismissal Books, in the Muller archives, need to be seen in terms of the hegemonic (Gramsci 1971), as 'protean… subject to reformulation again and again' (Stoler 2009,p.16). Whilst Stoler (2009) does not directly reference Farge (2013), and her particular notion of 'allure', she describes her own position as experiencing: 'the taste of the archive...in the heady rush of discovery, in the sensations and desires the archives stir…[T]he Colonial archives are the bitter aftertaste of empire' (p28)*.

Such approaches as that of Farge and Stoler, offer 'new ways' of looking beyond the official archive to 'glean[…] much about…the life, feeling and language of the poor and vulnerable'

(Zemon Davies 2013, p.xi). They chime with other, similar approaches critiquing the more conventional methodological and theoretical frameworks, such as that of Burton's (2005) and Hamilton *et al*'s (2002), post colonialist critiques of imperial archives. These ways of conceptualising archival materials inform my own approach. Looking at the nineteenth century Dismissal Books in this way, as I will go on to argue, enables us to map out and critically investigate the discursive formations through which the young working body is deemed recommendable or unrecommendable, productive or unfit for purpose (Guery and Deluele 2014). The language of the Dismissal Books is therefore seen here as part of wider circulating discourses which normalise, justify and legitimate the exploitative process of recommendation and unrecommendation.

In viewing the archive in this way, the researcher is not assumed to be 'disembodied' from the research process and the analysis, but present, in acknowledging ' the problematic nature of archives, of texts, of field experience and…the historian' (Davidson in Lambert and Schofield 2004, p.158). This approach acknowledges the impossibility of the 'neutral' and 'objective' research stance (Lawson *et al* 2006, p.59). Both Farge (2013) and Stoler (2009) illustrate how the researcher is in 'dialogue with the archives' (Farge 2013, p.123), an interaction which as MacMillan (2009) has warned, needs to be 'handled with care' (p.170). The archival researcher must make clear that she 'take[s] on [the] epistemological and ethical responsibility for offering a design, a pattern that has meaning' (Farge 2016, p.168). In other words, we track our particular 'path' through the archives, noting 'possibilities for the creation of different meanings…other understanding[s]' (*ibid*., p.168). Whilst again, this is not an autoethnographic account, the following section looks in more detail, at my particular path when approaching the archives, to explore ethical issues.

4.3 Research ethics and my position

As Johannesson has argued, an important part of the research story is what sparked the interest in the first place (Johannesson 2010, p.258), and how one's own story impacts on the 'doctoral journey' (Cunningham and Carmichael 2018). As I had already visited the archives as a family member interested in personal history, I thus had a 'way in' to approaching them with my research plan. However as I have discussed, I am an atheist, and as Muller's is an evangelical

Christian organisation, I was not therefore an 'insider' as described in Corbin Dwyer and Buckle's (2009) accounts of ethnographic research in their own cultural group.

I was also negotiating my own family's reaction to my research. Whilst this is not an autoethnographic study, this research references my personal family history in its discussions of wider issues of inequality and power, in ways which potentially make public, that which has been silent or suppressed in my family's account of itself (Griffin, 2011, in Adams and Manning, 2015, p353). When I began to publish, and to give public talks about my research, my parents, now in their eighties and nineties, were conflicted by this element of family history being made public. As the first person in my family to go on to university, never mind attempt a doctorate, I was a source of pride, but now also, shame and embarrassment. Despite it being at least two generations ago, and hardly the Lowe family's fault that the children went into institutionalised care (as explained, both parents died of cholera in the Black Country, leaving six impoverished orphans in slum conditions), it was not necessarily a popular decision to write and talk publicly about this, essentially, as my mother described it: 'going round telling everyone we've been in a workhouse'.

As I entered the archives, I was reading through the Muller biographies, as discussed in chapter two. I have recounted how I regarded them not as evidence of the miraculous but as examples of the types of persuasive evangelical writing which played with the narrative conventions of both fiction and non-fiction (Koven 2004). In contrast to these somewhat adulatory accounts of Muller's, I became interested in the ways in which young people were categorised and defined, and how that related to previous research I had done on marginalised groups and institutional power (e.g Brooks 2019), and to my own relatives' experiences and attitudes to their history.

In setting out my storyline, throughout this thesis, it is noted that the aims of this study are not, however, to denounce or accuse Muller (Koven 2004). Nor is it aiming to tell the 'real' story (Stoler 2009), or the *whole* story of Muller and the New orphan Homes. Instead, my aim was to understand the discursive processes of the institution's categorisations, and in doing so, remain as transparent as possible in terms of my position and approach, setting out my positionality as a researcher, acknowledging that one arrives at the archives carrying not only questions, as

stated earlier in this thesis, but assumptions, values and expectations, which help shape this project (Lawson *et al* 2006).

In this, I contribute to wider dialogue, in further exploring how Foucault's conversation with Marx can be usefully applied to our understanding of the values and practices of the nineteenth century orphanage. Applying this to my own positionality, a key project of the thesis was then, to challenge the ways in which orphans had been discursively 'invited' by the categorisations of the institution to internalise their labels of shame and unproductivity (Althusser 2014), labels which continued to be relevant to the current care system (Jackson 2013, 2010) and were still felt, and embodied, by my own parents in their responses of embarrassment and shame.

Moving between the personal and the wider discursive formations, enabled me to demonstrate some of the ways in which this discursive power operates (Ball 2017) and continues to operate (Chadderton 2020, Berlant 2011, Besley 2001), as well as provide further insight into my own motivations for focusing on inequalities and hidden histories. I return to reflect on these issues in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

4.4 Inside in 'the space between'

Despite my being an 'outsider', and despite my family's ambivalence, my previous visit meant I subsequently I enjoyed 'a more rapid...acceptance by participants' when I returned to ask if I could carry out my research there (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle's 2009, p.58). My role as a foster carer also helped me negotiate this outsider status, as I was open about my atheism and the fact I did not 'share an identity, language and experiential base' with the institution and its members, as would a true 'insider' (*ibid*., p.58). Thus as a researcher working in the Muller archives, I operated in what Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009, p.60) refer to as the 'space between'.

This space was negotiated in a number of ways: I would emphasise an element of belonging, in order to develop rapport (Edward and Holland 2013), through identifying with my great grandfather (without whose survival, I would point out, I would not be here). I emphasised

'kinship' (Hyden 2008; Miller 2016) by talking of my experiences as a Bristol-based foster carer, particularly of young refugees, in which the then CEO of the institution was very interested. When needed, I would offer to help out, through for example, posing as a 'volunteer' for their website photographer when nobody else was available or willing to be photographed. I also brought in gifts and donations, such as biscuits,[50] and postcards based on Dickens' article, which I designed and donated to sell. Such a position was precarious, impacted upon by both frequent changes of staff, and the Covid-19 pandemic, as is discussed below.

In the time I was allowed into the archives at Muller's, I aimed to be as 'honest and authentic as possible', in my interactions with …participants' such as the Muller staff and volunteers, 'honour[ing] the consequences of acting with genuineness' (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009, p.60). This meant being open about my atheism, in informal talks and meetings with staff and volunteers, and sharing with them, the questions I carried with me into Muller's, as well as articles and talks I had written on the organisation (Brooks 2020a; 2020b; 2022), and the 'thorny issue' of what I eventually chose to focus on, and why (Tamboukou 2011, p.6).

This position has been challenging to share with the organisation. As evangelical Christians focused on outreach, their impetus was promoting the Muller story and how the seemingly 'spontaneous donations, 'prayed in' by Muller, enabled the orphans to be rescued – this was seen, as an early biographer stated, as 'a practical demonstration of what could be accomplished simply through…prayer' (Elfe Tayler 1871, p.145). As such, the staff were not familiar with the content of the archives, and exploring the themes of Dismissal Books, was not a priority. As I have noted, the organisation did not have an official archivist, although volunteers had, variously, maintained order and catalogued the archives. The 'unrecommended' orphans did not feature in the museum. Sharing my findings with them, where possible, was at times quite awkward, although led to some genuinely fascinating and informative discussions around faith, representation and history, and I remain grateful for those generous and open conversations.[51]

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[50] See Morse (1998) on researcher-researched relationships, who notes that 'it takes a lot of donuts to get good data'.

[51] In an email over lockdown, the administrator signed off with 'I am praying for you, I hope you don't mind'.

4.5 The research impetus

As I have recounted, I related to Koven's (2004) desire to not sanctify, nor dismiss, Victorian philanthropists such as Muller, but to see them as individuals working in particular ideological contexts, neither 'heroes [nor] villians, saints [nor] sinners' (p.283). However, I am also a researcher with a Cultural Studies background, sharing the discipline's focus on:

> [R]epresentations of and for marginalised social groups, particularly those of class, gender and race (but also of age, disability, nationality...), [in which it is understood that] knowledge is never neutral or objective...but a matter of positionality, of the place from which one speaks, to whom, and for what purposes (Barker 2002, p.5).

As a lecturer I came to Education studies after thirty years writing and teaching in Cultural Studies, and found that approaches I had encountered in my teaching, on gender, class and inclusion, for example, informed and enriched my early encounters with pedagogic theory. As was discussed in the last chapter, the Marxist-influenced social and labour history of the 1970s gave way to a more culturally inflected version of history, thanks to the so-called cultural turn caused by the influential work of Gramsci, Foucault, Althusser and others, and the more 'linguistic turn' of Saussaurean linguistics and literary theory, as well as inputs from the perspectives of psychoanalytic theory, feminist theory, queer theory and theories concerning postcolonialism (Gunn 2006).

Indeed there were overlaps in debates on class, power and the classroom. History, Education and Cultural Studies 'dovetailed' as Gunn (2006, p.19) describes, with critical theory, with its emphasis on critical reflexivity, and focus on 'the politics of knowledge' thanks to the influences of Derrida, Bourdieu and others concerned with the 'need to expose the hidden grammar underlying discourse'.

My position then absorbs these influences and reflects my journey through Cultural Studies, Education and History, to what Gunn (2006) summarises as a ''new' cultural history' approach, in which 'language and discourse become principal objects of analysis' (p.21). As I have

discussed, this study has as its theoretical underpinning, Guery and Deleule's (2014) approach to the 'productive body' which articulates 'elements of Marxism with Foucault's work on knowledge, power and institutions' (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.5), and chimes with my lived experience, in a family whose members have internalised the discursive categorisations of 'unrecommendableness' in their shame and ambivalence about their history. In this, I acknowledge but do not focus at length on the 'archival turn' (Moore *et al* 2016) in this study. Whilst I do not draw on autoethnographic or psychoanalytic approaches to archival encounters, such as those influenced by Derrida (Steedman 2001), I do aim to be transparent in terms of my impetus, and in the 'encounters and entanglements' in the archives (Tamboukou 2016, p.71).

Therefore, whilst I share Koven's (2004), definition of discourses such as those in the Dismissal Books, as evidence of individuals' mix of flawed albeit good intentions, I see these as nevertheless, part of wider, circulating structural discourses of power and exploitation. My final analysis, focusing on the 'unrecommended', took a more critical perspective, however, using Guery and Deleule's (2014) approach to define the institution as an example of Victorian capitalist philanthropy (Richardson 2003, p.16), exploiting, fragmenting and excluding the unproductive body of the orphan trainee.

The impetus for this research therefore came from a number of levels, from the intensely personal, as a great grand-daughter of a Muller orphan, and as a parent and foster carer, to the broader political stance as an academic, writing, researching and teaching about social justice, education and inclusion. Like Lawson *et al* (2006), I wanted to carry out research 'explicitly aimed at change leading to equity, justice and fairness…research which can…and should, make a difference' (p.56).

The aims of this research was to deem the orphans' treatment, and my own family's experiences, as 'worthy of history' (Rowbotham 1977, p.63) as well as challenging the claim that all orphans were 'rescued' through training and gainful employment after the orphanage.

4.6 An outsider looking in

During my time at Muller's, and over Lockdown, I gave short talks to both staff and volunteers, usually over Zoom, an online meeting platform. These encounters would invariably end with volunteers and staff reaffirming that, what I was interpreting as due to social context, or as having human agency, was in their eyes, examples of the miraculous.

For example, the Muller pamphlets and biographies claimed Muller 'did not ask for donations' but received generous donations spontaneously (e.g. Steer 2018, 2012, Langmead 2006, Garton 19897, Harding 1914). However the *Muller Narratives* would often recount how those who chose not to donate had suffered misfortune, which I considered persuasive writing.[52] As a group of evangelical Christians, many of whom volunteered at the museum in order to both celebrate Muller and to perform 'outreach' as Christians actively engaged in promoting their religious beliefs, they stated that they were hopeful I would, through reading of Muller, eventually join them in their beliefs, and expressed surprise that my extensive reading had not persuaded me to do so.

I liked and respected the Muller staff, volunteers and archivists, and the previous CEO, who was welcoming and curious about my perspectives and the non-Christian interpretation of Muller history (Brooks 2020a). I worked to ensure whilst I approached them 'as an ally' in terms of my local foster care role and family history, I did not fall into a 'conspiracy of silence' in terms of our differing views on religion and Muller history (Cohen 1996, p.57). As I have recounted, I would start these talks by acknowledging that without Muller's intervention, my family – and many hundreds of other orphans - may well have perished. I remain thankful for their initial generosity in sharing the archives with me.

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[52] As I have already recounted, Gorsky (1999) offers a rare critique of Muller 'mythologising' his success at encouraging donations. Likewise, the *Exeter Flying Post* (1872) suggests that the apparent success of 'praying in' donations is a both 'curious' and 'entertaining' narrative. *The Post* goes on to suggest that donators are told how choosing not to donate can cause bad luck, and so do so, in a 'morbidly self accusing…superstitious state of mind' (1872, p3). Biographer Langmead states that Muller was 'extremely sensitive' to accusations that 'he made indirect appeals' (2006, p.121).

However as I have recounted, during my initial visits to the archive, Muller's moved from a large villa containing offices and a small, volunteer-led museum in Cotham Hill, to a purpose built, more professional museum space within one of the original orphan homes, Home No.2. The Dismissal Book archives changed from being easily accessible, located in piles in an unlocked filing cabinet in the back room, to being filed away, locked up and accessible only on permission. (**Appendix 2** shows the original informal archive, the filing cabinet). I visited the new museum a number of times and in the new location, and as I will go on to describe, felt more supervised and overseen as a researcher.

Almost immediately after the move, the UK 'lockdown' response to the Covid-19 pandemic saw the Muller's offices close, the Muller's staff furloughed, and the museum closed to the general public. During and after Lockdown, the organisation experienced a rapid staff turnover, the CEO who had welcomed me into the archives, two key admin staff and the museum curator, all left. Without those members of staff, I had no personal contact details for, or informal connections with, the institution.

After the 2020 Covid pandemic and the resultant lockdown, with a new CEO, Muller's turned down my request for further visits, stating that they could no longer allow me into the archives, due to restrictions on visitors. Subsequently I lost my 'inroads' into Muller's. As still in paper form, the Muller archives were not digitally organised, so could not offer me 'a world of unheard of historical abundance' as Burton (2005, p.5) somewhat optimistically describes online archives.

Lack of room in the museum is, on the one hand, a valid reason, particularly as many of their volunteers and visitors are elderly and therefore more vulnerable to the Covid virus, and the museum, though very high ceilinged, is small. However, on the other, there may also be an element of disapproval and exclusion, given I had been open with them about my perspective, and my intention to not simply reiterate the 'Muller story' but to publicly write and talk about the marginalised, rather than the miraculous. Miller (2016, p.16) has discussed the 'unhelpfully blurred' issues of researcher rapport and collusion, and Farge (2013) and others have detailed the complexities of the archivist and researcher relationship (see also Tesar 2017, Cook 2011, Schwartz and Cook 2002).

I was therefore, unable to return to the archives, post-Covid. Whilst this thesis focuses on the Dismissal Book texts, there is certainly more to be said in future writing, on the ethical challenges of this research, the reception of these findings by the Muller organisation and its supporters, and the ongoing narrative of the 'Muller story'. Despite this set-back, the multiple identities I took with me into the Muller archives, have enriched the research in possibly unexpected ways. For example, in tracing the connections between nineteenth century care, inclusion and the current care system, and drawing on my own fostering and teaching experiences, the concluding chapter explores parallels with broader, current debates around disadvantaged young people including care leavers.[53] I am hopeful that at some future point, I can share with Muller's, this more nuanced and contextualised account of their story.

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[53] As a foster carer of asylum seekers, I note in the conclusion, further parallels between the Dismissal Books categorisations of inclusion and exclusion and the ways in which young asylum seekers are categorised, ordered and 'Othered' as insiders/outsiders, 'deserving' or 'undeserving', passive victims or dangerous threats (see for example, Luiselli 2017, Heath-Kelly 2013, Goodman 2007).

4.7 Starting with the Dismissal Books

The Dismissal Books were the focus of my research: the records of those orphans leaving the institution between the 1830s and 1890s. The Books are five, large, hardback books, made by a local stationers (see **Appendix 2**). Inside, rather than the ledger-style book keeping design one might expect, the pages are lined as in the style of an exercise book, so entries are sequential paragraphs. Each Dismissal Book entry, generally a few lines long, starts with the orphans' names, written in large copperplate. The entries then go on to list the orphan's admission number, how long they had been at the orphan homes, and the date and destination of their departure (see **Appendix 3** for an illustrative example: the Dismissal Book details for Joseph, Charlotte, Eliza Ann and Mary Jane Lowe). In later Books, their birth date is included, and it is noted whether or not they had converted. The information in the paragraphs is not always consistent, some as I will go on to explain, contain more information than others.

Muller's biographer Harding (1914, p.182) writes that the 'especial purpose' of the orphanage was 'that the children of God might have their faith strengthened'. Muller (1848, p.76) himself writes that the 'main object' for the Muller Orphan Homes was to 'board, clothe and scripturally educate destitute children…bereaved by BOTH parents', in order to educate them 'to religious truth'.[54] Conversion of those inside the orphanage was only half the picture, however. Elfe Tayler's 1871 biography quotes Muller's assertion that 'the whole matter…about the Orphan House [is that] there might be …visible proof that the Lord delights in answering prayer' (in Elfe Tayler 1871, p.21), which is echoed in subsequent biographies, such as Garton (1987) and Steer (2006, p.108), who writes that the purpose of the Orphan Homes was to 'show that God could provide'. Harding (1914) goes on to describe the Brethren movement as a revivalist movement, whilst 'the Church of Christ' (the Church of England) 'waxes cold and worldly' (p319).

Orphans converted to the Brethren's revivalist evangelicalism were described in the Dismissal Books as 'walking with Christ' and 'a believer', as well as 'walking consistently'. For example, three orphans are sent on to placements at the same time, in each entry the word 'believer' is

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[54] The importance of parents being married, and therefore 'respectable poor', is picked up again in the analyses.

underlined (DB1/555,556,557).[55] My great grandfather is sent to Monelle's tailors, Wells, who regularly took on Muller apprentices. He was described as 'converted…A good boy' (DB1/458). (See **Appendix 3**).

The remainder of the entry does not use the orphan's name, they are referred to as 'the orphan' or 'the child'. For example, a relative or foster parent, 'having married again, wishes to resume his care of this child' (DB3/2265). Whilst I feel it would have been a positive move in this thesis to 'give back' to these children, their given names, and use them instead of their numbers, with the intention to create 'warm data' versus the 'cold data' of the dispossessed (Moyer 2010), they are not included here (other than my own family records) for confidentiality.[56] As has been noted, as each orphan leaves the institution, their entry in the Dismissal Books categorises them as either 'expelled', 'unfit to be recommended', 'unrecommended but able' and 'recommended'.

As I have also noted, the archives primarily existed as resources for family history research, and to the staff and supporters, 'visible proof that God…respond[s] to prayers' (Garton 1987, p.15). Thus the ongoing role of the archives was to support the institution's version of the 'Muller Story.' As such, the processes of 'ordering' the archives had been left up to a series of volunteers from the evangelical church group connected to Muller's, now known as Woodlands, an evangelical church founded by a previous manager of Muller's, Rob Scott-Cook.[57] Each of these volunteers had added their 'layer' of classification, annotation and taxonomy (see **Appendix 4** for an example of this, in the earlier museum). An administrator from the organisation would oversee visitors coming to look at their family records in the archives, and introduce the records as evidence of the 'miraculous' achievements by Muller, as was the experience of my father and me, when we visited to find out about my great grandfather.

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[55] A reference is given when discussing particular entries, so these can be located in the archives. For example 'DB1/152' relates to Dismissal Book 1, orphan no. 152. The original Book 1 is referred to as 'BD1a'.

[56] Whilst 'cold data' in one way, the contrast between the copperplate handwriting of the orphan's name, compared to the more 'scrawled' handwriting on for example, census records or wedding certificates of those in working class or pauper communities (such as those of my great grandparents) is worth noting. The names of these destitute 'friendless' orphans are written in bold, careful copperplate, which appears visually at least, respectful.
[57] See: https://www.woodlandschurch.net. I had interviewed Scott-Cook for a previous project on Muller's (Brooks 2018).

4.8 Opening the black box

Moore *et al* (2016, p.156) argue that an archival methodology should be an 'open process, a 'toolbox' of methods for 'writing the archive'. In this, they borrow from Hill's earlier discussions of the 'black box problem' (Hill 1993, p.44), in which Hill critiques the tendency for archival research to lack methodological clarity, drawing on the metaphor of an airplane's black box flight recorder, as used in Psychology to explain the brain's inner workings. Moore *et al* (2006) ask:

> What is it that people do, when they're doing archival research? Is there are particular archival methodology?…In what ways can...parts of a collection…be related to the whole thing and to the wider context?…How can collections…be made sense of and used to explore specific research questions? What does good archival research look like and what distinguishes it from the not so good? (p33).

The next sections, and the following chapter, aim to answer Moore *et al*'s (2016, p.1) call to open this black box when it comes to the 'hard graft' of archival research, and to ensure that the processes of 'analysis, interpretation and resulting knowledge claims' are as transparent as possible (Stanley 2016, p.35). Firstly, however, I will describe the 'scoping and mapping' process in establishing the parameters of this project (Stanley 2016, p.40).

4.9 Scoping and mapping: deciding on the Dismissal Books

Stanley (2016, p.45) talks of 'surveying the territory' or identifying boundaries, through 'scoping' of the archives. This is setting out what is there, a 'quick scan' to gain a 'grounded understanding' and to clarify 'the shape of a collection'. This, as Stanley observes, provides the 'evidential base' for one's interpretation, by ensuring one can foreground the 'original archival materials, the stuff, the trace' in one's writing (*ibid.*, p.46). She notes that 'scoping' also means questioning the existing inventories and questioning their logic. A significant issue for the

researcher is 'where does palimpsest stop, and as a researcher, can I define its boundaries?' (Salter 2016, p.175).

Initially, as I noted earlier, I had been frustrated by the apparent lack of material appertaining to the orphans' education. I had found some notes on conversion in the Day Schools but – other than the rescued list of corporal punishments - little else. Yet as Hill (1993, p.43) has noted in his work on the processes of archiving, 'materials that an archivist…evaluates as useless or uninformative may hold invaluable riches for a social scientist'. The thrown away 'treasure' of the list of corporal punishments (**Appendix 1**) and my growing awareness of the role of Muller's in promoting a particular interpretation of the Muller story, made me wonder what else had been deemed unimportant to the Muller's collection, or regarded as unhelpful in this interpretation.

Hill (1993, p.9) describes needing to be aware of the 'deposition process', a series of 'sedimentary phases characterised by a multitude of erosions and renderings', and the need to look at primary, secondary and tertiary sedimentation': that is, the key points in an organisation's history when the archives are initially established, then reorganised, changed or even destroyed. Archive deposits can 'erode…in unpredictable ways' as he describes, as people at various points, 'spring clean' or reorder (*ibid*., p.11).

As I have already recounted, this is certainly true of Muller's, whose archives were initially informal stacks of materials rich in potential, which had been through a series of rationalisations and clearances, during the move to the new location (it must be noted here that information personal to each orphan, such as letters, and so on, were archived separately and could only be viewed by an orphan's relative). Tamboukou (2019, p.7) has noted that,

> [T]he social, material and cultural conditions that underpin the institutional foundation and organisation of the archives, rais[es] questions about how collections of papers were created, deposited, classified, maintained and ultimately used…important information vital to analysis and interpretation.

As Steedman (2001, pp8-10) has noted, and as Jackson similarly alluded to, earlier in this thesis (2010), archival research can involve attempting to uncover 'what gets written out of…formal…history' and what is 'hidden in...crevices and cracks'. Taking this advice alongside Tamboukou's observations above, that the institutional processes were part of the analysis, it seemed that records of the education of the Muller orphans no longer existed at all, if they ever did, but that 'noting what is not in the collection may be as important as knowing what survived' (Hill 1993, p.66).[58]

As Hyatt (2010, p.2) has observed, 'texts need to be considered in terms of what they include but also what they omit' . It appeared that, from the museum's ongoing archival process, and discussions with current staff, records of the day-to-day schooling of the orphans were not deemed as significant. What was largely kept, was intended as a resource for those finding out their family history, and as a resource for celebrating Muller's achievements as 'miraculous'.[59] The archives of orphan records were maintained primarily for those two key purposes, the purpose was not to maintain wider records of the institution's educational policies. Given such materials would have included details of corporal punishments, this is part of a wider problematic of 'hidden histories' (Rowbotham 1977), particular those of the care experience (Jackson 2010, Jacobi 2009) and institutional child abuse (Makela 2015), a topic which deserves more investigative work.[60]

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[58] When I visited the museum in early 2021, between Covid-19 lockdowns and before the then CEO left, I also learned that the filing cabinet, containing the entire archives, had been mistakenly sold and collected whilst still full, and a member of staff had to drive across the country to collect them, luckily still intact.

[59] In addition, Muller's offer a downloadable pdf: *The Bristol Miracle* as one of a number of religious teaching resources, see https://www.mullers.org/downloads/2014%20TheBristolMiracle.pdf.

[60] As part of an earlier master's dissertation, I had interviewed a small number of ex-Muller residents, two of whom claimed to have witnessed the physical and sexual abuse of children by staff. One had witnessed and been subject to a couple's abuse of children in a 'family style' home in Weston; the other had seen a master take 'a little boy off…we knew it wasn't right, but…we couldn't actually say what was happening, we didn't have the words for it' (Brooks 2018, p.40). Neither wished to take it further: having told me, that appeared to be enough, a situation I discussed in my dissertation (Brooks 2018, p.51) . At an earlier talk I gave on the Muller history in 2018, an older man gave me a file of clippings, which included an undated magazine article by Olive Denman on her unhappy time as a Muller orphan (Denman: date unknown). This handful of accounts is all I have, although it chimes with wider concerns around institutional abuse, and the changes in law which disallowed couples to run care homes (Higginbotham 2017). The institution's response to my interview findings was that there are always a few 'bad apples', and I remain unsure what to do with this information.

However, as both Jackson (2010) and Stoler (2009) go on to note – this 'negative space,' where information is absent, is itself informative and can be seen as a space from which 'those with privilege and standing could excuse themselves', thus epitomising 'the well-tended conditions of disregard' (Stoler 2009, p.209). As noted earlier in this thesis, Jackson (2010, p.9) for example writes that her initial 'despair' at discovering there was only two 'obscure' articles on 'the education of children in care' in the 1980s became her 'most important finding,' in that it revealed how the education of care experienced young people had been marginalised and ignored by professionals and researchers.

Nevertheless, for me, this lack of material was initially, frustrating. As Vehkalahti (2016, p.431) has argued, such material -on the edge and in the 'cracks' as it is – means that: 'historians interested in the lives of children who lived on the margins of society have to rely on fragmentary pieces of evidence that offer only glimpses into the lives of the children described in them'. Such 'glimpses' were most fruitfully available in the institution's Dismissal Books. As explained, the Books listed a description of the child's perceived strengths and weaknesses, and whether or not they were recommended for work and if so, to where and to whom they had been sent. This information varied, written in different hands, in numbered paragraphs. The material provided insight into how these young people were conceptualised and categorised and in doing so, illustrated how the institution operated according to the dominant values of the time concerning religion, identity and the productive body of young working class labour (Guery and Deleule 2014).

Analysing the language available in the Dismissal Books allowed me to see 'behind' the Muller story as told in the museum and in numerous publications, and to demonstrate how these categorisations could be both the 'often well-meaning processes and practices' of institutional care (Jones *et al* 2020, p.494) and 'a messier mingling of good intentions and blinkered prejudices that informed their vision… [in which] discursive forces…influence[d] their agendas' (Koven 2004, p.3). A significant omission however is the orphan's own voice. Following on from Jackson's discussion earlier, the omission is itself significant: we do not 'hear' how the recommendable orphans behaved as individuals, their entries are as I have discussed, seemingly standardised and short. However in the more lengthy unrecommendable entries, we do occasionally 'hear' how certain orphans actively resisted Muller's authority, as is discussed in

the following chapter. I return to these examples in the final chapter, considering whether we can further conceptualise these activities as forms of resistance (Hall and Jefferson 2006).

Secondary research materials had established that the Muller orphans were primarily educated using the Monitorial method of Biblical catechism (Lenz 2010), described more fully in the introductory chapter, which included a standard, rudimentary arithmetic, reading and writing and skills training for work. This method of education was typical of the 'British' School system run by non-conformists (Sutherland 1971). This process was already operational in the existing Brethren-run day schools 'in which no instruction is given which is opposed to the principles of the Gospel' (Muller 1848, 72).

4.10 Issues of sample size and saturation

Having decided to focus on the Dismissal Books, an initial challenge was how to sample them. The histories of these children did indeed seem to have been mute and untold up until now, and these books held the records of at least 10,000 children. Steedman (2001, p.18) has graphically written of this challenge of wanting to represent the marginalised but feeling overwhelmed; as she writes: 'I can never do these people justice…I shall never *get it done*' (emphasis in original). The Dismissal Books held pages, decades, of largely, potentially upsetting summaries of young orphans' often, short lives, echoing the formulaic way Wilkinson (2016, p15) describes the matrons' accounts of children's deaths from Tuberculosis at the Stannington Children's Sanatorium. She notes the 'rather colourless (but chilling) reportage, from all three matrons, concerning current patient numbers …These reports are interesting precisely for their neutral presentation of sometimes shocking material, the death of young patients, for example, as an expression of routine despair.'

I felt it necessary to approach the Books mindful of recommendations to conduct such potentially emotive and sensitive research 'within an ethics of respect' (BERA, 2018). I wanted to capture the broadest sense possible of the discursive elements of the Dismissal books, so reading through as many entries as possible enabled me to identify frequently-used phrases describing the children, and then drill down to focus on the key, wider themes.

However, given that I was aiming to cover approximately fifty years, and there were over 2,000 children at the institution at any one time (Higginbotham 2017), reading every single entry, whilst respectful, proved too time consuming. Van Rijnsoever (2017, p.2) discuss the balance between the assumption that, 'more is better' and what they term, 'oversampling' – noting as they do so, that in qualitative research, this is 'largely an interpretivistic endeavour', often they argue, 'intuitively assessed'.

In their collaborative research work with marginalised communities, Evans *et al* (2016) similarly talk about reviewing and analysing transcripts until 'meaningful saturation' is reached as key themes are subsequently identified. Farge (2013, p.69) also describes this as a process of 'saturation,' in the sense of gathering a complete picture of intensity and richness, whilst similarly noting that 'saturation is hardly a scientific method…the word itself is troublesomely vague'.

Morse (1995, p.147) appears in agreement with Van Rijnsoever (2017), arguing that measuring an appropriate sample size in qualitative research is a challenge, with 'no specific guidelines'. However, she goes on to suggest that, as opposed to intuition and interpretation, a useful working definition of saturation sees the sample as adequate when: 'Qualitative data…initially appearing diverse and disconnected, in the process of saturation, forms patterns or themes and begins to make sense'. For Morse, saturation occurs when 'all forms or types of occurrences' are noted, 'valuing variation over quantity'(1997, p.147). As the next chapter will go on to detail, these texts can then be 'scrutinised,' as Farge describes (2013, p.69).

In his account of being 'confronted with the sheer mass of records' of modern archives, Kepley (1984, p.237) has similarly argued that working with archival information on the 'ordinary…routine, the nameless' can be challenging in terms of quantity. Thus sampling every tenth file, as he suggests, can 'capture all of the major characteristics…whilst reducing its bulk,' in ways which ideally capture both the 'typical' and the 'spectacular' (*ibid*., p239).

Using Van Rijnsoever's (2017, p4) notion of 'sampling steps', I started to record every tenth child, suggested by Kepley, as the starting point of an iterative process which would eventually enable me to identify if this covered a sufficient number of entries to capture certain 'trends'

and patterns of phrasing. This Van Rijnsoever describes as 'purposeful sampling' (2017, p4). In doing so, the thesis follows Farge's recommendations to 'be both close to and distant from the figures, words and events emerging from the archives' (2013, p.xiii).

Once I had read enough entries to ensure all possible variations of information present in this sample, could be covered, a spreadsheet was set up which could account for this variance, in terms of what was included in each paragraph. This was initially a time-consuming challenge in establishing the range of what was available and evaluating whether what was available was sufficiently consistent and complete to transcribe on to a spreadsheet and to subsequently offer a valid analysis.

Obviously, archival analysis has moved on since Kepley's suggestions in the mid-eighties.[61] However, this straightforward approach suited an archive which was not yet systematically ordered nor digitised, and inconsistent in terms of content, with handwriting that was often difficult to decipher. For example, none of the books were consistent in style, size or content: Dismissal Book One covered nearly twenty years (1849 – 1867), whilst Book Four only covered from 1878-1879. Likewise, I identified where unfamiliar terms including Latin phrases were used in my sample. Certain aspects were highlighted by the author[s] in some entries, and ignored in others, and there seemed to be 'trends' as to what was included and not.

As Moore *et al* (2016, pp.6-7) suggest, these processes help the researcher acknowledge and work with the fact that 'each archive has its own 'embedded complexities and frequent vagaries' and its own 'situated and contextualised nature'. Collating this basic data set enabled me to remain reflexive and transparent in my processes of analyses, and was sufficiently open and flexible enough to ensure I could be sensitive to the unique aspects of the Muller archives, whilst open to re-evaluating and reassessing my approach. As such, I aimed to avoid 'falling victim to 'methodolatry', where you are committed to method rather than… [your] research questions' (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.96) . As I will go on to illustrate, this enabled me to challenge my own, initial, epistemological assumptions, which had shaped the initial spreadsheet.

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[61] As Burton writes, 'the echo chambers of cyberspace have given a whole new dimension to the concept of the archive' (Burton *et al* 2005, p.1).

This process of self-reflection also takes on Hill's argument (2015, p.344), relating to her research on children of vulnerable families. Hill notes that claiming such 'research can provide an opportunity for otherwise silenced voices to be heard', does not necessarily mean they are listened to or represented in meaningful ways. In other words, 'saturation' can be a 'convenient stopping point' for researchers (Ryan *et al* 2007, p.742) who would benefit from looking more critically and more widely at their findings and their own positionalities. Farge (2013) acknowledges this, noting: 'It is one thing to understand history as a process of permanent reinterpretation of the past from the standpoint of contemporary society and its needs. It is quite another to press events from the past into the service of ideology' (pp97-8). The following chapter picks this issue up in more detail.

Although I focused on every tenth entry, I found it difficult to skim over the other paragraphs that may be the only known record of a vulnerable child's short life. Like Wilkinson (2016), I found it quite affecting to read of children dying of diseases that were, by then, avoidable or indeed curable, if only the institution had taken action, and not apparently believed that illnesses such as typhus were 'visitation[s] from God' (*The Star Newspaper* 1875).

These histories largely remain hidden, and whilst they do not keep records of visitors, staff at the institution estimate only a third of the children in the entries have visiting descendants. As I have discussed, the marginalisation of histories of care may in part be due to shame (Miller 2016), to families not knowing their history, as is common (Rossini 2014) or simply, in the case of deceased residents, there was nobody to remember them, other than me, looking at them for my research. I may have been the only person, other than the original writer, to read their name. Becoming immersed in this seemed exactly the sort of 'sentimental and atheoretical' approach to child history that has been critiqued by Mintz (2005) and others, and problematically close to Cunningham and Carmichael's (2018, p.58) critique of too much 'reflexivity' on the part of the researcher in terms of discussions of emotional states, which they argue can appear 'self-indulgent, narcissistic and tiresome' and potentially undermine 'research integrity, resonance, coherence'. Yet, as Miller (2016, p.85) has noted, data collection can be 'in practice … more emotional and less controllable' than research textbooks tend to suggest.

Finally, as Tamboukou (2019) has observed: 'Reading a document by line, taking time to leaf through it and/or go backward and forward, triggers the process of understanding and interpretation, which always starts while in the archive' (p.3). She goes on to describe this immersion in the archives as involving 'trance reading' (*ibid*., p4), suggesting – as does Farge (2013), discussed below – the catalytic nature of copying out, which engages the researcher with 'the slow rhythm of the archival time' (*ibid.*, p4). Initially, I enjoyed the privilege of no time constraints at Muller's: I was free to come in and stay as long as I liked, as often as I liked, unless there were other visitors. My somewhat ambitious aim to have notes on around 200 from each book , however, was countered by the closure of the museum and – as I have explained - the Muller organisation's inability or unwillingness to continue allowing me access to the archives post Lockdown. The happy assumption of future months of exploration of the archives came to an abrupt and unwelcome halt.

4.11 Deciding on the time scale

The time scale of this thesis is 1830s – 1890s. As set out in the introduction, the initial orphan home opened in 1836 in a private house, later in the vast purpose—built buildings, in 1849 (Higginbotham 2017). The orphanage project began as the 1833 Factory Act took force, which meant working children were able – at least in theory – to access a basic education, a few hours a week (Humphries *et al* 1988). Likewise, the Poor Law Amendment Acts of 1834 and 1842 stated that children in workhouses were also offered education, although there were concerns that the workhouse education should not be superior to that offered outside (Evans 1997).

This timescale is significant as it encompasses key debates between mainstream protestant and non-conformist educators as to what kinds of religious education would be permissible. In 1835, the more well-known educationalist and philanthropist Mary Carpenter set up a 'visiting society' in Bristol, and Ragged Schools in the 1840s, a few minutes' walk from Muller's initial Home (Dresser 2006). As has been mentioned, Carpenter was influenced by the European, Rauhe Haus movement founded by Muller's fellow Prussian, Johannes Wichern, who, like Muller, was influenced by the work of Pietist Augustus Francke (Introvigne 2018, p.41). Again, like Muller,

Wichern resolved to 'pray in' funds for his rural-based reformatory, set up in 1833, a few years before Muller's own project (Wu 2009).

The orphanage was also set up during the years of the Children's Employment Commission Report scandal (1842-1843) in which the realities of child labour – and the apparent failure of the Factory Act to improve matters - 'shocked the Victorian conscience' (Royston Pike 1974, p.109). During the latter part of the nineteenth century, campaigning work on children's rights by journalists and writers such as Stead, Mayhew, Booth, Butler and Dickens (Koven 2004), as well as work by the Earl of Shaftesbury, enabled a further Factory Act in 1867 (Royston Pike 1974), and contributed to a changing conception of the notion of childhood (Heywood 1959). By the late 1800s, Muller had retired from the institution, embarking on a series of world tours in the 1870s (Langmead 2006), including a visit to his mentee, Thomas Barnardo (Harding 1914). By the early 1900s, Acts such as the 1908 'Children's Act,' helped establish the conceptual separation of childhood as distinct from adulthood (Steedman 1990, Harris 1993). Such Acts, along with Muller's founding of and retirement from the institution, thus serve to create an historical timeframe for this research. George Muller died in 1898.

It must be noted here however that, 'major landmarks do not appear as if by magic' but are 'appreciated as the often belated, sometimes distorted, outcomes of cross-currents and controversies' (Cook 1972, p.58). As I will go on to discuss in later chapters, whilst Muller's founding of the orphan houses is celebrated in his biographies as a significant 'phenomenon…in the history of the Christian church' (Steer 1986, p.9), the perspective of this thesis takes Braudel's perspective on such phenomena, in that: '[r]esounding events are often momentary outbursts, surface manifestations of…larger movements and explicable only in terms of them' (Braudel in Gunn 2006, p.15). The Muller institution is only one of many residential, institutional care homes across Victorian England. It may in that case, and despite Muller's renown, seem a 'minor history.' However as Stoler (2009, pp17-8) argues: 'minor histories should not be mistaken for trivial ones…[they] attend…to structures of feeling and force that in 'major' history might be displaced'.

4.12 'The meta archive of the other archive'

In her explanations of the processes of engaging with archive materials – in other words, her 'opening of the black box' of archival methodologies - Stanley (2016) follows de Certeau's advice to start with writing in the archives: note taking, annotating, 'scribbling notes' and transcribing. This is to De Certeau (and to Stanley) 'fundamental to the historiographical operation' – 'writing comes first, last and through the middle of the research involved' (in Moore et al 2016, p.35).

This process of transcribing one's archive findings follows Farge's (2013) description of the importance of the initial writing out of documents, and the 'hours' of 'recopying…word for word' which is 'somehow necessary… [a] way of entering into the world of the document', as introduced above (p.16). For Farge (2013), this somewhat tedious and seemingly 'unrewarding ... task' is 'essential': copying out enables the researcher to, 'draw out the themes and formulate interpretations. Recopying is time consuming, it cramps your shoulder and stiffens your neck. But it is through this action that meaning is discovered' (p.17).

Traditionally, as Stanley (2016) describes, the process of archival research involves compiling a list, a 'meta-archive' of the 'other archive' (p.39) and working through that, reading documents, whilst also 'attentively reading existing literature on a topic, to identify gaps' (*ibid*., p.35). Like Farge (2013), Stoler (2009) and others, including her colleagues Tamboukou, Salter and Moore (2016), Stanley is suspicious of such 'tidy' accounts of research practices, including the 'linear way' in which archival research has been previously discussed, in terms of visiting, reading then writing (p46).

Instead, the reality is more complex, cyclic and creative. For example, she discusses with her co-authors, the importance of 'scribbling', of early fieldnotes and annotations. As Moore (2016) describes: 'Scribbling can seem random, messy…but…scribbles [are] a crucial part of the archival processes. They may appear to go round in circles…until a thought or a line breaks free…gathering a sense of direction en route' (p173). Whilst co-author Stanley (2016) notes that: 'Scribbles are the backcloth not only of archival research, as small asides to self…an

essential part of research practices, but also of archigraphics. Scribbling fixes in the mind…its work done'(p173).

Thus 'writing is…the fundamental technology for understanding' documents, a process which cannot be replicated by simply photographing them (Tamboukou 2020, p.3). The process of copying them out, it is argued here, leaves one with a more accurate understanding of their contents, and offers useful 'disciplining', in that one can then recognise what is relevant to research, and finally as 'constitutive of analysis and interpretation', in that this is the 'key means by which analysis, interpretation and resulting knowledge claims are produced' (Moore *et al* 2016, p.35).

Following this process of writing and rewriting, ensured I remained aware that my findings have 'a hybrid character concerning its temporal structure' (Stanley 2016, p.39). Such writings thus represent 'encounters' (Farge 2013, p.31) between the researcher and the material, rather than the simplistic and 'misconceived' assumption that archives are just 'from and about 'the past'' (Moore *et al* 2016, p.3). As I have discussed, as a researcher concerned with marginalised histories, particularly those of care experienced young people, and as a foster carer myself with a family history connected to Muller's, my encounters with material would differ from others, as we are all a product of our time and place (Stanley 2016, pp.39-40), and carry with us, differing perspectives and questions into the archive (Tamboukou 2016, p.72). If the archives do open up to the general public, as I recommend in the conclusion, it will be interesting to see the directions and focus of future research, by other researchers from other perspectives, interests and backgrounds.

4.13 Challenging assumptions

Having set out my positionality earlier in this chapter, I now go on to discuss how this intense process of selecting, reading, copying, writing and reflecting, led to some significant (as I have mentioned, unexpected) insights, enabling me to challenge some of the initial assumptions and questions I had carried with me into the archive.

4.13.1 Death is a destination

The establishing of the spreadsheet criteria in my process of 'scribbles' and creating the 'meta archive', was itself a useful exercise in challenging my own assumptions and positionality as a researcher. Reflecting on assumptions I made at the very start of the process provided valuable insight into both my perspective on the research, and crucially for my analysis, into the values of the institute. Indeed, skim reading all the entries at first, as Tamboukou (2019) recommended, did enable me to gain a broader insight into the institution's aims and values time consuming though it was. Initially, on the spreadsheet, I omitted any child who had died whilst in the orphanage, as my focus was the assumed goal of their education, which I – from my secular perspective – was assuming was a paid position either in service or as an apprentice.

In my initial scoping and bounding, mapping out the research project from the range of available materials in the archives, information on orphans who had died in the institution seemed 'beyond the periphery' of my research interest (Yin 2018), hard though they were to ignore. However, I noticed that those who died were given as much space in the Dismissal Books as those who were apprenticed or otherwise: notably, whether or not they had died 'as a believer'. A typical entry would be thus:[62]

> *Orphan No. 46 'Died today ten years and four months old as <u>a decided believer</u>* [Book author's emphasis]. *She had been for many months ill in consumption. A few days before her end the Lord revealed himself to her so that, of her own accord, she spoke of the happiness enjoyed in the Lord, and of the removal of all fear of death, which she had had up to that time'* [DB1/46 1851].

The entry was not so detailed due to it being unusually tragic. Bouts of croup, scarlet fever and deaths from consumption were quite common in the Books: four children die within days of each other that week alone, and all deaths are equally detailed entries. Rather, for Muller, as an Evangelical Christian, the *key goal* of education was not so much work skills (as I had assumed,

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[62] For clarity, all Dismissal Book entry quotes are in italics.

despite my reading on Evangelical groups such as the Brethren, and their role in nineteenth century education) as it was, bringing the child to the 'knowledge of the Lord' (Elfe Tayler 1870). Thus, it is *as significant* to the Muller institution that the children have been converted before death, as it is that they have successfully been placed for work.

In both cases, the child has been 'saved' from being 'lost': either in this life (a secure place in society) or in the next, in terms of ensuring the child is saved spiritually. For the Plymouth Brethren, as with all evangelical Christians, death is, of course, a destination, and by ignoring this, I was missing discursive information of the primary goal of education in the Orphanage. Indeed, I went on to be struck by the critique of the evangelicals as more concerned with 'wanting to save souls, not bodies' (Brown 2009, p.134) and how that could be situated as chiming with eugenic discourses circulating in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as I will go on to discuss. This process of reflection, described by Tamboukou as ideally, 'an oscillat[ion] between involvement and detachment' (2019, p.4), enabled me to further develop key ideas as to how the institution perceived the purpose and efficacy of its education and training, as has been discussed in the previous chapters.

4.13.2 Finding Book One

As Hill (1993) has described of the process of archival research, 'the value of particular bits of data or evidence ebbs and flows as your understanding…grows in complexity and insight'(p.52). In my second example illustrating the process of reflections on assumptions and how they help develop analysis (Lawson *et al* 2006; Rose 1997), this fieldnote entry shows how insight may be less of an inspired 'eureka moment' and more of a slow and retrospective emerging of themes. Like the incident with the list of corporal punishments, it also illustrates the fragmented and indeed, serendipitous elements to archival analysis, as written about by Steedman (2001), Farge (2013) and others. This entry was written during a visit on February 20th 2020 (my last research day in the archives, as it would turn out:

Have asked for dismissal book 1 to fill in gaps retrospectively but this is a slim book with a sticker '9' on it. However, it is Muller's own handwriting?? (no it reports that 'GM went to the grandparents' – tho still cd be him writing as if third person? , and lists like a diary not a ledger, from 1836 – starts with 1, 2 etc so <u>what was the other book</u>?

[The Book I usually receive is 'Dismissal Book One' dated 1849]

This is Dismissals – inside on flyleaf 'removals out of the orphan house' – have to spend time transcribing as don't have phone camera - curses!

GM trying to create order, as are Mullers, and I am trying to make order out of it from history perspective

Does Liz like me? Looks anxious when I say things about organising archives, am I poss competition?! I cd offer to help but she closes down. Shuts office door (whereas some people leave it open). New CEO comes out, is v polite, I ask to make an appointment with him at some point, to talk about findings- he is v charming but non-committal - when he goes back into closed office I hear loud laughter! They can see me on their cctv so I have to behave….
But I can peer over balcony at people in the museum, so have birds eye view of visitors (and can hear everything volunteers say – same story over & over again),
But hopefully can get back for photos and letters : /
TIME! As this is in process of becoming proper archive I am trying to get in between the cracks!
It's luck/access but hit and miss
Book only about a quarter full, gets scrappy towards end, crossings out etc., looks more like personal notebook than official ledger.

In the Dismissal book they 'grieve' of child goes back to family member if they 'had potential to be a good servant' – this is not about reuniting families but conversion and employment.

These notes are a mix of observations on the staff, on the materials in front of me, and initial reactions to the content, in which I was starting to consider how the children were judged in terms of their employment potential.

The discovery that there had been an earlier version of Book One of the Dismissal Books was a significant one (see **Appendix 3b** for an example of entries in this book). Each time I had requested 'the first Dismissal Book' prior to this, I had been given what turned out to be, a later version of this book. This, earlier Book One, was much less formal in style and tone, than the

subsequent book I had been given on earlier visits. It referred to the earlier orphan home, a domestic house which pre-dated the large, purpose-built New Orphan Homes. The house was on Wilson Street (Langmead 2006), an area of the city which was then a mix of small industrial buildings and townhouses (Buchanan and Williams 1982), and not far from, as I have recounted, Mary Carpenter's ragged school in Lewins Mead. When I asked Liz, the then museum curator, about this, she was unsure of the connection between the two books: the book had been taken out of the archives ready for me, and whoever had taken it out, had assumed this was what I was asking for. As Hill (1993) had observed, as one starts to understand the 'idiosyncratic' nature of the archive in question, it is not unusual 'to shift focus as a project unfolds' (p.28), and this discovery subsequently developed the project in four significant ways:

- The surprise existence of this earlier Book One demonstrated the extent of the palimpsest of archival categorisations and enabled me to fully understand the notion of the archive as constantly in process, with its own rhythms (Lefebvre 2004).

- Mapping out the developments of the Dismissal Books' discursive formations and the ways in which they developed to 'produce their own…rationalities, making particular sets of ideas…common sense and 'true'' (Ball 2017, p.8) also enabled me to trace the connections and disconnections between different aspects and sections of the Muller archives, and the ways in which the 'Muller story' was told.

- It highlighted the significance of the Dismissal Books, which became the key case study in the analysis of the institutional language of Muller's categorisations of the orphans, and how they connected with wider, ideological, discursive formations. Specifically, it enabled me to consider the ways in which such discourses evolve, in, as Stoler describes, often in 'unruly and piecemeal' ways, to become discourses of authority and 'fact' (2009, p.14).

- Finally and belatedly, yet most significantly, the more personal and less formulaic descriptions of the dismissal of the earliest inmates enabled me to think about the ways in which those leaving the orphanage were valued and judged in relation to

their potential productivity, and how those categorisations operated and were discursively justified, which became a key element to the final analyses.

My notes are included here in order to illustrate how, at the time, this discovery did not feel like the 'eureka' moment of archival research, as celebrated in the autoethnographic narratives of Steedman, Hill (1993) and others, who write of the archive as less of a space of work and more like an adventure: 'a rare treat…a journey into an unknown realm that rewards its visitors with challenging puzzles and unexpected revelations' (p.7).

Nor did it feel like one of the serendipity moments, such as Osten's (2010) discovery of archives in an abandoned hospital basement. The book did not literally fall into my hands from a higher shelf as if willing me, supernaturally, to acknowledge its contents, as Urch (1993) recounts (in Hill 1993, p.81). The theme did not 'literally erupt…from the archive' as Tamboukou (2019, p.1) describes. Nor did I find them myself as unexpectedly misfiled, an experience which Howe (in Wilkinson 2012) describes as feeling like magic realism, dreamlike, 'an adventure, verging on trespass'. Instead, somewhat more prosaically, at the time, I was self consciously distracted by whether or not the curator was secretly laughing at me.

As has already been noted in this thesis, research is much more unpredictable and generally messier than more sanitised accounts of the process will admit to (Miller 2016, p.86), and the relationship between researcher and those working in the archive as museum curators and archivists, can be ambiguous and fraught (Tesar 2015). It was only after a period of writing and reflection that I realised the significance of the materials. Stanley (2016) describes this self-reflexive process of 'writing and rewriting the archive' as 'archigraphics', defining this as explaining the 'nitty gritty' of writing the archives, including skim reading, scoping, and 'the range of interconnected activities involved in rewriting, writing…reading…re-reading and surface reading' (p.36).

However, what is not clear here is how we systematise our own writings and scribbles, or clearly track the path from note taking and observation to critical analysis and interpretation. Whilst claiming to 'open up the black box', in clarifying archival research and analysis, both Stanley and Moore (2016) appear to fall back on somewhat ambiguous assertions. For example in her

description of the 'entanglements and archigraphics of archival research,' Moore (2016) suggests that a line will 'break free and wander off, gathering a sense of direction' (p.173). Stanley similarly describes how one will be 'struck out of the blue' by an emerging theme (Stanley, 2016, p43), which appears to somewhat undermine the epistemological value of archigraphics. Insight and meaning can be found, Stanley suggests, 'with perseverance and luck' (2016, p.40) rather than as a result of the very processes of reading and rereading they describe.

On one level, this did happen to me, at least in my growing awareness of how the Dismissal Books dealt with death, and in the lucky find of the original Book One. However, I would argue that Moore *et al* could have opened the 'black box' further, in setting out more broadly what exactly IS the 'nitty gritty' of document analyses (Stanley 2016, p.36). Whilst Moore *et al* do provide helpful and insightful clarification of the process of bounding the research project, collating materials and starting to map out the connections, more clarification is needed, I would argue, at the level of analysis, to explain further, how one arrives at one's interpretations of themes and discursive patterns in the archive texts.

To develop Moore *et al*'s (2016) recommendation for 'methodological clarity', I draw on the more systematic 'qualitative analytical approach' to analysing texts which informs this thesis, known as Critical Discourse Analysis (Mullet 2018, p.116). This for my research, linked the helpful procedural methodologies of Moore *et al* (2016) and Tamboukou's later explanations of the 'art of archival research' (Tamboukou 2019, p.1), with a more transparent and systematic process of analysis. It enabled me to clarify not just what researchers do in the archives, but where they come from as they approach the archives, in terms of both the personal, and political.

4.14 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which the archives can be usefully conceptualised as a discursive space, a 'field of force and will to power (Stoler 2009, p.48). I have addressed how I set out the processes of 'scoping and mapping' the Dismissal Books in establishing the sample size and maps out 'the archive of the other archive,' in terms of additional, secondary materials

drawn on in developing the analysis of the Dismissal Books. In setting this out, I have also discussed my positionality and its ethical implications, as a researcher, a foster carer, an academic working in Education and History, with a background in Cultural Studies, and descendant of a 'Muller's boy'. On reflecting on my approach to the archives, I have also addressed how my initial assumptions and perceptions coloured my initial findings in potentially problematic and limiting ways, and addressed how my subsequent process of critical reflection could benefit the final archival analyses. The next chapter sets out in more detail, the ways in which the Dismissal Books' discursive formations were identified and analysed.

Chapter Five: Methodology (B) Analysing the Dismissal Books

5.0 Introduction

In aiming for methodological clarity, the chapter begins by defining discourse, and then goes on to discuss how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used here to analyse language as representative of ideological power. I argue that CDA extends the 'archigraphic' approach as set out by Moore *et al* (2016), and offers more insight into the 'black box' of archival analysis than conventional research accounts. In setting out the process by which one can read 'the archive's granular…texture' as Stoler describes in the previous chapter (Stoler 2009), CDA provides a more systematic and transparent account of the 'friction' which links archival research practice and the 'spark' of eventual analyses. As I have argued, this is conceptualised here as less of a eureka moment, than it is due to a systematic process of deconstructing the archival language. In this chapter, I set out in more detail, how I am utilising CDA. CDA has been referred to as a 'family of approaches', and a 'hybrid framework,' (Jones 2004, p.98). Here, I show how this approach to archival investigation provides an opportunity to analyse the Dismissal Books' language as discursively powerful and representative of wider, ideological values.

I go on to list key ways in which I will deconstruct the discursive formations (Ball 2016) within the Dismissal Books, and how I will identify and map out the wider, contextualising discursive themes in which the Dismissal Books are a part. Finally, I discuss the somewhat contentious concept of 'saturation' in analysis, and acknowledge the ways in which such a reading of the Dismissal Books is inevitably selective, as the last chapter began to discuss.

As has been set out here, the theoretical framework for this analysis is informed by both Farge's (2013) and Stoler's (2009) conceptualising of the archives, and Guery and Deleule's (2014) theoretical construct of the (un)productive and fragmented body. Key to these approaches is the notion of discursive power. This chapter starts therefore with a definition of discourse.

5.1 Defining discourse

In understanding discourse, It is important to note here that, as with the archives themselves as discussed in the previous chapter, discourses are not seen as static but constantly shifting and changing. As such, Johannesson's (2010) approach offers a way of looking at historical discourses as dynamic:

> When doing historical discourse analysis, the researcher does not search for the 'authors' of the ideas or practices. The researcher aims to identify the involvement of the individuals and groups at stake, how they have become normalized in the discourse, and how they take certain assumptions for granted. This does not mean the documents were not written by people, and it does not even mean that they were written by uncreative people. On the contrary, the discourse in question is not static; it develops because individuals consciously and unconsciously adopt discursive themes (pp260-261).

Similarly, Ball (2017) talks about how certain discourses are 'bundled', that an ideologically significant discourse can be, as the previous chapter set out, part of a 'drift', a formation of connected discursive themes (Foucault 1977). Such formations include 'continuities, recurrences' which 'reproduce social inequalities and…disadvantage' (Ball 2017, p.7). As the analysis chapter will go on to argue, we can trace the development of the institution's system of categorisation through the Dismissal Books, as itself a discursive formation of attitudes, beliefs and values.

Thus, my initial scoping and gathering of resources involved identifying these themes, continuities and recurrences. To do this, I drew on Stoler's (2009, p.29) processes of analysis of historical records, in which she pays particular attention to: 'prose style, repetitive refrain, the arts of persuasion, affective strains that shape 'rational' response, categories of confidentiality and classification and not least, genres of documentation'. As Tamboukou (2019, p.5) summarises, the further task of the researcher in the archives is to identify how certain discursive themes became 'natural' or 'necessary', to 'excavate accumulated layers of discursive

formations so as to reveal discontinuities, contingencies and ruptures in…ideas, concepts and practices'.

Having set out the working definition of discourse which informed the research process, this chapter will go on to describe the ways in which I am using Critical Discourse Analysis strategies to provide a further level of analysis to the language of the Dismissal Books.

5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The very basic foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is that it challenges the assumptions that language is a neutral reflection of society and social reality (Hyatt 2010), instead investigating how 'texts, practices and ideologies' can be relayed to 'social structures [and] processes…as modalities of power' (Fairclough 2003, in Hyatt 2013, p.836). Language is 'part of a wider ideological process…active rather than passive' in the process of making sense of the world, a 'performance' versus 'neutral mirroring' (Hyatt 2010, p.1). Mullet (2008) asserts that Critical Discourse Analysis is a 'useful approach for educational researchers' wanting to 'explore connections between educational practices and social contexts' (p.117). As such, CDA offered a way in to a more critical, as well as systematic and transparent, examination of the language of the Dismissal Books.

CDA's origins lie in the more textually focused, critical linguistic analyses such as that of Saussure, Barthes and Bakhtin (Barker 2002). Bakhtin for example describes how 'the word' can thus be seen as:

> [N]ot a material thing but rather…eternally mobile…it never gravitates to a…single voice. The life of the word is contained in its transfer from one mouth to another…from one generation to another generation…[It] is not a neutral word of language…uninhabited by other's voices (Bakhtin 1984 in Allen 2000, p.27).

In this, as Barker (2002) explains, language is seen as: 'not a neutral medium for the formation and transmission of values, meanings and knowledges which exist beyond its boundaries;

rather, language is constitutive of those very values, meanings and knowledges' (p.66). Thus texts are not seen as potentially expressing 'single meaning stemming from an originating author' but as part of a: 'network of possible discourses….not…the message of an 'author - God'…[but] 'a tissue of quotations drawn from…innumerable centres of culture' (Barthes, 1974 in Allen 2000).

Thus CDA as interpreted by this thesis, draws on Foucault's perspectives on discourse as an authoritative way of describing, a 'way of connecting [and] classification' (Foucault 1994, p.131). Foucault defines these institutionally sanctioned discourses as 'dominant discourses', reinforced and reproduced by existing systems of power. These '[d]iscourses are spread by specific institutions and divide up the world in specific ways' (Foucault in Hyatt 2010, p.3).
From an historical perspective, we can use CDA to see how language builds on previous iterations, sediments of the dominant ideology (Ball 2017) and becomes institutional, the way things are.

Thus, CDA enabled me to explore not 'what the author really meant', but how the 'way things are' becomes discursively naturalised, and obvious (Hyatt 2013, p.84). It addresses how this particular institution 'talked' at a particular moment in history, and what that talk constituted in the orphanage. Because CDA is concerned with investigating power (Barker 2002), it enables me to explain how language 'acts like a social control agent', through which the orphans subject to these categorisations, 'are conditioned to accept conventions and practices that may not be in their best interests' (Hyatt 2013, p.840). In drawing on wider contextual materials, I took up Reisigl and Wodak's (2009, p.95) suggestion of considering CDA as an 'interdisciplinary study' combining 'linguistic analysis with historical and sociological approaches'. In this, I followed Munslow's (2016, p.566) notion of historical analysis as not discerning the reality or the truth of the past, because the 'past' is discursively constructed into 'history', as history is always 'paratextual…an authored narrative'.

Wodak and Reisigl (2009, p.88) agree that CDA as used in historical research should make 'the object under investigation and the analyst's own position transparent' in terms of the researcher's perceptions and intentions. Such an approach necessitates, as Van Dijk (2001, p.98) argues, making clear the choices made about what one includes and omits, and acknowledging

that no research offers the whole, universal picture, as there is no such thing as a 'complete' discourse analysis (Rose 1997). In this approach, the researcher's authority is acknowledged as always 'incomplete…part of a web of discursive interpretations' which offer insight and opportunity for further interpretation (Gibson-Graham in Rose 1997, p.317). This as I will go on to argue, is the intention of this study: to start a dialogue with the archives and other archive researchers, once these archives are publicly accessible.

This is a broad remit to consider and whilst CDA is contentiously broad in its approaches, including a wide range of analytical methods and philosophies (Van Dijk, 2012, Jones 2004). there are nonetheless, 'common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and reproduceable investigation of semiotic data' (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.3). 'Language constructs and is constructed by society' (Hyatt 2013, p.839). CDA works to 'de-naturalise' that language, and 'reveal…power relations' (Gibson 2004), as well as to question the 'social constructions of common sense' present in the texts (*cf* Berger and Luckmann 1981).

Van Dijk (2001) argues that, CDA 'does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own sociopolitical position'. Thus it makes explicit, its focus social issues of inequality:

> CDA focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination. Wherever possible, it does so from a perspective that is consistent with the best interests of dominated groups (p96).

These central tenets of CDA made it the appropriate approach for a project informed by Guery and Deleule's post-Marxist, discursive understanding of the nineteenth century economy and labour force (2014). The more 'critical' element of this form of discourse analysis thus addresses how some voices have more power than others, and how that language is used to maintain and justify that power over time. It enabled me to make clear my own position as a foster carer and researcher, in that a key principle of CDA is to make explicit one's perspective (Mullett 2018): 'CDA is biased - and proud of it' (Van Dijk 2001, p95).

In his critique of CDA, Jones (2008, p.118) argues that without a clear account of method, there is a danger a CDA approach could be seen as 'simply a new-fangled way of dressing up, and serving up' intuition, and one's political perspective. This study sets out to avoid this by using the archigraphic process of writing and reflecting as set out by Moore *et al* (2016), and Farge's (2013, p92) 'delicate analysis' of 'scrutiny' and saturation, discussed below. Through this, I have mapped out the processes by which I have come to identify and understand the Books' discursive formations, in terms of who is constituted by the institution as acceptable or deviant, as promising or 'deplorable', as able, unable or unwilling to work. The following section sets this out in more detail.

5.3 Using CDA in the Dismissal Books

In using CDA to focus and frame my initial archigraphic notes and observations, I firstly focused on how the language of the later Dismissal Books discursively shifts to 'appear to be both neutral and independent,' through what Foucault describes as, 'modes of objectification' (Foucault in Rabinow 1991, p.12). That is, the ways in which certain perspectives and assumptions present in the Books, are more personal and less 'fixed' in the early Book One, and subsequently become justified and institutionalised as official discourses, in the later version. In this, I follow Stoler's (2009) analyses of colonial administrations, particularly her observation that 'colonial common sense' creates ''grids of intelligibility' that make certain conventions acceptable, obvious and familiar (p.39). This approach enabled me to start addressing my research questions, in mapping out the discursive patterns of the Dismissal Book entries and identifying how they related to wider discursive formations. As Johannesson (2010, p.253) has argued, discursive themes can:

> [C]reate patterns in the discourse, patterns that are shaped and reshaped in the social and political atmosphere of the past and the present. These patterns are historical and political legitimating principles that constitute the available means for the participants for what is appropriate or safe to say at certain moments or in certain places.

These discursive patterns are further broken down here, by Fairclough's (1989), Hyatt (2013, 2010) and Wodak and Meyer's (2009) list of linguistic 'devices', which were drawn on here to approach and frame the analysis of the chosen texts, such as: 'time, tense, modality, actors and argumentation, word order, coherence, intonation…voice (active or passive) choice of words and interdiscursivity' (Mullet 2018, p.120).

For example, I drew on interdiscursivity, the 'wider appropriation of styles, genres and the ideological assumptions underpinning discursive practice' through which a text 'seek[s] legitimacy…through reference to other texts, genres, and individuals' (Hyatt 2010:11), to identify when and where Muller drew on Biblical references to legitimate his discursive authority.

My familiarity with the King James Bible, (still used by the Brethren, and familiar to me from my own convent school education) enabled me to identify when such discursive referencing was either covert or overt. Overt referencing could be found in direct quotations: Muller draws on Biblical discourses such as describing a child as 'walking with Christ', i.e. converting to Brethrenism and not being 'foolish and blind' (Luke 24:13-21). More covert referencing, in terms of style or phrasing, included 'a child much beloved' which echoes Ephesians (5:1-20) talk of 'beloved children of God' -a paragraph which was perhaps pertinent to Muller, as it refers to rejecting sexual immorality and debauchery in favour of walking with the Lord 'as children of light' (King James Bible, 2001).

Thus, such devices will be drawn on in order to identify the Dismissal Books' internal and external relations, focusing on patterns, words and linguistic devices that represent power relations [and]…positionalities'. (Mullet 2018, p.124). Through this process, informed by the theoretical framework outlined in chapter three, the Dismissal Books' discourse can be defined as, 'an institutionalised way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power' (Jager and Maier 2009, p.35) in nineteenth century education and welfare.

This way of exploring texts will be applied to the primary materials: the Dismissal Books, as well the secondary materials, including Biblical material, newspaper commentaries, reports and inspections. These devices are set out here following Mullet's (2018) advice that, 'because of

the complexity and ill-defined nature of CDA,' it is crucial that researchers 'ensure trustworthiness, transparency' in the form of 'articulation of a clear analytical framework' (p.135).

5.4 A delicate analysis

In developing one's primary and secondary materials, Farge (2013, p.63) describes the 'process of connection and contrast', similar to Moore *et al*'s 'archigraphics (2016) in which the researcher chooses, gathers and selects material 'within certain predetermined periods of time and space' (Farge 2013, p.65) and relevant to the 'object of study… [whilst] remain[ing] aware of all the other themes that surround the one you have chosen', a process Yin (2018, p.7) describes as 'bounding the case'.

In utilising CDA, this thesis answers Farge's call for a more clearly articulated form of 'delicate analysis' which encompasses the detail of the material, whilst providing a structuring framework that contextualises it more broadly (2013, p.92). In taking up Farge's recommendations for more systematic discussions of methodological aspects, which have generally been consistently overlooked in the more autoethnographic accounts of archival research (Moore *et al* 2016, p.13), this thesis adopts – as has already been noted - Moore *et al*'s recommendations for a less self-absorbed stance to one's materials, whilst aiming to remain as reflexive and transparent as possible. As they argue, we need to recognise that 'our interest is in their stories, that is, in the traces and accounts of the people of the past and their lives'.

5.5 Wider texts: 'from the core to the periphery and back again'

In mapping out these patterns of discourses across sources, Johannesson (2010) describes his approach to historical accounts of special educational needs as involving:

> The use of documents and other texts. I most often use such material - especially official reports and newspaper articles - because it offers insights into the reasoning behind

social practices and institutional structures. Newspaper articles in particular often reveal the contradictions in the social and political struggles about the practices and policies at stake (p.254).

Through this 'delicate' analysis, both Farge (2013) and Moore *et al* (2016) describe the process of reflexive and re-iterative readings and writings, drawing on wider materials and reflecting on their relevance, insight can be gained into the lived social world, of which the Dismissal Books are a part. In her work on child welfare records, Vehkalahta (2016, p.29) suggests specifically, 'approaching child welfare documents' as social constructions that have 'been produced under a range of social, cultural and historical circumstances'. She argues that such an approach 'entails being sensitive to the rich historical context in which the documents were produced' as well as being mindful of the 'cultural conceptions of childhood' present in the texts themselves (*ibid.*, p.29).

Therefore, using CDA to map out the dominant discourses contextualising the Dismissal Books, this thesis sets out the connections between the micro narratives of the Dismissal Books, and as will be discussed, the wider more macro discursive formations.

These discursive themes are not therefore set against each other as 'true' or 'untrue', 'right' or 'wrong', but mapped out in terms of how those debates have been discussed and defined, how they connect, question, reinforce or rival one other, in the historical and ideological context of nineteenth century England.

As Berridge (2017, p.18) notes in his own work on children in care, 'macro or micro approaches in isolation are…insufficient…a 'disciplined eclecticism' is preferable'. In developing an approach that encompasses both 'macro' and 'micro' approaches, I will be mindful of Harris' (1993) recommendation to:

> [S]hift…analysis from the macroscopic to the microscopic, from the core to the periphery and back again, to give some sense of a 'society'….[W]hat clues can be discovered which give shape and meaning and coherence to the social history of Britain [during the

timeframe]? Where are there any overarching themes, trends, movements and principles that help us make sense of changing social structure and social relationships?... What, if any, were the crucial, overarching themes in the history of social institutions, values, organisation and change? (pp.3-4).

This approach subsequently moves 'out of the archives' to demonstrate that the ways in which institutions such as Muller's have been conceptualising, managing and educating children and young people in care do not therefore come from 'clean slate' policies and perceptions (Ball 2017) but are enmeshed within recurring subjectivities and embedded within wider, social, historical and political contexts. In using both Farge's notion of 'scrutiny' (2013), and the archigraphic techniques as set out by Moore *et al* (2016) this research follows Tamboukou's (2019) reworking of Foucault's 'genealogy' which traces and explores 'subjectivities and social relations as an effect of the interweaving of discourses and practices,' both inside and outside of the Homes (p.9).

5.6 The Dismissal Book sample

For each Dismissal Book, then, alongside my wider, contextualising materials, I created an 'archive of the other archive', as recounted in the previous chapter. In total, I had notes on 493 entries, from Dismissal Book One (starting in 1849) to Dismissal Book Six (ending in 1894), and notes on the early Book One. As the Books were not digitised, and kept in a relatively precarious state in a filing cabinet, there were inevitably, some gaps, and some years are not represented, due to loss of records. In addition to notes on the large ledger-style Books, I had copies of the 16 entries in the original Dismissal Book One, which as I have already discussed, was unfinished and had been replaced by these more official-style Books. In total then I had notes on, and copies of, 509 entries, which represents just over 7% of all the orphans over that half a century time period.

Having read the majority of entries of the Dismissal Books across just under 50 years, with notes on just over 500 entries, this sample captured key themes and discursive patterns, as set out in the analysis. The final notes are based on the following numbered and dated entries:

> **Dismissal Books 1-6**
>
> DB1: 1849 – 1867 (no.s 1 - 998) = 235 noted and analysed
>
> DB2: 1869 – 1873 (no.s 1294 - 1994) = 72 ditto
>
> DB3: 1873 - 1875 (no.s 2004 – 2688) = 71 ditto
>
> DB4: 1878 - 1879 (no.s 3256 – 3627) = 40 ditto
>
> DB5: 1885 – 1889 (no.s 5030 – 6100)= 54 ditto
>
> DB6: 1893 – 1894 (no.s 6912 – 7112) = 21 ditto
>
> DB1(a) [The original Dismissal Book] 1836 – 1841 (no.s 1- 13)= 13 ditto

Each of my six folders for Dismissal Books 1-6 contained:

- A spreadsheet of a sample of entries (e.g., every tenth entry, or every other ten entries) including their number, dates, location of their origin and their destination, and name of master/mistress; this was designed as I grew familiar with the Books. For example, I returned to make a note of all destination locations, when it became apparent the Muller children were sent to areas of industrial need as well as service (See **Appendix 5**)

- Additional commentary on each entry, e.g. if this was a typical phrase, or a new phrase

- Photographs of a sample of entries, including some of those in the spreadsheet for illustrative purposes, but also any which appeared striking, or difficult to decipher, or particularly interesting, or puzzling in between the sampled numbers, as all entries were read where possible (See **Appendix 6** for an illustrative example).

These files were regularly reviewed, revisited and reflected on as I worked through the Dismissal Books, and gathered further additional materials and resources. A further file thus contained:

- Comparative notes for comparison, such as the Muller Admission Books, for further contextual information, and notes from other archives relating to Muller's[63]

- Field notes of the time at the museum archives, observations on being at the museum, interactions and the process of archiving

- General notes across all Dismissal Books identifying key themes or observations, listing the phrases attached to whether an orphan was 'recommended' or 'unrecommended', or expelled, along with a running commentary of emerging themes or patterns in the language used, which I used to develop my analysis

- 'Free writing' journal entries reflecting on field notes, emerging themes, and wider resources, planning and writing up notes, and so on.

Using these processes as I went through the Dismissal Books, I could start to identify recurring phrases and discursive patterns. I would then return to the earlier Books, and refine my understanding, drawing on the CDA techniques discussed above to read along and against the grain of the texts (Stoler 2009), until I felt confident I had as Morse (1995) recommends, covered all types of occurrences and themes. As I have set out, this process enabled me to reflect on – and watch for - assumptions and deductions within my own processes of analyses. These archigraphic notes included a combination of thoughts, commentary, questions and observations, which weaved through the emerging thematic analyses, and helped highlight certain issues – such as the treatment of death and conversion, discussed above.

5.7 Additional materials: cataloguing the wider archive

Although I had access to technology such as a camera phone with which I could have captured each page, the systematic re-ordering of the information through copying, writing and

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[63] Apart from a 1928 school inspection report by the Education Board, in the National Archives, and newspaper reports in both the National and Bristol archives, there was very little material elsewhere.

reflecting, and this initial 'scoping and mapping' of the archive materials, enabled me to more effectively draw out themes and interpretations as suggested by Tamboukou (2019, 2016), Farge (2013) and Moore *et al* (2016). Creating and adjusting a spreadsheet as I worked through the Dismissal Books, enabled me to chart:

- how the entries had developed over time, in terms of content and emphasis
- where there were trends, unusual or unexpected entries
- what were the key themes throughout the books
- what could be considered by my approach as 'archival surplus' (Farge 2013, p.17).

(**See appendix 5**).

In order then to 'bound the case', secondary, contextualising materials were identified, to map out the boundaries between 'the phenomenon being studied and its context' (Yin 2018, p.244). These included secondary resources specifically relating to the history of education and welfare. Also included were contemporary primary sources: newspaper reports, commentaries and correspondence regarding both the situation and perceived needs of parentless destitute children in general, such as the campaigns by journalists and writers including Booth, Mayhew, Simon, Stead and Dickens, on child labour and child prostitution, for example, Mayhew's mid-century observations of working 'street folk' (Mayhew 2011).

The local archives and national newspaper archives were searched for newspaper articles regarding Muller's Orphan Houses. Archives visited were:

- National Archives at Kew
- London Metropolitan Archives
- Bristol Record Office
- National Newspaper Archive (from Bristol Library)

At each, the following key words were used to identify and gather sources:
'Muller/George Muller/Muller Orphanage/Bristol Orphanages/ Orphan Asylum Bristol/ Muller institution/Ashley Down Muller/Ashley Down orphanage/New Orphan Homes/ Muller New Orphan Homes/Ashley Down New Orphan Homes'.

This way, just over seventy newspaper articles relating to Muller's Orphan Homes during that timeframe were identified. It became clear that there was a journalistic trend for a number of local and national newspapers to quote verbatim from each other, so that the same passage would appear across a number of papers, which was noted as evidence of the widespread interest in Muller's New Homes (I did not include articles which repeated each other). Whilst most articles set a respectful tone regarding 'Brother Muller' (for example, Dickens 1857), there were a significant number which regarded the institution and its traditions with curiosity and humour, describing for example, the institution as a 'curious religious society', although still largely respectful (*The Hull Packet and East Riding Times* 1869).

My 'archive of the other archive' thus included:

- Notes on Muller's Narratives, pamphlets detailing the day to day life of the orphanage, published regularly
- Photographs of entries in Books 1-5
- A small sample of the Admissions Books
- Brethren literature such as children's books and Muller story
- Articles on the Brethren/Muller/New Orphan Homes in contemporary newspapers, from the Bristol Record Archives, Bristol Library, the National Newspaper archives, both celebratory and critical
- School inspection reports from the National Archives, Kew
- Articles on orphanages, child poverty, such as campaigns by W.T. Stead
- Discipline registers

It also included numerous hagiographic biographies on 'The Muller story' of the type discussed earlier (e.g. Elfe Tayler 1870, Pierson 1899, Galton 1987, Langmead 2006, Steer 2012). Whilst these need a research project of their own, I have noted in the previous chapter, how they provide insight into the religious culture of which Muller's New Homes were a part, and how 'the Muller story' contributes to the 'grand narratives' of the 'Great Reformers. ' Such narratives, as has been argued in this thesis' literature review, can be 'read' not 'the result of

random … genius' (Alleyne 2015, p.67) but as discursive formations which offer insight into the evangelical writing genres and the broader social and cultural context of the time.

As with all archives, this was constantly in process. Whilst I had systematically gathered newspaper articles, and other materials, from online sources, the archives remained undigitised and thus, as I have recounted, vulnerable to mishaps, particularly during the move, when the archives were closed for many weeks, and inaccessible to anyone, during Lockdown.

5.8 Conclusion

Using the processes of archigraphics, and the methodological tools of CDA, as set out in this chapter, this approach aims to deconstruct the ways in which the Dismissal Book discourses 'work' in relation to each other, identifying combinations of themes, structures and rules, and in relation to wider discursive formations or narratives that exist 'outside' Muller's, as part of 'shared cultural stock' (Alleyne 2015).

In analysing the language of the Dismissal Books, this approach is not, as was set out in the introductory chapter, claiming to 'unveil the truths or discover falsities'. Instead, as I have discussed, this approach aims to look critically at the 'relationships between discourses and discrimination' (Reisilig and Wodak 2009, p.55) and suggest what the institution's archives can tell us about the dominant ideologies of nineteenth century England in relation to young working class labour.

The next two chapters set out the analysis and findings, and explores the ways in which the Books' language 'share[s] the same style' and 'support[s] the common drift', of the dominant ideologies relating to work, health, fitness and labour in the nineteenth century (Foucault 1977, p.78) noting the ways in which the discursive formations of the Dismissal Books are enmeshed within recurring subjectivities and embedded within wider, social, historical and political contexts. Unlike other existing accounts of the Muller story, this moves the focus from the miraculous, to the marginalised.

Chapter Six: Analysis of the Orphan Categories

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will focus on those entries detailing why an orphan is not recommended for work. In this, I will be identifying the key discursive themes which inform, 'rehearse' and justify those categorisations, and weave within those themes, their broader socioeconomic and historical context, as Harris (1993) recommended in the previous chapter: tacking 'back and forth between micro- and macro- history, between close-ups and extreme long shot' (Levi 1991, in Port 2015, p.112).

In so doing, I will note how the language in these texts relates to wider themes, which as the last chapter has detailed, work together in 'discursive formation' (Ball 2017; Foucault 1994), mutually reinforcing and 'contribut[ing] to the constitution of social order [and] power relations' (Reisigl 2017, pp.52-3), regarding the unrecommended orphan.

As I have discussed, as I worked through the Dismissal Books it became clear that the relatively lengthier entries justifying expulsion or non recommendation, suggests that the ways in which the orphans are categorised as 'non recommendable' need to be constantly rehearsed and reaffirmed in the Dismissal Books, and continue to be subject to constant self justification and negotiation, even in the more official ledger-style Dismissal Books. In contrast, as I noted in this thesis' introduction, 'recommendable' orphans' entries were shorter and more formulaic, simply and listing their destination and placement type.

This chapter begins by tracing how the language of the institution's record -keeping moves from the personal, in the trial version of Book One, to the more authoritarian and institutional in the subsequent larger Books, and thus traces the development of the processes and procedures through which Muller's worked to categorise young care leavers.

As has been noted, after the original Book One was abandoned, a newer, larger and more official-looking ledger style Book was implemented, and the Dismissal Books become less

personal in tone and style. Notably, these new Books begin in 1849, the year the first of the five Orphan Homes, opened. Thus, the discursive shift in the Books reflects the institution's physical move from its beginnings in a domestic house in Wilson Street (where the earlier Book One began, in 1836) to the first of the five new, purpose-built institutions, erected between 1849 and 1870 (Higginbotham 2017).

The Dismissal Books' language indicates that the institution assumes the authority to define whether or not the orphan has successfully converted to the institution's religion, or for what reasons an orphan may be expelled. These newer, more authoritative discourses locate the institution as having central authority to decree to what extent an orphan can be recommended for work, according to the wider dominant discourses of 'fitness', respectability and ability. This chapter now addresses those categories, examining the Books' evaluations of the orphans.

6.1 The Dismissal Books' 'grids of intelligibility'

Hyatt (2013) refers to Fairclough's (2003) 'modes of legitimation'(in Hyatt, 2013 p840). That is, language which legitimates itself through reference to 'tradition…authority…[and] moral evaluation, a value system which is linked to what is good or desirable,' along with further legitimating use of 'moral and cautionary tales' (*ibid.,* p840). The Dismissal Books' language operates such modes, as I will illustrate, to position all of the orphans who are unrecommendable into one of three categories. These are:

- Expelled
- Unfit to be recommended
- Not recommended but able to work (in unskilled roles)

As Hyatt goes on to argue, these discursive modes, or formations, involve ideological positions and 'implicit assumptions' (p840). In explaining the assumptions behind these categorisations, I use as my theoretical framework underpinning this analysis, Guery and Deleule's notions of the nineteenth century working body as both 'fragmented' (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.16) and as 'a productive system in microcosm' (Blayney 2017, p.310), as discussed in this thesis' analysis

chapter. I apply this approach to understanding the (un)productive body to each of the 'unrecommended' categories, working these categories into 'grids of intelligibility' (Stoler 2009). These are:

- Expelled: the vulnerable body
- Unfit to be recommended: the fragmented body
- Not recommended but able: the productive body

Through this and drawing on the theoretical framework set out in the earlier chapter, I identify what Topping and Maloney have elsewhere referred to as the 'long shadow' of the psycho-medical model in education (Topping and Maloney 2005), and link the concept of the (un)productive body to circulating, nineteenth century eugenicist assumptions and discourses, present in the kinds of categorisations applied to the orphans as the perceived result of their education and training.

I will then move on in the next chapter, to extend these concepts of unproductivity and fragmentation, to include the ways in which the institution discursively constructs and addresses the orphan's surviving family, and shapes the relationship between family, community and orphan. I do this through analysis of the discursive themes relating to respectability and duty regarding the productive and non-productive orphan body.
I will suggest that these themes challenge and complicate the conventional notion of the orphanage as both a place of 'care' and as a 'total institution.' I will argue that instead, we need to conceptualise the Victorian orphanage as a networked, centralised authority, whose categories and boundaries are more porous, and more open to (and vulnerable to) negotiation and resistance, and also, as operating within a shared Capitalist understanding of a standardised, idealised productive body of young labour**.**

6.2 Shared understandings: the discursive shift to authority

Both the earlier Book One, and the later Dismissal Book entries, chime with Stoler's (2009, p.125) descriptions of commissioned reports on the poor, from 'men of standing' in the Imperial

West Indies, who, she notes, include directors of orphanages. In these reports, 'shared understandings' regarding marginalised groups, including the 'poor whites' orphanages, were 'justified and rehearsed' by the various authors of these entries.

Such 'shared understandings' of the potential of the orphan, and the judgments applied to the families, are similarly, rehearsed and institutionalised through the transition from the old to the new Books, as the use of more qualifying phrases such as 'I believe' are 'written out' in favour of more authoritative 'claims of normative rightness' (Riesigl and Wodak 2009, p.52; Habermas 1985). As Phillips *et al* argue (2004, p.635): 'institutions can be understood as…products of discursive activity' in that 'discourses provide the socially constituted, self regulating mechanisms that enact institutions and shape individual behaviour'.

Thus we can trace how language written as opinion in the early Book One now becomes the institutionalised, and self justifying frame of reference: 'she is unrecommendable,' for example, as opposed to, 'I/we decided not to recommend her'. The descriptions of the orphans and their families can be thus identified as examples of how such classifications are not fixed but 'constantly in process…developed and worked through by the institution (Stoler 2009, p.16), to become 'stock and formulaic…'truth claims' (*ibid*., p.125), in which the young people are discursively constructed as objectively 'recommended' or 'unrecommendable'. Indeed, Muller himself wrote in his annual Report, on educating the orphans:

> In a word, we aim at this, that, if any of them do not turn out well, temporally or
> spiritually, and do not become useful members of society, it shall not at least be _our_ fault
> (Muller, in Pierson 1899, p.215, original emphasis).

In the earlier Book One, the authority of the institution has yet to become established as official, beyond 'fault'. Instead, as I will go on to illustrate, the earlier Book recounts in a diary-like format how staff have to set off after runaways, negotiate between relatives, debate how orphans should be treated, and spend time chasing relevant paperwork. These entries are written using a personal tone: 'I think', 'I believe' and so on. During the transition from a small scale domestic organisation to a purpose built institution, the orphanage exists in a more

dynamic and uncertain space, existing in what Bradley *et al* (2009, p.17) describe as the 'borderland' between charitable amateurism and official organisations, a liminal space between voluntarism and professionalism.

Stoler's (2009, p.29) descriptions of archived colonial administrations offer a way of contrasting the language of both stages of this process. She notes that her archives contain: 'forms in which writerly practices appeared; in the tone and tenor of a reprimand, a dismissal, or praise…Sometimes persons become visible in the entitled scrawls of an angry query across a report'. In contrast, the subsequent Book One can be described as containing a more 'sober officialese' in which the author is no longer an active and personal 'I', but a representative of the institution in the more authoritarian, passive tense. Subjects are silenced and categorised, 'in the faceless, careful handwriting' of the new Dismissal Books, akin to Stoler's (2009, p29) colonial administrations. As Hyatt (2013, p.842) has observed, 'removing the agent…effects an implied authority', the process is no longer personal or open to question. Indeed, as Phillips *et al* (2004, p.635) argue, this is how the process of institutionalisation can be understood: not through actions, but through the ways in which the actions are described, communicated and disseminated as authoritative and regulatory.

Thus, in summary, the writing moves to a more official, 'new objectivity' (Foucault 1994, p.221). The discursive formation here 'describes and communicates' the ways in which the Orphan Homes authorities act. It also, as I will go on to argue in this chapter, sets out the ways in which families are construed as either suitable for, or unsuitable for, the return of the orphan.

6.3 The Dismissal Book entries and categorisations

Having set out the ways in which the new Book One represents a transition from the more informal and personal, to the institutional, I now move on to detailing the ways in which the unrecommended orphans were categorised. These are as stated earlier, 'expelled', 'unfit to be recommended' and 'not recommended but able to work'. Within each category, I map out key themes, starting with those who were expelled from the Homes.

6.3.1 Expelled: the vulnerable body

As these next five subsections now go on to discuss, the language of expulsions was discursively entangled with concerns around 'taint' and 'harm.' This is defined in the Dismissal Books as involving emotional excess, uncontrollable sexuality and problematic attitudes, and includes the labelling of some orphans as evil.

(a) The harmful/harmed

Whilst the institution's stated purpose is to save souls and keep these young people from entering the prison system (Harding 1914), *s*eemingly mild misdemeanours such as stealing handkerchiefs, bread, or pears (see for example, DB1/152), appear harshly dealt with through public expulsions, after which the orphan is either sent to relations or to the workhouse. This sets up a tension between the orphanage as place of compassionate safety, and its punitive policy of discipline and expulsions.

For example, in one of the particularly lengthy entries relating to expulsions, an orphan 'absconds' and then is 'harboured' by two women living nearby. When her Aunt finds her after a few days, she is sent back to the institution in order to be expelled. The author of this entry writes that,

There is reason to think the orphan would have returned of her own accord, in an hour or so after having wandered away, had she not fallen into the hands of the persons named above (DB4/3726).

The women who house the runaway are described as having 'harboured' the orphan. 'Harbouring' connotes criminality on their part, suggesting the orphan is both a 'lost lamb' and yet also a fugitive, a criminal. Snaddon, a Plymouth Brethren writer, notes the importance of the 'lost sheep' parable (Luke 15:3-7) to Brethren teachings, noting that 'a lost sheep cannot find its way back into the fold, the shepherd must bring it' (Snaddon 2001). This emphasises both the importance of conversion, and the perceived passivity of the 'lost'; implying too that the

Brethren is synonymous with 'the fold', a place of safety and belonging. Indeed, Plymouth Brethren member and Muller biographer Harding (1914, p.199), describes the day-to-day work of the orphanage as 'the actual shepherding of the lambs'.

However, in this instance, the girl is returned in order to be publicly expelled. [64] The evangelical rhetoric of philanthropic compassion and saving souls – of 'capturing the children for Christ' (Harding 1914, p.79) - and this punitive process of expulsion, initially seem at odds with each other.

The institution employs a number of thematic, discursive strategies in attempting to resolve this tension. Firstly, this entry discursively emphasises the orphan's passivity, in that even when running away, she simply 'wanders away', to 'fall into' the hands of those who would lead her (presumably) astray. The orphan is an older girl who has been in training for housework. Yet, there is no acknowledgment here that this is a decision she has made and has possibly, actively prepared for: she is not conceptualised as actively seeking out the women in whose houses she stays, she simply 'falls into their hands' –a phrase with Biblical connotations of 'falling' from grace, as if the institution, in doing God's work, represents 'grace' on earth. The orphan is thus denied her own agency and situated within other institutionalised discourses of childhood vulnerability (Coppock and McGovern 2014), particularly around harm, female vulnerabilities and 'passion' (Holmes 2007).

Secondly, this entry illustrates the tendency for the Dismissal Books to draw on spatial and Biblical metaphors to locate the institution as both central and safe: orphans are 'brought to the Lord' or 'led to care for' their souls. In his *Narratives*, Muller reports on a 'Brother teacher' telling a very young child that she is 'old enough to die and if unsaved, old enough to be lost' (Muller 1874, p.99).[65] Thus, orphans can be discursively positioned as 'lost' as wandering runaways, or lost in the Biblical sense. The institution represents both safety and care, in that

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[64] An expulsion typically takes part 'publicly before all, and solemnly, with prayer' as described in the Dismissal Books (for example, see: DB1/127).

[65] This phrase also appears in 'The Conversion of Little Ones' from an evangelical pamphlet, which goes on to argue that, 'If they are not too young to sin, they are not too young to be converted' (*The National Preacher and Village Pulpit: Monthly* 1861, p.93). Similar phrasing also appears in *Jane Eyre*, when Jane is challenged by the master of Lowood school, Mr Brocklehurst, who warns her that 'children younger than you die [unsaved] daily' (Bronte 1847).

the child is 'delivered up' to the institution and has the expertise to decide whether the orphan believes in God as a convert ('brought to the fold').

Thirdly, the institution discursively reinforces this passivity by ensuring control over the ways in which children and young people enter and leave the institution. Children are generally referred to as 'delivered' to the institution in the first place, such as the child 'delivered into Muller's/my hands' and then 'delivered up' on to the worthy or dutiful relative, or work placement (DB3/2028 is for example, 'delivered up' as 'very weakly' and unrecommendable for housework). The notion of 'deliverance' has Biblical connotations of rescue, a key theme to evangelical rhetoric and child rescue, as discussed in Chapter two. The Lord's prayer calls on God to 'deliver us from evil' (see both Matthew (6:9-13) and Luke (11:2-4)). It connotes safety: the child is delivered, safe from worldly evils such as poverty, the immorality of the slums (Koven 2004) or – as I will show - unsuitable family members. To be 'delivered' is therefore to be rescued, saved from danger, and also to be brought to the Lord. Thus arriving at the institution is to be 'delivered' to a place of safety and potentially, as religious deliverance. Orphans do not leave the institution unless marching to chapel or on the annual parade (Garton 1987).

Finally, the 'outside world' is conceptualised by the institution as dangerous, in which a child could get lost and come to harm, unless 'delivered' or monitored safely through it. Any other interaction with the outside world (and as I will show, 'outsider' relatives, such as actors and non-believers) is simply not safe: to be in it, unsupervised, is to be lost.

As Christian biographer Nancy Garton (1987, p.178) writes, the institution was an 'Orphan Hot House' in which the children were, at least for her: 'sheltered from a cruel world…in contact only with that which was pure and good'. As such, she argues, with no contact from the 'taint' of family or community, the children, from 'variable backgrounds' 'improved in health, manners and morals beyond all recognition' (*ibid*., p.178).

This notion of 'taint' in relation to expulsions can be discursively linked with another key theme and recurring phrase, that of 'pernicious' harm. Whatever the specific form it may entail, 'harm' is discursively positioned as being brought in from outside influences. The entry above, goes on to explain how the orphan is treated when she is brought back 'to the fold':

The orphan could not be allowed to mix again with her former companions (inside the institution) as she might have seen and heard things during the days of her absence which might, in the detailing, have a very pernicious effect on them. There was no alternative but to dismiss her in disgrace after public rebuke in the presence of the whole establishment. (DB4/3726).

This is indeed a 'cautionary tale' which as Hyatt describes, is a mode of legitimation, 'advising us as to the…outcomes of particular courses of action' (p840). What might the orphan have 'seen and heard' in a few days on Ashley Down Road, and what sort of pernicious effect would this have? How would this threaten the well-being of the 'whole establishment'? The outside world is discursively positioned as, by definition, harmful, thus connoting that 'care' in this institution, is the deliverance from, and ongoing protection through separation from, the threats and immoralities of the outside world.

 The 'detailing' of life beyond the institution cannot, therefore, be tolerated. Thus, these discursive modes of spatiality and passivity deny the orphan any level of individual agency, whilst locating the orphan as now both harmed and harmful, in her contact with the world outside. It is significant to note here that those who run away are brought back, in order to be expelled. Significantly, the Books are not 'Leavers Books' but Dismissal Books. The orphans cannot leave of their own volition, but need to be brought *back into* the institution, in order to *then* be publicly dismissed. Any movement in or out of the institution which is not sanctioned by the institution itself – as I shall show, this includes actions by the wider family – is prevented or removed, a power justified through discourses of deliverance and disapproval. Such acts of resistance are removed of their agency, but yet serve a warning to those inside.

(b) Hysteria

In the same way, the removal of girls due to 'hysteria' and excessive 'passion' is discursively framed as passively experienced, 'tiresome', yet potentially harmful:

Subject to hysteria. Dr Williams considered the removal of the orphan necessary as among so many girls there was the probability of a state of alarm being set up, and what is worse, of

hysteria being produced among them, causing much trouble and annoyance though no danger (DB4/3565)

She constantly gave herself up to fits of passion during which she was most insolent to her teachers, violent and uncontrollable. On account of the hurtful influence of her conduct on the other girls it was necessary to remove her (DB3/2379)

On account of her manifestations of silliness, and uncontrollable fits of laughter for no apparent cause, she could not be recommended to a situation from the institution (DB2/1962)

Emotional behaviour is strictly regulated: a letter at the museum from George Muller warns staff against inciting 'too much' excitement and hilarity at Christmas.

The institution operates then, within 'the ideological machinery' of Victorian authority, a grid of intelligibility which represented the 'controlling power of the…rational, white, intellectual masculine mind' over the other: the irrational, the ordinary, the non-white, the feminine, the emotional, or carnal (Holmes 2007, p.165).

These examples illustrate how the orphans in the Dismissal Books can be both discursively positioned in terms of passivity, and yet conversely as an active threat to the smooth running of the institution. These inmates are both childlike and 'deliverable' through philanthropic charity and compassion, yet simultaneously, as real, incorrigible threats to the institution's authority, due to their passive vulnerability to 'pernicious' external influences, or their 'giving up to' 'base' and carnal emotions such as hysteria and 'silliness'.[66]

However, other expulsions demand a more discursively complex justification of passivity and vulnerability to harm, as the next section details.

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[66] Hysteria, particularly female hysteria, was defined as a nervous disease at the turn of the century, but before then, was used to define a number of neurological and physiological symptoms such as somnambulism (sleepwalking), convulsions and disassociation. Later in the century, Freud would argue that hysteria was suppression following trauma, particularly adult sexual abuse of a child, and 'repressing ideas from consciousness' (Freud in Van der Kolk 2015, p.181). Such conditions as disassociation, 'sluggishness', mutism and bedwetting – all punishable at Muller's - might now be linked to childhood bereavement or trauma (see for example, Perry 2016, Van der Kolk 2015).

(c) 'Stubborn and insubordinate'

Whilst both the runaway and the hysteric were framed in terms of passive vulnerability to 'harm', there are orphans who are seen as the *sources* of harm. Dominant in the discursive patterns of what constitutes 'bad' behaviour in this sample - or 'repetitive refrains' as Stoler describes (2009) - is the notion of 'insubordination', as listed here:

- *Insubordination and uncontrolled temper* (DB1/759)

- *Sent away in disgrace for insubordination* (DB1/454)

- *Repeated acts of insubordination* (DB3/2232)

- *Incorrigibly insubordinate* (DB6/6945)

- *Persistently insubordinate* (DB6/7011)

'Insubordination' is described in these examples of expulsion:

Determined self will, passionate and insubordinate…use of objectionable language. This orphan was expelled so to make an example of her before the whole establishment (DB4/3715).

Expelled on account of stubborn and insubordinate behaviour towards the matron ... she was taken to Mr Connell, a clergyman who gave a note of admission into The House of Industry for her (DB1/399).[67]

Insubordination, defined in its basic version as refusal to obey orders, or reasonable commands, is often used in conjunction with 'self will' and 'passion', discursively positioned as opposing the disciplined adherence to the 'rational' demands of authority. As O'hAodha (2013) has argued, such terms are frequently used to categorise marginal groups. In his discussion of the 'insubordinate Irish', O'hAodha describes nineteenth century Irish travellers as 'the other within,' noting that a 'link exists between the category definitions or representations of a

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[67] An 'English-style workhouse' was established by evangelical minister, William Carpenter, on the Isle of Man in 1837, a year after Muller begins his orphan home project. An 1868 list of inmates shows a number of children incarcerated there, from as young as 2 years old [www.workhouses.org] .

particular group and societal attitudes and behaviours with respect to that group.' Irish travellers were seen as inferior, primitive and anti social.

To be insubordinate as an orphan, then, was to actively refuse to accept one's designated place in the institution, to refuse to take on the role of apprentice or servant, or to refuse to be grateful for one's lot.[68] Insubordination is the resistance to the institution's attempt to relegate such young people to particular subject positions. This resistance is described by Jones *et al*, in their study of young people in care and identity today, as 'oppositional agency…a disidentification from the positioning of Otherness' (Jones *et al* 2020, p.494). For example, orphans DB1/54/55/56 are 'trained but unwilling' to be servants, and are thus expelled.

Whilst this sample starts to suggest 'insubordination' is more likely to be used as a discourse of disapproval concerning the institution's 'implicit assumptions' (Hyatt 2013) regarding defiant or 'unruly' girls,[69] male orphans are also deemed insubordinate. In the third Dismissal Book, the insubordination of orphan no. 2237 takes the form of 'inciting' eight other boys to run away: all are expelled, the ringleader described as having 'a very discontented disposition' in which 'kindness [was] returned by ingratitude.' Families who do not accept the institution's authority can contribute to this problem, an 'unsettling' family causes one orphan to be 'given up' and not recommended, as they 'rather encouraged her in her discontent' (DB4/3395).

Insubordination as used here, connotes not only ingratitude, but an inability, or unwillingness, to be saved, both in religious terms, and in terms of social 'improvement.' Being insubordinate is to align oneself with 'primitive, inferior' modes of being, of passion, of wilfulness versus submission to discipline, to remain 'the other within' the institution. To remain unconverted, both to religious beliefs and to the institution's aims of training the orphan to be a refined, 'recreated citizen' (Choi 2008, p.26), is insubordinate and ungrateful behaviour.

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[68] The 'Guild of the Brave Poor Things', a charitable society for people with disabilities, founded in Bristol, 1894, had as its motto, *Laetus Sorte Mea, '*happy in my lot' (Higginbotham 2017, p.177, Humphries *et al* 1988).
[69] Whilst this sample cannot make any quantitative conclusions about treatment according to gender, anxieties around gender and behaviour are discussed further, later in this chapter.

Despite the 'god given' authority of the institution, tales of expulsions suggest this power to control the orphans is therefore not total nor complete, but unstable, precariously hegemonic (Gramsci 1971) in that it constantly needs to publicly dismiss threats, as the young people fight against the rules and regulations. The institution thus works to resolve these threats through its somewhat contradictory and paternalist discourses, discursively constructing an irrational Other (*cf* Hall 2001), including those 'given up to' hysteria and those whose irrationally 'ungrateful' behaviour includes rudeness, insubordination or running away. Through the institution's discursive formations of moral evaluation and cautionary tales (Hyatt 2013), as evidenced in the Dismissal Books and the Narratives, such young people are categorised as both vulnerable and a threat to order, both to be pitied and feared, harmed and harmful, 'at risk and risky' (Heath-Kelly 2013).

The orphan is thus conceptualised as vulnerable to harm by non-sanctioned contact with others outside the institution, and from themselves if unable to control their habits or emotions, as well as vulnerable to harm from other insubordinate orphans. Those orphans, as I will now go on to demonstrate, are defined as influencing the others in problematic, even, as I intimated earlier, 'evil' ways.

The seeming tensions in such categorisations are again, discursively resolved through the 'evil' or pernicious orphan being deemed vulnerable to the harm of their own problematic inheritance, the 'taint' of their condition which the institution discursively positions itself as 'refining' and purifying. Such discursive modes of rationalisation (Hyatt 2013) work to legitimate expulsion as the rational response to potential harm to the orphan community: as this is essentially a place of 'care', such harm must be removed, in order to both protect the others and act as moral discipline on the offender. Indeed, such orphans are positioned as 'care*less*', their state, one of 'indifference…careless of her soul' (Pierson 1899, pp.230-1). I return to the discursive formation of 'taint' and 'refinement' throughout this and the following chapters.

(d) Problematic harm: evil influences and sexual anxieties

Certain forms of apparent insubordination, as stated in the Dismissal Books, are repeatedly described as 'evil'. The word 'evil' appears shocking in an Evangelical Christian organisation,

applied to orphaned children, the very 'forlorn little creatures….homeless and helpless' whose souls they were aiming to save (Harding 1914, p.82). The word appears at odds with the more rational and authoritarian, seemingly rational discourse of 'clinical knowledge' present in the newer Dismissal Books (Rabinow 1984, p.216), which is discussed in more detail, below. Again, this is discursively positioned in terms of 'harm', specifically 'corruption' and 'influence'. For example:

A very capable girl but thoroughly unprincipled….Her influence on the other girls was great, but for evil only…and in mercy to them there was no alternative but to expel her (DB3/2358)

The conduct of this girl for a long time was very bad…her influence over the other elder girls being only evil she had to be expelled [from] the institution in disgrace (2053/A12)

Other 'evil' influences are simply described as 'harmful to the other orphans' (DB6/6945) or 'very injurious' to the other orphans (DB6/7011), although it is not explained as to what this 'evil' injuriousness entails. As Pierson writes of the institution, if children were 'incorrigibly bad, they were expelled, lest they should corrupt the others' (Pierson 1899, p.226). Given that Foucault (1994, p.11) has noted the nineteenth century's 'growing obsession with sexuality', this 'evil' could be understood as possibly sexual in nature. A number of orphans for example are punished for what is referred to as 'dirty habits,' although it is not clear if this dirt is literal or metaphorical (see **Appendix 1**).

Renton (2017, p227) notes how nineteenth century boarding schools would 'expel masturbators, fearing they would infect others', part of the century's 'moral panic' concerning homosexuality and masturbation, as if either were 'a medieval plague' (*ibid.*, p.218). In Germany, in the early 1800s, medical and educational professionals were already critiquing the 'unbearable and inhumane conditions' of large orphanages, citing the 'immoral' dangers of such large-scale communal living, such as the 'evils of onanism' (Jacobi 2009, p.65).[70]

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[70] Onanism is defined as masturbation or 'coitus interruptus', in other words, sex for purposes other than procreation.

Similarly, homosexuality was not only illegal in the nineteenth century, but also deemed an 'unspeakable abomination' (Koven 2004, p.70), an 'unsavoury business….[a] monstrous evil' (*ibid*., p.48), linked discursively with 'the erotic valences of dirt' especially the 'dirt of slum life' with its erotic connotations of depravity and wildness (*ibid*., p.184). In public boarding schools, it was 'the threat the Victorians called beastliness' (*ibid*., p.26). Such 'evils' were a dangerous perversion, a perceived risk to those away from, or simply without, the 'stabilising influences of family home life' (Hornsey 2010, p.6), particularly those who are institutionalised: as much 'moral trouble' in public schools as it was in orphanages and workhouses (Renton 2017). Such 'trouble' may be simply alluded to here in these descriptions of 'evil' children and young people: not unwritten 'because it could go without saying and everyone knew it…but … unwritten because it could not be said' (Stoler 2009, p.15).

As Stoler (2009) describes in her wider analysis of the European reformatories, the process of discipline versus desire is: 'chilling….This was more than a project in harnessing the passions, it was a project designed to starve the growth of these desires and remove the conditions for their production' (p114). Child sexuality was of great concern in the nineteenth century: as Steedman (1990, p.67) has noted, 'the working class child represented corruption as well as innocence', particularly the working class girl. This was made overt in W.T. Stead's and Booth's campaigning work on behalf of young sex workers , again positioning such children as both at risk (from corruption) and 'risky' in their sexuality (Koven 2004, Steedman 1990). As Gryctko (2020) somewhat caustically suggests, the ideal Victorian child is a dead child: the "passionless," "pure," and "meek" dead child embodies, more perfectly than any living child, the Victorian ideal of childhood that emphasizes these traits' (p.36).

In contrast, those in the Dismissal Books described as 'incorrigible' are discursively positioned as beyond help, beyond 'deliverance'. Thus the discourses of passivity and harm deal with the problematics of young sexuality by setting up a contrast between the 'good' – meek, passionless, disciplined - orphan, and those who must be expelled, for the safety of the other orphans. This is epitomised in the following entries. In these, sexual anxieties are played out more overtly. In the first, a girl is expelled for reading a 'trashy novel':

She was guilty of getting up at midnight, and breaking open a press that she might repossess herself of a trashy novel which had been taken from her (DB4/3496).

In his account of his time at Muller's in the mid 1800s, Barribal writes of how the 'highest possible moral character' was maintained in the Orphan Homes, in part by Muller's ensuring all letters to the children were 'carefully read', so that nothing should come into the institution that would have an 'injurious moral effect' on them – and that this 'strict oversight' also applied to books (Barribal c1908). This incident then sets up a number of questions: given the orphans only leave the institution to march to chapel, or for the annual picnic, and given their reading matter and communications with family members are monitored and limited, who would give an orphan a 'trashy novel', and how? A worker? A relative? A visitor? The entry does not detail this, but states that the institution expels the girl alongside another orphan (DB4/3498) who is removed for being 'involved in the offence.'

This entry makes curious reading against descriptions of the institution as a 'wonder of the world' (Elfe Tayler 1871, p.1), its existence 'proving God exists' (Harding 1914), and Muller's international status and renown (Steer 2012) and presents a further challenge to the concept of the nineteenth century orphanage as 'enclosed' and 'complete'. As with the runaway orphan's limited experience with the outside world, the institution's response to a young woman's desire to get hold of a 'trashy novel'[71] seems disproportionate to the threat posed. What could those orphans tell the others, from the street (as in the previous entry) or from trashy novels, that would have such a 'very pernicious effect' on themselves and the institution?

The entry exemplifies how experiences which were *not* sanctioned or controlled by the institution, such as outside conversations or materials, orphan-to-orphan interaction, or certain orphan-led activities or reactions, were perceived as dangerous and unsettling, 'tainting', defined in terms that connote infection, disease (Richardson 2003). As such, strict public

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[71] The word 'trashy' written in the Dismissal Books' copperplate seems jarringly modern. The otherwise comprehensive Slang Dictionary Etymological, Historical and Andecdotal (1873) which includes the slang of 'vagabonds', 'gypsies', 'back slang' and 'the vulgar language of fast life' does not include 'trashy'. However it appears in an 1866 issue of Notes & Queries (3/IX, 1866, p. 400) believed to be an onomatopoeic word (along with 'truck') for the crashing of throwing away unwanted dry wood, twigs and so on.
https://blog.oup.com/2021/03/trash-and-its-synonyms-from-a-strictly-historical-point-of-view-part-one/

expulsions are discursively justified as the only rational response to take. As I argue below, such actions are also discursively framed to anticipate and shut down, criticism, through use of 'lexico-grammatical means' such as presuppositions. Here, the Books use the presupposition 'nothing remains,' to introduce and justify as inevitable, the expulsion of the orphan.[72]

The institution operated at a time when, as Harris has described, there was an element of elitist 'demographic anxiety' concerning the 'breeding' habits of 'the poorest third of the nation' (Harris 1993, p.46). In contrast to the ideal, 'passionless' young middle class Victorian, for example, a Children's Employment Commission report on young employment in brickfields in the 1850s, describes both male and female seventeen year olds as: 'Working side by side…and…when there happens to be a fair on…, off they go…together…[T]oo often the girl's virtue is gone before her holiday is over' (in Royston Pike 1967, pp.214-5).

The author of the report notes with concern how marriage does not necessarily follow. This discursive disapproval of the 'foul mouthed' female brickmakers' attitudes to their 'virtue' suggest that, in the nineteenth century institutions such as reformatories, schools, workhouses and orphanages, female insubordination – particularly if there are sexual connotations to that behaviour- was similarly, all the more shocking. This is particularly the case for Muller's, given the girls were destined for service to the middle classes, and thus needed to meet the criteria of the 'respectable' and 'discreet' servant role (May 1998, p.10). This is vividly exemplified in the last detailed entry in this sample. The misdemeanours of this girl are summarised thus:

She had very grievously mis-conducted herself, making it necessary to isolate her. She was accordingly placed in a room on the infirmary floor, from which she gained egress by withdrawing the screws from …the bolt…So inordinate was her hankering for the opposite sex, that finding she could not otherwise effect her purpose to gain access to the boys' department, she passed through [a] window…and jumped onto the roof [73] (DB4/3729).

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[72] Metaphorically, this is akin to the then necessary yet 'lamentable' nineteenth century medical practice of cutting off a diseased limb in an attempt to save a life (Chaloner *et al* 2001, p.409), or a diseased tree branch, to save the fruiting tree (See Matthew 3:1-12 in the Brethren-approved King James Bible, for how this practice is applied to 'sinners').

[73] In photographs, plans and orphans' descriptions of the Homes, the infirmary was usually on the top (third or fourth) floor, making this a rather impressive escape route!

She is expelled, having met up with two boys in the servants' hall, who are also expelled in disgrace for 'not having the moral courage to resist' (DB4/3733 and 3734). Another girl is expelled for her 'participation in the shockingly bad conduct referred to under 3729' (DB4/3731). All involved are – like the bricklayers - around seventeen years old.

At this age, outside of the institution, they would be expected to work. They were beyond the minimum legal age by which they could then marry (Harris 1993). In one way, the institution's treatment of them as if children, did ensure their protection. Yet on the other, the institution discursively constructs the orphan body as childlike, vulnerable to influence, and in need of protection from harm. Pauper orphans can take on nineteenth century values of middle class *children*, in terms of discipline, morality and a work ethic, but not the middle class *adult* values of independence, determination and passion. To do so, challenges the status quo, and thus raises anxieties about unsanctioned behaviour and the risks of 'pernicious harm.'

(e) A question of gender

Whilst this sample is limited, it is notable that both the girls in the above entries are described in terms suggesting active, uncontrollable and 'shocking' urges; the boys simply lacking the 'moral courage to resist'. The girls are discursively positioned at having injuriously overcome the boys 'moral courage' and presumed resistance to their temptations. They have caused harm. Yet they are also – as with the runaway orphan, and the trashy novel reader – passively subject to their emotions. It is her 'inordinate hankering' that propels the orphan out of the window, making this akin to the 'annoying' hysteria of the girls above.

Double standards, and fear of women's sexual desires, are not specific to the Victorians, given they routinely and consistently continue to appear in political and media debate, and fictional narrative forms, from Greek myths to medieval morality plays for example (Beard 2017), and 1940s *film noir* (Kaplan 2019) to contemporary television melodramas (White 1994). However, it is notable here, that in comparison, a sixteen year old boy, employed to fulfil the Monitorial system role of pupil teacher, is dismissed in disgrace for 'arranging clandestine meetings with the elder girls & other improprieties', in a considerably less emotive entry. For male pupil

teachers to meet elder girls is, the entry notes, 'contrary to the well understood rules of the institution' (DB3/2596).

The 'well understood' rules of the institution are not stated in the Dismissal Books, nor were they available in the scrapbooks, or other archive materials. Again, these are 'common sense' and normative (Fairclough 1992), part of the taken for granted, 'shared cultural stock' of the institution and its inhabitants (Alleyne 2015). However, whilst this is presumably the same misdemeanour as above, given it is an understood 'impropriety,' and a similarly aged young person, the pupil teacher's sexually-motivated actions are not as 'shocking'. It does not appear that he was locked in the Infirmary on discovery. Whilst both incidents involve rule-breaking actions, his are not written of in the same, somewhat melodramatic tone. He is not 'inordinately hankering' but 'arranges….meetings': as a male inmate, he does at least have agency of his own misfortune.

Muller's decision to maintain the boys until they were fourteen but the girls until eighteen, was as has already been noted in this thesis, due to his assumption that girls were 'requiring [of] more sheltering care,' and were generally later than boys in 'heed[ing] to the call of God' (Harding 1914, p.193). That this 'sheltering care' assumed female inability to resist temptation or to overcome 'irrationality', thus went without saying. The girls who may have encountered 'influences' outside the institution, must be expelled, as they may already have been led astray – and thus risk the 'sheltered' others being led astray, given their tendency to be led by their emotions.

6.3.2 Summary of Expelled: the vulnerable body

The choices of tense in the phrases 'she is evil', 'nothing remains' and 'she had to be expelled' can be read as not simply about the time frame, but as inferring what is true or relevant. Hyatt (2013) argues 'tense…can be used to construct understanding' (p840). He notes that the 'use of the present simple tense constructs an event as reality or fact', and goes on to state that the 'use of the present perfect simple constructs a past event as being important or relevant'. The past simple tense can 'represent a past event as no longer being important' or as conclusively

dealt with (Hyatt 2013, p.840). Here, the Dismissal Books' author states and discursively justifies, the necessity of expulsion.

Here, the 'truth claim' (Stoler 2009, p.61) is that the expulsion is due to the orphan's behaviour and the impact on the other orphans, leaving the institution with no alternative. Thus the institution can discursively resolve potential tensions between its existence as a place of safety and care, of bringing children 'to the Lord', and its punitive processes of expelling those who will not (or cannot) fit in with the institution's criteria, culture and ethos. Expulsion is thus positioned as inevitable and regrettable, in removing 'taint', in order to save or keep pure, the other orphans.

Orphans are positioned as vulnerable to harm, from each other, from the outside world, and also, from inherited conditions, which may cause 'evil' behaviours which cannot be made safe, nor saved. Indeed in early biographies, parents are described as 'with bad constitutions' unable to 'provide…food, nor proper education' (Elfe Tayler 1871, p.137). Harding (1899) writes of unhealthy children arriving at the Muller Orphan Homes, 'permeated with the poison of bad blood' rather than suffering from the effects of poverty and malnutrition (p.226). As with disease, such sources of 'taint' and 'infection' must be isolated and removed. The following section further unpacks this notion of inherited conditions.

6.3.3 Unfit to be recommended: the fragmented body

In this category, those who cannot be recommended due to bodily or mental issues are 'othered' in ways which draw on nineteenth century discourses of eugenicism and inferiority, in which illness tends to be regarded as weakness or 'inveterate habits'. The following three subsections map out in more detail, the discursive justifications for where such children 'belong'.

(a) Back where they belong

Most of those who were deemed as unfit to be recommended by the institution are returned to family members. Muller biographer Nancy Garton (1987, p.154) talks of how orphans not accepted at Muller's, may be 'grudgingly offered a corner in the overcrowded home of some relative'.

This is a somewhat harsh description of a family taking on another mouth they can scarcely feed, particularly one who may need expensive medical treatment in a pre-welfare state, and who is unable to earn their keep, such as for example, an infant who now needs crutches (DB4/4952). There are no accounts of the institution offering ongoing financial assistance. There are also no accounts, however, of families apparently refusing or begrudgingly accepting their young relative, once requested to do their Christian duty, even if the orphan has been expelled from the institution. The Dismissal Books do not overtly mention any incidents, at least in this sample, of having to persuade unwilling family members to take the child on.

Families have to apply, however, for the return of a 'fit' orphan, and are thus subject to discourses of moral evaluation (Fairclough 2003). This return has economic dimensions which relate to the notion of the productive body: a 'recommendable' orphan offering economic *potential* and productivity, is something the family must 'earn', through their respectability. A number of families' applications, as will be discussed, are refused. In contrast, an orphan who, through unwillingness or unsuitableness for recommendation, is an economic *burden*, must be taken on as Christian duty, as the institution will write to the family. This is further explored in the following chapter.

Due to the religious criteria of the institution, illegitimate children are not admitted. In almost all cases, a relative is named in the process of admission, suggesting that the majority of orphans have at least one connection, to the outside world. The Victorian definition of family is much broader and more fluid than contemporary definitions, as some are returned 'to friends', in other words, friends of the family, or unrelated carers (Rossini 2014; Harris 1993). Only four in this sample at least, have nobody at all to whom they can be delivered, when the institution decides they need to 'return' them. One seventeen-year-old girl, 'a believer' but 'too weak in

constitution for housework' is 'delivered back' to the Union (workhouse) as 'the only living relative was a grandmother, an imbecile, in Barnet Union' (DB3/2166). Another girl, 'very willing' but 'of weak intellect', who had been admitted aged two, is 'returned to the workhouse, Bedminster' also aged seventeen (DB6/7025). A third girl is reported to have 'gone blind so is unsuitable for this institution' and returned to the workhouse in her parish (DB1/318). An infant with weak ankles is returned to Chester workhouse also as 'unsuitable' for domestic training (DB4/3641).

This process is described in Muller's *Narratives*, regarding the 'very difficult and tedious cases' of children who 'remain ill' and cannot be recommended, but have no family. Muller writes that,

> Nothing remains but to send them to the Parish Union [workhouse] to which they belong, as they have no relatives able to provide for them. The very fact of having cared for them…for years, only endears them the more to us, and makes it the more trying to send them back to the Parish (Muller 1848, p.65).

Despite popular assumptions that sending children to the workhouse was a 'repellent' and unendurable situation for families (Harding 1914, p.193), and Muller's own concerns of the 'fearful consequences of…education and training in the Union workhouses' (Elfe Tayler 1871, p.179), in which 'children placed in the Unions [workhouses] are corrupted…obliged to mix with vagabonds' (Muller 1851 in Steer 1986, p.97), an 'unrecommendable' child *is* discursively positioned here as 'belonging' in the workhouse. She is 'returned' to the workhouse, the tense indicating 'an action completed' and thus unquestionable (Mullet 2018, pp.133-4).

The author of this entry is 'temporally disconnected' from the decision by the use of the simple past tense, and use of the passive (Mullet 2018, p.134). Such verbs are as Hyatt (2013, p.842) has noted, 'factive' in that they act as 'embedded assumptions: the use of 'return' for example, indicates that this is her rightful place, where she 'belongs'. Thus as Van Dijk (2018) has argued, 'power can be enacted implicitly through control of discourse…in syntax or choice of words' (cited in Mullet 2018, p.136).

There is no mention in the Dismissal Books as to how this 'return' to the workhouse was managed. Twenty first century research has shown how transitional experiences are particularly traumatic for children in care (Jackson 2013); for children who are ill, or dying, a change from one institution to another after a lifetime at the Muller Homes would have surely been highly traumatic indeed. Not least, because of the workhouses' high infant mortality rates (Ball *et al* 2016) and 'utterly wretched' experiences of workhouse children, violently flogged and semi-starved and often subject to violent physical and sexual abuse, as evidenced by a series of workhouse scandals (Higginbotham 2017, p.5). Locally, there were a number of nineteenth and twentieth century scandals at the Barton Regis and Eastville workhouses in Bristol, including one in 1890, when it was discovered that the already high mortality rates of children in the Eastville workhouse had doubled, due to freezing temperatures and overcrowding (Ball *et al* 2016, p.152).[74]

Significantly, the 'problem' is discursively positioned as lying within the child, not society, nor the institution. Thus the writer discursively positions himself as a passive participant in the situation (Mullet 2018): the child 'was returned' – a phrasing which as Simpson (1993) notes, 'fend[s] off the awkward 'who by?' question' (in Hyatt 2013, p.842). The child literally embodies the shame of unproductivity; the state of 'unrecommendableness' again an objective fact, that the authoritative voice of the Dismissal Books positions itself as merely observing, with sorrow and compassion. Again, the use of the present simple tense here ('nothing remains' but to 'send them') both 'constructs an event as reality or fact' (Hyatt 2013:842), and discursively presupposes ongoing authority (Phillips *et al* 2004): not only setting out 'the way things are,' but confirming and institutionalising, 'the way things must be done'.

This is not about the young person's or child's own emotional state or needs. This language assumes the authority of the impartial spectator, a discursive technique also identified as being used in the nineteenth century slum reports of both Charles Mayhew and Salvation Army founder William Booth (Alleyne 2015, p.23). It is 'trying' when the child fails to live up to- or

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[74] The report at the time states that after the Medical Officer, Dr Bernard, had stated this statistic, there was 'laughter'. Ball *et al* note that, 'it is far from clear what the assembled Guardians thought was funny about the huge rise in infant mortality rates…In any case, no recommendations [were made] to improve the heating' (Ball *et al* 2016, pp152-3).

physically is unable to fit into - the standard, the body as 'fit for purpose', but the child and their family cannot counter this.

The response of the child or young person is not recorded. Such positioning of the child can be described as 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron 2011), discursively enforcing an internalised sense of shame, of 'symbolic degradation' (Jones *et al* 2020, p.494). This is justified and rationalised through discursive positioning: Stoler (2009) quotes Simmel's translation of the German word, *lebensluge*, which means, broadly, living a lie, or as she clarifies, living a vital lie, in order to maintain the status quo. That is, to deceive oneself that what is happening is right, 'even in regard to one's feelings' (p.211), a process Chadderton and Colley (2012) refer to elsewhere as the 'banalis[ing] of abuses of power' (p.332).

Thus the staff are subject to the 'vital lie' that such children do not belong at the institution. The use of 'returning' and 'belonging' are used by the institution to justify orphans being sent to the workhouse, or 'back' to families they may not know. The staff are therefore discursively invited to take up a subject position of stoic acceptance and distance from their charity cases. Finding such situations a cause for emotions was critiqued as 'unsystematic charity' by suffragette Millicent Fawcett for example; for her and others, 'undiscriminating' charity was both 'unhelpful and sentimental' (Richardson 2003, p.71). The child 'belongs' in the workhouse: the institution's notion of 'care' does not and should not therefore extend to the unproductive body.

This is evolutionary discourse, which gives as Richardson describes, an 'evolutionary and eugenic spin' on nineteenth century inequality, in which disease, physical issues or mental states are viewed not as the effects of environmental or structural contexts but the fault of the 'degenerate's' failure of resilience, or the result of 'biological endowment' (Richardson 2003, p.204). This theme is further developed, below.

(b) The fragmented body and inveterate habits

In this section, and drawing further on Guery and Deleule's notion of the 'fragmented body'(2014), I will demonstrate the ways in which certain traits, physicalities or 'habits' were deemed unproductive, and therefore, unrecommendable. These categories then define the

young person's illness in terms of its unproductivity. These include physical factors such as being 'too short' (for work), short sightedness, odours and scarring. They also include issues which are defined as 'habits,' which are defined in moralist and disapproving ways, involving the eugenicist conflation of social and medical discursive themes (Richardson 2003, p.99).

The most frequently occurring theme regarding the 'unrecommendables', relates to nocturnal enuresis, or bedwetting. One fifteen-year-old boy, for example, orphaned and entering the institution when twelve, is described as having:

[a]n inveterate and incurable habit of wetting his bed' [which] *'prevents his being apprenticed from this institution* (DB2/1699).

Others typically include:

An inveterate bedwetter. It appears that this had been her habit before admission, and it was hoped she would be cured here; but all means hitherto have failed (DB3/2207)

An inveterate and incurable wetter of her bed, and therefore could not be recommended to a situation (DB2/1849)

By Dismissal Book 5, this has become more formalised and scientific:

'He was the subject of enuresis-inveterate' (DB5/5989). Another is:

Subject to enuresis inveterate which would not yield to the means used here with a view to its cure (DB5/6011).

Thus the Books show how language develops into a more formalised and official language, again adopting the 'officialese' of authoritative institutional discourses, in order to measure and evaluate the body (Stoler 2009). This can be linked to Guery and Deleule's (2014, p.51) argument that the working body was fragmented, separated from its own powers, including the power to identify one's own mental or physical state. As they argue, such language, 'does not

simply fragment the biological body, it tears it apart by separating it from its own powers and…turning [it] against itself' (*ibid*., p. 51). Thus, the 'habit' of 'bedwetting' has become medicalised. The sufferer made passive, so that one is now *subject to* 'enuresis inveterate', but there remains a moral dimension: the ailment is inveterate, it is a habit that they cannot change. It must be noted here that (as in the workhouse and the most elite of boarding schools, as discussed earlier) the 'means to a cure' to which they do not or cannot 'yield', is corporal punishment (see **Appendix 1**).

As Hoegaerts (2013) has noted, during the nineteenth century: 'an increasingly pervasive influence of 'science'… resulted in the medicalization of unconventional behaviour: madness was rebranded as mental illness, drunkenness as alcoholism' (p.17). By the early nineteenth century, medical discourses commodified the body, particularly the working class body. As Fissell (1991, p.148) writes in her history of Bristol hospitals, 'patients became objects of anatomic inquiry'. The commodification of patients' bodies and illnesses was, she argues, 'part of the creation of a hospital peopled by working class patients who did not even own their own bodies…This breakdown…was part of a larger process of cultural appropriation and dissociation' (*ibid*., p.170).

The process of 'fragmentation' as set out by Guery and Deleule (2014), and supported by an increasingly 'fragmented' and commodified medical discourse, thus enables the institution to 'reform' the orphan as the sum of their recommendable and unrecommendable traits. The emissions of the bladder were linked to 'bad habits' and poor behaviour likely in those who were 'weak', passively unable to break their unhealthy habits. For example, one girl, admitted aged 10, and now 18, could not be recommended on account of:

'an inveterate habit of wetting her bed and other weaknesses – she is very short' (DB2/1723).

Thus weakness here is both physical (the 'inherited' problem of shortness) and it is implied, in will power and self discipline. Those who were expelled have been described in this thesis as 'unruly bodies' (Hornsey 2010), unproductive bodies, in that they are care*less.* They are discursively constituted as ungrateful, potentially harmful, or unable to be careful, to fit in, to control their emotions, to break their so-called inveterate habits. Whilst not deliberately so,

these orphans' bodies are also 'unruly,' in that the orphan is perceived as unable to control them: their bodies are socially unacceptable in that they literally leak, they smell (Gregson *et al* 2000), they do not, or cannot, do what they should.

Not fitting in to the standards of the institution, whether deliberately through 'wilfulness,' inadvertently through 'hysteria,' or 'inherited' issues such as shortness or feeblemindedness, including the inability to break 'bad' habits, was therefore problematic, and as I will go on to discuss, not conducive to the Muller 'brand'. The developing institutionalised discourse subsequently rationalised and justified their removal from the Homes. Expressing 'unruliness' and individuality, whether deliberately resistant, or due to an inability to conform to standards, was discursively defined and publicly displayed as deviant, usually through punishment in front of the other children, prior to removal. This is discussed below in the following examples of neurolinguistic issues (mutism, stammering) as well as height ('shortness' due to malnutrition), and diseases.

(c) A racialised othering

As Hendrick (1994) has noted, nineteenth century debates concerning social and health welfare occurred at a time when 'when racial considerations were of increasing importance' (1994:90). In terms of dominant discursive themes, such considerations led to a 'racial othering of the poor' (Richardson 2003) as the poor and slum inhabitants were defined in ways mimicking the colonialist administrators- what Koven (2004, p.283) refers to as, 'the racist tropes of domestic imperialism'. As Hall (1997, p.244) has also argued, 'the representation of 'difference' through the body became the discursive site through which much […] 'racialised knowledge' was produced and circulated.

In his *Narratives*, Muller explains that,

> The very fact of being bereaved of both is plain proof the parents were sickly and
> unhealthy persons (Muller 1848, p.76).

The 'very fact' operates as a 'truth claim' (Stoler 2009), discursively operating in the same way as the claim of there being 'no alternative' to expulsions, in suggesting that the institution is beyond fault when it comes to an orphan's perceived shortcomings. Thus a child who is 'too small' (DB2/1983) or 'too weak' (DB3/2046) is not perceived as such because of poverty, neglect, or trauma, but as 'plain proof' they were from 'unhealthy persons'. Indeed, some of the more frequent illnesses suffered by the orphans, such as scrofula and syphilis, were popularly perceived to be inherited (Duarte 2017), and this is evidenced in Muller's descriptions of parental poor health.[75]

As Hyatt (2013, p.842) describes, 'presuppositions help to represent constructions as convincing realities' through a number of 'lexico-grammatical means' including rhetorical (or closed) questions and statements, and factive adverbial statements. To return to Muller's phrase, the 'embedded evaluation' (Hoey 2000 in Hyatt 2010, p.10) contained in the phrase 'the very fact', discursively invites the reader to accept the stated cause of parental deaths, and inherited weaknesses, as factual and objective.

However whilst many parents *did* die from illnesses, Muller's claim that their deaths are somehow indicative of an unhealthy constitution, is somewhat at odds with the evidence that such diseases were environmentally spread through poor hygiene, lack of nutrition and cramped living conditions (Duarte 2017; Hodgson 2017, Ball *et al* 2015). It is also at odds with the evidence in this sample of the Muller archives, which suggests that many children were orphaned due to workplace accidents, followed by death of the second parent due to poverty or starvation.

Although not the focus of this thesis, my notes on the Admission Books entries detailing fathers' deaths illustrate the precariousness of Victorian employment. These included: 'drowned with the whole crew', 'lost [at sea] with all hands', 'run over by a cart in Vauxhall' or 'mortal injuries by the wheels of a wagon' (author's field notes, 2020). Mothers die of poverty-related illnesses, such as phthisis (a form of tuberculosis, exacerbated by malnutrition) or simply, 'decline' (Brooks 2020b). Also notable, but not the focus of this thesis, was the range of parents' jobs:

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[75] As Duarte has argued, such illnesses *did* run in families, but this was largely due to living in such unhygienic conditions, in close proximity (2017)

from vicar to sailor, from architect to sergeant major, from windmiller to ratcatcher (author's field notes 2020), which complicates the biographers' simplistic claims that Muller orphans were all destitute and saved from the slums (Langmead 2006; Steer 2018, 2012, 1986; Garton 1986, Harding 1914).[76]

Despite this evidence, in the same paragraph in which Muller refers to parents as 'unhealthy persons,' he goes on to write of the orphans, that under the care of the institution:

> Their appearance would not prove that almost all of them are the offspring of most unhealthy parents. For they are, on the whole, more healthy than could have been naturally expected (Muller 1848, p.76).

Again, this is regarded as proof, discursively labelled as undisputable fact, of the physical and mental inferiority, of the largely poor families whose children were admitted to Muller's. Again drawing on eugenicist ways of thinking, Muller's statement rhetorically presupposes that their 'natural' state would have been one of inevitable decline, without this expert, compassionate intervention. Instead, Muller positions those who are deemed able, as recast and reformed, as potentially productive members of society, which would not have naturally happened without his philanthropic intervention.

As Marsden has argued, these perspectives link evangelical Christianity with the 'Malthusian logic' of eugenicist economics. He notes Paley's 'Natural Theology' argument that, 'The Good Gardener needed to prune the products of His 'superfecundity'' (Paley 1802 in Marsden 2014, p.182). In her discussion of the productive body, Vishmidt (2020) similarly describes such circulating nineteenth century discourses as describing the '*un*productive body' as 'waste to be managed and maintained in docility, if not exported and killed' (p.44). Entangled with these discursive themes relating to eugencism, are nineteenth century ideas of sexual purity and class (Koven 2004), such as elitist fears of the 'indiscriminate' breeding of the working classes

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[76] Whilst biographers give varying accounts of what happened to orphans' belongings on arriving at the institution, the Admission Books state that substantive inherited items (or the proceeds of their sale) were donated to the Homes, such as 'a small windmill', or a set of silver spoons.

(Richardson 2003), and the 'depraved' freedom birth control might bring to women, again particularly working class women (Rowbotham 1989, p.37). This can be seen in the earlier concerns about young female brickworkers. This reading of the Dismissal Books shows that it was vital, then, that the institution shows *how* the orphans will be as productive as possible, and at the very least, mutely docile, accepting of their status. Otherwise in 'indiscriminately' keeping them, the institution is tampering unnecessarily with nature and God's – the good gardener's – will.[77]

Marsden's linking of Malthusian logics and eugenicist discourses with evangelical thinking, challenges Richardson's (2003) description of Malthusian economics as 'vying' with the idea of a 'divine Creator' (p2). Whilst she argues that 'science was coming to be seen either as a system of ethics functioning as an alternative to religion, or as a new religion' (p.2), science was not necessarily at odds with religion. Indeed, Carson wrote in 1868, that the emerging science of phrenology (the pseudoscientific measurement of character through cranial examination) was compatible with evangelical Christianity, asserting that: 'The fundamental principles of phrenology are the only principles capable of being reconciled with the immateriality and immortality of the soul' and that such an approach to judging the superiority and inferiority of types[78] was 'in direct harmony with…Evangelical Christianity' (p.xiv), in that such ordering could identify 'true believers' (Introvigne 2018, p.22).[79]

Hendrick (1994) also notes the ways in which particular physical and mental states were perceived to be transmitted from parents to children. According to influential nineteenth

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[77] As was mentioned earlier, a local vicar repeatedly petitioned the institution to take in my great grandfather and siblings. One Muller biography talks of the institution debating whether it was worth taking in four siblings in a 'deplorable' state as 'such cases tended to turn the institution into a hospital' (Pierson 1899, p.226)

[78] Carson writes that phrenology enables one to identify how 'certain forms of the head are…particularly intellectual'- those being, of course 'Caucasian' (Carson 1868, p.23). In the mid 1800s, Bronte features a phrenological 'reading' of Jane Eyre's head, when Rochester, disguised as a gypsy woman, identifies both 'passion and reason' at work in her forehead (Bronte 1847, *Jane Eyre* chapter XIX)

[79] Although Carson links phrenology with evangelical Christianity, he is not a supporter of the Plymouth Brethren. In 1870, a series of pamphlets shows him at odds with Brethren 'heresies' and a complex theological debate ensues, concerning the Brethren belief that their interpretation of the Bible was the singular 'truth', and including publications of angry letters between Carson, Darby and Muller, as well as opinions on the 'Irish Revival' which inspired Barnardo (Carson 1870, *The Heresies of the Plymouth Brethren* London: Houlston). Edward Dennet wrote in support of Carson, disapprovingly noting the Brethren's assumption that they alone occupy the true Church position, that 'they alone make the Scriptures the foundation of their doctrines and the guide of their practice and worship' (Dennett, 1870).

century debate, such indiscriminate breeding and the resulting 'defective' states could be avoided through segregation and sterilisation: an eugenicist 'pruning' of what was referred to as 'social waste'(p.92). Such thinking, Hendrick (1994) goes on to argue, dominated vocabularies around mental health and special needs in the nineteenth century, as evidenced in the perspectives on parents as can be seen in the *Narratives* and in the Dismissal Books.[80] Indeed, Carson goes on to explore how phrenology would help the educator of children:

> To the teacher, phrenology must be invaluable. It will enable him [sic] to measure exactly the capacity of the children who are committed to his care, and he will thus be saved from the present barbarous system of overloading those who are not naturally fitted for the burden (Carson 1868, p.29).

To continue Paley's natural theology metaphor as quoted earlier, for a reliable and consistent crop of Muller boys and girls, then, the 'unrecommendable' orphans could be 'weeded out'. As an article in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1868, warned, through 'undiscriminating' charity:

> [W]e have kept alive those who, in a more natural...state, would have died, and who...had better have been left to die...thousands with tainted constitutions...weakened by malady or waste with brains bearing subtle and hereditary mischief...are suffered to transmit their terrible inheritance of evil...and to spread it (in Richardson 2003, p.139).

This explains the need to ensure that only the 'deserving' and untainted – that is, offspring of the respectable, married poor – are admitted, and only the productive, the useful, strong and docile, are recommended. In systematically categorising the orphans' bodies in terms of potential productivity and unproductivity in this way, the Dismissal Books make clear that this is compassionate, but not 'indiscriminate,' charity: as Social Darwinist Herbert Spencer argued, 'charity was noble' but 'artificially increasing the lifespan and numbers of inferior stock was both misplaced and cruel' (in Richardson 2003, p.61). This is seen in action, in the Dismissal

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[80] As will be discussed in the concluding chapter, further area of research could link these findings with the 'new knowledges' of neurosciences, in defining and categorising children (Ball 2017, p.216), particularly children in care (Jones 2014).

Books entries relating to those who are not recommended, and in the more complex category of those who the institution deems capable of work, but not fit to be recommendable.

6.3.4 Summary of Unfit to be recommended: the fragmented body

As has been discussed so far, the Dismissal Books' language drew on what Richardson (2003) has described as a 'racialised othering' in wider nineteenth century discourses (p.174), which provided a prism through which those who did not or would not fit the standard ideal of the 'fit' and productive body, could be categorised in the Dismissal Books. Such language provided a way of labelling and fragmenting the body that combined educational, eugenic and evangelical 'phrenological discourse[s]' (Richardson 2003, p.174). These discourses regarded not just the orphans' physical but also their mental states. The orphans are 'lost lambs' as saveable orphans, ready to be converted, but their perceived physical and mental inferiority threatens the standards of the Muller 'brand'. As such, they are discursively positioned as belonging elsewhere, a positioning that is justified through the moralising language of habit and the evolutionary rhetoric of 'type'. This is in contrast to the final, more complex categorisation, of those deemed able and willing to work, but who the institution regards as unrecommendable.

6.3.5 Not recommended but able: the productive body

Those who *can* work, but are deemed unable to work to the standard regarded appropriate for a Muller orphan, are 'unrecommendable' and like the unfit orphans, generally 'returned' to family. The orphans in this category, as the following three subsections discuss, are defined by their differences, as they do not, or cannot, fit the Muller standard. However, unlike those who are deemed unable to work, the return of these orphans is not necessarily defined as a burden or an act of Christian duty on the part of the relatives, but instead, instigated with the suggestion they may fulfil a lower status role. Such roles include, 'maid of all work', piece work such as dressmaking, and farm work.

(a) 'Raw girls' and common work

For orphan no. 796, for example, there is '*no hope of improvement humanly speaking*' [81] - her perceived lack of abilities means she '*may do for some very common place in the country*' (DB1/796).

Similarly, Orphan no. 629 is '*not suitable other than as a servant in a common family*' due to scrofula (DB1/629).

Thus the 'unrecommended' categories of the Dismissal Books show that the institution would suggest alternatives for those able to work but not deemed as reaching the institution's standard. The institution did not specifically train those orphans for work in the 'lower' roles of, for example, scullery or dairy maid, farm work or precarious piece work such as dress making, although all orphans learned domestic tasks such as cleaning, basic needlecraft and knitting. Nor did the institution arrange placements with those referred to as 'very common' families. Instead, these were suggestions the institution made to the orphan's own extended families, to whom they were sent on. Orphan no.969, for example, is sent to an Aunt, as although able to work, the institution notes its concern that she will find it difficult to 'place her...because of her squint' (DB1/969).

Another orphan is described thus:

'*The orphan could not be recommended to a situation on account of being … afflicted with an offensive odour…She is however honest and…would [be] good … for heavy work*' (DB3/2409).

Likewise, Orphan no. 3504 was 'returned' to family due to '*foul breath…caused by disease of the nostrils*' (likely to be Ozena). The Book states that '*but for this*…[she] *might have been sent to a situation*' (DB4/3504).[82] Both are recommended for dressmaking; at the time, notoriously poorly paid, precarious piecework (Royston Pike 1967, pp.170 - 186).

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[81] Meaning, improvement by human action: it may be that God decides to heal the orphan but there is nothing they can do in the meantime. It is not explained as to what the child is suffering from.

[82] Another orphan, a boy, is sent to a step mother due to 'lupus on the nose' which is likely to have been the same thing – his illness made it 'unsuitable he should be with other children on account of the offensive effluence' (DB6/6946).

In *Culture and Anarchy*, his series of critiques on modern culture, Matthew Arnold (1869) conceptualises the 'raw and half developed' working class (in Storey 2018, p.20). 'Rawness,' can thus discursively connote unfinished, rough, or unsettling, and subsequently can also be applied to those with what the institution sees as 'disfigurements' or 'disabilities'. Anticipating Arnold, an 1862 employment report on the service sector noted that such a 'raw girl' as a Workhouse or institutionalised orphan, may not 'understand the language of educated people' when it came to being able to efficiently serve them (in Royston Pike 1967, p.160). Thus, a 'common place' or family were deemed more suitable. As with the perceived hereditary conditions, there is a eugenicist element to this way of thinking. Although these do not necessarily render the young person as unproductive, or as an economic burden, this 'raw' state nevertheless limits what opportunities are available.

(b) Weaknesses and evolutionary metaphor

'Weaknesses' such as shortness of stature can be linked here to Harris' argument that Darwin's publications led to widespread 'evolutionary models and metaphors' in public writing (Harris 1993). This can be seen in the Dismissal Books' categorisations of the unrecommendable, working orphan, deemed only able to work in limited ways. For example, one orphan is '*mentally weak, habitually talking in the most foolish manner…rather a hindrance than a help*' (DB3/2369).

Two are described in the same wording:

This orphan is very small and there would be difficulty in placing her out in situation by the institution (DB2/1983 and DB2/2155)[83]

Another is described as '*small, childish and inefficient*' (DB5/5218).

An orphan boy is similarly: '*small in stature, feeble in intellect, and unfit to be recommended*' (DB5/5307).

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[83] Both are taken in by an aunt, one employed as an 'ironer' in her aunt's cottage laundry.

However, a report written almost a decade before Darwin's publication, anticipates what we would generally refer to as 'Darwinism'. In 1840, a factory inspector working for statistician pioneer Edwin Chadwick (who as Steedman (1990) notes, helped shape the 'minimum efficiency' of teaching necessary for the monitorial school), anticipates Darwin's writing, by reporting that the workers were: 'decayed in their bodies, the whole race of them rapidly descending to the size of Lilliputians. You could not raise a Grenadier company amongst them at all' (Flinn 1965, p.20).

Here, these workers are discursively described as a 'race,' seen as a 'race apart' from respectable society (Koven 2004), Othered as 'them', the ironically labelled Lilliputians, referencing *Gulliver's Travels* (Swift 1726). Such a description echoes other observations of the labouring poor, such as Mayhew's description of slum workers, the 'strange tribe of men' (in Richardson 2003:25) and the use of 'street Arabs' to describe destitute and homeless children (Hodgson 2017). They can be seen as part of a discursive shift to eugenic thinking, similarly drawn on in London's later *People of the Abyss* (1902), in which the 'city workman', deficient in 'moral and physical stamina' is 'well on the way…to the bottom of the Abyss' (in Richardson 2003, p.132). As a race, collectively in decline, the descent of this group of workers is discursively constituted as inevitable. To talk of 'decay' implies this is a natural process of dying off, like the 'inveterate' bedwetters, their bodies cannot be 'rescued' or cured. This chimes with Bath Mayoress Sarah Grand's description of older members of west country rural communities, as 'yokels': 'decayed specimens still to be found lingering' (Richardson 2003, p.148) and Muller's own beliefs that the orphans under his care were more healthy 'than could have been naturally expected' if left with family members (Muller 1848, p.76).

Lack of height was therefore discursively positioned as an indicator of 'feebleness' and 'ineffectiveness', of 'decline' – again a eugenicist thinking which conceptualises their state as one of inherited weaknesses, as opposed to being an indicator of poverty and malnutrition. Leonard Darwin (son of Charles, and Chair of the British Eugenics Society, 1911-1928) among others, critiqued the army's policy of excluding recruits in terms of height and fitness in the early 1900s, as it meant:

[A]ll of those who are definitely defective in mind or body shall be…exempt from all risk

of being shot at, whilst those who are…strong, courageous or patriotic shall be placed in

great danger (Robb 2002, p.80).

This would, it is implied, have great repercussions for the strength and patriotism of the post-war nation. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Dr. Henry Maudsley, a prominent campaigner against women's access to Higher education, similarly expressed concerns that:

If a woman was clever she should not squander that cleverness but hold it pristine in

trust, for her children, especially her sons…When nature spends in one direction…she

must economise in another (in Robinson 2009, p.70).

In his 1874 article on 'Sex, mind and education', Maudsley went on to note that any supposed advantage of 'female intellectual work' would be at the price of 'a puny, enfeebled and sickly race' (in Robinson 2009, p.70).

These workers cannot be sent out as 'recommended' for servant work or apprenticeships precisely because they are not standardised and interchangeable: they are noted for their so-called disfigurements such as squints and scarring, their flat feet, small build, their foolish talk, 'leaky' bodies and body odours. Thus these orphans, through their so-called 'disfigurements,' cannot therefore embody the standardised, machine-like physicality of productiveness needed for nineteenth century workplace (Guery and Deleule 2014, p.51). As Guery and Deleule (2014) argue, the notion of the productive body, represents this new and distinctive category of nineteenth century capitalism, the ideal 'standardised and…interchangeable' worker (*ibid.*, p99), who, unlike these orphans, does not need to be 'controlled…punished or reformed' to protect the status quo (*ibid.*, p39).

In contrast these 'raw' girls and boys represent the bodies needing to be controlled, they must be categorised as naturally and inevitably excluded from the 'common sense' norm (Hyatt 2013, p.841), in order to maintain the Muller standard. Through this process of categorisation, supported by Muller's commentary in his *Narratives*, the Dismissal Books could demonstrate

that support was not indiscriminate but selective, according to the values of the time. The categorisations demonstrated that the institution was not working 'against nature,' by providing an 'artificial environment' in which such children, members of a race in inevitable decline, and unable to work to the standards required, could 'unnaturally' flourish, and subsequently 'indiscriminately' breed (Richardson 2003, p.64).

(c) Spoiled products

In a number of entries, those who were perceived as unrecommendable were deemed 'spoiled' (e.g. DB1a/62). Not in the modern sense of overprotected, indulged, but with discursive connotations of the more industrial sense of a defective factory product. A 'spoiled' orphan was no longer the 'blank' child to be properly influenced and thus usefully remodelled, as Dickens wrote of the 'little blanks playing' at the Coram Foundling Hospital (in Bourne Taylor 2001), nor the 'tabula rasa', the blank wax tablet, of Locke's teachings.[84] Nor were they the kinds of standard and interchangeable servants who could move silently and unobserved through the house, answering to a standard name or number (May 1998, p19). They were indeed, 'surplus' stock as Cobbett satirically wrote in 1831, in his treatise against campaigns for birth control as social reform (Rowbotham 1989, p.37).

Just as the nineteenth century foundry removed impurities and reshaped molten metal into moulds, to be 'spoiled' as an orphan or foundling discursively implies one is not 'pure and good' but substandard, tainted, and thus unusable. For the girls – who are thus at risk of being 'spoiled' sexually, this would have been doubly shameful, a 'fate worse than death' if pregnant and unmarried in the nineteenth century (Rossini 2014, p.29; Logan 1998). In this sample at least, there are no entries suggesting that pregnancy was ever a cause for expulsion, although perhaps this is again, unwritten and unavailable, not because it is taken-for-granted and widely known, like the categories of the recommended orphan, but because it is taboo, unspeakable (Stoler 2009). Such a result would be a disastrous moral and reformist failure of the orphanage, in not preventing the so-called indiscriminate breeding of the destitute poor - the very issue

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84 During the 1800s, Choi argues it was better to be an orphan than poor because an orphan's social "blankness" contained the possibility of reform and respectability (Choi 2008).

with which the eugenicists were so concerned (Koven 2004, Richardson 2003, Rowbotham 1973).

The discourses available in the Dismissal Books and related materials echoes the writings of nineteenth century European missionary workers and travellers, in regarding the Other, the 'uncivilised' and unsaved, as piteous and inferior in evolutionary terms. Again, this links with Muller's assertion that the children would have perished or declined if not taken under the Homes' care. Indeed, 'Lilliputians' and 'street Arabs' discursively connect the poor with the 'exoticised' – and dehumanised – ' heathen subjects' of the 'civilising' Empire (Koven 2004, p.283). Such discursive themes often included 'sentimental rhetoric' (Clark 1999, p.178) linking the 'waif and stray' to the naive savage of the colonies (Choi 2008), although as I have noted, for Muller's and others this sympathy did not extend to illegitimate waifs (Rossini 2014). This is illustrated here with the use of children's' book characters (Lilliputians) to describe working men, for example – and in Muller's tendency to treat the young care leavers as children, when they would have been regarded as adults, outside of the Homes, as in the expulsion entries discussed earlier in this chapter.

6.3.6 Summary of Not recommended but able: the productive body

As I have shown, the language of the Dismissal Books locates the categorisation of the orphan as having been brought about by the orphan themselves. That is, in categorising the orphans, the institution 'elides agency' (Hyatt 2013, p.842) by discursively positioning itself not as actively making these decisions, but observing and responding correctly to the 'facts' of the matter.

Thus the institution is both compassionate charity and efficient capitalist. It discursively positions itself as both authoritative influence, and as compassionate, in that its evangelical aim of 'rescue' is to save *all* souls. However, it operates according to capitalist and eugenicist values, in how it legitimates its processes of reform, refinement and discipline, and its decisions *not* to save all bodies. Those who are recommendable represent the 'homogeneous' worker needed to work in efficient and docile ways in the nineteenth century economy (Guery and Deleule 2014, p.126). Those whose body parts do not render them efficient and homogeneous are therefore

categorised as not belonging, to be excluded, at best, an economic burden on relatives, who are exhorted to do their christian duty in accepting them into their homes. Just as 'eugenics presented itself as a biological alternative to social charity' in its categorisations of fit and unfit, as 'a new improved biological philanthropy' (Richardson 2003, p.65), the Muller orphan is discursively positioned as 'unrecommendable' or 'unsuitable' for the institution, the body judged according to its non-productive parts.

6.4 Conclusion

In 1885, eugenicist writer Arnold White categorised the unemployed into three categories: he claimed that, as Richardson (2003, p.24) describes:

> 20% were genuinely unemployed, 40% were 'feckless and incapable', and the remaining 40% were 'physically, mentally and morally unfit, there is nothing that the nation can do for these men except let them die out by leaving them alone.

The categorisation of the orphans in this way therefore chimes with these circulating discourses of 'Othering', in which groups who do not 'fit' the standard, are both made distant, and homogenized, reduced to a few characteristics (Said, 2003, p.44). Here, the orphans' categorisations echo White's imperialist and eugenicist perspectives on the poor: the unrecommendable orphans are either 'genuine' (able but unrecommendable, or unfit and subsequently objects of pity and Christian charity), or feckless and morally unfit (needing to be expelled). These categorisations are, as I have argued, themselves discursively entwined with wider circulating ideologies of racialised thinking. Such discursive entanglements also include nineteenth century concerns around dirt, hygiene and sexuality (Richardson 2003), particularly concerning female sexuality, given the institution's tendency to treat the orphans as children, past the age they would be regarded as working adults in the 'outside', working world (Royston Pike 1967). As Steedman (1990, p.24) has noted, 'female sexuality- including the sexuality of little girls – was viewed as both more meaningful and more dangerous than that of little boys'. Those who do not or will not fit the standard orphan role, need to be excluded, at best,

controlled and reformed, such as those who deemed by Muller's as able *to* work, but are not deemed recommendable.

Thus we can see here, how the Dismissal Books present their categorisations as 'universal descriptive statements,' which discursively operate as 'powerful devices…judgments representing specific value positions' (Hyatt 2013, p.841). Through this analysis of the Dismissal Books' language, we can map out what Guery and Deleule have described as the 'interplay of discourses, institutions and managerial surveillance' present in these categories (in Barnard and Shapiro, 2014, p.38). This process of categorisation is discursively entwined with the racialised perspective of imperialist administration. Such discourses create norms which bind together those who are 'normal' into an imagined community (Anderson 2006), and portrays outsiders as "polluted, dangerous, taboo" (Hall, 1997, p.258). Subsequently, the institution needs to show it is not indiscriminate in its charitable endeavours. Thus the institution demonstrates how it will only save those who will contribute to a productive capitalist society, productive yet 'dependent and dominated' (Guery and Deleule 2014, p.126), and eject those who risk tainting that production line.

This account thus tells a more nuanced and contextualised version of the Muller story, in which orphans are not saved, but selected, according to the dominant ideologies of fitness and productivity. It suggests that an orphan must not only know her place as a potential citizen in society, but accept and internalise the limits, demands and boundaries of that place.

The next chapter looks more closely at the way in which the family are implicated and involved in these categorisations.

Chapter Seven: Analysis of the family categories

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was argued that the institution, through discursive formations of 'passivity' and 'harm,' created an 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006), of safety and protection, which justified the expulsions or rejections of those who for various reasons did not reach the institution's standard, and were subsequently discursively positioned as belonging elsewhere. Those orphans 'belonged' in the workhouse or could 'earn their bread' as it is repeatedly stated in the Dismissal Books, through low status, precarious employment. In this, the orphanage appears typical of 'discipline in stone,' a type of 'total institution' (Foucault 1977, p.217).

Goffman (1961, p.7) defines the 'total' institution as one which 'cares for those who are unable to care for themselves but who pose no threat to society: the blind, the aged, the orphaned, and the indigent'. The 'total institution' is an enclosed world, tightly scheduled and controlled. Whilst essentially therapeutic in nature, Goffman suggests that the orphanage nevertheless creates a 'batch-like' existence for its inmates. Other total institutions, he argues, include prisons, closed psychiatric facilities, detention centres and strict convents or retreats (Goffman 2007). Similarly, Foucault's (1977, p.231) notion of the nineteenth century 'complete and austere institution' suggests the prison, asylum, military and school – 'render individuals docile and useful, by means of precise work upon their bodies'.

However, this section starts by questioning the notion of the nineteenth century, 'enclosed' and 'total institution' (Foucault 1977, Goffman, 1961). I argue here that the Dismissal Books' discussions of family members suggest that the institution is in fact, more open than closed, operating within wider networks and other organisations. Notes in the Dismissal Books regarding correspondence between the family and the institution, in returning unrecommendable orphans to family members, challenge the conventional notion of the orphan as alone in the world. The institution thus interconnects with a complex and rarely static

network of officials, medics, elites, supporters, inspectors, visitors and relatives. In 1852, an unnamed reporter for *Fraser's Magazine* visited Muller's New Orphan Homes and noted:

> When we reached the waiting-room, we were surprised to find a party of at least two hundred collected to be conducted over the establishment. With this curious crowd we proceeded, under the guidance of one of the sisters, through the house (*Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, September 1852, p.344).

Just as the slums of the East end of London became tourist sites for 'slummers' keen to witness and explore urban poverty – with a range of motives from philanthropic to prurient (Koven 2004), institutions such as orphanages, asylums and workhouses were popular places to visit. Muller's orphanage featured in popular Bristol day trips, on the new Victorian charabanc tours (Brooks and Cattle 2022). The many supporters and curious visitors would visit with gifts and donations such as 'silverware' or 'a gallon of dry peas…bits of bacon, sugar, money' (Dickens 1857) as well as the regular family visits. The orphans' school day often included performances for visitors, including singing, dancing and displays of work (Jennings 1872).

As well as correspondence between Union officials, workhouse doctors, benefactors and teachers, family members interacted with the institution in a number of ways: they petitioned for the orphan's admission; they visited the child, they were party to the child's leaving the institution, either through taking the child in, finding work for the orphan, or in clashes with the institution's plans.

In her critique of Goffman, Davies (1989, p.84) notes that, 'some total institutions are…more total than others' and suggests there is room for a consideration of 'how total a particular total institution is' (*ibid*., p.94).[85] This section develops this argument, suggesting that such an institution as Muller's can be conceptualised as a more open 'centre of influence' than a 'complete and austere' enclosed institution (Foucault 1991, p.214).

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[85] A similar argument is made regarding the Australian child welfare system during this time frame, in which Swain (2014, p.3) refers to welfare as being more 'patchwork than a coordinated model' of care.

7.1 A more networked model

Whilst the popular notion of the orphanage is one of 'abandoned' children or children with no family, the Muller's New Orphan Homes maintained correspondence with members of the child's extended family, and with the original applicant to the institution, usually a Poor Law Guardian at the workhouse, and/or a person of local standing. Such members of a community could apply on behalf of the child in the absence of family members, or to support a case. For example, applicants as noted in the Books include vicars, Admirals and captains of ships, as well as local dignitaries and members of the elite, such as the Dowager Viscountess of Exmouth.[86] My own great grandfather, orphan No. 458, is the subject of a number of letters between the institution and the Vicar, Poor Law Guardians, medical officers and the foster carer, as he and his siblings are prepared for admission. The vicar repeatedly writes entreatingly to Muller's that this is, 'truly a case for sympathy' and that he 'notes with pleasure the marks of divine favour towards you and your dear children.'[87]

Such correspondents would be contacted again by the institution later on, if, for example, the child needed to be expelled or returned. One girl, sent to Mullers aged four, is discovered to have scrofulous disease in her ankle bone, and so is returned to Chester Union the following year (i.e. to be boarded out, or more likely given her age, the workhouse or Industrial school) as 'unsuitable for this institution' (DB4/3641).[88]

However, whilst a number came to the institution via the workhouse, and would be returned there, if deemed unsuitable, the Poor Law Guardians and community elites were not necessarily the only points of contact between the institution and the orphan's wider community. Relatives regularly wrote to, and visited, children in the New Orphan Homes. One of the sample for example, was taken in by her grandparents who, now 'being feeble,' were no longer 'able to

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[86] There may have been a local connection here: Muller preached for a time in both Exmouth and Teignmouth, where the Dowager, Lady Susannah, lived.

[87] Source: Muller's records for Orphan No. 458, Joseph Lowe. As a relative, I have access to these letters, but cannot access those for other orphans in the institution.

[88] Until 'Bacterial aetiology and the notion of contagion' became the dominant way of thinking about these diseases in 20th century medicine, scrofula – an illness resulting in swollen cervical lymph nodes or scars, mainly in children - was thought to be an ' inherited phlegmatic constitution' (Duarte 2017, translated from original).

visit her here' (DB6/7000). Another, aged five, is removed after seventeen days, fetched by an Uncle as 'the aunt is unhappy without him' (DB6/7072), similarly, a niece was 'received back again by her aunt and uncle' after nine weeks, as they 'said they could support her and felt they could not live without her' (DB1/191). In the original Book One, it is noted that: 'the little Smiths from the Infant…House' are 'taken back by their friends one week after they had come in' (DB1a/29-30) – 'friends' being a nineteenth century term which includes extended family members and possibly neighbours (Rattle and Vale 1988).

As was noted earlier, very few orphans have nobody at all outside of the institution. Almost all of the Muller orphans have at least one relative or family friend, such as the orphan whose grandmother, 'a nurse of no settled abode' arranges for a friend to take her in (DB4/3300). Family members in this sample are usually aunts, uncles and grandparents, or less frequently, adult brothers and sisters. Family members might want to remove a child, now that they can provide for them, or they have found them a situation.

The correspondence referenced in the Dismissal Books also includes negotiation between the institution and other organisations such as the workhouse and other Homes. Other institutions for example, organise the transfer of children to Muller's, once they are deemed suitable, the process for which can be seen in letters between Union (workhouse) officials, other orphanages' management committees, and doctors (the workhouse doctor needed to 'sign off' the child as fit and non-contagious, before admission to the orphanage). One orphan, for example, is found to have had unmarried parents, and it is requested by the institution that she is returned to the workhouse. Other letters include those from the applicant's family and supporters of the application itself.

Orphans could move in and out of the workhouse and the orphanage, whilst family contact was maintained. For example, an aunt moves her niece to a Home nearer her, 'in which she herself was brought up' (DB5/6010). This is not unlike the 'rarely static' situations of children in care today, subject to often changing professionals and initiatives under the authority of multi-agency care partnerships (Fletcher-Campbell 2001, p.151).

The movement of the orphans in and out of the Homes appears evidenced in what little we know of the orphans' language. The museum states that bread at the Orphan Homes was known as 'toke', which the museum cites as referring to bread being 'the token' of Christ's love, as in the Christian ceremony of receiving communion. In the Plymouth Brethren this is known as 'breaking bread' (Stott 2017, p.36). However 'toke' is a nineteenth century workhouse term for a small piece of cheap, adulterated bread, as journalist and 'slummer' James Greenwood discovered, in his adventures in a London workhouse (Greenwood 1866:Part II). Such a term may have been brought in to the Homes by those who had been in, or had families in, the workhouse.

Likewise, a 96 year old respondent in my previous research on Muller's (sent to Muller's in 1926, aged 4) talked of 'going for a gog' in the Orphan Homes, meaning to use the bathroom (Brooks 2018). A very similar word appears in an 1863 report on child employment in a London match factory, in which young workers go to 'gog' or 'goggle [their] throats out' (rinse their mouths) to try and avoid 'fossy jaw' in which their jawbones are eaten away by the phosphorous used to make the matches (in Royston Pike 1967, p.118). Thus 'gog' or 'goggling' appears to be a working class term for generally, 'freshening up', using the bathroom.

There are a handful of published orphan stories, written as autobiographies. These accounts detail some of orphan life. These include Samuel Barribal's *An Orphan Boy's Story* (1862, available as a pamphlet from the Muller museum), George Collett's *George – a Muller's Boy* (2001) which details how he converts and returns to Muller's as a teacher and later, missionary, and *An Orphaned Warrior* by Linda Warrior (2015). Collet talks of being a 'freshie' newcomer (2001. P.11) and how the very short institutional haircuts were known as 'bickies' which he states as 'short for biscuit' (*ibid.*, p.9). This seems rather odd, but could perhaps refer to working class slang for unanticipated loss, describing the unexpected and unwelcome haircut as akin to how one was conned into losing money by 'being biscuited' or losing a 'biscuit bet'- a pub trick involving a dry biscuit (Redding Ware 1909).

Somewhat more poignant is Collet's (2001, p.27) account of how a boy whose voice broke would be nicknamed 'daddy' by the others. Nevertheless, these accounts, all by authors who converted to Christianity and cite Muller as an inspiration for this, are overwhelmingly positive.

Barribal (c1908) talks about his happy time there, and how much 'the little folk' grew to 'love and revere' Muller.

Collett does write of the Muller Homes' swimming pool, donated, as other biographies of Muller's note, by a generous anonymous donor. Only Collet (2001) notes that the donation was subject to two conditions: the donor wished for anonymity, and that he 'should have a key to see the children enjoying themselves', which raises concerns with me as a contemporary reader experienced in child protection issues, but which Collet mentions without further comment (p19). Collet converts after a near-death experience in the pool, where the teacher fails to notice he cannot swim.

This, albeit very limited, evidence suggests that within the Orphan Homes, the orphans themselves draw on 'outside' language from workhouse and the slang of working children and young people, as they move in and out of these institutions. The large numbers of visitors mentioned earlier, may have also brought in elements of the outside world with them. However this is conjecture based on the very little available evidence of the orphans' language and culture; their 'lore' to quote Opie and Opie's (1993) description of the social world of the playground, remains hidden from history (Rowbotham 1989), largely unknown.

For some orphans, then, the institution could be a temporary place, but this was dependent on how the orphan's families' circumstances, and as will be discussed, their respectability, were defined, according to the value framework of the institution, and other medical, and official bodies. Whilst families could apply to receive a child back (such as in the return of the 'little Smiths' from the early Book One, as mentioned above) such applications were not always successful. Some relatives are deemed risky to the institution, and as will be discussed further, as having an 'unsettling' influence on the orphan.

This section will address the ways in which the Dismissal Books draw on discursive formations of the 'good' respectable family, in which duty to the institution is discursively conflated with duty of care, and Christian duty to 'do the right thing'. As has been noted, 'duty' and the (un)productive body are discursively connected here. Finally, the formation of the 'good' and

dutiful family can be contrasted with the discourses of disapproval concerning the 'unsettling' family.

7.2 Discourses of approval: Care and 'Christian duty'

When a family member makes a claim to have the orphan live with them, this is described in the Dismissal Books as requesting to 'resume care,' whether or not the family had the orphan living with them before the original application. To 'resume care' thus discursively makes the truth claim that caring for the orphan is the default position in terms of family responsibility. It is implied in this phrase that the family remain responsible for the child even when admitted, although as will be discussed, this does not imply the family has rights over the child.

Families who are successful in their request to 'resume care' are those whose members are, for example, 'now able and willing' to 'provide' (DB5/5100), who 'feel it is [their] duty'(DB4/3268), and who are now 'in a position to be able to support her'(DB5/5093), in ways deemed respectable, including an orphan's aunt who is described as planning to 'place her under an evangelical clergyman' (DB4/3525). It is assumed that, once in this state of respectability, whether that is economic, or as I will show, moral, the family would automatically take on – 'resume'- their responsibility. However whilst this is their responsibility, this does not mean they have the right to say what should happen to the child in the institution's care. The discourse here is of familial and moral 'duty' and 'willingness', not of rights or demands.

In order to be successful in their application to care for the orphan, families, in this sample, need to either demonstrate economic security and social respectability, or express the kinds of emotional or practical needs deemed acceptable by the institution. These include the assumptions of 'normative rightness' that children should provide comfort to families, and that female relatives are 'natural' carers of family members.

In successful cases where the child is returned, it is duly noted in the Dismissal Books that the family 'are able to resume care.' For example, some family members send for the child after a positive change in circumstance:

She was delivered up to the applicant with whom the child had lived from the time she was 13 months old until admitted [age 7]. *Having married again she wishes to resume care of this child* (DB3/2265)

Her sister now has a comfortable and happy home (DB4/3607)

A home needs to be more than just comfortable and happy – comfort and happiness here connote marital security and social respectability. For the family who take the child in, such 'duty' is conflated with Christianity. It is noted in the Dismissal Book entries whether such relatives are 'believers', and when they have stated that they 'feel it is [their] duty as a Christian' to take in the child. Certain relatives are specifically described as 'Christians', implying that the unsuccessful family member was not, and that this was a key criterion. In this example, there is a clear dichotomy as to who is deemed respectable and suitable (a Christian woman) and who is not (an actor[89]):

The aunt wished...to have her under her care, and it was desirable to fall in with the above arrangement as the brother, who is an actor, likewise wished to have the orphan live with him. Mrs Watts is a Christian woman (DB4/3275).

The institution commands 'duty' from the family, if the child is allowed to meet the family's need. This is legitimated through the institution's discursive assumption of authority: as representative of the faith, and as a centre of influence. Again, the authoritative passive tense is used (Hyatt 2013), in 'it was desirable', for example. This 'Christian woman' enables the institution to continue their upbringing of the orphan, as she will continue the child's education, which, as was noted earlier, was primarily domestic training and religious in content.

The family's duty to the institution also meant that family members must accept the child from the institution, should the orphan have to leave as unsuitable, unwell or unwilling to follow the institution's rules. As in the above example with the runaway orphan, the family have to do the

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[89] Popular mass culture, including 'low brow' theatres and music halls, were critiqued by nineteenth century religious groups as being 'indifferent to religion' (Harris 1993, p.166).

right- the respectable - thing, even if that means participating in the orphan's expulsion, or accepting that the child cannot be returned to the institution.

7.3 Duty of care: the orphan's role

This notion of 'duty' also applied to the *recipient* of care as well as the potential carer. Victorian children in general, had a duty to be 'of comfort' to the family, to meet that need (Cunningham 2006). This is reflected in some entries. 'A very superior girl…nicely behaved' is described as having been a 'great comfort' to Muller (DB1a/151); another, in contrast, states that the orphan is said to have 'given us no comfort' in the institution (DB1/329).

There are times when the resumption of care was due to emotional or interpersonal issues. These include deathbed promises: one orphan is returned to a grandparent 'to fulfil a promise to her daughter' (DB5/5326), another family friend takes on an orphan to fulfil 'a promise to the late father….relatives are approving' (DB5/5221).

However this sense of a child's duty, is significantly demonstrated in the institution's willingness to 'deliver up' orphans to family members bereaved of their own child (the phrase 'to deliver up', implying both passivity and Biblical rescue, has been discussed earlier, and can be seen in the quote from DB3/2265, above). There are seven cases in this sample where orphans are requested by relatives after the deaths of their own children. One, typical, example is orphan no.3658 (DB4). A boy aged eleven, who had been at the institution for six years, is delivered to an aunt: 'having lost her own little boy she now wishes to resume her care of the orphan'. Another who 'recently lost her one and only daughter' now 'wishes and is able to resume charge of the orphan' (DB4/3493).

However, in the earlier Book One, a family 'would have out the child after their pleasure, to which we could not agree' (DB1a/16). A family can apply, but must demonstrate a respectable situation, or a respected need, such as bereavement. As Hyatt has argued (2013, p.842), 'pronouns can be used to include or exclude groups', and here the use of 'we', discursively excludes those who do not fit with the institution's values. There are 'good' families who are

deserving of the orphan, and those who are *not* deserving. To be able to take out the child whenever the family decided – 'after their pleasure'- and to not be subject to the institution's decisions, is deemed unacceptable and undeserving behaviour. In later Dismissal Books, this discursive use of pronouns is replaced by the more authoritative passive form (Hyatt 2013).

Whilst nineteenth century working children were useful labour, non working, middle class children were valued for offering solace and comfort.[90] In 1851, for example, Charles Darwin mourned the death of his ten-year-old daughter to tuberculosis, describing her as 'the solace of our old age' (Whye and Pallen 2012, p.3). Grief aside, this comfort was potentially economic as well as emotional, as the child could support the parents financially in their old age.

Thus, the institution's decision to allow families to replace the dead child with a living, related orphan, implies the working class child was valuable as both physical labour, as a potential source of income, and as carrying out 'emotional labour' within the extended family (Oakley 1975; Miller 1998), in providing emotional comfort and reassurance of a comfortable old age. Here the orphan can be seen as fulfilling the 'rehearsed understanding' of the institution and the wider social context (Stoler 2009), in that one's duty as a child was to their family - as long as the family were deemed worthy, and their need, deemed appropriate. It is not the family's decision to make. Another form of familial duty, however, is more practical and straight-forwardly economic.

Girls are often requested if an elderly relative needs care. Thus, the 'cared-for' becomes the carer. A typical request concerns a girl delivered to an aunt who is now 'in poor health and needing her services' (DB4/3365). Likewise, a grandfather requests his granddaughter is

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[90] As Gryctko has written in her analysis of fictional child deaths, there is a contrast between the deaths of working children, and the romanticising of middle class children, or fictional children, particularly girls, in death. Numerous, popular nineteenth century 'Comfort books' for bereaved parents, such as Little Angels: A Book of Comfort for Mourning Mothers set out the beliefs of the nineteenth century to infant death, suggesting that such 'lambs' are 'God's early blossoms', a suggestion intended to comfort those left mourning (Gryctko 2020). In contrast, there is little grief for the deaths of the very young working child, such as 'climbing boy' chimney sweeps- despite 'a tear or two…[from] tender hearted young ladies' over Blake's and Dicken's fictional characters, whilst enjoying the 'warmth of the drawing room' (Royston Pike 1967) - or trafficked sex workers, seen as agents of their own downfall (Koven 2004).

returned after a number of years, as his wife was now ill and the family similarly 'needed her services' (DB5/6057).

Responsibility here is thus twofold. The female orphan's role is to train to be a servant. All older girls if deemed suitable are passed through 'to housework', the institution's training centre. Whilst I have discussed the 'raw' girls of the unrecommended, it must be noted here that the training of even the recommended orphans, rendered them only able to be housemaids for 'the bottom end of the servant-keeping class' or the charitably-minded elite, given their lack of familiarity with 'delicates and costly items', and the smaller scale of domestic-size saucepans, after training in institutional laundry and catering (May 1998, p.8). However, if the family are needing her services, consideration is given as to whether her duty lies with them. This depends on whether the family themselves are deemed suitable for the child. At times, the author of the entry notes it is a shame that such a 'promising servant' is returned to their family.

Whilst the family's needs are assessed, the child's needs are not part of the discourse. I have noted that there are parallels with the contemporary care system, in the 'rarely static' network of professionals engaged in the child's welfare. However, the notion of familial duty is crucially different here. Family duty is not to the child, the emphasis is not on meeting the child's needs, but to the institution. The family must abide by the institution's rules and decisions regarding their own needs, and remaining compliant and responsible, even when they are deemed unsuitable, as in the example, below.

7.4 Discourses of disapproval: unsettling and unsuitable families

Thus, once a family has applied to the institution, they remain responsible for, yet largely relinquish absolute rights over, that child's welfare or decisions about the child's future. One girl is 'returned': 'delivered into the hands of her aunt ..because the aunt and her husband would not submit to the regulations of the institution' (DB1/263). The girl loses her place (it is not said if this is happily or not) due to her relatives 'not submitting' to the regulations of the institution, and thus not demonstrating the standards of respectability deemed necessary by the institution. Given other, similar entries, it appears this could include visiting, or sending gifts- as

I have noted, all correspondence was carefully read and strictly monitored, as was reading matter within the Homes(Garton 1987) - or questioning or challenging the institution in some way. However, just as the institution is not 'total', this power is not absolute, and can be challenged. In one rare case, the relative is more successful in making a stand: in the earlier Book One, a grandmother, requests the child's return 'to do the [house]work'. The author writes that 'we were sorry to part with her, for she appeared a promising child, and [likely] to become a useful servant' (DB1a/10).

Thus the institution, at least at the start of the earlier Book One, did not always have the power to retain the orphan, if the family member met the criteria of suitable moral standards, willingness and ability to provide, and were determined to challenge the institution. Such returns (only two or three in my sample, which included both the earlier Book One and later Books) were regarded as a loss to the institution, as the above quote suggests, particularly if a placement has already been arranged. Family ties are important, but nevertheless not as valued as the 'promise' of young labour.

'Returns' to such families are therefore the exception. Orphanages' evaluations of families' respectability was based on the notion that the orphanage provided a chance of 'bettering oneself' in terms of class, through work opportunities (Choi 2008). In this, it follows that as far as the orphanage is concerned, the orphans now have better life chances, in terms of health and class, than that which would have been available to them, had their parents lived. As I have noted in the previous chapter, such attitudes carry with them, eugenic as well as class perspectives (Richardson 2003, Koven, 2004).

Therefore, the 'ideal' state, is an orphan whose extended family will - unless they can demonstrate an acceptable, personal need – allow the orphanage to 'recreate [the child] as proper citizens' (Choi 2008, p.36) and fall in with its plans for the child. As Stoler (2009, p.121) has written of schooling in the colonial empire: 'All of these institutions share a language of 'uplift' and respectability. Each was designed to turn historically laden resentments into sensibilities that would maintain a domesticated race and a respectable working class'.

Thus just the act of requesting that the child is returned, is enough to be deemed unsuitable or 'unsettling' by the institution. As with the 'actor' brother, my own family's example, suggests that class is a deciding factor in this decision. A day after his admission, aged three, my great grandfather's foster carer, a woman in his family's community called Lydia Tonks, applies for his return, writing directly to Muller (in a letter written on her behalf):

I hope you will please to pardon the liberty I have taken but as I am so anxious for the welfare of Joseph Bolton Lowe I shall be greatly obliged to you to let me know how he is going on and if he makes himself contented or no. …I should not have parted with him but they [Poor Law Guardian] frightened me out of him and Sir I have a greater favour to ask and that is if you would be so kind as to let me have him back (Lydia Tonks' letter 22nd Jan.1856, author's personal collection).

This plea however, was not successful. Lydia Tonks may have been the decent type of working class women the Poor Law authorities approved of as a foster carer,[91] but she lived in the slum area of the Black Country, in Willenhall, a lockmaking district of Wolverhampton, infamous for its densely populated areas and high rates of cholera (Briggs 1963).[92] Lydia Tonks was a poor woman, and illiterate. Taking the children against the wishes of the carer, often by stealth or by force, was standard practice, as the institution and Poor Law Guardians were deemed by the authorities, to know best (Higginbotham 2017; Rossini 2014). Barribal for example, whilst very positive of his time at Muller's, and whilst citing Muller as inspiration for his own conversion and eventual role in the clergy, also mentions being grief stricken, having been similarly, forcibly taken away aged six, from his carer who 'passionately loved him…[and] persisted in refusing to consent to his removal'. Both Barribal and my great grandfather were forcibly removed from their carers' homes in 1856. Just as Lydia Tonks writes that she was 'frightened' into handing Joseph over, Barribal writes that he was picked up 'without the opportunity of saying 'goodbye' (Barribal c1908).

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[91] The Society for the Waifs and Strays suggests that 'not only is a real home provided for the little ones…[but] the cheerless and monotonous life of a childless woman has been brightened' by fostering (in Rossini 2014, p.61).
[92] The 'Black Country': Birmingham, Wolverhampton and its surrounds (including Willenhall, my great grandfather's home) was so-called due to the heavy industries there and the subsequent pollution. Writer Elihu Burrit wrote of his tour of the area that it was 'black by day and red by night…a velvet bound area of fire and smoke' (Burrit 1868).

Cunningham (2006, p.188) notes early twentieth century reforms in 'slum' community schools, in which nursery schools would overcome 'bad habits' by 'cutting the slum mind off at the root [to] build the whole child…while there is yet time'. Here the productive orphan is similarly cut off from their community, with little communications subsequently, and then sent to where there is a demand for work, not back to their families, friends or place of origin.

Whilst this thesis focuses on class and 'fragmentation' relating to Muller's orphanage, links could be made between this and the processes of deliberate fragmentation of indigenous communities across the Empire. Canada's 'Sixties scoop' (which actually ran from the 1950s – 1980s) refers to the practice of forcibly removing indigenous children from first nation families in order to 'assimilate' them through fostering and adoption within the white culture (Hanson *et al* 2020). The sanctioned, forcible removal of my great grandfather and others from working class foster carers, and similar earlier practices in the treatment of mixed race orphans and 'poor whites' in Raj India (Brendon 2005), show that these practices were already commonplace, across countries, cultures and class.

Again, the 'dividing practices' (Foucault 1994) evaluating and defining respectable, and 'unsettling' families can be seen In the following two entries:

The sister 'wishes to have [the orphan] with her, and not be sent out to a situation. A believer (DB4/3293)

This orphan was on the point of going to a situation, but a letter from her aunt to the effect that she could make a home for herself, had an unsettling and damaging effect upon her (DB4/3270).

It is not specifically stated in the second example, whether the aunt was or was not, a 'believer'. Thus in terms of what is 'unsaid' (Stoler 2009), it can be surmised that she is not a believer in the institution's form of Christianity, and that the potential 'unsettling' effect or influence, is therefore religious in nature. Becoming 'unsettled' has also practical connotations relating to the security of the post found by the institution, for the orphan:

The probability was that this orphan would be unsettled by her relatives if sent to a situation by the institution so it was considered best to devolve the responsibility of placing her out upon the aunt (DB3/2131).

Here, the family's desires to have the orphan live closer to them, is not seen as favourable, or dutiful, but 'unsettles' the orphan from her role, as determined by the institution. One family, the sister of an orphan and her police officer husband, spend four years writing in order to receive back the child, who eventually is returned to them, aged 12 (DB4/3326). Whilst it is not clear – as I have no access to the orphans' personal records – as to why this specific example was such a long drawn out process, it illustrates how the family had to negotiate with the institution, to demonstrate that they are deserving. A family must therefore be suitable before they can play their part: an 'unsettling' family can derail the orphan's training and compromise the success of the placement itself, which may adversely affect the institution's reputation.

Sometimes families are in disagreement with each other and appear to compete with each other for 'ownership' of the orphan, with the institution having the final word, depending on the perceived morality of the applicant. For example:

…[H]er brother, who is a married man, was desirous of having his sister with him that she might not come under the influence of the younger brother (unmarried) living in Wales who was also desirous of having her live with him (DB4/3286)

An elder sister, reputed to be living an immoral life, was very desirous the orphan should go to live with her (DB4/3705).

Immorality is not specified: the Dismissal Books assume readers of the book will know, what counts as immorality –as has been noted elsewhere in this thesis, such language is 'unsaid' because it is common sense knowledge (Stoler 2009).

If there are no suitable relatives, it seems the staff can and do step in. Muller and his successor, William Bergin, both take on Muller girls as servants in their home. This is positioned as a

charitable act for girls who may not be recommendable 'in the ordinary way' or who do not have suitable relatives, but nevertheless can work (see DB1/442), as in the following entry:

She could not be recommended on account of thorough incapacity although in other respects bearing a very good character. She was afterwards placed with Mrs Wilkinson …who on account of the orphan's good character and the wretched home she would have with her uncle, was disposed to make trial of her (DB4/3350).

Thus, 'duty' is conceptualised here as the moral duty of the respectable working class family, but as the charitable act of the philanthropic elite, the 'deeply rooted …tradition...of ...informal benevolence' (Prochaska 1988, p.8). Such benevolence as I will go on to argue in the concluding chapter, serves to maintain the status quo, as 'evangelical discipline…as respectability, was [a] binding force' in nineteenth century society (*ibid.*, p22).

7.5 Conclusion

To define this Home as 'total' or 'enclosed', then, does not account for the often constant visiting, arriving and leaving, and negotiations in correspondence, that are evidenced in the institution's Dismissal Books and other materials. This offers a fresh perspective to the Foucauldian understanding of nineteenth century institutions as representative of 'discipline in stone' (Foucault, 1977, p.217).

As has been discussed, a child may run away and be returned in order to be expelled, or be willing to work but not deemed suitable for recommendation by the institution, and so returned to family members, encouraged by the institution to do their 'Christian duty'. A girl may be returned to a family as a carer, but the family cannot assume this will be the case, unless the institution decides they are worthy of care, although this power to decide is not absolute. Whilst generally children suffering from certain illnesses – notably enuresis (nocturnal bedwetting) - were defined as 'inveterate and incurable' (e.g: DB2/1872/1849) and returned to family members, occasionally the family is advised that they could apply for the orphan to be returned, if 'cured,'(e.g: DB3/2207).

Therefore it is more accurate, I would argue, to see the role of the institution as a *centralised* wider, dynamic network of professional bodies, supporters and family members, a network that is not always stable. As Stoler (2002) has observed, the 'total' power of the institution, or the administrative authority, is often revealed in the archives as 'a frail conceit' – there is always 'room' for doubt, if we look for it, in the discursive patterns of the available texts (p.31). The Dismissal Books have to constantly 'maintain…existing positionalities' (Hyatt 2013, p.839), through reiterations, rationalisations and legitimations of the judgments made, which are discursively positioned as 'common sense, inevitable and beyond challenge' (*ibid*., p840). However, this is an ongoing process: the Muller institution needed to constantly 'patrol their borders' in deciding who could and could not leave, as well as deciding to where, and to whom, they could go, as this was vulnerable to negotiation, insubordination and resistance, through letters, inspections,[93] family visits, and the actions of the orphans themselves.

In one way, the constant reaffirming of the Muller institution's borders and authority in the nineteenth century, chimes with the institution's 'patrolling' of *its* borders, in the twenty first century, in terms of who is allowed to tell the Muller Story and in what ways. This can be seen as an ongoing process of 'border control', in which the institution's hegemonic existence (Gramsci 1971) is at constant risk of being – like the orphan- 'unsettled' by outsiders questioning the rules, who have to be excluded (like me) if they cannot or will not assimilate.

The final chapter now goes on to discuss how these findings present new ways of looking at the 'rescue and reform' theme of care history, and contribute to new ways of understanding the present situation of care in the twenty first century.

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[93] As detailed earlier, there was an unfavourable school inspection in 1911, which archive materials available in the National Archives suggest was 'hushed up' in favour of an informal chat. Also, Health inspections were occasionally deemed necessary: in 1875 the Bristol Officer of Health visited and intervened after typhoid fever was allowed to go unchecked, as the institution 'believing it to be a visitation from God, had not adopted…preventive measures', leading to over 100 cases and at least 'five or six deaths' *The Star* (August 03, 1875; Issue 9).

Chapter Eight: Concluding Comments

8.0 Introduction

I entered the archives wanting to tell the untold story of the children who had been categorised by the institution as unrecommendable, and to illustrate the ways in which they had been exploited, excluded and marginalised. I have challenged existing historical narratives of evangelical and philanthropic rescue and reform. Through attention to discourse, using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I have explored the ways in which both the micro histories of the archived Dismissal Books, and the macro history of child welfare and care, can illuminate and explain each other.

In my analysis, I also sought to rectify the marginalisation of education, in Foucauldian ideas around dividing practices. Using the theoretical approach of Guery and Deleule (2014), I constructed a critical framework for understanding the purposes of the institution's training, and the categorisations of the Dismissal Books, as illustrative of an 'emergence of a new…mode of knowing the body' (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.33), particularly the bodies of young, working class potential labour, in Victorian, Imperialist England. In illustrating the ways in which the institution interacted with the orphans' extended families, the analysis also offers new and useful ways of conceptualising institutional power, and how certain knowledges and ways of being, are constantly, hegemonically negotiated by the institution in order to maintain their authority.

In this study, looking at the Dismissal Books across over half a century, in this level of detail, the classifications of the unproductive orphans have been mapped out into discursive patterns and themes (Morse 1995), and further mapped out as connecting to wider, 'structures of feeling and force' (Stoler 2009, p.16). This process of connecting and mapping articulates, as Farge (2013, p.92) recommends, the 'complex link between people….and…society'. These discursive formations included, as I have argued, religious, reformist, eugenicist and scientific themes, which operate as normative common sense (Jóhannesson 2010). Thus, nineteenth century institutions such as Muller's can be seen from a more critical perspective as conceptualising,

managing and educating children and young people in care, within the dominant values and ideologies of the time (Koven 2004, p.283).

In investigating the Muller Dismissal Books in this way, I have written the evangelical influence back in to philanthropic histories. This thesis enables us then to move away from the 'grand narrative' of the individual, pioneering reformist, and instead trace threads back from welfare and education history, to start foregrounding the histories of institutionalised care, and to do so in more critical and contextualising ways.

This is not to say that the Muller New Orphan Homes did *not* support a large number of young people, nor that those within the institution were doing so, with anything less than good intentions. The institution, and others like it, did provide large numbers of destitute, bereaved and abandoned children with better life prospects, and opportunities to flourish in nineteenth century society. This thesis is not undermining the good of these 'good works'. Rather, it is locating Muller in the complex social, economic and cultural contexts of nineteenth century Britain, and mapping out, discursively, the 'messier mingling of good intentions and blinkered prejudices' (Koven 2004, p.3) which informed these good works, as demonstrated in the Dismissal Books.

This thesis has suggested that these orphans were – like the factory products of nineteenth century industry - subject to particular processes of 'refinement.' Through analysis of the Dismissal Books' language it has been suggested that they are obliged to take on nineteenth century values of middle class children, to be disciplined, passionless and moulded, but not the middle class adult values of independence, determination and passion, which position them as both at risk (from outside taint) and risky to the institution, in terms of potential harm to the 'purity' of the institutionalised orphan (Garton 1987). The ways in which the institution justifies the categorisation of the orphans and their extended families is seen in this study as chiming with circulating, nineteenth century discourses of 'Othering', in which groups who are not deemed as fitting in with – or fit for - society, are both made distant, and homogenized, reduced to a few characteristics (Said, 2003, p.44).

Thus as has been demonstrated in this study, the histories of welfare and education of children in care can be read as ideologically and discursively entwined with the racialised perspectives of imperialist administration and eugenic rhetoric (Richardson 2003), and pseudoscientific discourses around 'racial hygiene' which often included concerns around sex and procreation, particularly of the working class young (Harris 1993, p.236). Such discourses create norms which bind together those who are 'normal' into an imagined community (Anderson 2006) , and portrays outsiders, such as the unrecommendable orphan, as "polluted, dangerous, taboo" (Hall, 1997, p.258). Thus as has been argued here, the orphan is not viewed as saved and reformed, but as constantly exhorted to know her place, and accept her categorisation.

The unrecommended orphans as discussed here are seen as categorised in the ways that they are because they do not fit into the implied 'standard' Muller model. Their bodily differences individualise them, render them visible, they are odorous, not 'clean and neat,' they are not nimble but 'sluggish', 'flatfooted', not able to do their chores with a 'noiseless step' as one magazine advised 'good servants' to be, in 1873 (in May 1998, p.10). Through this visibility, such bodies are not the approved, 'standardised and interchangeable' bodies of productive, working class labour, fit for purpose (Guery and Deleule 2014). Such conditions are defined as the result of inherited 'bad blood' whether physical disfigurements, inveterate mental weaknesses or incorrigible attitudes, an example of the conflation of the social, moral and medical which framed eugenic thinking (Richardson 2003, p.99).

As I have discussed, through such thinking, the institution can thus position itself as compassionate and caring, in that it aims to save souls, but also as an efficient and reliable source of labour, in that it does not necessarily save bodies. I have shown how the institution, whilst exhorting its evangelical rhetoric, works along lines of capitalist efficiency. Whilst the orphan's souls are saved, their 'characters' converted, made respectable, through the institution's drive for social reform and evangelical conversion (Stoler 2009; Koven 2004), their *bodies* are judged in terms of productivity: some are judged fit, reformed and refined, whilst others are deemed 'spoiled' products (Guery and Deleule 2014).

In this thesis' account of the history of institutionalised care, the orphans are not perceived as 'rescued', but are instead conceptualised as 'fragmented subjects' (Guery and Deleule 2014).

They are not all saved, but selected. The orphanage, in its role as 'mediating' authority, discursively invites the orphan to accept this process of selectivity and judgement of their working potential as inevitable, factual and true. Their categorisation is 'proved' by both the expert scientific observation of their body's potential productivity by the institution authorities, and by its assertion that this is 'the way things are', and 'God's will.' It is not, as Muller has asserted, the fault of the institution if they are deemed unrecommendable. In this concluding chapter, this thesis takes Silver's (1990, p.31) advice to 'illuminate process' through tracing ancestries of languages and discursive themes, and starts to make links between the discursive formations identified here and those of the current day care system. Firstly, however, I return to the theme of the personal which threads throughout this thesis and further reflect on this encounter with the archives, from a personal perspective.

8.1 Reflections on my encounter with the archives

As I have discussed in this thesis, whilst at times touching on my family history, this was not an auto-ethnographical account. In chapter four, I discussed my elderly parent's reaction to my research, and how I aimed to work with the 'ethics of respect' concerning my family and other orphans' family histories, to 'relocate' shame from the individuals, to the institutional power, as part of a critical history of Muller's and nineteenth century ideologies. However, I had not anticipated just how overwhelming it would be at times, engaging with pages and pages of evidence of what would now be seen as harsh or even abusive treatment of trauma and attachment issues (Van der Kolk 2014) as well as infant deaths. It was challenging, as a relatively inexperienced archive researcher, to make sense of previously unseen, and quite disordered, archives, whilst negotiating the powerful circulating religious values of the institution. All of this – materials and values, alongside my own experiences and reactions- combined in an often 'bewildering array' of methodological and philosophical challenges (Stanley 2016, p.34), some of which I have explored elsewhere, in both academic and creative ways (see **Appendix 7**).

I also faced uncomfortable moments during the long process of entering information on my spreadsheets – a time consuming, 'mundane and tedious' (Stanley 2016, p.34) and 'banal' (Farge 2015) activity, often as I have recounted, in a very cold room, under the staff's

supervisory gaze. I checked my feelings of relief when some of the children had died, as it meant I could get through their entries quicker, and head to the warmer kitchen for a tea break. At the same time, I felt there were connections between these children, and the children I had fostered. I became angry and upset at the parallels between the labelling of the 'unrecommended' orphans, and the negative and hostile attitudes to young unaccompanied asylum seekers in the right wing press, as we were fostering two boys from Afghanistan during the research process (see also Luiselli 2017). As I have recounted, raising this with the Muller organisation was difficult and awkward, more so when I lost my informal connections and source of support in the previous CEO and other staff, who moved on during or after the Covid-19 lockdown.

Our first young Afghan foster child, a Pashtu boy, had arrived with the ubiquitous black nylon holdall, given to him containing some clothes and toiletries by his social worker. It was a step up from the previous tendency to use bin liners when moving a child and their belongings between placements (see for example, Smith's (2005) account of *A National Voice*'s campaign, 'This is not a suitcase') but it nevertheless reminded me of my great grandfather's cheaply made tin trunk, given to orphans as they left the Homes, complete with a change of clothing and a bible, the sum total of their belongings.

An Afghan teenager and a Victorian orphan may seem worlds apart, but our involvement in the boy's claim for asylum, to be decided by the Home Office, in an interminable and complex procedure of form filling, arcane language and 'legalese', now feels as if we were arguing for his 'recommendableness.' The Home Office (along with the right wing press at the time, and increasingly so since) seemed to be creating a narrative of 'us' and 'them', of deserving and undeserving refugees (Brooks 2019) . Both the Muller orphans, and boys like our foster child, were deemed, as had been already described in this thesis, as both vulnerable and a threat to order, both to be pitied and feared, harmed and harmful, 'at risk and risky' (Heath-Kelly 2013) .

Both groups were hypervisible and subject to surveillance: the Muller orphans through their annual parades and the orphan homes themselves, typical of the type of 'magnificent… Victorian architecture' dominating cities (Rossini 2014, p.55), and the refugees in the ongoing media 'moral panics' concerning their arrival in the UK (Cohen 1972) and their treatment by the

current Home secretary, Priti Patel, in 2022. Rossini (2014, p.55) describes the ideological purpose of these large and imposing nineteenth century orphanages, whose architecture was: 'symbolic of the view that these children were a 'problem' group who should be dealt with collectively, as if dealing with them on a wholesale scale would eliminate the problem more swiftly', a quote could equally be applied to tabloid media coverage of young refugees arriving in the UK in the 2000s.

This research therefore resonated with me as we negotiated our way round the current care system as it intersected with immigration regulations. Like the Victorian orphan, subject to such 'wholesale' solutions, unrecommendableness for the unaccompanied young asylum seeker, in the form of a rejection of an application for leave to remain, would mean exclusion from society, and a dangerous and impoverished, uncertain future.

Finally, it became apparent to me, whilst reading around dysfunctional attachment, trauma and institutional life (e.g Van der Kolk 2017) in preparation for this thesis, that Joseph Lowe's experiences at Muller's, though unrecorded (and certainly not talked about in my living memory) had continued to impact on the family, including my own upbringing. Lowe's daughter, my grandmother, and Lowe's grandson, my father, had both been brought up to not be overtly emotional, and to be at all times, concerned with looking respectable. As children my sister and I were endlessly exhorted to quite literally, pull our socks up, in echoes of Muller's and others' discourses of 'uplift' and respectability (Stoler 2009). I would argue that this was in many ways much more marked than general working class concerns around respectability, as have been explored by sociologists such as Skeggs (1997): for my grandmother and my father, the shame of the workhouse was a single generation away, and too near, for them, for me to be talking about in public. Certainly, attitudes to relationships through the generations showed the possible ongoing impacts of childhood bereavement and separation, followed by strict institutional life, such as that which Schaverien (2015, p.80) refers to as, a tendency to 'retreat… from emotional engagement…[and a] hypersensitivity to rejection'.

For these reasons, the process of researching Muller's has indeed been a 'messy business' regarding my emotional and personal response to the archives (Miller 2016, Rose 1997). Like Tamboukou's (2019, p.15) description of her own archival research, it has been at times 'a raw

and visceral engagement' with the archival material, both concerning my own responses and my family's responses, and not least because of the frequently distressing examples of what we would now label ACEs: adverse childhood experiences (Welbourne and Leeson 2013, p.33). As I have recounted, these included behaviours and illnesses linked to post traumatic stress disorders such as bedwetting and mutism (Cairns 2001, p.197), to which the institution responded with corporal punishment. Thus, my approach to the archives has been inevitably selective, dependent on, as Tamboukou (2016, p71) writes, 'how researchers orient ourselves within the archive, how we follow specific storylines…and analytical insights, and how we write about them'.

8.2 Reading the archives: unfinished stories

As I have noted, my reading and writing of the archives as set out in this thesis is inevitably selective in what it focuses on, in my own 'dialogue with the archives' (Farge 2013, p.123). As Farge (2013) suggests, such history writing is inevitably and always 'unfinished', which allows for 'alternative outcomes…possible futures' for the lives encountered in the archives. (p.122). The Muller archives are a valuable resource, in what they can offer in terms of insight into nineteenth century philanthropy, welfare, institutionalisation, and the 'taxonomic endeavour' of Victorian bureaucracy and record keeping, particularly concerning welfare and health (Hamlin 1995, p.859). In telling marginalised histories, Farge (2013, p.6) argues that we need to take these 'rough traces of lives' out of the archives, to bring their stories to life. Writing this thesis has felt like Rowbotham's (1977, p.x) description of her own early History pamphlets on those 'hidden from history', which were 'bursting out of their binding with unfinished problems', and in the process I recognise and share Steedman's anxiety to do such archive stories justice (2001). Indeed, Rose (1997, p.316) has described the challenges of the reflexive researcher as involving a recognition of one's own 'fragmented self' as we 'make our own knowledge' whilst acknowledging it is inevitably, 'complex, uncertain and incomplete'.

Whilst my abilities to take the orphans out of the archives (and to get back in myself) has been limited, the existence of this thesis and the potential for more research strongly suggests that the archives themselves may benefit from being taken out of Muller's. My making sense of

Muller's categorisations of the unrecommendable orphans has been set out here in this thesis as transparently as possible, in order to, as Tamboukou (2016) goes on to write, chart a specific path through the archives. It is hoped that this provides a possible map, a 'track' (Bloch 1991), which others can draw upon to open up and explore new paths, through Muller's Dismissal Books, and other Muller materials in the archives, as yet, not publicly available.

Whilst it is, of course, 'impossible for archives to reflect all aspects…of society…Not every story is told' (Carter 2016), this thesis has started to show how the stories they *do* tell could be heard and responded to by a wider range of researchers, and brought to life in other ways, using other methodologies and from other perspectives.

The following section reflects on the thesis' key contributions to knowledge and goes on to suggest further areas of research.

8.3 Challenging the grand narrative

This thesis answered Foucault's call for critique in the archives, to challenge those discourse which function as neutral and common sense (Berger and Luckmann 1984, p.6), and as institutional authority. In writing Muller back in to wider nineteenth century philanthropic history, in more critical ways, I have contextualised how the power relations circulating the Muller Homes enabled it to justify its systematic categorising of a particular section of young people in terms of unproductivity. This more critical reading of the nineteenth century systems of children in care currently stands on the periphery of mainstream accounts of reformer history. Instead, traditional historical narratives have as Steedman (1990, p.10-11) has argued (and as has been argued here): a 'tendency to elevate the life of an exceptional individual…[so that] ..whole social classes become the backcloth for the presentation of the principal actor'.

I have addressed how a more critical examination of Muller's and others' rhetoric of evangelical and philanthropic respectability enables us to challenge these 'grand narratives' of conventional reformist history. Unlike the ways in which Muller's numerous biographies continue to depict him, Muller is not simplistically commemorated here as a pioneering 'rescuer' of the orphaned

and destitute, but neither are the Homes discussed as the 'forbidding grey edifices' of popular culture tales and misery memoirs (Higginbotham 2017, p.vi). This is not as I have discussed, a history of 'heroes and villains, saints and sinners' (Koven 2004, p.284). This thesis starts to move the 'Muller story' on, from its almost two hundred year, formulaic repetition of the miraculous, to focus on the marginalised.

In challenging the reformist grand narrative of conventional welfare histories, the key concern has not been to interpret texts in one particular ideological manner – that is, as I have stated, the aim has not been to denounce or accuse philanthropists such as Muller (Koven 2004) nor to tell the 'real story behind the Muller story.' Instead, this thesis has examined and illustrated the purposes and intentions of the texts, in order to raise questions about the conventional narrative of reformist welfare history. As Farge (2013) has argued, 'the archives do not necessarily tell the truth, but…they tell *of* the truth' (in Tamboukou 2019, p.10; my emphasis).

8.4 Critical Discourse Analysis and the nitty gritty of archival research

In analysing the Dismissal Book texts, the thesis has drawn on Critical Discourse Analysis, a broad umbrella term for a deconstructive methodology (Hyatt 2010, p.8). In taking this approach, in order to investigate the Dismissal Book archives, and to start to untangle the history of care, I have drawn on CDA as a way of bridging the gap between, and illuminating the process of, the 'nitty gritty' of archival research and the so-called 'eureka moments' of archival analysis (Stanley 2016, p.34).

This approach enabled me to set out a more 'fine grained' and transparent process of analysis in my discussion, which makes clear, the processes by which I identified the specific discursive themes and formations, discussed in chapters six and seven. In my analysis, I have argued that the orphan categorisations work to promote both 'docile' individualism (the project of self and skills development versus collective strength and resistance) and virtuous, obedient morality involved in accepting one's lot, and one's label. I have used CDA to suggest how the institution gains the authority to do this in the first place. Guery and Deleule (2014) critique Althusser's notion of interpellation, that is, the process by which those institutions with the ideological

power subjectify and 'call into being' those who are labelled, 'hailed' and thus controlled and categorised. They go on to argue that this process of – as Barnard and Shapiro (2014) put it – 'naming and shaming' is not necessarily the issue on which we should be focusing. Instead, they argue that: 'the question we ought to ask is, what is the historical formation of the institution that certifies…and gives the figure of authority the confidence of his or her power over others? How have certain groups become authorised to ask these interrogatory questions?' (p.17).

Through using Critical Discourse Analysis, this thesis has mapped out the process of institutionalisation, evidenced in the transitional language between the original and later versions of Dismissal Book One. It has gone on to argue that this institutionalisation was justified and supported by influential evangelical discourses which legitimated and justified the institution's assumed 'expert' and god-given authority to both train the orphans in order to save their souls, and to categorise the orphans in terms of their bodies as unrecommendable.

8.5 Questioning the 'total institution' and readings of resistance

In focusing on the development of, and subsequent discursive justification of, the categories of the 'unrecommendable' orphans, this study defined the institution as an example of Victorian capitalist philanthropy (Richardson 2003, p.16), exploiting, fragmenting and excluding the unproductive body. I have demonstrated how the institution's processes become 'the way things are' (Hyatt 2010, p.6), supported by Muller's authority and influence within the nineteenth century evangelical movement, and the Muller Homes' international renown. Such discourses are, through Critical Discourse Analysis, identified as nevertheless, still open to question, socially and culturally constructed and constantly vulnerable to resistance and challenge.

As I have discussed, in focusing on histories 'in the margins', and in particular, the orphans who were not recommended, this research, like that of Lawson *et al* (2006), comes from a socio-political stance of wanting to write the much marginalised history of children in care, as 'history from below' (Thompson 1966). I wanted to help rectify the issue of such 'children [as] notable in history books primarily for their absence…' (Mintz 2005), tangled with and 'subsumed in other

narratives' of poverty and welfare (Hendrick 1994, p.xi). It has been argued that generally, the history of their childhood, as has been noted already in this thesis, can tend to be 'dismiss[ed] as sentimental, atheoretical and peripheral to the dynamics of social change' (Mintz 2005, p.2).

Whilst I have demonstrated in chapters six and seven, how those seeming to present resistance to this process are discursively positioned as problematically incorrigible, and subsequently removed from the institution, such acts of insubordination and disidentification as described in the lengthy entries on those expelled, did appear as welcome relief to what Farge (2013) refers to as the 'monotony of…endless tall pages' of archival material, during the research (p.13). After pages of standardised, interchangeable entries of formulaic 'good' orphans, and lists of childhood deaths from even then, preventable diseases, as well as harsh punishments meted out on infants to 'cure' what we would now define as trauma-related behaviours, such exceptional anecdotes of resistant acts were reassuring and heartening to read. They offered the possibility of histories of resistance, in which those in care had oppositional agency in appearing to challenge the Homes' teachings, and reinforced the idea of the institution as more hegemonic than total.

As I have set out in this study, the behaviour or attitudes of those who were expelled were perceived as unacceptably (and ungratefully) challenging the 'God-given' authority of the institution to 'raise them up' (Harding 1914, p.19) and dictate their place in society. As such, the entries on the actions leading to expulsion provide an alternative narrative of young, working class resistance, resilience and fortitude, in the face of such authority, even if that entailed thievery. They represent what Davies (1989, p.95) refers to as the 'underlife' of institutional living. Such examples could be read as micro-histories of resistance, of 'disidentification' from the institutional norms (Jones 2004), as the orphans used what limited resources they had to counter the authority of the institution: disenfranchised young people 'pushing the boundaries' of relegation, playfully, wilfully, illegally or violently (*cf* Hall and Jefferson 2006, Willis 1977, Cohen 2011, 1972).

Both the eugenicists and the evangelicals drew on the Biblical connotations of a 'weed amongst the wheat' which is sewn by one's enemies to damage the crops, to talk about the 'problem' population (Matthew 13). Like the orphan, a weed is potentially unproductive, contagiously

spreading in the wrong place, its roots unknown. It needs identifying and controlling.[94] Reading these entries in terms of resistance, suggests that the rebellious orphan, climbing on to roofs, escaping to the city, stealing books, kisses or pears, will, like a weed, find a way to flourish, despite all attempts and 'wholesale' strategies to control them.

Indeed, Guery and Deleule (2014) describe working class resistance as the worker acting like 'a paradoxical weed that springs furiously from the ground' (in Barnard and Shapiro 2014:31) resilient despite the seemingly concrete might of capitalist power. This metaphor sits well with Jackson's (2001) description of care experienced children's history, where she similarly, metaphorically describes it as present in the 'cracks' and gaps between histories of education and care (p.135). It provides a more empowering perspective to the idea of the systematic 'weeding out' of unrecommendable care leavers as has been described in this thesis, in both the Dismissal Books' categorisations and in wider discourses, such as Paley's eugenicist description of God needing to 'prune' the population as the 'Good Gardener' prunes his crops, quoted earlier (in Young 1998:182).

Such stories of resistance as I have noted, trace disturbances in the colonial order of things (Stoler 2009, p.97). One could see their existence within the institution as 'weedlike' in themselves, existing despite authority, existing in the cracks of the otherwise hagiographic Muller story as celebrated by the museum. Like the 'unsettling' family, such stories are potentially destabilising, challenging the panoptical model of institutional power (Foucault 1977), and threatening to shift the 'set in stone' narrative of the miraculous saviour. Such accounts of threats to authority suggest as I have argued, more porous boundaries and a more fragile and precarious authority, than the Victorian 'complete and austere institution' as epitomised in Foucault's theorising (1977). In focusing on these stories, it was tempting then, to see these entries as epitomising an element of resistance and resilience.

As I have also noted, however, this thesis has tried to avoid an over emphasis on the spectacular, what Barnard and Shapiro (2014) dismiss as a 'somewhat giddy celebration…[of] or fascination with the 'moment' or 'the encounter' with historical material (p6). It has aimed at

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[94] Ironically, Richardson describes Malthus as 'sewing the seeds for the eugenic line on charity…which reached its harvest in the ideas of…Darwin and Galton' (2003, p.59).

'making the specificity of its perspective clear' in my encounters with the archives, avoiding – it is hoped- 'overgeneralising….grand claims' in the process (Rose 1997, p.308). Instead as Marling (2018, p.134) has noted, to fully appreciate resistance, we need to 'understand the norm they have to challenge and interact with'. Thus this study has focused on the processes by which the orphan's categorisations are discursively justified and rationalised. An over privileging of resistance in research will, she argues, 'leave the underlying norm understudied and hence more intact' (in Mullet 2018, p.134).

Instead, this thesis has observed how those who were expelled, or unrecommendable, were discursively positioned as 'other', and thus offers critical insight into the language that works to constitute and legitimate the subsequently taken-for-granted norms and values of the institution. It has argued that to resist these judgments, as with those who express ingratitude in their behaviour necessitating public expulsion, and families who are perceived as 'unsettling' both the orphan and the institution's plan for them, is to go against God and scientific truth, to be unconventional, not normal. To reject the institutions' label, whether as orphan or family, is ungrateful or wilful, hysterical, mad (Foucault 2006).[95] Through these discursive formations of normativity, the institution can resolve the contradictions between compassion and control: only those who fit the 'norm' can be recommended.

Thus this study has taken up Farge's (2013, p.92) assertion that as archival researchers: 'our task is to find a language that can integrate singular moments into a narrative' in which the singular anecdote is 'interwoven…with histories'. Through identifying the categorisations, I have mapped out in this study what was, and what was not, regarded as acceptable behaviour. In noting how such entries must justify the treatment of the orphan at length, this thesis shows that such an institution, whilst powerful, cannot be conceptualised as monolithically 'total', but hegemonic, constantly needing to defend itself against challenges from both orphan and extended family (Gramsci 1971). As such, these categorisations need to be constantly discursively justified and rehearsed by the institution. This approach sets the scene for further research, which could focus further on the processes of 'othering' through the discursive strategies of

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[95] At the very least, it is deemed inappropriate, as my great grandfather's foster carer Lydia's letter suggests, starting with her plea that the institution should 'pardon her liberty'. The apparent lack of a reply suggests this was indeed deemed an unacceptable demand on her part.

institutionalisation, justification and normalisation, regarding the care, education and welfare of nineteenth century orphans, as present in the Dismissal Books.

8.6 Suggestions for further research

8.6.1 Orphans, education and employability

As this study has highlighted, orphanage education was to ensure the labouring young were educated in both practical skills and social acceptability. It endeavoured to ensure they were brought up, *in loco parentis*, 'in sober and virtuous principles' of Christianity (Garton 1987, p.5), accepting their lot in life whether that be, in the case of the Muller orphans, recommended, unrecommendable but able to work at the lowliest of lowly stations, or to be 'returned' to the workhouse.

With its strict admissions policy of only taking in orphans of married parents, the Muller Homes avoided critique that they were offering the kinds of well meaning yet 'indiscriminate education' which could cause social unrest (Sutherland 1971). The Homes were also less 'bedevilled' by the kinds of controversies exemplified by Carpenter (Dresser 2015) and Barnardo (Koven 2004) both of whom had argued with Catholic groups.

As I have described, in Muller's, and other institutions including District schools and workhouses, aimed to 'encourage...industrious habits' as well as Christian beliefs (Sutherland 1971, p.5). In this, Muller's aims of education echoed that of the Poor Law amendments on workhouse education of the 1830s and 40s, which stated that workhouse children should: 'be respectively instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic... and the principles of the Christian religion...shall be imparted to them as fit them for service, and train them to habits of usefulness, industry and virtue' (Ball *et al* 2016, p.85).

Such aims became particularly urgent given the rapid expansion of urban, industrial Britain and fears of social unrest. These aims as discussed earlier in this thesis, 'dominated...education for the children of the labouring poor' (Sutherland 1971, p.5), and were perceived as particularly

important for those children who were destitute or abandoned, without the kinds of familial support deemed fit to instil these values.

As has been explored in this thesis, for Muller, this was also about rescuing children from the ignorance and immorality of 'the unevangelicised masses of heathendom' (Harding 1914, p.202). Without this, a child was in danger of being 'lost' – not just without a place in the world, without the necessary knowledge to function in society, usually passed on from parent to child, but also lost to God, in evangelical thinking.

However, the notion of 'loss' and being lost, did not extend to the orphan's existing community. As I have also suggested in this study, institutions such as Muller's were active in the 'fragmentation' of working class communities in the nineteenth century, through these processes of removal and resettlement. These care leavers were sent to areas in need of young, working labour, such as the industrial north, as evidenced by the destinations in the Dismissal Books. As I have shown, a minority did return to family, but this was subject to the institution's approval, and the institution's decision only, and included being expelled or 'unrecommended.' Some families, despite being willing to take on the orphaned relative, were refused as unsuitable.[96]

Even those who *were* recommended, are often sent to industrialised cities, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and London (see **Appendix 5**). In the mid 1800s, domestic service was the second largest occupation in Britain, after agricultural work (May 1998). By 1851, over a third of all women between the ages of 15 – 20, living in London, were working in the domestic sector, and more than half of those were under 25: the 1851 census shows that nationally, 'the most numerous of the female occupations was Domestic Service' (Royston Pike 1967, p.156).

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[96] That is not to say that all orphanages did this, but exceptions were rare: the Myrtle Street orphanage in Liverpool, founded in 1840 and funded by local businesspeople, stated its position was 'quite unique' in that it took 'only and exclusively Liverpool children, born seven miles from the Exchange'. *The Myrtle Wreath* pamphlet calls on the city's elite for philanthropic help for destitute families, as 'those who helped make the wealth of this city'(*The Myrtle Wreath* 1892). Children from the orphanage were largely employed in the city, particularly in the new charity Eye Hospital nearby, founded in 1871 (Simey 1992). Not all remained in Liverpool, as some, trained in music thanks to donations of funds and instruments (Holman 2019), went on to play in bands including army bands, New York jazz bands and the now legendary band on *The Titanic* (the managing office, White Star Line, was based in Liverpool). Those who drowned playing in the latter were controversially only paid by White Star Line up until 2a.m, the time the ship sunk, and any existing relatives were apparently billed for loss of uniform – which Shansky somewhat understatedly describes as 'illustrat[ing] disregard for the working person' (Shansky 2016, p.40).

This is where cheap, flexible labour was needed, and the Dismissal Books' evidence thus provides insight into the 'urban shift' of industrialisation, from rural to relatively 'rootless' urban communities (Koven 2004, Dresser 1983), as the institutionalised young are sent to these new areas, often far from their original communities and families.

Thus, the orphanage had an advantage over the other means of educating the poor, such as the monitorial, ragged or board day school; as these potential young workers could be removed from their own communities through institutionalisation and placements. In some institutions (such as Barnardo's, and Carpenter's reformatory schools) this also occurred through programmes of forced emigration, in which 'good British stock' was sent to populate the colonies, and resolve the problem of destitute orphans in the streets (Hodgson 2017, p.29), although Muller's did not do this (Higginbotham 2017). Nor did Muller's – as a pacifist organisation- send orphans into the army or navy, as was a popular destination for workhouse and orphanage inmates (Carden-Coyne 2020, Hodgson 2017).

Through sending the orphans out to areas where there was need for certain placements, regardless of where they were born or had originally lived, the Muller Homes had the power to fragment working class families and communities, as well as discursively fragment the orphan body. As Murdoch has noted on her work on Hungarian orphans of the First World War, and Hodgson in her work on pauper orphan emigrants from Bristol, administrators of orphanages and child welfare programmes tended to aim to break the tie between poor children and parents to eradicate the source of poverty, recreating 'better' citizens (Murdoch 2021, Hanson *et al* 2020, Hodgson 2017, Brendon 2004, Wagner 1979). This 'great period of accomplishment' as Prince Albert described rapidly industrialised Britain, at the 1851 Great Exhibition, was largely reliant on this young, rootless labour: 'young England…the raw material of British industry…on whose labour so much of the country's advance may be said to depend' (in Royston Pike 1967, p.109).

Concerns for these potentially alienated young people, and the possible dangerous influences on such vulnerable young minds, unsupported and unprotected from family influences, particularly females (Simey 1992), led to movements such as the 'Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants' (MABYS), set up by the first female workhouse inspector, Jeanie

Nassau Senior (Koven 2004, p.193). However Ware's ironic *Dictionary of Victorian Slang* (1909) quotes from an 1885 source that: 'the foundling temper…proverbially said of the domestic servants [from] Foundling hospitals…[and] great pauper schools, constantly thwarted the mentoring efforts of 'the ladies of MABYS'' (Ware 1909, p.136).

Alongside the MABYS was the Ladies Association for the Care and Protection of Girls, set up in 1884 to support the National Association for the Care of Friendless Girls, founded 1877. Both organisations were set up by middle class women increasingly keen to educate and protect the working poor (Prochaska 1988), assuming that lone and vulnerable young women without family or friends would appreciate 'somebody above, yet with them' as a guiding mentor (in Koven 2004, p.193). However, like the MABYS, both organisations came under criticism as, 'the members were in worldly experience much in advance of the girls their own age who came to befriend them' (Simey 1992, p.130).

Entries in the Muller Dismissal Books suggest that a significant proportion of the domestic sector (which employed more than double the number of all girls employed in the cotton, wool, flax and silk textile industries in total, in the mid 1800s (Royston Pike 1967, p.156)), were care leavers or workhouse girls. In contrast, the working girl with family to care for, preferred the more regular hours of retail, mill and factory work (May 1998, Harris 1993, Royston Pike 1967).

It is acknowledged here that further research needs to explore the real, socio-economic consequences of the ways in which orphans were categorised, acknowledging that for those who are 'returned' to the workhouse, such categorisations could mean life or death. Discourses were therefore not just ideologically performed' but 'materially situated' (Fairclough 1992). To not acknowledge this, could be a 'morally perilous and a negation of experience' and illustrates potential limitations of CDA (Collins and Jones 2006). Thus further research into the lived conditions of the orphans after care, building on this thesis' information on their destinations, would potentially give us insight into who exactly was subject to the concerns of philanthropists, aiming to 'regenerate' the rootless poor into 'industrial and respectable beings' (Simey 1992, p.114). Such research would offer further detail as to who these lone women without family or friends were likely to be, given the dominance of orphans and workhouse girls in the service

sector, and following the 'decline…of…family life under the impact of deindustrialisation' (Harris 1993, p.61).

8.6.2 Care and education in the twenty first century

Guery and Deleule's theorising of the workers as a 'cohort of the dispossessed' (Barnard and Shapiro 2014, p.31) can be pertinently applied to these young people of the Muller institution, who as this thesis has noted, could not vote or join a union if members of the Brethren. This lack of a collective identity within one's community, and within the care system was, as has already been noted in this thesis, exacerbated by the stigma and shame of 'being in care,' and perhaps explains where there is such little research material on care history (Jackson 2015, Hendrick 1994). Thus there is more to be explored, concerning the young population of these rapidly expanding cities, and the ways in which institutions such as the orphanage and workhouse helped power nineteenth century British industrialisation (Royston Pike 1967). As I have also intimated, these issues are not consigned to the archives, and this final section suggests ways in which we can trace the ancestries of care discourse from the nineteenth century to the present day.

Ball (2021, p.215) has argued that education has come full circle. He argues that:

> [I]t is clearly possible to see the contemporary traces and re-emergence, of social patterns and organizational forms and political preoccupations within education policy, that have been inherent in the English education system since its beginnings in the 19th century….In particular….those involving social class.

Indeed, the ways in which Cameron *et al* (2015, p.12) describe the current UK education system has more than an echo of the nineteenth century monitorial system, particularly in the current focus on performance judged by examining students largely on 'memorisable facts', in which 'the role of the teacher has become a technical one, delivering the curriculum' (*ibid*., p11) This way of learning presents a challenge for those in care, over 70% of whom have special

educational needs or emotional, social and behavioural difficulties (Jackson 2010). Such children need a more holistic, student-centred form of education, and a more 'trauma sensitive' and supportive school environment, in order to flourish and succeed – this is unlikely to be found in current mainstream schools (Carroll and Cameron 2017, p.10). As such, the structural inequalities experienced by children in care, in education, continue (Jackson 2013).

In 2021, the Public Services Committee Report to the House of Lords set out how cuts to resources such as counselling and mental health services for young people, along with the Covid 19 pandemic and the disruption of education by Lockdown, had exacerbated inequality regarding vulnerable children, including those in the care system (*HL Paper 95*, No. 21). This 'crisis in child vulnerability' as the report describes, particularly impacts on those experiencing the care system, who are likely to come from situations of economic deprivation, and domestic disruption such as chaotic homelives, and/or multiple placements (Stein 2001). Given the high proportion of those children identified as SEN, the current system's 'relentless' focus on performance and assessment does not allow for the sort of care such children need in order to thrive (Cameron *et al* 2015, p.18).

Well before Covid, as discussed in chapter one, the educational needs of children in care have been 'chronically neglected' (Carroll and Cameron 2017, p.1), with limited research and guidance on how best to manage behaviours relating to attachment difficulties and other behaviours (Bomber 2007). Subsequently, those in care, in school, are more likely to be excluded (Jackson 2013) and to leave school with few or no qualifications (Stein 2001, p.114). Such young people tend to then remain – like those who were able to work but 'unrecommendable' – 'on the margin of employment', on and off benefits, in a cycle of short term contracts, work schemes and casual labour (Stein 2001, p.120). As with the orphans, this precarity is exacerbated by a lack of a supportive community: 'family and neighbourhood links including education are often weakened, and thus…identities…further fragmented' (*ibid*., p.124).

Thus the young care leaver is excluded from opportunities at school through lack of support to succeed in terms of qualifications, and then excluded from opportunities in the workplace, leading to social exclusion (Jackson and Cameron 2013, p.174). Whilst 'going to university has

become part of the normative life path' for most young people, 'the great majority of those in care never even reach the point where they could think of applying for university' (Jackson and Cameron 2001, p.175). This situation is further exacerbated by the financial constraints experienced by care leavers: only 6% of whom enter higher education, compared to around 40% of the school leaver population as a whole (Jackson and Ajayi 2013). Overwhelmingly, care leavers are steered down more vocational routes (Jackson 2001). Indeed one could say they are defined as able to work, but deemed 'unrecommendable' for graduate-level forms of employment.

As this study has shown, for the Muller orphans, the focus on practical skills, and the learning of basic trades (Higginbotham 2017) did enable them to, as Muller himself puts it, 'earn their bread'. However it was also a very limited education. As was quoted earlier in this thesis, the 'technical part' of education was all that was 'given to the poor man's child in charity', as stated by an 1846 school inspector particularly critical of the monitorial and industrial school system (Sutherland 1971). This critique is echoed in the twenty first century by Jackson and Cameron's (2001, p.174) description of care leavers' 'stunted life chances' as a result of 'very little interest' from the authorities in raising academic aspirations.

As I have already discussed in this thesis, the use of 'LAC' in terminology describing 'looked after children' discursively connotes a child as 'lacking', but is still common in schools, as is the rhetoric of failure in terms of standards and progress (Bentley 2013). Again these identities are discursively constructed using negative terminologies. In their discussions on widening participation in education, Archer *et al* (2003, p.20) similarly define the 'non-elite' groups in relation to the 'normative': those whose participation in education is either limited or even 'unthinkable': such students are they argue, subject to historically and culturally constructed identities which 'constrain…participation…in multiple, varying ways'. Indeed I noted at the start of this thesis how a third of the Muller orphans were deemed *lacking* suitability for work. Thus the categorising of 'deficiency' continues to impact on children and young people in care (Imray and Colley 2017, p.8).

This analysis of the Dismissal Book archives has noted how, for those deemed unrecommendable but able to work, notions of hygiene and health were conflated with more

ideologically insidious discourses including those of dirt and disablism, with orphans described as only suitable for heavy labour, with 'common' agricultural families. Aligned with those discourses were the types of 'pseudo diagnostic' terms coined in the nineteenth century and evident in the Dismissal Books, which continue to have an ideological resonance in the education and care systems (Imray and Colley 2017, Topping and Maloney 2005).

I have noted for example, how some orphans were categorised and punished for 'inveterate habits' such as bedwetting and mutism, and described in terms of 'weaknesses' such as smallness and shortsightedness. Wider categorisations such as 'defective', 'idiot', or 'dumb' and so on were drawn on in nineteenth century debates concerning how best to prevent 'the…defective from being able to pass on their condition to a future generation' (Higginbotham 2017, p.183).

These nineteenth century categorisations linger, they 'work…by sedimentation…merge…and conflate…' and can be found in the playground as well as policy documents (Ball 2017, p.63). This 'self-perpetuating, hierarchical system' thus continues to discursively justify the standard of the able bodied, and minded, orphan, against which everyone else would be categorised as deficit (Renton 2017). Indeed, a further area of research could link these findings with the 'new knowledges' of neurosciences, in defining and categorising children (Ball 2017, p.216). The ways in which neuroscience has defined young people in care, for example, such as in the currently contested notions of attachment theory and mirror neurons, have been termed 'neuromyths' (Jones 2014, p.2), and can also be traced to Victorian pseudoscientific ways of categorising the 'unrecommended'. Somewhat controversially, Jones links the notion of brain 'styles' of learning (aural, visual and so on) as 'more suggestive of a new phrenology' than current scientific fact (*ibid*., p2).

Certainly, such terms are still used in playground interactions: a recent Anti-bullying Alliance report noted that whilst racism and other 'isms' were generally dealt with by school staff, disablism and prejudices relating to mental health (likely to be experienced by those in care) were in contrast 'rarely challenged' by teachers (Dept for Education 2014).

These categorisations, established in the nineteenth century as demonstrated in this thesis, remain 'remarkably resilient' (Heath, 1987 in Ball 2017, p.252). More research is needed in tracing the historical 'ancestries' (Silver 1990) of these systems of categorisations, from the nineteenth century to twenty first century assumptions that such children are routinely 'less able' to tackle the mainstream curriculum and to flourish creatively and academically (Alexander and Strain 1978; Jackson 2010).

Whilst the definitions of what special educational needs entail, for those in the care system, are ' constantly changing…liquid definition[s]' (Imray and Colley 2017, p.4), such labels continue to carry with them, powerful ideological baggage, not least the idea that children who do not fit the mainstream are 'Other' (*cf* Hall 2001). Such assumptions behind the categories of those in care continue to limit life chances of students, as well as affecting self image of the students themselves, who may internalise such limiting labels (Thomas and Vaughan 2004).

Such discursive formations are echoes of the nineteenth century, 'problem group' of disadvantaged and unproductive orphans, defined by Vishmidt (2020, p.45) as: 'a surplus population whose only subjectivity is its surplusness… an actualised internalisation of the capital relation'. They echo Muller's assertions of the 'naturally' substandard state of the parents, as discussed in the analysis.

As has been noted throughout this thesis, on leaving the nineteenth century orphanage, the orphan is obliged to accept the categorisation of her body in terms of its lack of potential for 'productivity,' in employability, in ways which draw on both eugenicist and machine-like descriptions of standardised product (for example: flat footed, short sighted, too slow, too small, spoiled). Such categorisations are discursively justified through the institution's own evangelical rhetoric and wider discursive formations, including evangelical teachings across the Brethren schools, other reformist institutions and religious groups, and the 'powerful strain' of thought across society at large, concerning eugenicism (Harris 1993, p.236), within capitalist society.

Again, as in Rossini's (2014) description of treatment of nineteenth century orphans as a 'wholesale scale' problem, Ball similarly argues that there are parallels with nineteenth century

concerns and the conceptualising of the 'dangerous urban population': 'disadvantaged and feckless and radicalised,' in contemporary welfare and education discourses, (Ball 2017, p.216). Certainly if we changed 'radicalised' to 'heathen', Ball's description would not look out of place in Muller's *Narratives*. Koven (2004, p.283) similarly notes how 'modern incarnations of Victorian philanthropies' can be perceived in 'discussions of 'urban priority areas' and what to do with them'. The contemporary promotional literature of Muller's itself makes this thread more obvious in its description of non-Christian youth in Bristol and other cities as 'unchurched children' and their missionary work abroad as supporting 'spiritual orphans' (https://www.mullers.org/local).

Continuing the work of this thesis in tracing these discursive formations and the ways in which they 'merge and conflate' with older iterations (Ball 2017, p.63), we can see how these modern incarnations of nineteenth century value judgments on young care leavers in urban environments play out. Contemporary young people in care are likely to suffer further disadvantage in education and the employment market, including poor mental health, and lack of a consistent domestic sphere of support (Stein 1994; Jackson 2001, Fletcher-Campbell 2001, Jackson 1987). Like the nineteenth century orphan sent to industrialised areas to take up service sector roles, such young people can start from an already 'fragmented' background in terms of 'sparse…networks…inhibit[ing] the creation of social capital' (Richman and Rosenfeld 2001, p.260).

Thus for twenty first century care leavers, jobs remain largely vocational. This is due, Jackson and Cameron (2013, p.190) argue, to the 'low educational attainment of children in care' as being 'simply accepted [by practitioners] as the natural order of things', rather than the failure of the system to provide the necessary conditions for such young people to succeed academically. Jackson (2013, p.17) echoes the concerns of the nineteenth century philanthropists and educators such as Hannah More, when she caustically writes of modern education, that it assumes 'reading is not for the lower orders'. She goes on to note that whilst a high proportion of children in care have special educational *needs*, they do not have learning *difficulties* – Jackson (2013, p.17) cites the figure at 3%, but argues that it is widely assumed that 'all children in care have learning difficulties'. Again, as with the recommendable and unrecommendable orphans, this assumes the 'problem' lies with the child. As Jackson

concludes, such assumptions 'can be traced back to...the Poor Law and assumptions about the level of education appropriate for working class children (*ibid*., p.17).

8.7 Conclusion

This study has argued that histories of care are often '*below* the below', until now, largely 'neglected territory' (Silver 1990, p.6). I have suggested this is perhaps due to the popular cultural cliches concerning nineteenth century orphans, and is definitely due to common attitudes of 'secrecy , shame and stigma' surrounding family poverty and institutionalisation (Hill 2015, p.334), which as I have argued, remain today (Higginbotham 2017; Hodgson 2017). Such shame casts a 'long shadow' (Topping and Maloney 2005, p.2), especially in our current culture where poverty and social care interventions in childhood remain popularly depicted in terms of familial failure and fecklessness (Wiggan 2012).

As I have discussed in this thesis, the Dismissal Books' entries show that those who are unrecommendable are sent either to relatives as their Christian duty or back to the workhouse, where they 'belong'. Certain families are deemed 'unsettling', which again finds echoes in current depictions of the 'pathological' family' in education (Bauman 2004, Carlen 1992) in which parents 'have to fit a particular set of criteria' in terms of responsibilities towards the child at school, such as ensuring regular attendance (Crozier and Davies 2005, p.296). The 'inveterate habits' described earlier in this thesis such as bedwetting and 'sluggishness' find echoes in Berlant's (2011) discussion of new twenty first century moralities and the discursive judgments of 'toxic habits' concerning poverty and obesity, which conflate again, morality and the body, in terms similar to those in the Dismissal Books: of 'causality, responsibility, degeneracy' (p.103).

As with the nineteenth century orphanage, families of contemporary schoolchildren and children in the care system can be subject to the 'persistent assumption …that there is a causal link' between family and behaviour, which focuses on the 'lack' of working class … capital' and not the inaccessibility or assumptions of the institution itself (Kettley 2007), nor wider structural inequalities. For example, it is the family or the 'problem' community who are deemed by

twenty first century education institutions as 'hard to reach', not the responsibility of the institution to engage them more effectively (Crozier and Davies 2005, p.295).

Like Foucault (2006, 1994, 1977) Guery and Deleule (2014) discuss 'social institutions' particularly factories, asylums and prisons, as playing a key role in the labelling and marginalising of the (un)productive. However neither spend time specifically or in detail, on the role of the orphanage or care system. This thesis has sought to rectify this apparent marginalisation by analysing the Dismissal Books' categorisations of nineteenth century leavers of institutionalised care. In doing so, it has also sought to resolve Berridge's (2012) critique that in the main, studies looking at care and education came from social work and psychology backgrounds, and focused on 'what works' in terms of interventions, which marginalised the impact of structural inequalities and left the historical 'sediment' of such processes largely unexamined, until now (Ball 2017, Berridge 2012, Furedi 2009, Eccleston and Hayes 2008, Jackson 2001).

The Victorian care institution, funded by evangelical supporters, is both compassionate charity and cost-efficient capitalist. As such, Muller's remained active and popular until the mid-twentieth century, despite trends from the late 1800s onwards for a more 'home like' upbringing for such children (Higginbotham 2017) influenced by European models of care and education (Wu 2009). As I have discussed, the Muller organisation discursively positioned itself as both authoritative and compassionate source of 'rescue and reform', but was nevertheless, working according to capitalist and eugenicist values, in 'branding' the orphans in this way, according to standards of fitness and productivity. The ways in which this is justified, and the ethos of who is and who is not 'deserving,' still casts a 'long shadow' over contemporary processes of education and care.

This thesis is in agreement with Richardson (2003) and others' definition of the religious 'rescue movement' as 'philanthropic capitalism' (p.16). However I take issue with Richardson's (2003) further description of philanthropic capitalism as 'a strategy for dealing with poverty that failed to address its underlying socio-economic causes' (*ibid*., p.16). Nineteenth century philanthropic capitalism such as that epitomised by Muller's and analysed here, existed to ensure 'the poor' remained reliant on charity, and determined that they saw themselves as subject to, and victims

of, their own biology and economic productivity. Thus philanthropic capitalism does not 'fail to address' structural inequality, but is instead part of a long thread linking nineteenth century 'rescue and reform' rhetoric to current welfare and care interventions . By continuing to fragment the working body and its community, it actively serves to *maintain* the status quo, in ways which continue to doubly disadvantage those in care, and these are ways which need further historical contextualising, and further critical attention.

There are parallels to be made between the rhetorics of 'rescue and reform' discussed here, and current interventions concerning disadvantaged young people and young people in care which focus on 'employability as the main policy objective' in 'raising aspirations'(Chadderton and Colley 2012, p.331). Further thinking around this would enable us to explore how care leavers in particular have experienced, and continue to experience, 'the society of…the production line' from the nineteenth century to the present day (Bauman 2004, p.13). As with evangelicalism, the rhetoric of self-enterprise and aspirations masks structural inequalities, and operates as a 'cluster of promises' (Berlant 2011, p.23) – from being saved by God through conversion in the nineteenth century, to achieving 'anything you want to be' in the twenty-first.

Finally, as Macmillan (2009) has observed: 'History is …abused when people try and ignore or even suppress evidence that might challenge their preferred view of the past' (p69). The archives, and the stories they potentially tell, have been largely ignored in the evangelical commemorations of the Muller story. Instead, they serve as a 'backcloth' to the story of Muller himself, in which evangelical tropes are, as I have argued, problematically repeated, as historical narrative.[97]

This thesis has addressed how the orphans can be seen as not all 'saved', but subject to selection, and it is the marginalised, not the seemingly miraculous, who I would argue now deserve to be heard. This study of the Dismissal Books' categorisations of the

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[97] This marginalisation is further complicated by the wider tendency of the more exclusive Plymouth Brethren to 'attack…people who criticise them' as Stott claims (Stott 2017, p.26). Stott writes of her own plans to write about her life as a Brethren member that, 'the Brethren [are] rich and powerful…they employed legal teams' (*ibid.*, p26). She had interpreted a letter, sent to her home address after a published article, from a 'Brother' who said they were praying for her, as a covert threat. 'That meant they knew where I lived' (*ibid.*, p26).

unrecommendable orphans, offers insight into the history of institutionalised care in the nineteenth century, and suggests some ways in which paths can be traced from the nineteenth century, to twenty first century young people in care. Such paths as I have demonstrated here could map out how such young people are discursively defined and debated, how those discursive formations can be traced back to nineteenth century assumptions, and what impacts those discursive formations continue to have, on their life chances.

It is hoped then, that in bringing these archive stories 'out' of the Muller narrative, this thesis may support new ways of talking about institutionalised care, which provide more empowering, contextualised and nuanced accounts of life in the Muller institution, and beyond. Meanwhile, however, new versions of the Muller biographies continue to be published by evangelical writers and publishers, which continue to repeat the story of Muller's miracles.

As these texts all recount, Muller frequently states in his *Narratives* that he prays for the orphans to have bread, and it miraculously arrives in answer to his prayers. Yet, it seems he never prays for a bakers' union, nor for the orphans themselves, to own the bakery.

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Appendices

Appendix One:

Example of punishments, saved from being thrown away by staff (note how 'd[irty] habits' and bedwetting are the key 'misdemeanours'; punishment would have been in public. Photographs courtesy of Muller's.

Number of children upon whom corporal punishment was inflicted from Sept. 30th to Dec. 31st, 1897:- 3 mos.

Girls I.	Miss Williams	1	S. Wing.	Miss Reeves	4
	.. Morgan	12		.. Vining	3
	.. Short	9		.. Morley	3
	.. M. Hussey	3		.. Holderway	0
	.. Radbone	2		.. Charley	9
		27		.. Andrew	2
Boys I.	Mr. Perryer	2			21
	.. Barnard	0		Mr. Millidge	32
	.. Knight	0		.. Packer	35
		2		.. Mcwhirk	23
Infts. I.	Miss Jewell	4		.. Nash	12
	.. Collins	7	(Shoes 8) .. Harold	29
	.. Hollidge	1			131
	.. Dring	18		Miss Coulimore	19
		30		.. Cope	39
Girls II.	.. Chatfield	17		.. Baker	39
	.. Gorrie	15		.. Hanham	34
	.. Moss	19	(D. Habits 138) R. Burn	166
	.. Thorne	2		Woodcraft	30
	.. Andrews	0			327
	.. Michael	3		.. White	30
		56		.. Edwards	36
Infts. II.	.. Henderson	3		.. Flower	97
	.. Chamberlain	2		.. Griffiths	11
	.. Cox	1		.. Langford	1
	.. Childs	3		Mrs. Dixon	5
	.. Church	4			180
		13		Mrs Warren	0
W. Wing	.. Ross	34		Miss Hutchinson	1
	.. Burn	19		.. Monkman	1
	.. Dagnall	14		.. M'Callough	24
	.. E. Holderway	0		.. Hewlett	9
	.. Barns	0			35
	.. Hofland	5			
		72			

Appendix 2

The original archive cupboard. Top two shelves: Admission Books

Middle and 2nd shelf from bottom: Dismissal Books & copies of Muller's *Narratives*.

Bottom shelf: miscellaneous items including pamphlets written and circulated by Muller.

Photographs courtesy of Muller's.

Appendix 3(a): Lowe siblings' Dismissal Book entries

[author's own copy, purchased from Muller's]
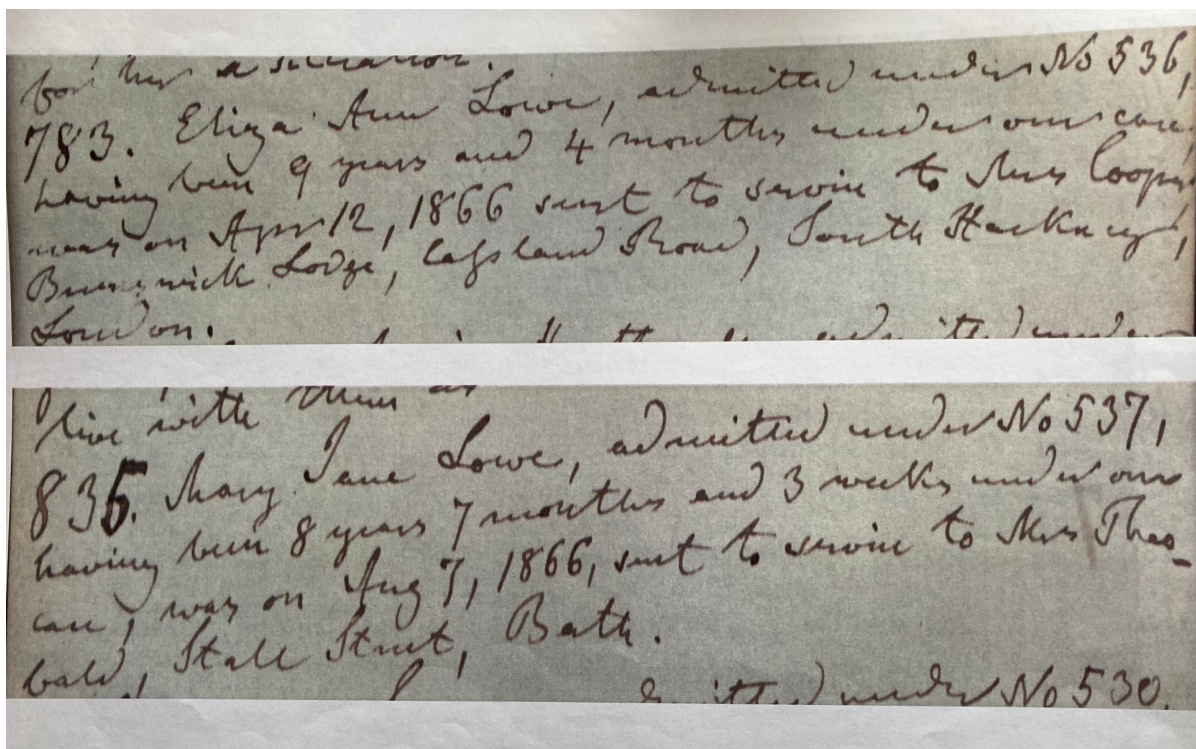
'783 Eliza Ann Lowe, admitted under No.536, having been 9 years and 4 months under our care. Was on April 12, 1866, sent to service to Mrs Cooper, Brunswick Lodge, Cassland Rd, South Hackney, London.'

'835 Mary Jane Lowe, admitted under No.537, having been 8 years 7 months and 3 weeks under our care, was on Aug 7, 1866, sent to service to Mrs Theobold, Stall Street, Bath.'

The Theobolds took in a number of 'Muller girls' and as Quakers, may have been sympathetic to the Plymouth Brethren – along with Methodists and Baptists, there was much cross over (and intermarrying) between the non-conformist groups.
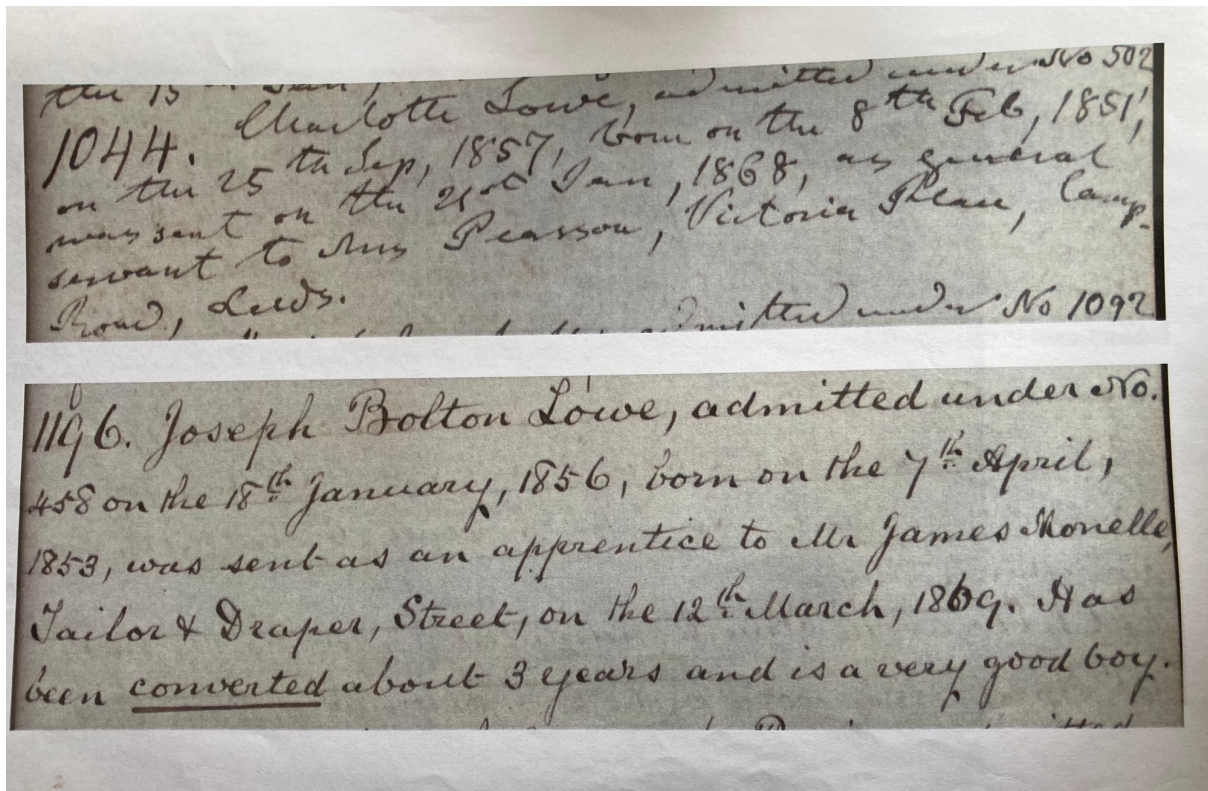
'1044 Charlotte Lowe, admitted under No. 502, on the 25th Sept, 1857, born on the 8th Feb, 1851, was sent on the 21st Jan, 1868, as general servant, to Mrs Pearson, Victoria Place, Camp Road, Leeds.'

'1196 Joseph Bolton Lowe, admitted under No.458 on the 18th January, 1856, born on the 7th April, 1853, was sent as an apprentice to Mr James Monelle, Tailor and Draper, Street, on the 12th March 1869. Has been <u>converted</u> about 3 years and is a very good boy'.

Note the variations in detail and information in entries.

July 31, 1848 after having been about 12 years in the Orphan Houses.

5. Mary Ann Bence, admitted about 6 months since into the Girls' O. H. No II, was found to be in a state of consumption immediately after her admission. Being without any friends whatever she was however kept and cared for, & her soul won for the Lord, and she fell asleep in Jesus Aug 10, 1848.

6. Penelope Abrahams, having been more than twelve years in the Orphan House No1, was sent to service, as a believer who had been in fellowship for about 6 years — on Sept 13th 1848.

7. Samuel Watts, apprenticed to Mr Fred. Hughes, Sept 18, 1848.

8. John Dark, apprenticed to Br Stephen Newman, Febr 2, 1849.

9. Fanny Fry in illness dismissed to her relatives for the change of air, March 5, 1849
Jemima Lewis, sent out to service, having been more than 5 years in the Girls' O. H. No II. She went March 29, 1849. A precious fruit of our labour. She left a nice & very promising girl, & I trust a believer in the Lord Jesus.

10. Richd Pedlar, having been in the house about 8 years, apprenticed to Br John Brown, to learn shoemaking, on Apr 2, 1849.

11. Mary Taylor, who came from Liverpool thro' Mr Cropper, having been nearly 2 years in the Girls' O. H. No II, was taken by her relations to Australia.

12. Fanny Fry fell asleep in the Lord May 10, 1849 as a decided believer, having been for several months before her death brought to the knowledge of the Lord.

13. Martha Lawrence left on account of incurable scrofulous disease Sept 1848.

Appendix 4

Example of layers of classification, annotation and taxonomy applied to the Books, by volunteers over the years (there is no official Muller archivist). [Photograph courtesy of Muller's]
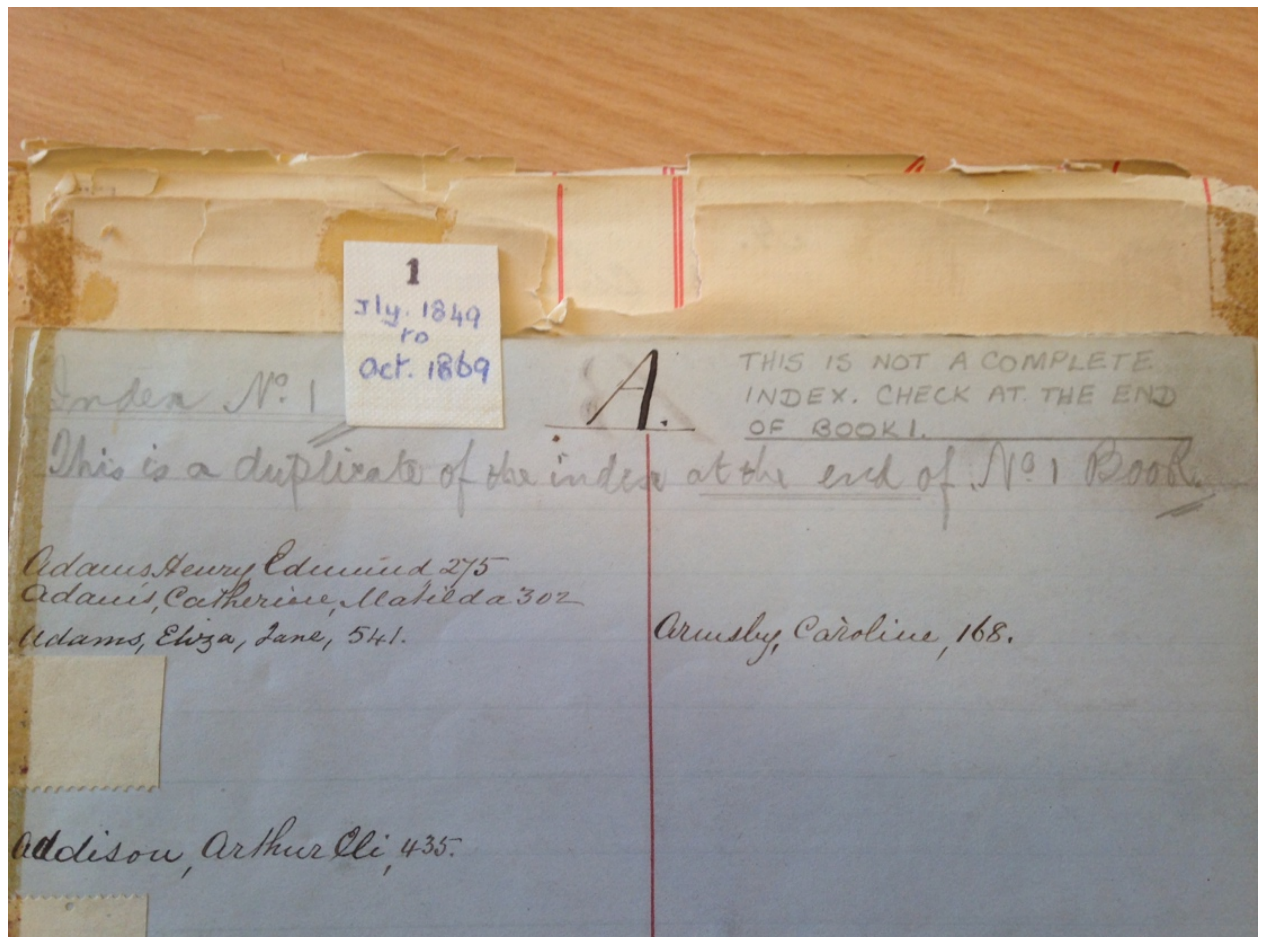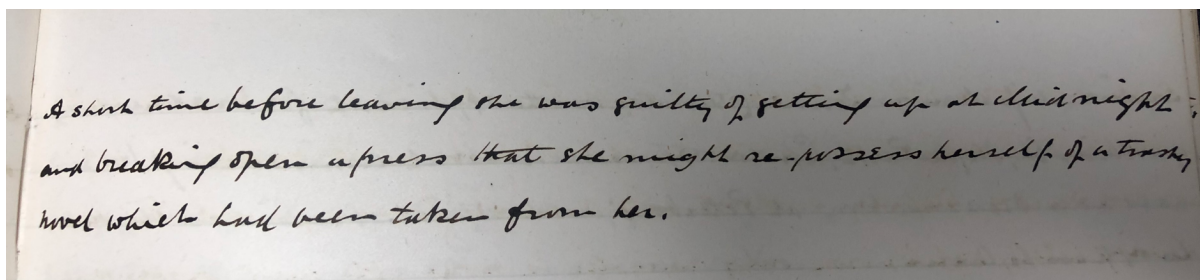
Appendix 5: spreadsheets – I looked at the first 100 entries of the later Book One, example below of my 'scribbling' and note taking. For the other books, I did every tenth entry. I looked at around 500 entries in total. I compiled basic information into a spreadsheet, which enabled me to note key phrases and patterns of language. I also collated information on job types and destinations, which was useful background information. The spreadsheets evolved as I discerned further patterns (for example, detailing whether or not an orphan had died a believer). Of the more detailed entries, I made notes and took photographs.

Number	age	yrs in MH	Boy/girl	location	occupation	name	organisatio	converted	Recomm/N	year	brethren	bristol area	comments	origins	died	expelled
1			boy	uncle					unrec	1849			epileptic fits and oft disobedience			
2																
3	18		girl		service		domestic			1849			one of 1st orphs, not without hope she is caring for her soul			
4		11	boy	Bath	apprentice	Mr Fletche	tinplate wkr			1849						
5		4	girl							1849				Y		
6		9	boy		apprentice	relatives										
7		4	boy		fit 2 earn	relatives				1849			fit to earn own bread			
8		3.5	boy		fit 2 earn	relatives				1849						
9	16		boy		fit 2 earn	relatives				1849						
10		4	boy	Bristol	apprentice	Mr Pinston	basketmkr			1850			A nice boy			
11	4yrs 6mnth	3.4 yrs	girl							1850			water on brain	y		
12	15		boy	Bristol	apprentice	Mr Hopkins	shoemkr			1850						
13			girl	uncle				Y		1850	Y		a believer who wished to provide for her..a nice girl			Cork
14		11	boy		apprentice	Mr Gillman	tailor			1850						
15		8	boy		apprentice	aunt				1850			apprenticed at her own cost			
16			girl	grandmother						1850			able to provide			
17			boy	grandmother						1850			able to provide			
18		10	girl		service					1850			having been properly fitted out'			
19	6	10 mnths	boy							1850			died in strong epileptic fits	Y		
20		14	girl							1850			see notes	Y		
21			girl							1850			see notes	Y		
22			girl							1850			see notes	Y		
23		7	girl		service		domestic			1850			fully fitted out for her situation			
24		8	girl		service		domestic			1850			all the quals of making an excllnt servant			
25		9	boy	S Pethertor	apprentice	Mr Edmond	plumber			1850						
26	6	10 mnths	girl							1851			died in strong epileptic fits	y		
27	10mnth		girl		service		domestic			1851			well fitted			
28		10	girl		service		domestic			1851						
29	11	2	boy							1851			disease on the brain	Y		
30		6	boy		apprentice	relatives				1851						
31		2	girl							1851			dropsy	Y		
32		9	boy	London	apprentice	Mr Ferretti	printer			1851						
33		2	boy	Wells	apprentice	Mr Edmond	Baker			1851						
34	6	1	girl							1851			a very sickly little child	Y		
35		7	boy	Glos	apprentice	Mr Woodc	grocer			1851			a nice boy universally beloved by his companions			
36		2	boy	Wells	apprentice	Mr Classey	Baker			1851						
37		2	boy	Bristol	apprentice	Mr Bryant	hairdresser			1851		ST Michaels Hill				
38		9	boy	Bristol	apprentice	Mr Gillman	tailor			1851		12 Portland st kingsdown				
39		10	girl	Torquay	service	MR&Mrs st	domestic	Y		1851			sent out as one who has known the lord for 5 years			
40		15	girl	Stroud	service	Mr Horne	domestic	Y		1851		Rhode Hou	A believer, walked consistently for 5 yrs			
41	10	5	boy							1851			disease on the brain	Y		
42		10	boy	Wells	apprentice	Mr Barnes	tinplate&ironmngr			1851						

Appendix 6: 'Trashy novel' entry

'A short time before leaving us she was guilty of getting up at midnight and breaking open a press that she might re-possess herself of a trashy novel which had been taken from her'(DB4/3496). [Photograph courtesy of Muller's]

Appendix 7: additional publications and works relating to PhD.

Brooks, K. and Cattle, B. (2022) 'Following in Jennings' footsteps: a Victorian Tour of Bristol' *The Regional Historian: Annual Journal of the Regional History Centre,* Bristol:UWE

Brooks, K.(2022) ''*Would you be so kind as to let me have him back*?' Some thoughts on women's work and the history of care' Blog for West of England and South Wales Women's History Network https://weswwhnblog.blogspot.com

Brooks, K. (2021) '*She is capable but sullen and troublesome*: analysis of the Muller Orphan Homes 1850 – 1900' Invited talk, UWE Regional History Centre, M Shed Dec. 2021

Brooks, K. (2021) 'Get your skates on: the Victorian roller revolution' *Social History Society: Community Exchange blog* https://socialhistory.org.uk/shs_exchange/victorian-roller-revolution/

Brooks, K. (2021) '*Still seen but not heard: Bristol young people in care today, responding to the history of Muller's Orphan Homes, Bristol'.* West of England and South Wales Women's History Network 28th Annual Conference October 2021

Brooks, K. (2020) 'Making a stand with Mary: precarious employment in pandemic times' *Social History Society: Research Exchange* https://socialhistory.org.uk/shs_exchange/making-a-stand-with-mary
Winner of the Social History Society Postgraduate Prize, Lancaster University

Brooks, K. (2020) 'Death in archives' *Social History Society: Research Exchange blog*
Available at: https://socialhistory.org.uk/shs_exchange/death-in-the-archives/

Brooks, K. (2020) 'In this age of wonders: exploring the myth of George Muller' *Question Postgraduate Journal,* 'Myth' Issue no.4 https://www.questionjournal.com

Brooks, K. (2020) *'Imperialist photography, Victorian respectability and Dickens' 'blank child'- an analysis of an Orphanage scrapbook'* Social History Conference, Lancaster University June 2020

Brooks, K. (2019) *'Foucault, fever and 'working in the real': approaching archive* research' History & Heritage Conference, Bath Spa University, June 2019

Outreach/art works

An Illustrated History of Care in Bristol collaboration between myself and care experienced young people from the Hope Virtual School, exploring and responding creatively to historical stories of care (Funded by the Social History Society Research, Events and Activities grant) Forthcoming.

History of Children in Care in Bristol co-curated exhibition of art responding to care history, by children and young people in care, in Bristol at Bristol City Hall, September-December 2019 (see picture, below*)

Scrap poetry performance in the 'Charismatic Objects' poetry event, Coram Foundling Museum, in collaboration with St Martin's College, May 2019. Winner.
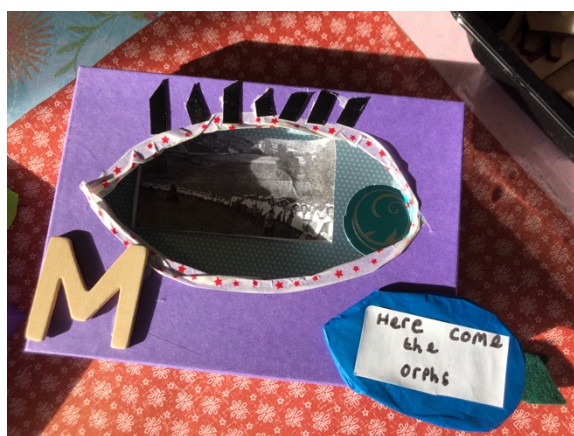
*'Here come the orphs' – creative work by 'Dan', a child in care, featuring a C19th photograph of the Muller orphans marching up Ashley Down, in a cardboard eye. His work related his own experiences feeling overly visible at school as a 'looked after child' with the Muller orphans marching through the city (Photograph courtesy of Bristol City Council, *History of Children in Care in Bristol* exhibition, City Hall, Bristol 2019).