

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

THE PROBLEMS OF BOY LABOUR AND
BLIND-ALLEY OCCUPATIONS WITHIN THE
CONTEXT OF THE LABOUR MARKETS OF
BRIGHTON AND PORTSMOUTH , 1870-1939

BY

ROY EDWARD BOWDEN

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ABSTRACT

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PORTSMOUTH, 1870-1939

by Roy Edward Bowden

The problems of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment became articulated in the early years of this century. It is possible, however, to place them into a longer term context and show their relevance to economic performance.

Whatever the arguments over the extent of economic decline after 1870, there was undoubtedly increasing concern with the performance of the economy in an international context. Such concern has caused historians to continue with the efforts of contemporaries in seeking a valid explanation of the changing economic performance in these years. The rôle of labour features strongly, with the central concern being whether or not the most efficient use possible was being made of scarce human resources. Within this context there was increasing debate over the treatment of the adolescent.

Views on what exactly needed to be done on the labour question have become complicated by the alleged trend towards 'de-skilling' so fervently debated in recent years. Within this debate there seems to have been too little recognition given to the economy's changing requirements of those entering the labour force: the growth of new industries and of the tertiary sector requiring new skills, while older industries demanded skilled labour of a more traditional nature. Education and training provision needed to reflect these changes as did trade union policies.

The towns of Brighton and Portsmouth have been chosen for analysis of adolescent labour. One factor common to these towns is the existence of a dominant employer: the railway in Brighton, the Royal Dockyard in Portsmouth. There were, of course, other opportunities for youth and reference will be made to these as well as to the local education systems and to the rôle of a trade union movement still in its infancy. Such local studies sometimes serve to confirm, at times question, generalisations made from a national perspective.

No claim can realistically be made that the problems of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment could have been entirely eradicated. Equally, there can be little doubt that a more efficient use of this human resource was possible in order that it might make a more effective contribution to the economy, alongside other members of the labour force, as problems became more evident in the decades after 1870. The thesis intends to highlight the problem as exemplified locally and the ways in which progress was furthered or impeded in the two towns in these years.

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*To the memory of my Father, shipwright in the Royal
Dockyard, Portsmouth, 1941-1948*

Abbreviations

Primary Research Venues

BRL	Brighton Reference Library
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
MRC	Modern Records Centre, Warwick University
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
PCRO	Portsmouth City Records Office

Newspapers

BHH	<i>Brighton and Hove Herald</i>
EA	<i>Evening Argus</i>
EN	<i>Evening News</i>
HT	<i>Hampshire Telegraph</i>

Official Documents

PP	<i>Parliamentary Papers</i>
Cd.	<i>Command Papers</i>

Abbreviations of Secondary Sources

BES	<i>British Economy Survey</i>
BJES	<i>British Journal of Educational Studies</i>
Cont.Rev.	<i>Contemporary Review</i>
Econ.Rev.	<i>Economic Review</i>
Edin.Rev.	<i>Edinburgh Review</i>
EHR	<i>Economic History Review</i>
EJ	<i>Economic Journal</i>
Hist.Ed.	<i>History of Education</i>
IRSH	<i>International Review of Social History</i>
JCH	<i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>
JEAH	<i>Journal of Education Administration and History</i>
J.Ec.H	<i>Journal of Economic History</i>
Journ.Ed.	<i>Journal of Education</i>
JSA	<i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i>
OREP	<i>Oxford Review of Economic Policy</i>
P&P	<i>Past and Present</i>
Soc.Rev.	<i>Socialist Review</i>
WEA	<i>Workers' Education Association</i>

Publishers

CUP	Cambridge University Press
MUP	Manchester University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
RKP	Routledge & Kegan Paul
UoL	University of London
W&N	Weidenfeld & Nicolson

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Development of the Problems

The problems of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment have a relevance to any debate on the rôle of labour in the economic performance of Britain. Dunlop (1912) in a general comment asserted that juvenile labour '...has throughout English history been so integral a factor in the country's economic development that [it] may be said to have contributed largely to the attainment of our position as a world-wide power to-day.'¹ Tawney sounded a cautionary note in 1936, however, in claiming that 'the havoc wrought by casual labour, the prevalence in certain industries of blind-alley employment, the systematic exploitation of cheap juvenile labour...all this is an old story.'²

These views reflect John Ogilvie's timeless comment in the *Contemporary Review* (1911) on the creation of Juvenile Employment Bureaux. He argued that there was a need to face all the issues involved which he summarised as 'the liberty of the locality to act for its young workers; the drawing together of the educationist, the parent, and the employer; the popularising of education as a means to some definite end; the encouragement of a habit of mind among all classes that shall regard the young wage earner as still immature, still full of hope and potentiality.'³

Optimism and an awareness of one's potential are certainly two qualities which might be desired in the adolescent but they may have served only to exacerbate the Boy Labour problem in the sense that they engendered in at least some adolescents the idea that employment would always be a part

of their lives; the alternative was not something with which they felt they needed to be concerned.

In any case the individual's potential could not necessarily be realised without appropriate education, training and guidance and would also need an adequate number of job opportunities for the potential to be utilised. Over time qualities could develop which would give the individual a greater chance to achieve a secure position in the labour market, with employment itself perhaps developing or adding to these qualities. Such enhancement of the labour force would allow a stronger human contribution to be made to the nation's economic performance.

Certainly where contemporaries gave an economic perspective to the 'drift' of youth it was often in terms of the waste of a valuable resource; their concern would inevitably be heightened as and when the nation's economic problems became more significant. Such problems are well documented and still subject to intense debate.⁴ Aldcroft was able to claim in the early 1980's that 'most commentators would probably accept that there was some degree of retardation in Britain's growth in the decade before 1914';⁵ nevertheless, he and others will probably not succeed in putting to rest McCloskey's assertion in 1970 that 'there is... little left of the dismal picture of British failure painted by historians.'⁶ As research and debate continue, the rôle played by labour must remain central to it, as must the rôle of the adolescent more specifically.

Over the period of this thesis, the apparent declining

demand for skilled labour caused thoughts to turn, more prominently than previously, to the way in which the adolescent was being prepared for adulthood, if at all. Even where skilled work was in prospect there could still be a strong feeling that some of the adolescent years were not being used in a sufficiently constructive way and hence failing to contribute to "national efficiency"; worryingly, Tawney was still able to refer to the 'increased dimension of the evil' in the 1930's .⁷

It is the case that, whenever certain conditions existed - not just economic in nature - the problems would take on a new significance. These conditions included: a parental view (but not necessarily a universal one) of each member of the family needing to become a wage earner sooner rather than later; employers, often ignorant of the real needs of youth, willing to put exploitation above all other considerations; adolescents concerned only with this week's wage rather than long term earnings from secure employment (in which case the discipline of apprenticeship would no doubt be rejected); in any case a possible local shortage of worthwhile apprenticeships or of jobs with security of tenure in industry or in the expanding tertiary sector; an education system even by 1939 failing to provide for the real needs of youth in any comprehensive way; the gradual or rapid demise of what had been the dominant local employer of labour and one which had drawn from a wide spectrum of skills; a trade union movement unclear of what its policy should be towards youth and, in any case, not always strong enough nationally or locally to influence the policies of others; a governmental

system good at initiating studies of problems and even suggesting remedies, but often ultimately inactive. The relative importance which can be attached to each of these factors obviously and inevitably changed over 70 years.

The Thesis Defined

Boy Labour and blind-alley employment may rightly be regarded as specialisms within the wider context of the history of labour. However, it has to be recognised that these issues are multi-faceted and consequently the historian may regard further specialisation as both necessary and desirable.

The thesis reflects such a desire for further specialisation. The concern here will essentially be with the evolution of policy towards young males whilst in education or their early working lives in order that conclusions can be reached on the implications for the quality of the labour force and hence for the economy. The thesis will attempt to convey the long-term nature of the problems. The proliferation of 'Boy Labour' literature in the Edwardian period should not allow the conclusion to be drawn that these issues were peculiar to that period or that the incidence of them at that time was in extreme contrast to other periods. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the references to Boy Labour and blind-alley employment and proposed remedies do become more explicit at that time and in the years down to 1939 and were often closely related to the worsening economic situation. The thesis does attempt to reflect this in the greater weight given to the post-1900

period.

The nature of the education provided as a result of policies pursued by the School Boards and, latterly, the local education authorities will be a significant feature of the thesis. Additionally, it will be concerned with the labour policies of dominant employers, the approach to youth issues by Chambers of Commerce, the Trades Union Congress and Trades Councils as well as by individual businesses and trades unions. 'Policy' will sometimes be seen as a grandiose term to describe what, in reality, were too often ad hoc approaches to the problems. Worse still was the dearth of policy which at times posed serious difficulties. All this was a reflection of a fundamental weakness. The policy-makers, for the most part were not of the working-class nor, of course, were they economists; hence there was too little recognition of the implications of ignoring the problem, or of the real needs of those to whom thoughts and actions were directed. These of course are generalisations for the entire period and for all those involved and therefore rightly subject to qualification; nevertheless, they were weaknesses which pervaded the issues in these years. It is intended that the thesis will rely heavily on a study of the two south coast towns of Brighton and Portsmouth. Such a study will serve to cast doubt on generalisations often born of an understandable desire to provide a national perspective. Some introductory comments on these towns are to be found in the last section of this chapter.

The thesis does not aim to consider, other than by passing reference, those issues which are essentially the preserve of

the social historian. It will therefore not be concerned with a detailed study of the motives which may have lain behind policy initiatives. Such a study would ideally entail some analysis of the composition of, for example, the School Boards and Chambers of Commerce and research into the formation of national policy by those trades unions whose branch deliberations predominate in the thesis. Analysis of motives can claim to be a research area in its own right especially given the time-span involved.

Equally the thesis does not intend to develop an analysis of the attitudes of the working-class to work itself nor to attempt any analysis of work culture. Nevertheless it is important to identify the categories within the working-class with which the thesis is primarily concerned. Such an exercise inevitably identifies parents and off-spring absolutely unwilling to participate in what were perceived to be alien institutions irrelevant to their immediate needs: elementary, higher grade and evening schools, colleges, apprenticeships, other forms of training are examples. Such families, having an intense dislike of employment, were, at best, interested only in the most casual of employment in order to survive. Their exclusion from the thesis does not intend in any way to trivialise or denigrate them; indeed, like any other group, they were part of the human resources of the nation and desperately in need of support. However, definite parameters had to be set to keep the thesis manageable.

Attention will primarily be focused on three groups within the working-class: those who were able to identify for

themselves the benefits of education and employment which offered prospects into adulthood, but for whom, because of the nature of education provision and/or early experiences in the labour market, there was still a danger of recruitment to the army of Boy Labour. Second, those who only belatedly recognised such potential benefits - perhaps at a relatively early stage in their working lives - but then discovered that there was little that they could do or was being offered to them to remedy their plight. Finally, those who may have had no such thoughts but nevertheless were, or had been, within the education system: as with the other two groups they may not have been treated well by it or by the labour market in their early working lives but could be expected to respond positively to policy initiatives and guidance if offered. The risk of their drifting into blind-alley employment was otherwise high. The potential of these groups to enhance labour's contribution to the economic well-being of the nation is something to which the economic historian needs to give serious consideration. The concluding chapter returns to this issue.

In the modern terminology of labour market economics the thesis will therefore be concerned with a specific area of human resource management. It is the intention to show that Boy Labour and blind-alley employment are manifestations of the failure to manage human resources at least by some who had a specific, formal responsibility to try to do so - for example, within national or local government - or by those who could be expected in the ordinary course of events to fulfil this rôle - for example, employers of labour,

significant or otherwise, in the local labour markets.

Research of local and national archives of School Boards, local education authorities, the Admiralty and the railway companies, the TUC, Trades Councils and Chambers of Commerce, as well as individual businesses and trade unions will certainly not allow for simplistic generalisations to be made. It will, however, point to failings of sufficient magnitude to allow Boy Labour and blind-alley employment to take their place amongst those issues considered relevant in the continuing debate over the changing fortunes of the British economy through these decades.

Historians' Perspectives

Historians' interest in these two problems and related issues has been maintained to the present day. Some have been concerned with the overall impact of Boy Labour - economic, social, moral - and the increasing national concern generated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Others have turned their attention to specific aspects of the problems, sometimes reflecting the special concerns of contemporaries.

Springhall (1986) argues that the 1890's and 1900's saw a 'discovery' of adolescence by educational reformers and social scientists coinciding with the problem of Boy Labour becoming one of major concern.⁸ He points to the prospect of increasing numbers of adolescents leading nothing more than a 'marginal existence in the ''interstices'' of adult society.'⁹ Such an existence may well have been promoted by what Cunningham (1991) has called 'the premature and

precocious casting off of childish habits...physique...[and consequently]...its alleged effect on the mind.'¹⁰ Johnson (1994), in a more time-specific comment, argues that 'in many respects..the birth cohort of 1900 was an unlucky generation, with limited prospects of building a good career as young adults.'¹¹ It can be argued, however, that children in earlier decades would have even greater reason for pessimism, especially given the more limited progress in education provision.

Hendrick (1990) has pointed out that contemporaries often spoke in terms of Boy Labour being a waste of resources.¹² He argues that the problem was 'symptomatic of the chaotic condition of the labour market.' He nevertheless also emphasises the worsening social distress so that, in the long term, Boy Labour could be regarded as 'partly responsible for the demoralisation of the working class family.'¹³ In an earlier work, however, he did point to a factor, perhaps too easily forgotten, that it was cheap labour, and hence employers might be very willing to tolerate a degree of wayward behaviour amongst youth since it was more than offset by the low costs associated with their employment.¹⁴ Closely linked to Hendrick's view on demoralisation is Mitterauer's view that Boy Labour was 'an element of discontinuity' within traditional society, especially brought about by the much greater extent of mobility amongst young workers.¹⁵ This, as now, could be a potentially destabilising rôle within that society.

It is, of course, not difficult to see why concern for the economic impact of Boy Labour would lead to the concern for

its social impact and, in particular, the dangers of increased delinquency. Gillis (1975) has argued that the early twentieth century sees its 'own distinctive style of anxiety' with contemporaries beginning to take the view that 'an entire age group was...prone to delinquency.'¹⁶ This is reflected in Silver's contention (1983) that declining opportunities for juvenile labour caused the 'moral, social and intellectual health of the adolescent...[to]...become a matter of mounting public concern.'¹⁷ Such concern caused Davis (1990) to refer to a 'chain of connection' between the Boy Labour problem and more general concerns over the 'condition or control of working class youth and ultimately the issue of "national efficiency".'¹⁸ Hendrick (1994), in adopting a social perspective, argues that it is important to recognise that society's concern as reflected in protective legislation of the period was really a concern with 'their [children's and adolescents'] presence as threats rather than their sufferering as victims.'¹⁹

The extent of social and educational enquiries of the second half of the nineteenth century would surely allow it to be argued that the concern for youth has strong origins in that period. Burnett (1994) talks of the 'thirst for social inquiry' as a characteristic of the century with 'every aspect of life...[falling]...under public scrutiny.'²⁰ Boy Labour and blind-alley employment were certainly areas in which a case could be made out - in whatever period - for some state involvement to achieve some alleviation of them or a remedy. Whiteside [1991] cites Sidney Webb's strong advocacy of a rôle for the state 'to allow working class

children to achieve their full potential.'²¹

State interest in education did, of course, increase in the period after 1870 often through the appointment of Royal Commissions and subsequent legislation. Some historians have been concerned to emphasise explicitly the links between education and the Boy Labour problem. Others have, by implication, illustrated a link between the two in their studies of the development of education provision in these decades.

Marsh (1965) has gauged the progress in the provision of education and thus highlights its limitations in addressing the problems of youth. He cites the percentage of two age-groups in full-time education as: at age 14, 2% of the total in 1870, rising to 38% in 1938. In the latter year only 4% of 17 year olds were full-time.²² Hendrick (1980) points to the absence of any unanimous view on what education policy should be but argues that there was strong support amongst contemporaries for a compulsory system of part-time day continuation schools.²³

There are those historians who remain critical of the aims and achievements of the early state education system. In Humphries' view (1981) the education provided simply aimed to promote those values viewed as important in an industrialist-capitalist society and 'was not designed to impart literacy, skills and knowledge as ends in themselves.'²⁴ There may have been some truth in this but it does not necessarily lead to a condemnation of all that was provided. It can perhaps be argued, however, as Rose has done (1991) that too little was being made of the better educated

adolescent and that it needed the 'spur of the German challenge' to alert employers and educationalists to the potential being allowed to lay dormant.²⁵

Historians are well aware that progress was painfully slow until well into this century. Foden (1970) concludes that 'the really astonishing thing about English education during the Victorian era is its poverty.'²⁶ Even if some progress is recognised in elementary education provision, Banks (1955) has pointed out that the idea that post-elementary education should be regarded as a normal and necessary stage of education was slow to develop and, in the early years, this was largely the view of the labour and trade union Movements.²⁷ Technical Education had similar difficulties in becoming established: More (1980) points to an eventual 'substantial impact' by the end of the First World War, however, in those industries where traditional apprenticeships no longer existed.²⁸ Pollard and Robertson (1979) have pointed to the reluctance of employers in the shipbuilding industry to accept the importance of such education but it would be wrong to confine criticisms of employers to that industry alone.²⁹ Certainly, elementary education had to mature if it was going to be an adequate basis for a broader education and, in particular, 'to act as the basis for an exploration of wider areas of abstract knowledge.' (Vincent, 1987)³⁰ If the assumption is made that the labour market could deliver job opportunities offering long-term security then, as contemporaries and historians have emphasised, education of an adequate nature had to be centre-stage.

Parents were not, of course, unimportant in such an issue as education and in the securing of employment for their offspring. Vincent (1987) has argued that as far as most employers were concerned, parents rather than teachers were the best source of information when recruiting young labour so that a youth's character could be more easily assessed.³¹ While it is not difficult to understand the reasoning here it doesn't make education and the adolescent's response to it a wholly subordinate issue.

Some historians have seen fit to emphasise the attitude of parents towards education which was, nonetheless, subject to change as the period developed. Parents did need to accept that there was a rôle to play but often the problem was that their views could vary on what sort of rôle this should be. Historians are not in agreement on the general attitude of parents. Burnett (1982) argued that his research of autobiographies of childhood down to the 1920's pointed to 'the little interest which many working-class parents took in the education of their offspring.'³² This is in contrast to the strong parental support for the apprenticeship system which Gillis (1974) argued was a feature of the 1870-1900 period.³³ Humphries (1983) went further than Burnett in arguing that education and the state coercion of parents and children 'provoked a strong undercurrent of resistance which occasionally exploded into acts of violent revenge.'³⁴ Jose Harris (1994), while accepting some of the evidence for parental hostility, notes a change in attitude after 1900; there then seemed to be 'growing evidence of an opposite

stance' in that parents were increasingly anxious to help secure their children's success.³⁵

There are those writers who have explicitly or implicitly sought to relate the rôle of the teenager in the labour market to the changes taking place in the institution of apprenticeship and to the issue of de-skilling which some see as a significant feature of industry after 1870.

Debate on the issue of apprenticeship has continued in recent years. From his research Hendrick (1990) concluded that it would be a reasonable assumption for the 1880-1914 period that 'apprenticeship remained fairly widespread throughout the main industries.'³⁶ Historians by no means accept the idea of a collapse of skills. More (1980) refers to apprenticeship as a necessity in meeting a 'genuine requirement for skilled labour.'³⁷ He accepts that 'new-style apprenticeships' were appearing in the early part of the twentieth century in certain key industries including printing, engineering and shipbuilding. These industries were, of course, important contributors to employment in one or other of the selected thesis towns.³⁸

Other historians, if not questioning the continued existence of apprenticeship, nevertheless do question its value in this period. Mitterauer (1986) argues that increasingly it had 'less to do with more intensive training than with the building up of a cheap workforce' with an 'unscrupulous herding of young people into apprenticeships which offered no prospects.'³⁹ More recently Whiteside (1991) has concluded that the label 'apprentice' became purely nominal, 'its owner being indistinguished from the

mass of boy labour thronging major urban areas, liable to instant unemployment on reaching adulthood.'⁴⁰

The debate over apprenticeship is inextricably linked with the issue of de-skilling especially given that the original purpose of any apprenticeship was to teach a skill within manufacturing; parents concerned with their children's future regarded the acquisition of genuine apprenticeships for offspring as an important function of parenthood even into the late nineteenth century. Sometimes, however, concern may have been solely with acquisition rather than with the quality of the training within an apprenticeship. Rule (1987) has pointed out for the pre-1870 period that, for a number of trades, it was primarily seen as a means of limiting numbers entering those trades and this may well have been a facet of the maintenance of apprenticeship in the post-1870 period.⁴¹

As far as the alleged decline of skill is concerned the recent debate has a part of its origins in Braverman's work (1974) in which he maintained that the trend towards de-skilling was brought about by the force of capitalism. There was a need to reduce labour costs and this could be achieved by causing 'every step in the labour process...[to become] ...divorced, so far as possible from special knowledge and training and reduced to simple labour.'⁴²

Generalisations would be ill-advised on this issue, however. Stearns (1975) argues that 'for workers as a whole the idea of a widespread collapse of skills...can easily be exaggerated.'⁴³ Penn (1982) points to 'no real evidence of widespread de-skilling'.⁴⁴ Elger (1982) suggests that the

issue is too complex to allow for generalisation; he refers to skills becoming 'transformed and encapsulated within modern industry.'⁴⁵ Such complexity is noted also by More (1980), Thompson (1983), Knox (1986) and Robertson and Alston (1992) who argue that comments on the issue of de-skilling must be industry-specific rather than seen to be applicable to the whole economy.⁴⁶

It is true that both Brighton and Portsmouth did hold onto industries which seemed to maintain apprenticeship and in which the teaching of genuine skills was a requirement. However, even if there had been a decline of manufacturing industry this does not necessarily allow the conclusion to be drawn that the institution of apprenticeship had to experience a decline in other sectors of the economy. The service sector was becoming more active after 1870 and it would be wrong to assume that apprenticeships became an irrelevance to occupations within that sector. It has also to be recognised that any de-skilling in manufacturing was often matched by different demands being made upon labour within industry or elsewhere for which training in some form would need to be introduced.

The Local Perspective: Brighton and Portsmouth

Introduction

These towns had similarities in terms of there being a dominant employer in each - the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR) in Brighton and the Admiralty Dockyard in Portsmouth - but not a great deal of industry beyond these activities. However, there is no doubt about their

similar development in many respects: economically and educationally, local government status, trade unionism, population growth and physical expansion. Their labour markets were to become more complex as economic and urban development took place.

A measure of the potential Boy Labour problem for Brighton and Portsmouth can be gleaned from the Population Census Returns for selected years (Chapter 3 and its appendices provide further details). Appendix I, Tables 1 shows the growth of population in the two towns; Tables 2 and 3 concentrate on the male population to the age of 19.

In 1871 Brighton had a population exceeding 90,000, over 39,000 of whom were male. Within the latter figure approximately 4,600 were aged 10-14 and a further 3,800, 15-19. For Portsea Island (Kingston, Portsea Town, Portsmouth Town and Landport) the total population was almost 114,000 of whom 57,000 were male. Between 5,000 and 6,000 males were in each of the age-groups 10-14 and 15-19. The Portsmouth Town District contained 360 males between 10-14 years of age and almost 1,400 in the 15-19 age-range.⁴⁷

By the time of the 1901 Census the two towns were County Boroughs. In Brighton, within a male population of 54,000 there were over 5,000 in each of these two age-groups. The latter figure remained broadly the same in the 1931 Census Returns. Portsmouth's 91,000 males in 1901 included over 9,000 in each of those age-groups, rising to 10,000 in 1931. Appendix I, Table 3 presents a summary of the data, showing, in approximate terms, that these age-groups formed 10% of the total male population of the two towns across the whole period.⁴⁸

The Railway Companies

Brighton was served by the LBSCR and Portsmouth by the London and South-Western Railway (LSWR). In his *Report on Boy Labour*, using one company's 1904 statistics, Cyril Jackson found no reason to doubt the general opinion that railway companies absorbed boys into adulthood. He claimed that boys 'have a chance of continuous service from the time they are taken on. There is room for all the boys to be kept on as men.'⁴⁹ As far as the two southern companies were concerned, although there was not a cast-iron guarantee of continued employment into adulthood, long-service employment was a significant feature. Railway employment in skilled trades was more significant in Brighton than in Portsmouth. In the former case the alternative to such employment was, in the words of a former apprentice at the town's railway engineering works, 'any kind of job which you could possibly light on at all.'⁵⁰

Portsmouth Dockyard

For the boys of Portsmouth the Royal Dockyard offered the strongest hope of sound job prospects. Galliver refers to the Dockyard as 'the exclusive employer of industrial labour in the vicinity.'⁵¹ Although its significance declined through the period the comment has a degree of accuracy up to 1914 with employment increasing from about 6000 in 1880 to about 17000 in 1914.⁵² Employment was provided for both skilled and unskilled: boys of 14 could become Yard Boys (ie ordinary labourers) with the prospect of becoming skilled labourers by their early 20's. Such a prospect could well have given them a sense of direction in the years immediately after

leaving school.

There is no doubt, however, that there were many parents - as well as their sons - who wanted to see entry to the Dockyard by way of an apprenticeship. Their lives, and indeed the education system of Portsmouth, came to be dominated by the annual Entrance Examination. Lane has written that 'for the working class people in Portsmouth the great achievement was passing the Dockyard Examination...' He pointed out that 'apprentices were considered the elite in the Yard and chose their trade according to their position in the entrance exam.'⁵³ For the unsuccessful, secure employment could prove elusive.

Education and Schooling

For both Brighton and Portsmouth the prospects for youth began to show gradual improvement as education provision became more comprehensive, although still with some major shortcomings even by the inter-war period. In 1870 the *Hampshire Telegraph* was unequivocal in its view of the need for education given that '...there are thousands of children growing up to be the ignorant men and women...this must be the case till there is an organised system of education to include every child.'⁵⁴ In Brighton the School Board's 1872 'Scheme of Education' (with references to evening classes, science and manual instruction together with 'special instruction for the upper standards') was designed to open up opportunities for the adolescent and young adults.⁵⁵ But in the later nineteenth century a shortage of public funds for education in Brighton was noted when set in the context of 'a large field of labour.'⁵⁶ The early years of this

century saw (perhaps belatedly) a recognition by the Education Committee of the need to furnish the young with 'opportunities for continuing their education and becoming better fitted for their work in life.'⁵⁷ On the eve of the First War it was concerned that youth was 'faced with a variety of openings of an immediately lucrative character, many of which lead to no beneficial career.'⁵⁸ Even by the mid-1920's the Inspectorate was able to express concern at the 'short average school life and the low average leaving age' of Portsmouth school pupils.⁵⁹ This concern was reflected in the setting up of Junior Instruction Committees in the 1930's to help combat the problems stemming from high unemployment and 'prevent deterioration of human material.'⁶⁰ The Inspectorate was clearly still very much concerned about the problem of 'drift' amongst the adolescent population claiming that there was open to the Education Committee 'a very large field of effort in the direction of catching more of the school leavers...'⁶¹.

Trade Unionism

The importance of education to the child, or, if not this, the view taken of the significance of education to the Labour Movement of the post-1870 period, was not lost on the trade unions if local archives can be taken as representative of the national mood. Lovell reminds us, however, that 'trade union experience varied between one industry or occupation and another.'⁶² It would seem unlikely that the importance attached to education and training did not also vary between unions existing in different sectors and occupations. Archives of trade unionism in Brighton and Portsmouth

suggest that such variations existed.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century there were pockets of labour in both towns making a determined effort to establish some form of trade union organisation. The archives of union branches and Trades Councils of Brighton and Portsmouth are a testament to the belief of labour in a fair deal for children and youth, even if we cannot always be clear about the particular motives which most influenced their actions.

The geographical location of Brighton and Portsmouth, the parallels seen in their physical expansion and population growth, the existence of dominant employers, the gradual diversification of the local economies as such dominance declined, the birth of a tentative trade union movement, the similarities of their expanding education systems, justify this joint study. Its concern primarily is with the economics of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment and hence with the implications for economic performance. It is hoped, therefore, that it can be seen as some contribution to the debate over that performance for the period 1870-1939.

As Hendrick has identified for the period 1880-1920 '...the labour question seemed to be central not only to economic and social distress, but also to industrial relations, foreign competition, technological change, and to the more general social and political crises.'⁶³ The issues of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment can rightly claim to be a fundamental component of that question.

Chapter 2: Boy Labour and Blind-Alley Employment:
Concepts and Perceptions, 1870-1939

'The English lad...the future citizenship of our land depends upon how we manage our young manhood at this critical period of life.'¹

Reverend Pelham's comment in 1914 was reflected in much of the literature on the related problems of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment, 1870-1939. There are a number of common themes: a concern for the welfare of the adolescent given that these problems might cause a despondency and degeneration in youth as they were ejected from an inadequate education system; their consequent tendency to drift in a labour market which, at best, often seemed indifferent to their long-term needs; the implications for society of not being concerned with youth welfare; particular concern over the education system itself; the attitude and desired rôle of parents; the rôle of apprenticeship, if any, in the alleviation of these problems; the impact on the country's future economic performance if such problems were ignored.

Definition

Through the whole period there were, of course, variations in the definitions of these terms; it is the early years of this century when more precise definitions begin to appear. There were at times some differences of opinion amongst writers as to what constituted blind-alley employment and Boy Labour;

there was nevertheless the recognition that these issues were developing into major problems which had to be addressed.

Jackson (1909) noted that the problem could be one within the tertiary or secondary sectors; the degree of skill or intelligence often required was 'below that ordinarily demanded from an able-bodied unskilled man'; boys might be employed 'incidentally to the men's labour, and...[were]... not essential to it.'² In the same year Tawney referred to the 'extreme mobility' of Boy Labour between different types of work which was 'usually entirely non-educational, and gives no kind of industrial training, either general or special.'³

Medley (1911) referred to these types of jobs being 'casual employment for lads of 14 to 18...[which are]...too obvious to need any comment.'⁴ These adolescents were a cheap source of labour, did not receive any form of training and were a 'drug on the market' by their late teens.⁵

Greenwood (1912) referred to blind-alley labour as '...labour employed in an industry from which it will be ejected towards the end of adolescence.'⁶ In similar vein Dearle maintained in 1914 that such employment 'covers every failure to acquire a trade or occupation, using the latter in a wide sense to include all permanent work of any kind.'⁷ His concern was with the 'large numbers' from the age of 14 to somewhere between 17 and 20 who were discharged from employment 'on the threshold of manhood.'⁸

Following the War, Gibb (1919), although reluctant to precisely classify blind-alley employment, recognised that it

was done 'for the most part in the service of the public, and in public places - in the streets, in shops, in railway stations, in hotels, restaurants, billiard rooms and places of amusement.'⁹ For Gibb, Boy Labour was '...pushing like a flooded stream into tortuous channels, newly carved..... adapting itself the more readily because of its lack of definition to varying local conditions...[having]... stolen upon us with a stealthy rapidity within recent years.'¹⁰

In whatever way the problems are defined it is important to make sure that we distinguish true blind-alley employment from those jobs which could really be described as probationary work - work with prospects. Boy Labour often had no such prospects of continuing in that work in which it had started its working life. The individual might progress to some other job - even within the same workplace - but by doing so was not necessarily offered any greater sense of security; he could find that his earlier employment offered little in the way of preparation for what came afterwards.

The Early Years To 1900

The concern with Boy Labour and blind-alley employment as creators of a demoralised, despondent youth population is given most emphasis in the opening years of this century. The later years of the nineteenth century do, nevertheless, see a recognition of the social consequences of these problems. The *Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws* (1909) made reference to the 1880's and to contemporaries of

those years who saw fit to comment on the deterioration of youth as Boy Labour and blind-alley occupations became more prominent in the labour market.¹¹

The greater concern in these years appeared to be with those issues which might help to better prepare boys for entry into the labour market and hence allow them to avoid the degeneracy which was especially noted in the Edwardian era. The *Economist* wrote in critical vein of 'a strong and most hurtful prejudice in favour of taking boys from school at the earliest possible age, lest their prospects in life be blighted by too much learning.'¹² It was recognised that neglect could lead to problems: Scott Russell argued for a 'crusade against ignorance, disorganisation [some having argued that it was not fitting to give the people access to education] and neglect.'¹³

As education provision developed the aims of contemporaries became more ambitious and more relevant to the needs of youth. Magnus (1886) spoke of the need to see education as 'a preparation for the whole work of life, and should naturally lead up to it.'¹⁴ He argued that 'what approaches very nearly to a revolution' was needed to achieve sufficient progress in developing an adequate system of education.¹⁵ Clearly Magnus had serious concern for youth who were in danger of being 'thrown upon the labour market, competent to do nothing more than children's work, and to earn children's wages, and knowing no trade to which they can apply their hands.'¹⁶ By the 1890's he was able to report that 'nothing is more satisfactory than the improvement that has taken place in elementary education

during the last ten years.'¹⁷ The weakness was, however, that too few pupils could progress beyond the elementary stage and so would be more prone to blind-alley employment. There was a growing need to see education provision as a continuum: quoting a letter to the *Times* in 1888 Lant Carpenter writing in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* agreed that there was at that time 'no sequential teaching';¹⁸ while this was the case Boy Labour would continue to increase in number.

A proportion of youth and probably a greater number of parents (more able than their offspring to adopt a long-term perspective) saw apprenticeship as the key to job security. In the early years the impact of the greater provision of education on apprenticeships was uncertain. Howell, writing in 1877, held the view that apprenticeships could eventually be shortened but did not see education as a substitute for such training.¹⁹ There were doubts, however, about the effectiveness of apprenticeships: Thompson (1880) argued that it seemed 'so strangely at variance with the most obvious principles of sound educational science, to say nothing of sound economic theory.'²⁰ Youth would have to be convinced that such training was of value to them if they were to forego the prospect of immediate earnings from blind-alley employment. The *Royal Commission on Labour* in the 1890's had noted the decline of apprenticeships but made the point that 'a long education in a trade is desirable to ensure good work.'²¹ Some adolescents remained to be convinced of the argument.

Given a greater disillusionment with apprenticeship and fewer examples of it in the last decades of the century, the growth of education provision and of the service sector in towns, it is not surprising that contemporaries saw the period as a time of transition. More explicit references to Boy Labour would have to wait until the new century but views held on education, apprenticeship and moral decay are strongly suggestive of an awareness of the problem in these years. In a timely comment Rein (1900) spoke of the need for re-assessment of the youth labour problem and related issues given 'the feeling that we live in a period of transition... [and are]... in the midst of a development not far from its beginning and presumably far from its end.'²²

1901-1914

In the later years of the nineteenth century the working world into which the boy entered had become more complex; it could no longer be 'finely charted' (Gibb, 1919) and so did not lend itself to simple analysis nor to equally simple solutions to problems which emerged then and were to continue into the new century.²³ Attempts to analyse the specific problems of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment were somewhat belated. Cloete argued in 1904 that, clearly, although these were important issues they were problems to which 'hitherto little attention has been paid. Neither the sociologist nor the economist has considered... [them]... worthy of serious study.'²⁴ Chamberlain (1909), aware of the historical dimension to the problem, agreed that analysis of

them had not really been carried out in earlier years so that 'information is limited, and our conclusions, consequently, untrustworthy and liable to revision.'²⁵ In the same year the *Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws* stated that it was 'perhaps the most serious of the phenomenon which we have encountered in our study of unemployment.'²⁶

It cannot be refuted that these years witnessed changes in the nature of the demand for youth labour which had been evident to a lesser extent in the closing decades of the previous century. To varying degrees local economies were showing stronger signs of maturity, expressed particularly in the development of tertiary activities but also in the introduction of new technology in some industries. Urwick was amongst the first in this period (1904) to refute the idea that the 'ordinary boy' could only benefit if he were taught a trade. This, he said, was simply 'clinging to the idea of a past generation' which, intent on maintaining 'simple categories, always pictures the labourer as either digging a hole or making a boot.'²⁷ This was reflected in Spencer Gibb's comments (1912) in which he expressed concern that 'the economic and industrial changes of the last generation have pushed forward into adolescence the danger zone of juvenile employment.'²⁸ The implication here is that adolescents were too easily cast adrift into local labour markets once they had left school (at whatever age) and that this casualness was all the more significant as the economy underwent changes which many would argue were inevitable and not necessarily disastrous to those working within them.

Jocelyn Dunlop (1912) spoke of the 'unenviable legacy' of the previous century: 'the legacy of an industrial system which had grown up without forethought, and whose maladies had been treated with spasmodic doses of medicine, administered in a spirit of hopeful experiment rather than with any profound study or understanding of the needs of the system.'²⁹

Such changes and consequent problems strengthened the recognition of the existence of a Boy Labour problem. There was an increased likelihood that long term job security could not be guaranteed so that, in Tawney's words in 1909, adolescents were in danger of becoming 'industrial nomads' as employers became more reluctant to keep them in employment when adult wages had to be paid.³⁰ Jackson (1910) was concerned that a boy might 'drift complacently from place to place, learning nothing and only unfitting himself for steady work.' He refers to biographies collected for the *Poor Law Commission* which showed that 350 boys starting their working lives in factories had been in three jobs on average by the age of 19.³¹

As industrial openings became more scarce so service occupations began to increase in number and created new concerns. The 1910 *Inquiry into the Operation of the Employment of Children Act, 1903* was critical of increasing numbers of boys becoming involved in street trading; it wanted a prohibition on boys up to the age of 17 in this type of work. Significantly, in the *Minority Report* concern was expressed that such an absolute ban would move adolescents into even more undesirable occupations.³²

Two occupations which seemed to be of particular concern were van-boys and Post Office workers. The *Standing Committee on Boy Labour in the Post Office* (First Report, 1910) highlighted the national problem of dismissal of messengers on the verge of adulthood.³³ However, a year earlier, in the *Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission* (1909) a memorandum from the GPO referred to its 77 towns (including Brighton and Portsmouth) in which the messengers were 'encouraged to attend educational classes on Post Office premises or at local continuation schools.'³⁴ It does not appear, however, that this prevented a haemorrhaging of youth when the employer thought the time to be right. (See Chapter 10 for further comment on this issue).

Medley (1911) argued that 'the future of the van-boy is an urgent problem of industry.'³⁵ The plight of these boys was highlighted in a *Departmental Report on Hours and Conditions* in 1913. It spoke in terms of, at most, an alleviation of the problem through a reduction of hours. It was clearly seen as a problem but a note of optimism was struck in referring to the prospects of absorption of youth into the work of the railway companies and into the retail trade. However, whether the earlier work had been a worthwhile preparation is open to debate.³⁶

Certainly these are years when there was a preoccupation with the moral degeneracy of youth and the link between this and the availability of blind-alley employment. In 1911 the Brighton Education Committee spoke, for example, of 'a period of degeneration...a most deplorable waste' of young people.³⁷ Some writers believed that the mere nomadic

existence of the adolescent was a prime cause of demoralisation. Cloete (1904) knew of boys who had as many as 17 jobs within three years so that they had become by the age of 17 'mere wastrels in the labour market, with no special training and no special capacity...'³⁸ Dyer reflected the concern of contemporaries in 1913 in his comment that, although the adolescent entered on 'an entirely new period of growth' the experiences of many caused their 'economic and social descent' so that by their maturity many were 'permanently damaged and ineffective.'³⁹

Within such comments there may well have been a genuine concern for the welfare of the young and for the waste of a scarce human resource; equally there may have been a concern, not for the individual, but for the social problems that this treatment of the young might create; there was a fear amongst some that delinquency was a problem which society might only be able to partially control. Alden (1909) expressed the view that sufficient concern for the welfare of the adolescent would bring rewards for the economy and society: if there was the recognition of 'the importance of scientifically rearing and training the children of the commonwealth...the nation..will survive.'⁴⁰ There was every chance that youth would become demotivated with a relatively short period of time and, having drifted after leaving school, is in Freeman's words in 1914 'not...likely to make sufficient effort to get into educative work. He becomes an unskilled worker.'⁴¹

Despondency and demotivation did not, of course, lead to criminality but there was always the danger that some

adolescents would take this path. Myers (1912) refers to the number of prisoners whose first offence was committed under the age of 21. He estimated this figure to be between 40 and 50% of the total number convicted. He concluded from this that it was in the years of adolescence that 'the seeds of crime are in a large measure sown.'⁴² Sidney Webb (1911) felt that the steering and safeguarding of the 'perilous years of adolescence' was the most vital of issues in the Social Reform Movement taking shape in the years before the First World War.⁴³

Bray was amongst a number of writers to link the problem with that of education provision. No one, he said in 1907, could fail to observe the 'rapid deterioration in the finer qualities' of boys as they left school.⁴⁴ He was particularly concerned that blind-alley employment only served to 'dissipate the effects of elementary education' and was a reflection of society's neglect of the individual.⁴⁵ As J.L. Paton (High Master, Manchester Grammar) had maintained in 1912, education was not about putting a boy in a groove and keeping him in it; rather it was about 'getting him out of his groove and letting him see something of the largeness and infinite variety of life.'⁴⁶ Bray (1909) argued that 'we are slowly coming to realise that a system of education which does not consciously strive to fit each youthful citizen physically, mentally and morally, to play a useful part in the work of the community must stand self-condemned.'⁴⁷ Dearle in 1914 spoke in similar vein in support of 'education sufficient in quantity and of the

right kind to help their [schools'] boys to make the best of themselves at their work...'⁴⁸ There was increased talk in these years of vocational education to promote the full development of the adolescent. Dyer (1913) saw the need for it to '...cultivate on the one hand originality, individuality, and personality, while conciliating them with personal ethics and civic and social obligations.'⁴⁹

Writers at this time were able to propose a number of remedies to the problem of defective education provision and thereby perhaps help to alleviate the Boy Labour problem. Both in the *Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws* in 1909 and in the more specific *Report on Boy Labour* by Cyril Jackson the need for more technical schools was cited and 'appropriate education - perhaps in evening classes.'⁵⁰ Jackson asserted that '...the initiative must come from an extension of state regulation of boy labour..by further raising the age of school attendance or by a system of compulsory continuation schools.'⁵¹ Bray agreed with Jackson's recommendation and wanted to see the school-leaving age raised to 15, the complete prohibition of the employment of school children for wages and the compulsory attendance of lads between the ages of 15 and 18 at an educational institution for at least half the working day.⁵² It would be difficult to argue with the sentiment behind such recommendations, although of course in a modern context we would want, and indeed have gone, further in many respects. The problem for these reformers was one of persuading central and local authorities, as well as employers, of the need to resource the necessary changes and bring about a

change of attitude in society.

Contemporaries, like historians, disagree on the attitude of parents in this period. Alden (1909) quite clearly believed that 'parents..allow them [boys] to take any irregular, ill-paid job, requiring little knowledge or skill, that happens to come along.'⁵³ In the same year Lightbody argued that both the boy and his parents were 'strongly tempted to sacrifice future to present advantage' with the employer only too glad to accept cheap labour with no recognition of his contribution to the 'evil that already burdens him with heavy rates.'⁵⁴ An appendix to the *Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission* spoke of parents whose poverty would cause them 'to drive...[the son]...to seek the employment where the "biggest shilling" is to be obtained.'⁵⁵

It would indeed have been strange, however, if, despite the much greater poverty of those years, parents would have been willing to accept much less for their offspring in terms of job prospects than their modern counterparts. It may well have been that poverty did persuade them to allow sons to seek employment which had higher and more immediate remuneration but this does not allow a conclusion to be drawn of general parental apathy. Chamberlain (1909) argued that parents were 'much less apathetic' than was often imagined; instead there may have been 'a rather pathetic ignorance' for which he hoped the Labour Exchange innovation would be a remedy.⁵⁶ In truth the situation was likely to be a complex one with parents often unable to impose influence on their sons one way or the other as they grew older. If

they were able to do so, advice or instructions were bound to be guided by economic circumstances facing the whole family. Some idea of the complexity of the issue is given by Gibb (1912) when he refers to the fact that poverty was not necessarily the dominant factor: boys 'whose parents belong to the comfortable class of skilled workers' could equally find themselves in blind-alley employment.⁵⁷ Perhaps in this case the ruling factor was parental apathy or a growing feeling amongst sons that they were, or should be, in control of their own destinies. Portsmouth, however, is a good example of where Dockyard apprenticeships were much coveted by parents for their sons and accusations of apathy would be a gross injustice.⁵⁸

In more general terms, irrespective of the quality of any particular apprenticeship, it seems likely that parents would have felt more satisfied about their sons' futures if one could be secured. This is unlikely to have been any different throughout the whole of the period 1870-1939. Family poverty might have changed their decisions but not their beliefs. Such parents would have agreed with Bray (1911), however, that apprenticeships needed to have certain qualities if they were to serve their purpose. He wanted to see adequate supervision of boys at least to the age of 18, general and specialised training, and the preparation of boys for entering the ranks of adult labour. He also argued that it should not be seen merely as a means of entering a skilled trade but that 'all must be brought within the sphere of its influence.'⁵⁹ This was a crucial point and highly relevant to the experiences of Brighton and Portsmouth and the growth

of non-industrial employment.

Although the quality of apprenticeships varied there was still a strongly held view that they offered discipline, guidance, a social education to adolescents in the often difficult years leading to adulthood, and could also provide long term employment. To this extent any decline would be mourned by parents in particular. Greenwood claimed in 1911 that as a recognised system it was 'undoubtedly obsolete' although he accepted it did survive in smaller towns.⁶⁰ However, Dearle, in his study of apprenticeships in London in 1914 felt that those who had been confidently asserting that the institution was dead might well have made a 'too hasty diagnosis.'⁶¹ In an earlier publication (1909) he had argued against Adler and Tawney: 'apprenticeship is hardly as dead as they suppose.'⁶² The significant places of employment in Brighton and Portsmouth in the Edwardian years are a testament to this assertion.

Much had been achieved in these years from 1901-1914 in at least airing the issues which surrounded Boy Labour and blind-alley employment but also in the development of policies - some of which had had their origins in the years before 1900.

1915-1939

The effects of the War on labour, the instability of the economy, and the various responses to the continuing

problems surrounding the adolescent, caused Boy Labour and blind-alley employment to remain very much matters of some debate and enquiry, often leading to policy initiatives. The concern with the potential for degeneration and despondency of the individual continued to be a significant feature. Fleming and Pearce (1916) asserted that where juvenile workers were not encouraged to achieve their full potential they would be 'a probable centre of dissatisfaction and a grave economic loss to the community.'⁶³ Gibb sought to emphasise the weaknesses of the education system after the War by claiming that boys were being thrown onto the labour market 'unequipped for any form of skilled work...and sometimes personally demoralised.'⁶⁴

In its review of the problem in the 1920's the *Hadow Committee's Report (The Education of the Adolescent)* looked back on 'many years' of interest in the issue before 1918 and reinforced the concern with 'demoralisation and social wastage' - a feature of society from which the education system could not divorce itself since its aims were seen as both economic and social in intent.⁶⁵ The working papers of the Committee include a report from a member of the Inspectorate whose view was that a boy who had left school 'full of interest was discouraged and became indifferent.'⁶⁶

As might be expected the following decade with its deep-seated economic problems was unlikely to witness any greater optimism. In their interviews with the young unemployed, Beales and Lambert conveyed the sense of despair very vividly. Having experienced dismissal in his late teens one individual spoke of having a very pessimistic outlook.⁶⁷

Another claimed to be 'fed up with life';⁶⁸ one individual spoke of being 'rudely smashed when my firm refused to pay me a man's wage on my reaching 21.'⁶⁹ Jewkes and Winterbottom summed up the plight of the teenager:he might find only 'sporadic employment' open to him and experience 'weary and deadening idleness.'⁷⁰ Despondency could also be experienced as exploitation of juvenile labour increased. Gollan (1937) spoke of '...the ever growing demand of industry for cheap labour' and school leavers could,for many employers,fulfil that rôle more than adequately.⁷¹ Boy Labour was to him by this time 'the logical working out of events in an economic society with exploitation as its main feature.'⁷² There was particular concern with hours of work of the adolescent.The 1937 *Report of the Departmental Committee on Hours of Employment of Young Persons in Certain Unregulated Occupations* spoke of a 'definite need...for the regulation of the hours of the young persons.'⁷³ Appendix I provides an indication of the numbers involved in blind-alley employment at this time.

There is no doubt that some progress had been made in the provision of education but it was still,nevertheless,the subject of bitter criticism,whether at national or local level.The *Hadow Report* was of the view that adolescence should be seen as a 'tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve' and had to be 'taken at the flood, and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current';such was seen to be the purpose of education.⁷⁴ Millis (1925) argued for 'something

broader in our education system...to provide a sound basic training for the skilled workman of the future.'⁷⁵ At the end of the decade Norwood condemned education provision as 'partial and second-best' having 'little in common either in the range or in the spirit with the universal education that may be.'⁷⁶ Progress was painfully slow. Even by the time of the *Spens Report* in 1938 (*Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education*) there was still major dissatisfaction. The Report itself argued that '...school should provide for the pre-adolescent and adolescent years a life which answers to their special needs and brings out their special values. It is doubtful whether this requirement is at present being satisfied.'⁷⁷

Increasingly parental attitudes could not be held responsible for the limited achievements of their offspring. Undoubtedly, withdrawal from school at the earliest opportunity did still occur but, as Gibb argued in 1919, what was called by some "the greed of parents" was a convenient explanation which he felt did not cover the facts.⁷⁸ It would seem somewhat strange if parents in the difficult economic circumstances of the inter-war period were clamouring to draw their children from schooling in order to enter a labour market which was so inactive. The Authorities needed to build on any improvement in parental attitudes in these years but various policy initiatives continued to reflect their inadequate response.

Given parents continued disillusionment with education, they may still have sought apprenticeships for their

children, according them a much greater value than schooling. Fleming and Pearce (1916) accused employers of ignoring the importance of apprenticeships in improving the quality of labour and, in their view at least, helping to discourage exploitation.⁷⁹ Apprenticeships were a feature of the service sector including retailing but, once again, cost considerations could tempt employers into exploitation of the young rather than provide suitable training and long-term job security. Gibb in the immediate post-war period spoke of the absence for the boy worker in retailing of 'a stairway for his ascent in the trade he serves.'⁸⁰

In the 1920's the TUC saw a link between apprenticeship and education in wanting to see a revival of this institution as 'a phase of national education.'⁸¹ However, it later had to concur with a report of 1936 (*Youth Trade Union Conference*) which concluded that the 'big demand for unskilled machine tenders has driven the system of apprenticeship in practically every industry into a decline that is rapidly approaching vanishing point.'⁸² The Ministry of Labour confirmed in the same year that 'there was no indication of a general revival of this system of engaged labour.'⁸³

Although parents and offspring might traditionally have valued apprenticeships it has to be said that neither the quality of training could be assured nor job security beyond the period of an apprenticeship. Increasingly education had to provide the adolescent with what was needed to achieve a secure position in the labour market, perhaps followed by in-work training which increasingly would probably not be given

through any formal apprenticeship. The turbulent economic conditions of the inter-war period and sustained periods of high unemployment showed, however, that even such preparations as these could not guarantee sound job prospects for the young. Jewkes and Winterbottom in the 1930's were still able to refer to 'one major problem...eliminating blind-alley occupations and of lessening the misdirection of the flow of labour.'⁸⁴ In the late 1930's Gollan argued that '...the most striking fact that faces us is the complete, continued failure to find any fundamental solution to the youth labour problem...'; there had been '...a steady intensification of youth problems and their appearance in new, wider, much sharpened form.'⁸⁵ Such was the note of pessimism on which the inter-war period ended.

The Authorities' continued concern after 1939 was evident in the appointment of a *Committee on Juvenile Employment* immediately after the Second World War which recognised the continuance of blind-alley employment and its demoralising effect on the young. The Report was unequivocal in claiming that 'the pivot of the life of almost every boy...who has left school is the job...it is the economic basis of self-respect; it marks the passage from pupilage to adult independence; it is the gateway to the future.'⁸⁶ Such was the importance of reducing the Boy Labour problem in whichever period is being considered.

While it would always be true that many young people desired nothing more than a reasonable immediate wage,

whatever might be their fate afterwards, it is too easy to exaggerate the number wishing to find themselves in this category. The error of jumping into the first job that came his way could often only be blamed on a boy if there had been sufficient effort made to prepare him for entry to the labour market, if guidance had been offered (albeit perhaps ultimately rejected) and if employers played their part in attempting to counteract the short-termism of youth by making alternatives sufficiently attractive.

Tawney's comment of 1909 is one without time constraint: 'the community which would get the maximum economic satisfaction out of its human material has to take a dynamic, and not a static, view of adolescent labour.'⁸⁷ Clearly, a nation can come to regret accepting Boy Labour and blind-alley employment as the inevitable consequences of a maturing industrial economy. Britain proved to be guilty of complacency on this matter to varying degrees through the 1870-1939 period and beyond. While in Tawney's words the view taken of the adolescent was not entirely a static one, the policies towards youth tended to be far from dynamic, thus contributing to the economic and social problems of these years.

Chapter 3: The Brighton and Portsmouth Labour Markets: An Overview

Any town is inevitably going to experience change in its labour market over the period of 70 years. It will be the extent to which change takes place that will distinguish one town from another. Although the labour markets of both Brighton and Portsmouth underwent changes during the period, a dominant employer continued to exist in both (the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway - LBSCR - in Brighton and Portsmouth's Admiralty Dockyard); the extent of that dominance declined as other activities - not necessarily industrial - became more significant, offering better employment prospects to more people. At the beginning of the inter-war period the Board of Education showed for Portsmouth, for example, that 'in recent years, the number admitted to the Dockyard has diminished, while the entries into the Air Force and into local engineering and building trades have increased considerably.'¹ Tertiary activities were becoming more significant as later statistics will show. For the same period Board of Education Minutes showed for Brighton that '...in addition to the engine works of the LBSCR there are other businesses, large and small, employing a considerable number of men. Further, many of the trades, especially those connected with building, which serve a large surrounding area, are concentrated in the town. It would be wrong to regard the town as one entirely occupied with visitors or residential, to the same extent as Eastbourne.'²

The *Population Censuses* offer increasingly detailed evidence of the changes taking place through the period, allowing some assessment of the relative importance of

occupations as the labour markets of Brighton and Portsmouth evolved.

These urban labour markets - and the Colleges serving them - were to become of greater relevance to those who lived in close proximity to the towns as transport facilities improved and encouraged the habit of, at least, short-range commuting. Increasing numbers of firms also thought in terms of a wider catchment area for their recruitment when improved transport and communications allowed them to do so. It has also to be remembered, however, that Hampshire and Sussex remained largely rural counties and most of the populace would expect to find work within their own localities; this is especially true for the period up to the First World War.

There are references in this analysis to the *Population Censuses* of 1871, 1901, 1931, following the pattern set in Chapter 1. In the appendices and in the tables in the text these are given the fullest attention with some statistics being given for 1891, given its greater detail compared to the 1871 *Census*. The latter *Census* will be taken first³. Table 3.1 provides a detailed analysis of the statistics.

Table 3.1

	BRIGHTON		PORTSEA	
	M	F	M	F
All persons aged 20+	20851	30781	32400	31513
CLASS I.				
1.GEN/LOCAL GOV	357	13	3604	21
2.DEFENCE	263	-	11612	-
3.LEARNED PROFS.	1347	932	692	526
CLASS II.				
4.WIVES/WOMEN IN HOUSEHLD DUTIES;ASST.IN HUSBAND'S BUSINESS	-	14380	-	21467
5.ENTERTAINMENT	1461	7604	858	3857
CLASS III.				
6.PERSONS BUYING OR SELLING OR LENDING	911	282	820	139
7.CONVEYANCE OF MEN,ANIMALS,GOODS,MESSAGES	2089	10	2080	7
CLASS IV.				
8.WORKING ON LAND	666	66	657	45
9.PERSONS WKG WITH ANIMALS	553	7	256	1
CLASS V.				
10.ENGAGED IN ART MECHANICAL PRODUCTION	4952	408	4307	232
11.TEXTILES,FABRIC,DRESS	1942	4832	1828	3876
12.FOOD & DRINK	2118	261	1717	249
13.IN ANIMAL SUBSTANCES	80	9	80	9
14.IN VEGETABLE "	403	1400	448	19
15.IN MINERALS	41	26	1273	15
CLASS VI.				
16.LABOURERS	1969	101	2072	129
17.PERSONS OF RANK OR PROPERTY NOT RETURNED UNDER ANY OFFICE OR OCCUPATIONS	340	1809	96	921
IN SUMMARY:				
CLASS I:PROF. CLASS	1967	945	15908	547
CLASSII:DOMESTIC CLASS	1461	21984	858	25324
CLASIII:COMMERCIAL CLASS	3000	292	2900	146
CLASSIV:AGRIC.CLASS	1219	73	913	46
CLASS V:INDUST.CLASS	10895	5577	9653	4400
CLASS VI:INDEFINITE & NON-PRODUCTIVE CLASS	2309	1910	2168	1050
TOTAL	20851	30781	32400	31913

Table 3.1:Analysis of Occupations,Brighton & Portsmouth 1871

Source: *Population Census 1871:Vol III Div II:Occupations Of the People,South East Counties - Table 17: Occupations Males/Females Aged 20+,Urban Sanitary Districts (no statistics for under 20's)*

The 1871 *Census* does not provide statistics for adolescent labour by town. Appendix I shows the method used to arrive at estimates of numbers of adolescents involved in particular categories of occupations for the beginning of the period.

In Brighton those aged 20 or over totalled 51,632; it is this age group which can be accurately analysed from the *Census* material. In the primary sector there was still some employment provided by agriculture but, as nationally, its percentage share was declining (in Brighton, 2½%, for example). In contrast, those classed as Industrial Workers (men and women) made up 32%. The Locomotive and Carriage Works of the LBSCR had been in existence in some form for over twenty years by the time of the *Census* but still had considerable development to undergo. 'Originally intended for Horley, these workshops were the first centre of heavy industry to be established in the town.'⁴ The Professional Classes which included the governmental administrative posts were yet to show signs of major expansion from the position shown in this *Census* of less than 6% of the total. Over 2000 (or 4%) were described as labourers - those, that is, who could, in the majority of instances, be taken as good illustrations of Boy Labour when in their earlier years.

The significant individual occupations at this time appear to have been: domestic service of various types - predominantly women; those engaged in Art and Mechanical Production (mostly male who represented 24% of males aged 20+); Textile, Fabric Dress, with 60% of the workforce in this category being female and they and male workers together representing 13% of the total; those in Entertainment and

coming within the Domestic Class in this Census (females contributing 80% of the total labour force in this section of 9065 or 17.5% of total persons aged 20 and over).

In Portsmouth (Portsea in the early years), within the total of 64,313 aged 20, 32,400 were male. Agricultural work was even more insignificant than in Brighton (1½% of the total aged 20 and over); again, this is not unexpected given that it reflects the national trend and is indicative of the area's growing urbanisation. Those classes within the Industrial category had not yet become as significant as in Brighton in absolute or relative terms, totalling just over 14,000 or 22%. The industrial activity of the Royal Dockyard cannot blind us to the fact that industrial development remained limited within the town. Within industrial activity those employed in Art and Mechanical production made up only 7% at this stage of the town's development. Textiles and Dress were more significant, more so for females as might be expected, with the Corset Industry being one of the more important activities within this category.

Transport offered predominantly male employment for similar numbers in both towns - with 10% of males finding employment in this sector in Brighton, 6% in Portsmouth. Employment on the railways, already significant, became increasingly so as rail travel grew in popularity amongst the working class.

In some contrast to Brighton, but not unexpectedly so given the Royal Dockyard, the Professional Class (including the section 'Defence of the Country') was far more significant

(25.5%). During the next forty years Portsmouth was to become the largest of the Royal Dockyards;⁵ it was also to boast the largest number of dry docks of any Royal Dockyard.⁶

However, if we only consider the other two sections of this category - governmental administrative posts and learned professions - the numbers employed only represent less than 7% of the total, comparable with the total in this category in Brighton. In Portsea over a third of males were involved in 'Defence Of the Country'.

The importance of Domestic Work for women (including Entertainment) was greater here than in Brighton, creating work for almost 80% of the female population aged 20 and over. It has to be remembered, however, that for both towns the category also includes those who stayed at home as housewives or helped in their husbands' businesses and these would have been significant proportions. A similar proportion to Brighton were classed as labourers in Portsea (3-4% of the total population aged 20 years or over) who, no doubt, as in Brighton, had had experiences in their teenage years of blind-alley employment and were still suffering the consequences.

It is not a case, therefore, of stark contrasts at this time; there were differences, but also similarities, especially (as mentioned at the outset) the dominance of a major employer in each town.

Table 3.2 provides details of the 1891 *Census*.⁷

Table 3.2

	Brighton		Portsmouth	
	M	F	M	F
	38788	53176	57624	63803
I. PROFESSIONAL CLASSES				
1.Gen/Loc.Govt.	630	35	1181	47
2.Defence of Country	600a	-	10000a	-
3.Profess.Occupations	2000a	-	1500a	-
II. DOMESTIC CLASS	-	14000	-	10000
				a
III.COMMERCIAL CLASS				
6.Conveyance men,goods, messages:				
1.on railways:				
engine drivers	217	-	113	-
guards	93	-	36	-
porters/servants	297	-	156	-
5.messages/porterage messengers/porter/ watchman (not rlwys/ or govt.)	1623	-	1157	-
V. INDUSTRIAL CLASS				
10.Machines/Implements				
1.machines				
eng/machine mkrs	155	-	194	-
boilermakers	141	-	405	-
fitter/turner	251	-	788	-
12.Carriage & Harness				
1.coach/carr.mkr	501	-	144	-
wheelwright	77	-	76	-
13.Ships & Boats				
1.hull				
shipwright(wood)	13	-	64	-
shipwright(iron)	4	-	2478	-
2.masts/rigging	8	-	247	-
18.Dress	-	3500a	-	6000
				a
VI. UNOCCUPIED CLASS				
Retired from business	939	383	1571	358
Pensioner	98	10	1831	155
Living on own means	1047	4156	702	3559
Others (over 10)	5224	25433	8263	39489

Table 3.2:Selected Male Occupations With Some Reference
to Female Occupations Where Significant (some values are
approximations - a -),1891

Source: 1891 Population Census III Ages,Conditions,
Occupations etc.
South Eastern Counties:Table 7: Selected
Occupations:aged 10 years & upwards

This *Census* provided data for labour 10 years and upwards by town. The percentage figures calculated from the data refer to the male population of 10 years or over, unless otherwise stated. For females the Dress Industry in both towns continued to be an important employer (in Brighton 6½% of the "10 years and over" female total, Portsmouth 9%) as was domestic work (26% of the female total in Brighton and 15% in Portsmouth).

Within the Professional classes the 'Defence of the Country' was by far the most important employer of labour in Portsmouth but insignificant in Brighton. Of the Royal Dockyards, Portsmouth had become the 'premier yard' by this time.⁸ Within the Industrial sector, a number of skills had significant representation in both towns amongst male workers: Engineer and Machine Makers; Boilermakers; Fitters and Turners; Coach and Carriage Makers. In the category 'Ships and Boats' (male) workers were virtually non-existent in Brighton (17 in total) in expected and sharp contrast to Portsmouth (more than 2000).

The Railway Industry (the London and South Western was the dominant company in the Portsmouth area and the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway in the Brighton area) offered opportunities for both unskilled and skilled labour and for the transition from one to the other. Railway Engine Drivers totalled 330, taking both towns together; Porters and Servants (often good examples of blind-alley employment) totalled 453. By the mid-1890's one report referred to 'the extensive nature of the [Brighton] Works and the important relations in which they stand financially

to the district in which they are located.'⁹

As in the Railway Companies, so too in the Royal Dockyards, the unskilled were offered 'a very good opening...to become skilled.'¹⁰ Galliver points to the fact that skills could also be learnt by labour in the Dockyards without necessarily serving an apprenticeship.¹¹ Additionally, messengers, porters and watchmen not concerned with the railways or government amounted to 4% and 2% of males in Brighton and Portsmouth respectively.

Further, in the category 'Unoccupied Class' - if we exclude the retired and those living on their own means - we can obtain some idea of the extent of unemployment. Brighton's unemployed males aged 10 and over numbered 5524, Portsmouth's 8263, both figures representing 14% of total males in this age group. Although the statistics throughout are for the 10 or over age group, only those who had left school (some children having gained exemption) and seeking work were included in the count of unemployed. Nevertheless the '10 and over' criterion to determine who should be included in this category must be borne in mind when expressing the unemployed in percentage terms and such figures are only included here as an indication of the similar proportions of unemployed in the two towns. Some teenagers, although often finding employment easy to come by in their younger years, would experience diminishing opportunities as they began to warrant adult wages in the unskilled occupations.

An interesting insight into the Portsmouth unemployed is given by the Reverend R.R. Dolling of the Winchester College Mission House, Landport. In 1894 he invited people to register

with him as unemployed over a period of ten days.257 men did so of whom:19 were painters,4 carpenters,4 fitters,3 hammersmiths,4 carmen,4 drillers,4 seamen,25 men of other trades,31 skilled labourers and 158 unskilled labourers.At the same time there was also a report of a number of unemployed men who 'eventually decided to stand with collecting boxes outside the Dockyard gates...as well as to hold a demonstration.'¹² Clearly,for a good number of men, these were worrying times which inevitably impinged upon those adolescents who were seeking work.

Such an analysis of the *Census* provides an indication of the diversity of occupations in these two towns and consequently of the full spectrum of skills at that time. Blind-alley employment features strongly and Portsmouth and Brighton cannot be distinguished from other towns in this respect.

Later *Censuses* are far more informative in that they provide a detailed review of types of occupations and a more useful analysis of age groups from 10 years upwards.Details of the 1901 *Census* appear in Appendix II and tables in the text.¹³ It did,of course,take place on the eve of the proliferation of literature on Boy Labour and blind-alley employment and was a valuable source of statistics.¹⁴

The *Census* showed almost 16,000 males between the ages of 10 and 24 (5632 10+;10,237 15+) in Brighton and over 28,000 in Portsmouth (9008 10+;19,530 15+).Given the raising of the school-leaving age,many of the 10-14 year olds would have spent at least half these years in education rather than be a part of the labour market.

The 'Defence of the Country' continued, of course, to be an important category for Portsmouth although not all were indigenous population. Almost 12,000, for example, are listed as Navy/Marines Ashore and in Port in the 10-65+ age-group or 17% of the males over 10s. Domestic Work and Textiles maintained their importance for females. A significant share of both towns' labour was involved in various industrial occupations (32% and 28% of the male population aged over 10 in Brighton and Portsmouth respectively). In the latter case it has to be remembered that the Royal Dockyard 'generated neither local support industry nor capital, owing to a combination of self-sufficiency pursued by the Dockyard and the inability of local industry to compete...' with similar elsewhere.¹⁵ This did not preclude development of small-scale industry, however, as the *Census* statistics illustrate and of utilities on a larger scale with the Gas Industry employing 'many more workers than the other public utilities.'¹⁶ It remained an accurate assessment into the twentieth century, however, that 'the greater part of the engineering done in the town consisting principally of repair work and the making of small engines, is carried on in comparatively small premises.'¹⁷

Within the industrial sector both towns offered significant engineering employment, for example, as blacksmiths and strikers. However, there is an inevitable and stark contrast when we turn to ship/boat construction as statistics for male workers show, with only 0.04% of those workers aged 10 and over so employed in Brighton, but 4.7% in Portsmouth. Table 3.3 provides further details:

Table 3.3

	10+	15+	25+	45+	55+
<u>3.Engineering & Machine-Making,Ironfounders</u>					
P	0	40	39	28	2
B	2	34	46	25	3
<u>Blacksmiths/Strikers</u>					
P	9	280	374	226	18
B	7	114	149	80	17
<u>Erectors,Fitters,Turners</u>					
P	7	570	910	361	5
B	1	160	183	70	10
<u>Others (incl.P 650;B 244 Boilermakers)</u>					
P	12	455	639	340	15
B	10	215	294	173	13
<u>4.Tools</u>					
P	0	5	8	6	2
B	0	5	11	1	4
<u>5,6,7. Arms,Miscellaneous Metal Trades</u>					
P	1	38	73	50	6
B	5	54	86	61	7
<u>8.Ships & Boats</u>					
P	11	750	1534	1055	22
B	0	3	6	5	3
<u>9.Vehicles</u>					
P	6	176	138	75	5
B	19	284	370	159	31

Table 3.3:Employment in Selected Industrial Occupations,1901

Source: *Population Census,1901*,section X (see end note 13)

The general construction industry blossomed as urban development continued with between 5-6000 workers aged 15-64 employed in each of the two towns. The coming of the railway had, by the later part of the nineteenth century, become a prime mover in such development. For Brighton, Durr refers to 'intense building activity' so that 'to the engineers and railwaymen were now added an army of building workers.'¹⁸

The Primary Sector (Sections VII-IX of the *Census*) reflected the national contraction with only 2.1% of the 10+ male labour force being employed there in Brighton and 1.1% in Portsmouth. Taking Agriculture alone the figures are 1.3% and 0.6% respectively.

In contrast we would expect parts of the Tertiary Sector to begin to develop more markedly and this is true of the Commercial Sector (Section V). 5% of the Brighton males and 2.5% in Portsmouth were now employed in this type of activity. Specific figures are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4					
	10+	15+	25+	45+	55+
<u>1. Merchants, Agents, Accountants</u>					
P	1	53	306	164	25
B	0	52	395	233	37
<u>2. Commercial/Business Clerks</u>					
P	31	369	298	102	11
B	44	484	413	122	17
<u>3&4. Dealers in Money, Insurance</u>					
P	2	80	217	108	18
B	2	78	174	86	12

Table 3.4: Commercial Occupations, Brighton and Portsmouth
Source: Population Census, 1901, section V (see end note 13)

Opportunities abounded for Boy Labour, notably in Railway and Road Conveyancing, Porterage, and Messenger Work outside these sectors. There were significant numbers in these occupations in both towns: if we take the 10-24 age group, 2067 male workers were thus employed in Brighton, 2275 in Portsmouth (4.8% and 3% respectively of the male population aged 10+). The analysis by age-group is given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5					
	10+	15+	25+	45+	55+
<u>CONVEYANCE OF MEN, GOODS AND MESSAGES</u>					
<u>1. On Railways</u>					
P	4	199	355	131	12
B	6	353	635	258	29
<u>2. On Roads</u>					
P	20	528	844	334	45
B	11	512	1157	597	86
<u>3. On Seas, Rivers, Canals</u>					
P	7	230	544	340	33
B	0	21	74	51	14
<u>4. In Docks, Harbours</u>					
P	2	25	99	101	4
B	0	7	11	7	1
<u>5. Storage, Porterage, Messages</u>					
P	592	668	270	177	16
B	449	708	349	188	39

Table 3.5: Railway and Road Conveyancing, Porterage,
Messenger Work, Brighton (B) and Portsmouth (P), 1901
Source: Population Census, 1901, section VI (see end note 13)

In the categories 'Other, General, Undefined Workers and Dealers' and 'Without Specified Occupations or Unoccupied' there is every likelihood that a substantial proportion of the 15-24 age group in these categories were, or in the process of becoming, a manifestation of the Boy Labour

problem. Many had no doubt come to realise how easily the short-term wage attraction of blind-alley employment could fade away as adulthood loomed. Sections XXII and XXIII(3) provide the relevant statistics and these are reproduced in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6					
	10+	15+	25+	45+	55+
<u>Section XXII: Other, General, Undefined Workers & Dealers</u>					
P	66	964	2334	1741	126
B	26	429	908	563	98
<u>Section XXIII: Without Specified Occupations or Unoccupied</u>					
<u>3. Others Aged 10 Years and Upwards including Students</u>					
P	7790	1099	238	149	212
B	4633	756	163	118	185

Table 3.6: Undefined & Unoccupied Workers, Brighton
and Portsmouth, 1901

Source: Population Census, 1901

Equally, however, concern was expressed for the limited openings for more skilled workers as the towns moved from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. 'There are [apart from the Royal Dockyard] a few factories...which give employment chiefly to women, without creating any great demand for highly skilled labour or management.'¹⁹

Overall, the 1901 Census proved to be a mine of information to social commentators, educationalists and economists concerned with the efficient management of human resources

and especially for those making a study of the Boy Labour problem in particular. Later Censuses were to offer an even greater wealth of material.

The publication of the 1931 *Census* was at a time of considerable and increasing concern about the economic circumstances of the nation;²⁰ Appendix III and the tables in the text provide further statistics. Where percentages are given in subsequent comments on the 1931 *Census* they are percentages of the total number of males aged 14 and over, unless otherwise stated, given that a school-leaving age of 14 was now the norm.

Statistics produced by the Board of Education for Portsmouth show the impact of the economic depression there on adolescent labour by the early 1930's all too vividly and appear in Table 3.7.²¹

Table 3.7			
	1926-29	1929-32	1932-33
Artificer Apprentices	26	20	8
Dockyard Apprentices	49	50	16
RAF Apprentices			
(Mechanics)	74	49	2
Army Trades	2	1	4
Engineering	23	21	10
Building	8	13	4
Other Trades	7	3	2

Table 3.7: .Occupations Taken Up By Pupils Leaving The
Junior Technical School, Portsmouth, 1926-1933

Source: PRO:ED 114 Piece No.249 (see end note 21)

However, the Report from which these figures are taken also spoke in 1934 of 'a growing number of small industrial firms, and every attempt should be made to place the boys in industrial occupations.'²² Certainly Wrigley's comment is relevant to both towns in different respects when he talks of unemployment nationally reaching 'crisis proportions' in the years 1929-35 with 'the impact...most obvious in the heavier sectors of shipbuilding, marine and mechanical engineering, locomotive building and textile machinery...'²³

Amongst Brighton males, of the total number of 65,677, 14,032 were under 14 (that is, largely below working age) and 51,645 above this age. The Census listed 32,985 operatives in work in Brighton giving the % of operatives unemployed as a proportion of the total number of operatives as 11% (rounded). The Portsmouth male population numbered 29,217 under 14 and 90,848 aged 14 years and over. With 63,458 operatives in work and 7157 unemployed, the % of operatives unemployed as a proportion of the total was 10% (rounded).

The statistics in Chapter 1 (Appendix I, Table 3) show that each of the two towns had 8% of their respective populations in the 15-19 age group. This would suggest that of the 7157 male operatives recorded as out of work in Portsmouth and 4026 in Brighton, between 500 and 600, and 300 to 400 respectively may have been unemployed in the 15-19 age group when the Boy Labour problem could have so easily become established. Inevitably, jobs would be grasped by many whatever doubts there might have been over their long-term prospects.

Certain female occupations continued to be significant as Table 3.8 shows.

Table 3.8

	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
'Makers of Textile Goods/Articles Dress'	250(1.8)	3448(3.4)
'Persons Engaged in Personal Services'	12824(18.9)	11199(11.1)

Other occupations were becoming more significant for females by the inter-war period:

'Commercial, Financial, Insurance'	3694(5.4)	5051(5.0)
'General professional Occupations'	2238(3.3)	2330(2.3)

In both tables the figures given in brackets refer to the % of the total female population of each town aged 14 or over, calculated from *Census Returns*.

Table 3.8: Significant Female Occupations, Brighton and
Portsmouth, 1931

Source: *Population Census, 1931* (see end note 20)

For male workers the towns continued to display a wide range of skills as well as occupations where blind-alley employment would continue to proliferate. Industry continued

to provide significant employment opportunities for male labour. The percentage figures show the proportion of the male population aged 14 or over (Brighton 51,645; Portsmouth 90,848) who were involved in industrial occupations.

From Sections IV-XXI, which include aspects of manufacturing and other industrial occupations, it can be concluded that almost 28% of the male population over 14 years of age in Brighton and 24% in Portsmouth were in these occupations. Examples of such occupations are shown in Table 3.9 and the full list with statistics in Appendix III.

Table 3.9

	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
<u>Section VII: Metal Workers</u>	3735	8212
of which: fitters	(1263)	(3060)
iron shipwrights (76)		1683)
<u>Section IX. Electrical Apparatus Makers & Fitters</u>		
	1374	1787
<u>Section XIII. Makers of Textile Goods/Dress Articles</u>		
	741(f=1250)	1056(f=3488)
<u>Section XV. Workers in Wood/Furniture</u>		
	2014	2953
<u>Section XXI. Workers in Mixed/Undefined Materials</u>		
	236	616
of which boat/ship builders (3)		(414)

Table 3.9 Male Employment in Selected Industrial Categories

Brighton and Portsmouth, 1931

Source: *Population Census 1931* (see end note 20)

Clearly, metal workers made a significant contribution to the towns' employment (7% of the male population aged 14 and over in Brighton and 14% in Portsmouth) but within the totals there were some marked contrasts. The numbers in Construction and Related Industries - activities which nationally were to help to pull the economy from the slump - reflected the rapid urban development now taking place in both towns but also the fact that the revival in the fortunes of the Construction Industry was still to come. Table 3.10 provides data from Sections XVIII and IX from the *Census*.

Table 3.10

	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
<u>Section XVIII. Builders, Bricklayers Etc.</u>		
	2463	2966
<u>Section IX. Painters and Decorators</u>		
	1874	2066
Expressed as % of male		
population aged 14 and over	8.4	5.5

Table 3.10: Male Workers in Construction and Related Industries, Brighton and Portsmouth, 1931
Source: Population Census 1931 (see end note 20)

It has to be remembered, however, that increasingly Construction was offering opportunities for the unskilled rather than the craftsman. A Board of Education Report of 1928, for example, spoke of the low level of craftsmanship required in the then current speculative building taking place.²⁴

The Railway Industry continued to offer employment for both labour needing to have at least a degree of skill and for those who would initially be regarded as Boy Labour filling blind-alley jobs. The *Census* showed, for example, that Brighton had 226 engine drivers, Portsmouth 120. Many of these would have been people who had started as lads with the LBSCR or LSWR and gained internal promotion, learning their trade as they went. On the other hand, there were plenty of openings for labour where neither training nor skill were required. Table 3.11 is taken from Section XXII of the 1931 *Census*.

Table 3.11

	Brighton	Portsmouth
<u>SECTION XII:Persons Employed in Transport & Communications</u>		
	6010	8286
of which:rlwy.transport	(1048)	(648)
of which eng.drivers	[226]	[120]
road transport	(2876)	(3353)
of which		
vanboys/guards	[101]	[133]
messengers	[680]	[1541]
porters	[739]	[433]
Expressed as a % of the male population		
aged 14 and over:	2	3 (rounded)

Table 3.11:Employment for Unskilled Labour in the RailwayIndustry Brighton and Portsmouth,1931Source: Population Census,1931 (see end note 20)

Mention should also be made of the significant number of male labourers whose work was often transient in nature and often without prospects. Table 3.12 indicates the numbers involved at this time, data being taken from Section XXXI of the 1931 *Census*.

Table 3.12

	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
General Labourers	1841	3862
Labourers	478	1018
Other unskilled workers (class of work specified)	1276	2702

Given that 8% of the male population of each town were in the 15-19 age group, the following values can be estimated for this group in this category:

288	607
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Table 3.12: Labour Classed as Labourers or Unskilled
Workers, Brighton and Portsmouth, 1931

Source: Population Census, 1931, section XXXI (see end note 20)

The incidence of unemployment for this type of labour did not seem as great as for the operatives mentioned earlier. In this category 'Other and Undefined Workers', in Brighton 6% (rounded) and in Portsmouth 3% (rounded) of the male population aged 14 or over were described as out of work. There may have been a greater willingness amongst these workers to accept any type of work in order to secure an income and to accept lower wages than would have been the case in more stable economic conditions.

Younger members of the labour force were not to escape the problems. In 1935 the Juvenile Employment Committee in

Portsmouth, looking back over its 21 years of existence, published a report which pointed 'with pride to a record of service that has been of inestimable value to the young life of the City.' Nevertheless, statistics in the report reflected the state of the juvenile labour market: the depression of 1930 caused 'placings' to fall from 2058 in 1929 to 1880. They then fell to 1863 in the crisis year of 1931 and then recovered in 1934 to 2620.²⁵

Rearmament policies offered hope in Portsmouth during the forthcoming decade but it was hope which was not to be entirely fulfilled. Under the 1937 Rearmament Programme, for example, 98 new vessels were to be laid down for the Government, but 88 were to be built by private companies rather than by the Admiralty Yards.²⁶

The tertiary sector progressed further in the early decades of the 20th century. However, proportionately fewer were employed in Professional Entertainment/Sport when compared to the other Census years cited in this review (Brighton 731, Portsmouth 615). Nevertheless, other service activities were showing a marked increase and this was not, of course, peculiar to these two towns. Commerce, Finance and Insurance, for example, employed in Brighton 8193, Portsmouth 9792 (to the nearest whole number, 16% and 11% of the male population aged 14 or over respectively). Professional and public administration positions were also significant employers by this time for men and women (f): Table 3.13 reproduces Sections XXIII - XXVI of the 1931 Census.

Table 3.13

	Brighton	Portsmouth
<u>Section XXIII.Commercial,Financial,Insurance</u>		
	8193 (f 3694)	9792 (f 5051)
<u>Section XXIV.Public Administration/Defence</u>		
	1000	18024
<u>Section XXV.Professional Occupations</u>		
	1582 (f 2238)	1950 (f 2330)
<u>Section XXVI.Persons Professionally Employed:</u>		
	<u>Entertainments/Sport</u>	
	731	615

Table 3.13:Tertiary and Professional Employment,Brighton
and Portsmouth,1931

Source: *Population Census,1931* (see end note 20)

By the 1930's the Primary Sector (Sections I,II,III) employed in Brighton 1352 or 2.6% of the 14+ male population,and in Portsmouth 627 or 0.7%.In 'Agricultural Occupations' alone (Section II) the numbers employed were:Brighton 1195 (2.3%);Portsmouth 522 (0.6%).Such statistics offered no surprises in that,as in earlier years, they were nothing more than a reflection of the national contraction of that sector,even though the counties in which the two towns were located remained highly agricultural.

As is to be expected, there are themes running through these Census years. First, and unexceptionally amongst the country's urban districts, is the range of occupations through the decades representing the need for skilled and unskilled labour of all types, with the latter in their early years too often being seen as recruits to blind-alley employment.

Second, there is, for a number of key occupations, a distinct contrast between the towns in numbers employed, but a contrast which was inevitable given the nature of the local economies in these two centres. Third, a reflection of national trends exists: in relative and absolute terms the male labour force remained reasonably constant in industry; the expansion of the tertiary sector took place both in absolute and relative terms; the primary sector inevitably and expectedly remained a minor part of economic activity.

Portsmouth displayed an absolute and relative decline in numbers employed in that sector; Brighton, when 1931 is compared to 1901, shows a marginal relative rise and a significant absolute increase. However, the figures are distorted here by the creation of what one newspaper termed 'Greater Brighton' in 1928. The town was now to include the more rural areas of Patcham, Ovingdean and Saltdean, with 'the largest in area... Patcham. With its 4425 acres, it is almost double the size of the old Brighton'.²⁷ A few years later (1931) Portsmouth experienced a much more modest expansion so that the City was to include 'South Farlington, a small part of Bedhampton and an unimportant part of Portchester ... Within the City itself there was much disappointment

over the somewhat paltry extension.'²⁸

For both towns the years of development from 1870 to 1939 saw some marked changes in the fortunes of local labour. Although there is also clear evidence of many of the features witnessed at national level, acceptance of these national trends could not be without qualification when looking at the two towns in question.

In Chapter 1 reference has been made to the debate over the extent of de-skilling within the national labour market. Railway Works and Royal Dockyards can be useful weapons for those who wish to argue that particular industries do not fit neatly into any national trend that some might wish to identify. Hobsbawm (1984), although referring to what he regards as extensive de-skilling in the decades before 1914, also singles out the Railway Companies as 'enterprises which employed and trained numerous artisans' and which 'deliberately saw to the training and promotion of unskilled labour and provided a significant road for its upgrading.'²⁹ Hence the importance that can be attached to the Brighton Locomotive and Carriage Works. 'It would take far too long and require greater mechanical knowledge than we can boast to describe a tithe of the various operations being carried out simultaneously here, but on every hand something is being produced, some process pushed forward...'³⁰

Taking railway companies' operations as a whole, so many jobs were offered that were learnt by doing. Perhaps 'short periods of formal training for guards and signalmen; but basically railway work was learned by moving from a lower

grade to a higher.' (More, 1980)³¹ Certainly railway work did not lend itself to generalisations born of national experiences across industries. Whatever were the skill requirements Gollan (1937) nevertheless felt justified in asserting that 'many categories of railway workers are practically blind-alleys... There is a growing practice of keeping youth who reached adult age at the maximum youth rate.'³² However, this was more likely to be the case on the operational side of a railway company's work.

The Royal Dockyards have similarly supported those historians arguing for some maintenance of skill requirements within British industry. Apprenticeship and labour training in general remained strong pillars of the Admiralty Dockyard structures through to the inter-war period and Portsmouth's Yard was, of course, no exception. The eagerness amongst the youth of the town to obtain a footing in the Dockyard through an apprenticeship, or by whatever means, is testimony to its impact on the local labour market. Many of the local alternatives were not looked upon favourably.

Locally, as nationally, by 1939 'the question of blind-alley, unskilled, low-paid labour, casualisation and unemployment at the threshold of life has become a veritable nightmare for the youth of Britain.'³³ Nevertheless, at least by the late 1930's the education system and the development of a more diverse local economy had begun to move things in favour of youth. Such a conclusion would also be true of Brighton.

As Chapter 2 shows it is the Edwardian period and the years beyond which see the greater concern for, and articulation of, the problems of blind -alley employment and Boy Labour. While more detailed analyses of the opportunities for youth locally will follow in later chapters it is appropriate to refer to them here in a more general way for this period.

The Education (Choice of Employment) Act of 1910 had given powers to Education Authorities to collect information as to the condition of the labour market for local youth and to offer advice to those up to the age of 17.³⁴ Reference has been made earlier in this chapter to the Portsmouth Junior Employment Committee and Brighton acted similarly. Details of the latter are well documented. The Committee in Brighton was made up of teachers, representatives of labour appointed by the Board of Education and employers.³⁵ The vacancies which were being notified to the committee varied from 'van boys and daily servants to apprenticed learners in highly skilled trades...it has come as a surprise to most of those who have been closely connected with the work to find the number of promising openings.'³⁶

The War years were to have an adverse effect on young labour in more ways than one but, significantly for the Boy Labour issue, in terms of deteriorating attitudes to work. As the *Report of the Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee* indicated for the year ending July 1916 'there appears to be a general unrest amongst both boys and girls. They give up their situations at the slightest sign of correction, and owing to the ease with which unskilled labour can obtain

highly paid posts [given the numbers called to the Front] they flit from place to place.'³⁷ The Report of a year earlier had already given some greater detail on the problem, and especially, youth's mobility as a sign of their unsettled position in the labour market.³⁸ (See Appendix IV).

The noted attitudes of youth were not going to help them in the harsh economic conditions of the inter-war period. This is where it was hoped that education would help, not only in educating and training, but in forming more positive attitudes amongst the youth of both towns. The objective was to direct youth towards, what was hoped would be, rewarding employment, but this was not always to be the case. In 1916 Fleming and Pearce advised caution in being too optimistic about such a policy when they referred to 'inadequate means of selecting and directing juvenile workers to industry' so that large numbers 'find their ultimate level in the labouring class.'³⁹

Finally, in this overview of the towns' labour markets some mention must be made (as a prelude to a more detailed analysis in Chapter 9) of the extent to which labour began to become organised. Both Brighton and Portsmouth offer evidence of early trade unionism, more so in Brighton in the earlier period. Of some relevance to Portsmouth, Dougan (1975) refers to the Admiralty position at the turn of the century, that while Dockyard employees could belong to unions, it could not recognise them for purposes of negotiation. Instead, all questions dealing with pay and

conditions must be considered through the men's superiors.⁴⁰

In spite of this there is strong evidence of a trade union movement of sorts in Portsmouth but an assessment will always have to be in the context of a town not on a par with the great industrial conurbations of London, the Midlands and the North where trade unionism flourished. One view offered is that, given no great extremes of wealth or poverty and the strength of popular conservatism 'the town made virtually no contribution to the history of the trade union movement'. (Webb, Quail, Haskell, Riley, 1989)⁴¹ However, this view should be considered with caution since these same writers do point to the growth of the movement in the Dockyard, amongst building workers, as well as amongst watermen and tailors. Indeed, the 1890's do see some significant developments in the town, going hand-in-hand with the growth of the local branch of the Labour Party. George Hales, Chairman of the Portsmouth Branch in 1893 argued that 'it was high time that working men should be represented by their own class and fight their own battles...'⁴² There was therefore a consciousness that no one was going to fight labour's battles but labour itself, either in political and/or organisational terms.

A year later came the early meetings of the local branch of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks.⁴³ There were also expressions of concern voiced in the local Press by the Typographical Association concerning working conditions. One speaker made the point that 'the improvement in the condition of the trade in the town would never have occurred if the Branch had not been in

existence.'⁴⁴

Within the same year (1894), at a meeting of the General Labourers' Amalgamated Union Meeting (Portsmouth and District Branch), a London representative was 'pleased to find that Portsmouth was now one of the best organised towns he had ever set foot in and he wished the workers of other towns in the South of England...had as much backbone as those of Portsmouth.'⁴⁵

In spite of the limitations imposed by the Admiralty and cited earlier for the turn of the century, trade unionism did develop within the Dockyard. Admiralty Records for the beginning of the inter-war period detailing a wage claim show that the Boilermakers' and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders' Society, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the National Union of Government Employees, the Workers' Union and the Federated Council of Government Employees were all in evidence by that time.⁴⁶

The early beginnings of the Trade Union Movement in Brighton can be dated similarly to the Portsmouth case but a few unions could claim to have earlier local origins in Brighton. Durr claims, however, that up to the late 1880's any such organisation was 'very defensive and largely the preserve of the skilled sectors of the labour force.'⁴⁷ This would not be untrue for some after that date. Inevitably perhaps, if trade unionism was to be found at all in Brighton in the latter half of the 19th century, it would be within the railway sector despite the Companies' hostility towards it. The Brighton Locomotive and Carriage Works were seen by one former apprentice as 'the kernel of the Trade Union

Movement'.⁴⁸

Even so, not all were satisfied in the late 19th century with the level of organisation which had been achieved by, what could be regarded as, the local aristocracy of labour. A letter dated 20th March, 1894 from the General office in London of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers asks the Brighton Engineers if 'anything could be done in your neighbourhood towards the better organisation of the Engineers'.⁴⁹

The Engineers were by no means alone in the attempts at greater organisation of labour in Brighton. Mention can be made of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Cabinet Makers and Joiners⁵⁰; the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen⁵¹; the General Railway Workers' Union⁵²; this became the National Union of Railwaymen⁵³; the Typographical Association⁵⁴; the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders⁵⁵; and the National Association of Operative Plasterers⁵⁶; these were helping to nurture a local trade union movement, sometimes with origins in the pre-1870 period.

In conclusion, it is perhaps too easy to distinguish and divorce towns in southern England from the industrial conurbations of the Midlands and the north of the country as far as aspects of labour are concerned. This overview of the Brighton and Portsmouth labour markets has intended to show that in terms of: the variety of occupations in evidence (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), the evolution of such markets over 70 years, the growth of organised labour, the

problems faced by adolescents in their early membership of these markets, there is much to commend these towns to the attention of the historian.

Chapter 4: The Evolution of the Education Systems of
Brighton and Portsmouth: Exacerbation or Alleviation of
the Boy Labour Problem?

Introduction to the Local Studies

Theoretically for any set of technical and economic conditions there will be an optimal labour force. When the education system has reached equilibrium after any necessary changes, it will be producing the optimal labour force. The criteria for judging the optimum must be both the quantity and quality of the manpower supplied to the labour force...¹ (Musgrave, 1967)

In 1870 the education system of this country was clearly still in its embryonic state; the rôle that would be expected of it in an industrial and maturing economy had yet to evolve. More particularly, the perception of the role which education could and should play when considered in the contexts of the Boy Labour and blind-alley employment issues and the labour market in general was still to emerge in any strength; in any case, it was a perception which, inevitably, would change over time. These issues, of course, are especially pertinent to the teenage years but this is not to say that the pre-teenage, pre-adolescent period can be ignored in any discussion of the problem.

From the time of the passing of the 1870 Education Act, debate moved increasingly from 'why should children be educated?' and 'how much education should be given?' to

questions concerning the nature of education provision: 'What should be taught ?' in terms of elementary, technical, vocational and manual education as well as secondary provision.

Middleton asserts that 'it is not too extravagant to claim that it [the 1870 Act] introduced a new type of society which radically altered the child's place in the community ...Perhaps the most far reaching effect was to give the child a special status and set in train a chain of measures which revolutionised his position in society.'² Neither the national education debate, nor the significance of the Act, seemed to be lost on the policy makers of Portsmouth and Brighton in the years after 1870.

It is inevitably the case that answers to those questions cited above changed over time: perhaps the most obvious reason for this was the gradual raising of the school leaving age, together with the abolition of various exemptions which acted as potential loop-holes for reluctant consumers of education - both parents and children. Other developments were to follow on from these extensions more easily.

The degree to which education is provided, and the nature of that provision, is of crucial importance in so many respects: in the formulation and changing of attitudes; as a facilitator of mobility and general flexibility amongst labour; in inculcating ambition and a desire for self-improvement amongst workers; in the provision of knowledge and skills that will act as a basis for further training and progress in the work-place; in the ability to articulate

views and grievances; in improving national levels of literacy. Vincent has recently reviewed the significance of literacy for the labouring classes but it can nevertheless be argued that literacy does form the basis for at least some of those factors already mentioned. Its provision and development needed to go beyond Vincent's notion of 'functional literacy' and a narrow perception of the demands of society or the economy, if young labour was to be given greater hope for the future.³

The means had to be given to youth to allow them to avoid types of blind-alley employment; the State and educationalists needed to go well beyond laying down school leaving ages and providing elementary education in the most basic sense if youth was to be catered for adequately. Equally local economies needed to develop in such a way as to provide sound employment opportunities which would make use of improvements in the quality and quantity of education provided. This unfortunately was not to be the case after 1870 to the extent required.

Additionally, the reception of education by consumers needed to change. There had to be an appreciation by parents and children of its potential value; employers also had to play their part in encouraging, or at least not impeding, consumption. This issue brings us back to what the education authorities were intending to provide both in terms of curriculum, effective teaching, attractive accommodation housing adequate facilities, and opportunities for extended education. All of this would ensure that education fulfilled its role as a motivator rather than de-motivator and as a

facilitator of change and improvement. The 1871 *Census* vividly displays the immense task that lay ahead for the Authorities.⁴ (See Appendix I, Tables 1 & 2).

The whole period, however, witnessed an increasingly intense debate which helped spread the view throughout the country that education in its various guises was the key to opportunities for children, youth and young adults. Atkins (1908) argued that 'nothing but continued education could save...boys and girls from the economic whirlpool which was sucking up the life's blood of the nation at its source.'⁵ Yet the improvements in, and widening of, education provision did take time. Debate did lead to action but not always spontaneously and even at the end of the First World War King-Harman was accurately able to refer to '...so many young men...in all walks of life...who are not only profoundly ignorant but are quite proud of their ignorance...'⁶

At the end of the inter-war period the *Spens Report* argued effectively that 'varying forms both of general and quasi-vocational education have to be evolved in order to meet the needs of boys and girls differing widely in intellectual and emotional capacity.'⁷ Only with this evolution would it be possible for further progress to be made in diminishing Boy Labour and blind-alley employment. *Spens* insisted that if education provision was not concerned with the entire school age-range and was not helping to develop the qualities of an individual then it would not be fulfilling its true purpose.⁸

There can be little disagreement that, at the outset, for

whatever motive, the priority of policy-makers, locally and nationally, was to give children a degree of literacy and numeracy. More progressive thinkers began at least to argue for, what Dearle (1914) referred to as, an education such that youth 'may be ready to take each the job suited to his capacity, and to play steadily their part in the work of the community.'⁹

Elementary Education

The view taken of elementary education was, of course, bound to change over time as the economy and also higher levels of education were to make new demands upon it. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, attention did begin to turn to trying to make elementary education more relevant and valuable to those who received it and to ensure that it did over time provide an adequate base for other types of education.

Magnus (1901) referred to the 'intimate' relationship between elementary and industrial education and argues that 'to the Act of 1870 the industrial progress of the Nation... is largely due. Except on the foundations of elementary education no system of technical instruction can possibly be reared.'¹⁰

However, Magnus and others, with their ability to clarify what they saw should be the main aims of elementary education in its early years, were unhappy about its contribution to the task of fulfilling the needs of youth. 'How aimless is much of the instruction of our elementary

and higher schools, and how ill-adapted it is as a preparation for the real work of life..¹¹ Magnus and his like were people of some vision in the education world and progress must have seemed abysmally slow.

Even in 1869, Playfair, in what is said to be the first Parliamentary debate on technical education, spoke of Britain as the 'only civilised state in Europe which limited instruction...to 'the 3 R's' ', but when pupils had grasped a 'taste for science' so there would be a need for 'efficient secondary schools for the industrial classes'.¹² Samuelson, in the 1880's, referred to the need for increased importance to be given to science education and instruction in drawing, both 'of a character likely to be helpful to them in their future occupations as workmen and artisans.'¹³ The gradual widening of the elementary curriculum allowed Lowndes to write towards the end of the inter-war period of the purpose of the public elementary school to assist 'both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life...'.¹⁴

Part of the concern of educationalists was the permitted early leaving age and the effect this had on children, on society and the economy. Jackson spoke of the waste of expenditure on education 'because of its abrupt termination at the age of 14...'.¹⁵ Clearly the waste would have been exacerbated given the earlier leaving ages of the nineteenth century and before degrees of compulsion were introduced from the 1880's.

Both historians and contemporaries, however, display scepticism over what was actually being achieved, especially in the early years of the period.

Writers such as Tawney and, more recently, Vincent and Pollard, urge caution over the aims and achievements of elementary education in relation to what parents, children and industry actually wanted and what could realistically be achieved. Tawney (1924) argued that '..the elementary schools of 1870 were intended in the main to produce an orderly, civil, obedient population, with sufficient education to understand a command'.¹⁶ Vincent (1989) reflects this viewpoint in his notion of 'functional literacy' - that 'the principal concern of labouring men was not acquiring training or new employment, but just working, executing particular tasks in return for sufficient income to support themselves and their families'.¹⁷ In similar vein Pollard (1989) concludes that 'for the broad mass of the labour force, literacy was then not required at all'.¹⁸

However, although the nature of employers' demands for labour may entice us to accept these viewpoints, it can also be strongly argued that it is because elementary education faced too many constraints for too long that more ambitious objectives could not be realised. Education continued to fall short of requirements and fostered the view at least amongst some parents that blind-alley employment was all that their children could be expected to aspire to in their early years in the labour market. Vincent argued that the aim of the teacher was 'to produce young men able to approach the task of earning a living, whether in an established trade

or in an industrialising sector, in an entirely new frame of mind.¹⁹ It has to be remembered, however, that the industrial trades themselves were changing as was the whole labour market and in ways not always conducive to the long-term interests of the young. Increasingly educationists and others were looking beyond elementary education to those types of education which could be of benefit to children in their adolescent years by providing a better preparation for their working lives.

Progress here proved to be very slow but was vital if job prospects were to markedly improve. The point was made by Playfair in 1870 that the education system was at that time 'truly ignoble, for it sends the working man into the world in crass ignorance of everything that he is to do in it'.²⁰ How devastating this must have been for those adolescents who were pushed, largely unprepared, into the labour market for the first time. Sanderson (1988) makes the point that, as the nature of education provision changed, 'thereafter the flaws lay in the reception of such education'.²¹ However, employers would only begin to improve their receptiveness to education provision if the advantages of a longer period of schooling outweighed access to young, cheap labour - albeit defective in intellect, abilities in general or manual dexterity in particular. Hence the need for some consideration to be given to the question 'what should be taught?'.²²

Beyond Elementary Education:the Higher Grade School

If progress was to be made in displaying to those parties concerned the relevance and value of education with respect to reducing the number of candidates for blind-alley employment, their perception of it as a channel to better things had to be clarified. Unfortunately, the lack of any organic relationship between the various parts of education as they developed was only too evident. For many who accepted that attendance was compulsory it remained the natural thing to do to leave school as early as legally allowed and to enter the labour market. Parents' thoughts had naturally turned to the possibility of increased family earnings and often and understandably succumbed to the temptation to allow sons to terminate their education.

The development of, and inter-connection between, the various stages of education was vital. Wrigley refers to 'an education system [in the 19th century] with poor articulation between its parts';²² early 20th century views were often similar. Headmaster, Robert Race, argued in 1909 that 'one of the greatest needs is the unification of our educational system, the destruction of the barriers that divide the elementary school, from the secondary school'.²³ Of course, only free education to the age of 18 would allow the country to fulfil Huxley's notion of an 'education ladder' to provide a route from 'the gutter to the University'.²⁴ In retrospect we can see that this was going to be a belated development but, as Portsmouth and Brighton show, the creation of Higher Grade Schools (albeit with fees

attached) could have been the encouraging factor which at least some working class children and their parents were actively seeking in order to begin the ascent of Huxley's ladder. The Elementary and Higher Grade Schools could begin to remedy what the Fabians amongst others referred to as 'fundamental dysfunctional relations between education and the economy'.²⁵ Lawson and Silver (1973) argue that the Higher Grade Schools 'resulted from an awareness of the reservoir of ability produced by the working of the 1870 Act'.²⁶ Marsden (1987), using returns of the 1890's, shows the socio-economic classification of parents and scholars which are detailed in Table 4.1.²⁷

Table 4.1

UPPER MIDDLE CLASS	11.0
LOWER MIDDLE CLASS	42.0
SKILLED ARTISANS	32.7
UNSKILLED LABOURERS	7.3
OTHERS	6.2

Table 4.1: Socio-economic classification of Higher Grade Boys, 1890's

Source: Return concerning certain Higher Grade Board Schools and Public Secondary Schools prepared for a Conference between the Incorporated Association of Headmasters and the Association of Headmasters of HG Schools, Nov 1897. PP1898 LXX 10-11.

Because of the early twentieth century conversion of some of the Higher Grade Schools into Council Secondary Schools, the 60 existing in England (excluding Monmouth and London) had fallen to 30 when reported on by Hadow in 1926²⁸. They had, however, been a significant development, as Portsmouth and Brighton show. 'While they existed it could not be said that higher education developed from the elementary schools had been killed off...they were taken as the model for the reorganised senior schools created by the *Hadow Report*' and were of direct relevance to the Boy Labour issue. (Middleton and Weitzman, 1976).²⁹

Beyond Elementary Education: Manual and Technical Education

Although the Higher Grade School movement could reflect some sympathy for the promotion of technical and manual instruction the two did not, of course, go hand-in-hand in the way that they developed, and technical colleges were going to be needed to strengthen these aspects of education. Again, Brighton and Portsmouth provide competent examples of these institutions.

Views on what technical education actually was differed amongst contemporaries and in official reports. The Cross Commission's notion of technical instruction was reflected later in the Technical Instruction Act when it was defined as 'instruction in the scientific and artistic principles which underlie the industrial occupations of the people... and in the manual practice involved in the application of such principles'.³⁰ Even earlier, *The Economist* had

understood by the term technical education that education 'such as is directed simply to increasing the efficiency of our artisans as artisans'.³¹ Manual Instruction and Technical Education had linkages but, at the same time, could be seen as separate entities. Ricks (1890) defined Manual Instruction as 'the development of the accuracy and of the sense of colour and a proportion of the eye; and of the pliancy and dexterity of the hand'.³² Different views were expressed as to the desired relationship between such education and workshop based training. Were they to be complementary or eventually were Manual Instruction and Technical Education to be seen as substitutes for workshop training?

In Portsmouth, shipbuilding was, of course, a key activity and in Brighton, locomotive building. Howell, in referring to the 1870's shipbuilding and boilermaking industries amongst others, spoke of the importance of technical instruction but 'it can only be supplementary to the instruction given in the workshop'.³³ As the period developed, however, views were inevitably going to change, giving greater prominence to out-of-workshop education and training.

Employer hostility towards education of this type was still strong especially down to 1914, although their attitudes were changing. Magnus argued in the 1880's that if the Boy Labour and blind-alley problems were to be remedied there was a need to create 'some substitutes for the old apprenticeship' and that this was 'one of the objects of a system of technical education'.³⁴ Jackson (1909) argued that, if it was to be valuable, technical education 'must

mean a good deal more than could be learned in the factory or the shop...[and provide]...a thorough knowledge of the technical processes'.³⁵ The *Poor Law Minority Report* went on to argue for 'training between 15 and 18 *by the community itself*' so that there was a need for more evening instruction and compulsory attendance at evening classes'.³⁶

In retrospect we can see the wisdom of complementarity. Creasey (1905) clarified the issue by noting that '..the operations of the workshop and the factory have become more complicated, more exact...Theoretical and practical training are complementary, and it is men who have received both forms of training that are needed in industry'.³⁷

At national level Cotgrove (1958) refers to the period 1882-1905 as 'the formative years of the development of the system of technical education in England'.³⁸ There were certainly important developments in both Portsmouth and Brighton to support this contention. Resources were limited, however, and even in the 1920's, Millis, speaking of the need for technical education for rank and file workers, argued that 'little provision had been made' nationally.³⁹

Summerfield and Evans (1990) point out that 'apprenticeship remained a very cheap way of training labour' and certainly the shipbuilding and railway industries jealously guarded this institution, probably to the detriment of the development of technical education.⁴⁰

Some progress can be noted, however, including the Junior Technical or Trade Schools. The *Spens Report* referred to two categories:⁴¹

i) The trade school providing training recognised by the trade or occupation concerned as at least equivalent to that given in the corresponding period of normal apprenticeship (mostly situated in London);

ii) the pre-apprenticeship school receiving pupils 13-14 years of age who have decided that they will probably enter a particular industry or group of industries but not necessarily a specified trade. Most of these prepared boys for the engineering and building trades.

By 1913 there were 37 such schools with 2,900 pupils;⁴² Portsmouth offers an example of the latter category with obvious and definite links with the Royal Dockyard. By the inter-war period a greater number of both employers and employees were beginning to realise the value that technical education could have and both Brighton and Portsmouth at this time were able to display a wide range of courses to reflect the local importance attached to such education.

Evening Schools

If youth (and indeed adults) had the inclination and the necessary will-power, Evening Schools were increasingly available, not only for the provision of technical and commercial education and manual instruction, but also in the early years for the teaching of aspects of elementary education if such education had not been received by adults in childhood. More (1980) asserts that the UK excelled in the number and quality of such schools, allowing workers to 'rise

from the mill'.⁴³ Progress in this sphere caused Inkster to point to a 'uniquely British structure of technical education which supplied the numbers'.⁴⁴

Under the 1890 Code, scholars in Evening Schools were excused examination in elementary subjects if they produced certificates confirming that they had passed Standard V in elementary subjects. Thus the number in attendance rose to 51000 by 1890-1 from just over 24000 in the mid-1880's.⁴⁵ Examples of recognised courses included carriage and wagon building, carpentry and joinery, machine construction and drawing, boilermaking and pattern making. These and other courses were highly relevant to the needs of the Portsmouth and Brighton labour markets.

The importance of this type of education was in encouraging those who participated in it to improve their prospects and to guide themselves onto a path which could lead to something better than blind -alley employment in the local labour market. The Edwardian writers were, however, also aware of the limited progress made. Atkins wrote in 1908 that 'only a small proportion attended any evening schools...one in twelve...so that the great majority of youths received no extra training whatever'.⁴⁶

Secondary Education

Evening Schools could help to reduce the scale of the Boy Labour problem. Nevertheless much more could have been achieved had secondary education of an appropriate type been provided as of right rather than for a privileged few. In

defining Secondary Education the *Spens Report* referred to the 1904 *Secondary Schools Regulations* which described secondary schools in terms of providing education 'up to and beyond the age of 16, a general education...of wider scope and more advanced than that given in Elementary Schools'.⁴⁷ The inter-war period had, however, seen much debate over what the nature of this education should be. There was a perceived exclusiveness surrounding secondary education which the vast majority found also to be fact. This is why, if further education was possible for a child, the Higher Grade Schools were often preferred to the idea of entering a secondary school which seemed alien to the earlier experiences of the child at home and school, causing him to cut short 'his school life on passing 6th or 7th Standard, to enter the labour market'.⁴⁸

Whatever the attitudes were, the fees - probably in themselves an important influence on attitudes - did present a very real and significant obstacle to the working class. The number of children entering secondary schools and benefiting from total exemption of fees remained below half during the inter-war period: 47.1% in 1938, while almost 10% had partial exemption.⁴⁹ However, the intense competition for such places 'destroyed all hope of a secondary education for the 'average' elementary school child, except as a fee payer'. (Banks, 1955).⁵⁰ Tawney could thus refer, even in the 1920's, to the primary school as 'the rope which the Indian juggler throws into the air to end in vacancy'.⁵¹ Banks points to the increased demand for secondary education during and after the First World War; sadly for the Boy

Labour problem it was 'beyond the capacity of the local education authorities to supply.'⁵²

Conclusion

We are able to identify progress in the way in which education was provided over this seventy year period but - the higher grade schools apart - there was a tragic failure to get to grips with the need to establish an accessible, relevant and comprehensive secondary school system in the 19th century and to build upon this in the opening decades of the 20th century.

Silver (1983) has written that 'the history of education has often appeared uncontroversial until it has been brought into a relationship with other social phenomenon, structures and processes'.⁵³ Whether or not this view is accepted without qualification, it is certainly true that the history of education becomes far more controversial when its adequacy is considered in the context of the social and economic phenomenon of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment. Controversies can be born at local or national level; the arguments accompanying such controversies may be at their most vulnerable when put to the test in local economies. Checkland has condemned 'those who make thumping generalisations about what happened, even within a particular group of [towns]...'.⁵⁴

It needs to be emphasised that better quality education could only make youth more marketable. It would be wrong to assume that the supply of improved quality created demand

for it. The Boy Labour problem could and still did emerge because, for some employers, the better educated adolescent was an irrelevance, to a considerable extent, given the nature of the employment and the remuneration being offered. Added to this, blind-alley employment was actually wanted by a proportion of school-leavers and their parents. Finally, the number of jobs which offered a greater opportunity for long-term security and prospects was to become more limited, and blind-alley employment more abundant, as both Brighton and Portsmouth developed as service - rather than as industrial - economies; it has to be recognised, however, that a service economy will include diverse job opportunities for youth albeit with widely differing prospects.

Brighton

There was one broad fact that could not be got rid of - that in Brighton we have the two great extremes of wealth and high class education, and of great poverty and want of education, and consequently of crime and degradation... it mattered not what the statistics were, the sooner the question was grappled with the better. 55

Councillor Lamb, speaking in 1870, articulated the concerns of many in towns throughout the country. There was the hope (perhaps naïvely perceived at the time) that, as the provisions of the Forster Education Act were implemented, those in the lower echelons of Brighton society would be able to embark on

the search for self-improvement and self-fulfilment in their early years. There was soon the recognition that it was to be a very long term process and, even then, only as a consequence of national and local government pursuing more ambitious measures as the nineteenth century progressed.

A year after Councillor Lamb's articulation of the problem, the Leader Column of the *Brighton Daily News* was still able to claim that '...upwards of 3000 children are wandering about our streets neglected, destitute, and wholly uninstructed, who need compulsion in order that they may secure the advantages of education'. There was also a note of optimism, however, in noting that '..within a few months of the opening of the Circus Street Schools...the advantages they offer are so well appreciated that there is an attendance of upwards of 400 ragged Arab children [urchins].'⁵⁶

Brighton, like Portsmouth, was to experience a marked growth in the supply of education, not only because of the requirements of the law, but because of the particular local concerns over the welfare of youth.

As was the case throughout the country, many of the schools were of highly dubious efficiency and transient in nature; this is especially evident when, twenty years later, the newly appointed School Board commissioned a survey to ascertain the potential school population that would need to be catered for and the number of schools available or about to be erected.

The Board set up a committee to prepare replies to the Circular from the Education Department dated January 12th

1871 requesting 'precise information' in respect of Public Elementary School accommodation. The Committee found that the number of children within the municipal limits for whom means of elementary education should have been provided were 2951 between the ages of 3 and 5, 9476 between 5 and 13 years - a total of 12427. The survey showed a total of 87 schools, including 38 private Adventure schools, with one other 'soon to be erected'. Only approximately three-quarters of the required accommodation was available - in itself a manifestation of the Boy Labour problem.⁵⁷ Appendix II offers a more detailed analysis of the accommodation.

The private schools in Brighton never had the significance accorded to them in Portsmouth. The position of the latter had been much enhanced by the requirements of the Dockyard Examination and parents' determination to see their sons in such a prestigious form of employment compared to what else was on offer locally. There was no such impetus in Brighton. There was the realisation that the mainstream education system had to be developed if there were to be any prospect of young people avoiding blind-alley employment; even then such developments would need to be fully integrated with the development of employment prospects in the local labour market if and when this occurred.

With the emphasis on education publicly provided, expenditure was bound to show marked increases as new demands on the system were made. Within the relative short period 1908/9 - 1912/13, for example, the Local Authority increased education spending by 32%.⁵⁸ Interestingly, this was also the time that there were more local references to

the dangers of ignoring the Boy Labour problem. By the middle of the inter-war period there had been a three-fold increase in such expenditure.⁵⁹ Not only the nature of the local labour market but also the continuing threat of ever higher unemployment was increasing the financial pressures faced by the Local Education Authority.

The Early Years of the School Board Era

Legislation may have created a framework in which education could be provided in a town such as Brighton in the later nineteenth century. But, as elsewhere in the country, attitudes of parents, their off-spring and of those who would be charged with creating an efficient system would also have to be appropriate if time, money and effort reflected in the statistics above were not to be wasted. As a member of the first School Board in Brighton, the Rev. Dr. Hannah spoke of his hope that the town's schools 'would be so graduated as to form an avenue towards distinction for any boys in the lowest rank who might show themselves deserving of promotion'.⁶⁰

However, this would not be the only requirement for success of this early provision of education. In the context of the debate over compulsion the *Brighton Observer* acknowledged that '...immediately that we come to education, the development and training of children so as to make them decent members of society...we are met with sentimental appeals to our love of freedom and the sacred rights of a British father'.⁶¹

All was not lost on this count, however. Not only had the School Board of the 1870's had 'the object...to encourage in every possible way the continuance of children at Public Elementary School beyond the age at which their attendance is by law compulsory...[and the number of senior children had increased 'year by year']...' but also 'there has appeared a desire on the part of many working men to keep their children at school for as long a time as possible in order that they might gain the advantage of more advanced education'.⁶²

Much of the progress would depend on the approach to educational issues by those in authority. Clearly there was a tremendous amount of work to be done after years of almost total neglect. In 1870 Councillor Lamb could speak of 'utter destitution as far as education is concerned'.⁶³ Those nominated for the first School Board began to write letters to the local newspapers giving their views on education - some of which were quite heartening in a modern context, particularly if translated into policy by successful candidates. Edward Maitland supported the provision of 'instruction that is indispensable ...for civilised life' with the need to provide a 'sound, comprehensive and practical system of instruction'. John Funnell and William Fitch put emphasis on 'school accommodation being comfortable and spacious, with appropriate recreation grounds attached, believing that a healthy body is essential to a healthy mind'.⁶⁴ Having formed the School Board, its members then claimed to have built the first Board School in the country.⁶⁵ F.H. Toyne later claimed that the Board had always

been known for its efficiency and 'when payment by results was the order of the day, the level of results was amongst the first in the country.'⁶⁶

Nevertheless despite contemporaries' views of their achievements, they could not easily perceive the future requirements of youth; the need for technical and secondary education became ever more apparent as the nineteenth century drew to a close. In the late 1890's the *Brighton Herald* was able to point to the School Board's presentation of 'a highly satisfactory report... as to the year's work in the Schools... all the Schools had been awarded the highest grant and had been excused examination' the following year (1898).⁶⁷

Beyond the 1902 Education Act

Under the terms of the 1902 Education Act the Town Clerk reported that it was now a legal duty to 'supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary' and 'to promote the general coordination of all forms of education'.⁶⁸ In relinquishing power the School Board felt '..that they can unreservedly say that at no previous period were the School structures in a more efficient condition.... Government Reports abundantly testify to the sound educational work done in the Schools and the improved regularity of attendance of the scholars is a fact upon which the town may be congratulated.... During the past thirty years not only has a good foundation been laid, but an enlightened policy of progress has been steadily pursued and legitimate

aspirations for higher instruction constantly fostered.'⁶⁹

Such comments must have been welcome news to those who were becoming more vociferous in their demand that something be done about the growing Boy Labour problem evident in the town. The Education Committees of the Edwardian period were keen to build on this progress and felt that, even though the concept of public education was growing ever wider, nevertheless, 'there now exists in Brighton an education system....which compares favourably with that of any other town in the country'.⁷⁰

The Higher Schools' Sub-Committee seems to have had the vision to anticipate the possible wishes of parents and youth. It set itself an ideal that children 'should be furnished with opportunities for continuing their education and becoming better fitted for their work in life..' They had already backed this vision with a Municipal Secondary School for 1000 boys and girls and junior scholarships to help parents wanting their children to continue with education but unable to afford it.⁷¹ That there were concerns cannot be denied and these were bound up in the early years of the twentieth century with the national concern with Boy Labour. The Brighton Education Committee made it clear that it had joined forces with Boys' Clubs, Boys' Brigades and Cadet Corps to offer education facilities to 14-17 year olds, with the promise that the Committee would do 'all in their power to promote the welfare of boys and girls during the important years of adolescence...'⁷² Concern was also expressed at the fact that more needed to be done to enforce regular attendance given 'something over

5% of preventable absence in the Public Elementary Schools of Brighton'.⁷³

The Rôle of Employers

The role that the local employers could play in encouraging the consumption of education by employees was not lost on the Authorities at this time. Although the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Works were highly significant in the town they did not have the all-pervading influence that the Royal Dockyard had in Portsmouth. Nevertheless they had an important role to play and were involved in the education system of the town. Interestingly, even in the 1890's, youth did provide a linkage between the two towns: the Headmaster of Brighton's Municipal Technical School gave thanks to the Portsmouth Dockyard 'for the special facilities they readily gave to our parties'.⁷⁴

Up to the First World War it had been the case that 'for some years the LBSCR Company have offered prizes to persons in their employment who attend approved courses in the Evening Departments of the Technical College.... In addition, they have recently instituted a scheme for refunding the amount of the evening class fee to all apprentices who make 75% of the possible attendances and enter for the College Examinations'.⁷⁵ This approach was in contrast to the pressure which had to be brought to bear on the Company just two years earlier to follow the practice of the other Railway Companies in allowing apprentices to attend courses on one or two afternoons each week. It was

thought that this would ensure that apprenticeship might be a more fulfilling experience and reduce the likelihood of its premature termination.⁷⁶

The Inter-War Period

After the First World War there was a local determination to do more for youth as the concern for the creation of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment continued against a backdrop of economic instability. Unfortunately there seemed to be some difficulty in developing a coherent strategy. While secondary scholarships were seen as important, there was also the proposal to raise fees at the Technical College and for secondary education which some feared would lead to a 'serious diminution of students'. Principals predicted a 'much more rapid decline in numbers than is shown as the result of the last increase'.⁷⁷ Table 4.2 provides data for 1922-3 showing only a small minority remaining at school beyond the school leaving age:⁷⁸

Table 4.2

Left School	318
Applied at Bureau	174
Placed	30
Staying at School, Jan 1923	76
Still at School, Easter Term	44
Found Work	30

(3 are back on register)

Table 4.2: Analysis of the Position in mid-April, 1923
of Boys Who Left School Christmas 1922

Source: General Purposes Sub-committee 3/5/1923: statistics taken from the registers of the Juvenile Employment Bureau

In a 1917 Report *Educational Requirements After the War* the whole question of school accommodation was reviewed in the context of the 'greatly increased demand on all sides for secondary education'. The decision was made to replace the York Place School with new secondary schools on the Varndean Estate.⁷⁹ Through the scholarship system 'opportunity is offered to every child of average ability in the elementary schools to continue its education in the secondary school'; the Hedgcock Scholarships, for example, had been introduced in 1907 but only allowing 20 boys and 20 girls to move from elementary to secondary school each year with this financial support. Many remained excluded but in

any case may well have not profited from the curriculum offered at the time.⁸⁰

Educationalists were concerned that a comparative study of Technical Institute fees showed Brighton's to be considerably in excess of those charged elsewhere. Portsmouth formed part of the survey and this particular comparison is shown in Table 4.3:⁸¹

Table 4.3

	1		2		3		4		5			6	
	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	d	£	s
BRIGHTON	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	0	31	10
PORTSM'TH	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	7	17	6	21	0

1=Engineering;2=Science;3=Arts;4=Pharmacy;5=Commerce;6=Non-local students

Table 4.3:Session Fees Charged For Full-Time Day Courses at Technical Institutes.1923-4:Non-University Institutions

Source: ESRO:R/E2/3/21,22:Brighton Education Committee

Agenda and Reports

At this time the Authorities' preferred way of extending education lay in providing evening continuation classes with a curriculum which had an industrial bias.All Head Teachers

were advised to recommend this line of action to leavers and write to parents urging evening school attendance for their offspring. This was all in the context of the worrying unemployment level for the 14-18 year group of 317 in January 1924.⁸² 1929 was to see a reorganisation of the education system in Brighton in the wake of the *Hadow Report* based on a three-fold division: infants to 7, junior mixed 7-11 and senior boys and girls. This was to be the basis for developments in the 1930's - a decade when the policy makers hoped to witness further progress despite the deteriorating economic situation.

Compulsory Attendance, the School Leaving Age and Free Education

Whatever the progress and the problems, the education system could only succeed in fulfilling the needs of children if there was consistently satisfactory attendance. Under the bye-laws the parents of children of not less than 5 years nor more than 13 years of age 'shall cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school'.⁸³ The Brighton Authorities specified that a 'reasonable excuse' would be where there was not a Public Elementary School within one mile [contrary to the Board of Education criterion of 3 miles] and that 'any child between 10 and 13 years of age...[having]...reached the 5th Standard...shall be wholly exempted from the obligation to attend school. Any such child so certified as having reached the 3rd Standard of education ...shall be exempted from one

half of the school time.'⁸⁴

There was a strong local feeling that more had to be done to enforce attendance, a feeling articulated by the *Brighton Guardian* in asserting that '...the time had now come for bringing the children who were wandering about uneducated under the influence of the Board...[which]...had been in existence for three-quarters of a year...[and]...they had not yet done anything to bring a single child under the direct influence of education'.⁸⁵

Fees were an obvious obstacle to progress. Those laid down in the bye-laws for the early 1870's were not to exceed 2d per week for under 7s, 3d for those over 7 and under 9 and 4d for those aged 9 and above.⁸⁶ Later reports of the Brighton Education Committee comment on the significance of the advent of free education: 'In the year 1890, immediately before the introduction of free education, the percentage of attendance was as low as 76.3. Given the advent of free education and greater legal enforcement, a notable improvement is seen by the Edwardian period (Table 4.4):'⁸⁷

Table 4.4

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
%	88.7	87.7	90.6	89.0	89.3	89.7

Table 4.4: Attendance at Brighton Public Elementary
Schools in the Edwardian period

Source: BRL:370.6 B76:Education Committee *Annual Report* 1909

Fees, and the wish of many parents that their off-spring should be earning as soon as possible, were obvious constraints on the number of children staying beyond 13 in the early years. The Board in 1872 put the number at 'not less than 5%' or just over 400 although this is not to say that even these would be receiving any type of education which would have a beneficial bearing on the Boy Labour problem.⁸⁸

Both in the 1870's and in the 1880's (when the Higher Grade School was opened) numbers did drop dramatically for Standards VI and VII in Brighton Schools. Figures for 1877 show this quite clearly:⁸⁹

Table 4.5

Standard	Sept. 29th 1877
I	848
II	845
III	735
IV	508
V	241
VI	91
VII	9

Table 4.5: Numbers of Pupils Per Standard, Brighton, 1877

Source: ESRO:R/E2/1/9: School Board Minutes 1877-81

In an 1884 Report published in the *Brighton Guardian*,

School Managers Report Progress a similar picture was shown. Quoting from the Board's *Quarterly Report* it wrote: 'The number of children working in each Standard was 1,586 in the first...1,505 in the second...1,172 in the third...996 in the fourth...351 in the fifth...228 in the sixth...70 in the seventh...passed the 7th,2...making a total of 6,110'.⁹⁰

Even with the advent of free elementary education the alleviation of the Boy Labour problem was not going to make much progress until help was given to parents to encourage them to extend their children's education or, less constructively, the Government raised the school leaving age and urged stronger local bye-laws to penalise parents more heavily for their children's non-attendance. However, the School Board did note an improving daily average attendance by the late 1890's with the causes 'doubtless to be found ... (1) in the additional elder children retained in the schools from 13 to 14 years of age, and (2) to the alteration of the Bye-law increasing the maximum penalty for non-compliance with the Law from 5s to £1.'⁹¹

By the 1890's the Higher Grade School was well established but full secondary and technical education would not reach the masses until the principle of free education reached these sectors. Some help with fees, through the award of scholarships, was, as nationally, the only help being offered at this time and into the 20th century.⁹² Appendix III provides some data for the Edwardian period.

There was also concern expressed in the minutes of the Higher Schools' Sub-Committee, however, that despite the scholarship system, attitudes of parents and perhaps youth

itself, remained somewhat intransigent until they could perceive a more major tide of change sweeping through the locality in support of extending education provision. In 1918 the number of children in attendance at Elementary Schools between 11 and 12 was 1950 and yet only 300 candidates applied for scholarships. Thus the Committee felt it necessary to comment that 'there may possibly be some of exceptional ability, who have, for various reasons, not been brought within the scholarship net. The sub-committee hopes... that the parents may be persuaded to allow their children to receive the benefits of further education under the committee system of scholarships'.⁹³

There is no doubt that progress had been made in improving attendance and bringing further education within reach of more adolescents as the inter-war period developed. The limitations have also to be recognised, however. Statistics for 1939 show a 90.4% attendance rate at Brighton's elementary schools (see Appendix IV).⁹⁴ By this time all elementary school pupils entered for the examination for Special Places (the means by which parents at this time were given assistance depending on income), at Secondary School but the odds seemed stacked against many of them. In 1939 for 846 boys eligible for Special Places at secondary school (836 of whom were actually examined) there were only 80 places available at Varndean Secondary and three at the Grammar School.⁹⁵

The Nature and Significance of Elementary Education to the
Children of Brighton

It has to be accepted for Brighton, as it was for Portsmouth and, indeed, nationally, that the vast majority of children had to rely on the elementary school system (and from the 1880's the Higher Grade School) and perhaps evening courses to provide them with the literacy, numeracy and other skills which would allow them to make their way in the world.

Unfortunately, if there was the perception that even this education was being grudgingly provided and was not, given the nature of the curriculum especially in the early years, providing something that was readily seen as worthwhile, it would not be possible to encourage consumption nor to instil the right attitudes. This would continue to be the case until provision was more generous and more relevant to the real needs of the adolescent. A heavy responsibility lay, therefore, on the shoulders of those overseeing the provision of elementary education and its quality.

Even in the 1870's the elementary curriculum was not without signs of progressiveness. It included rudimentary Natural Science, Drawing and extra subjects graduated in Standards IV, V, VI: Geography, History, Algebra up to simple equations, Language (including elements of Latin, French or German), Physical Geography, Physiology.⁹⁶ HMI Reports seemed to be favourable and examination results were good, especially when compared to national statistics. HMIs wrote of Hanover Terrace Boys' School: 'The School is conducted... with assiduity and integrity. Elder boys well advanced.' Of

Pelham Street Boys' School: 'This large Boys' School is exceedingly well attended and methodically worked'. For all the schools listed in the records there were no adverse comments. Table 4.6 shows the examination successes:⁹⁷

Table 4.6

	READING	WRITING	ARITHMETIC
BRIGHTON			
BOARD SCHOOLS	88.5	92.2	88.2
ENGLAND & WALES	85.7	78.9	69.9

Table 4.6: Percentage of Passes in Each Subject, 1877

Source: ESRO:R/E2/1/9: School Board Minutes 1877-81

For the early 1880's Report comments, while still satisfactory, were more variable, although comparisons with national examination results remained favourable.⁹⁸ At the beginning of the new century the Elementary Schools' Sub-Committee wished to draw the attention of the Education Committee to the 'uniformly excellent Reports of HMIs upon the [Elementary] Schools...and to heartily congratulate the Teachers upon the result of their labours'. The HMI's *Report on Ditchling Road School* was typical of the other Reports at that time. It was 'an excellent School. In Drawing, very good work is done by the school as a whole; but the marked advance in the range of instruction in the First Class and the

progress so far achieved are specially worthy of note'.⁹⁹

Certainly the Edwardian years saw elementary education moving 'in the direction of making the education of a more practical character, and this has manifested itself...in the provision of improved facilities for Manual Instruction...540 more boys were enabled to receive a course of instruction in Handicraft throughout the year [1910]'. There was still a feeling, however, that 'a good deal remains to be done towards bringing the education provided in the Elementary Schools...into closer relation with the work which the child may be expected to take up on leaving school'.¹⁰⁰ Appendix V shows the significant numbers sitting the Manual Instruction Examination in the Elementary Schools at the beginning of the Edwardian period.¹⁰¹

The General Purposes' Sub-Committee, in the context of the *Interim Report on Boy Labour*, 1909, felt that it was of 'supreme importance that the task of finding suitable occupations for boys and girls on leaving school should be associated with the public educational work of the town...'.¹⁰² This was the dilemma: educationalists, parents and businessmen may have been keen to see the development of the education system, and the curriculum it contained, but employment with prospects often remained scarce for the increasingly better educated young people of the town. Even though education provision had improved, concern was being expressed at the treatment accorded to pupils in the 7th Standard which seemed 'out of place on so wide a scale in a large town' where only one third of all the children over 7 years of age effectively reached Standard VII. Given the

nature of the education received at that level the 'further promotion of a child....is in great measure arrested...he remains mostly engaged in lessons adapted to the capacity of his juniors and a decay of stimulus and progress commonly follows'.¹⁰³ Such was the concern of the General Purposes Sub-Committee in 1908 that it surveyed 14-17 year olds leaving school. Of 634 boys traced: 31.2% became errand boys, 11% messengers, labourers or 'have no occupations and may be classified with the 199 [errand boys] - making a total of 42% who will probably ultimately drift into the ranks of unskilled labour'.¹⁰⁴

This gave rise to a great deal of official concern, given that such innovations as the Higher Grade School - which had then been in existence for a quarter of a century - were intended to help alleviate such problems. As the *Brighton Guardian* pointed out at the inception of the York Place Board School the boys' curriculum was 'calculated to enable them in after life to join and prove a credit to the artisan class'. There is some evidence of significant progress within its own right: the curriculum included Mathematics, Magnetism, Electricity, Sound, Light and Heat, Animal Physiology and Drawing.¹⁰⁵

The Bryce *Report on Secondary Education* (1895) noted that the Brighton Higher Grade School at York Place had fees of 6d per week; it had no Standard VII (in contrast with the Portsmouth School) but had 205 over Standard VII. It taught Elementary School subjects, Organised Science Subjects, Modern Languages, Commercial Subjects and Manual Instruction.¹⁰⁶ By 1904 numbers had climbed to 281 and a HMI Report concluded

that the School played its part in a 'coordinated system of schools in Brighton'.¹⁰⁷ Appendix VI shows the age breakdown of this total as well as parental class. At the end of the 19th century a local newspaper reporter had been most impressed with all that went on at the School. Its motto 'Onward and Upward' seemed highly relevant to the Boy Labour problem. The reporter concluded that the School was 'the expression of the highest that has been attained, as a continual testimonial to the splendid work that the Brighton School Board has done for so many years'.¹⁰⁸ At this time the *Brighton Herald* spoke of 'phenomenonally large attendance' especially given the help of the Scholarship scheme. It was pointed out that a 'number' of scholars continued their studies in the Municipal Technical School.¹⁰⁹ It was very pleasing for the founding fathers to note the growth of the School, with accommodation for 860 in the boys' department and 736 in attendance in June 1902.¹¹⁰

The Development of the Curriculum: Technical Education

It was important for there to be a keen local awareness of the need to widen the curriculum at all levels in order to cater for the particular needs of Brighton youth even though no guarantees could be given over employment prospects. Consideration had to be given to Manual Instruction and Technical and Commercial Education. As early as 1872 a Brighton School Board publication *Scheme of Education* spoke of the need for 'rudimentary Natural Science and Drawing' to be taught and for the need to 'create evening

schools for the education of persons above the age of twenty for higher instruction in Science and Art'.¹¹¹

The *Brighton Herald* gave some insight into the early origins of technical education when it reported the opening of the Brighton Municipal Technical School in 1897. It referred to such education being started by Mr D. Hack in an annexe to the York Place Higher Grade School and later taken over by the School Board. It also made reference to the use of the Excise Grant by Brighton Town Council to take over the York Place Technical School, the School of Science and Art and the opening of a small Technical School in Carlton-Hill; additionally it made grants available for the teaching of Technology and Science at the Brighton Grammar School. By the late 1890's Carlton-Hill had ceased to exist, while the Municipal School of Science and Art and the York Place Technical School were to be transferred to the new Municipal Technical School.¹¹² Commercial education at its lower level was to be offered at the Higher Grade School while higher studies would be offered at the Municipal, Science School, and latterly at the Municipal Technical School.¹¹³

The Municipal Technical School was much needed. The School of Science and Art was thought to have done little towards the 'direct application of scientific studies to specific industries or employment'. There was perceived a need for a much greater development of this type of education especially when 'the present boys and girls and youth of the town have acquired in the voluntary and board schools a desire for artistic and scientific teaching.' There was important 'preparatory work now being carried on in a large

proportion of the Public Elementary Schools in the town.'¹¹⁴

The Organised Science School was 'established by the School Board..for those children who have passed the Sixth Standard and therefore fall within the scope of the Technical Instruction Act' and a three year course was offered.The problem of limited preparatory work in the Elementary School was cited;if this were to continue 'other institutions can never accomplish the full work of which they are capable.'¹¹⁵

In 1888 Sir Philip Magnus visited the York Place Technical School to advise on its work;not only was day instruction given,but also evening tuition to men and youths who had left the day school.Courses included carpentry and joinery,mechanical engineering and all classes were well attended.However, there were 'absolutely no public funds whatever for carrying on the excellent work of this school' and yet 'there is a large field of labour.'Both artisans and apprentices were participating in these classes and 'in very few other towns has the School Board grounds for so large a claim upon the Town Council as the School Board for Brighton' for funds to carry on the work of the school.¹¹⁶

In the mid-1890's the Headmaster of the York Place Technical School was able to refer to his pride in local youth given that 'for the second year in succession we have been able to secure second position in open competition with the Science Schools of the UK...Brighton possesses a system of scholarships whereby sons of the poorest individual can advance step by step from the Elementary School to the highest of Science Colleges.'¹¹⁷

The Development of the Curriculum:Manual Instruction

Manual Instruction was also given due importance in Brighton. A beginning had been made to its provision in the early part of the thesis period and in 1897 a newspaper article spoke of its 'remodelling'; an attempt was made to rationalise its provision by removing the Manual Instruction School at York Place to the new Technical Instruction School erected by the Council.¹¹⁸ By the early years of the new century special Manual Instruction Centres were well established; a report by the School Accommodation Sub-Committee for 1903-4 showed 1196 pupils in attendance at such centres with an average attendance of 1122.¹¹⁹ Even so, in the case of technical and manual instruction, official reports suggest that provision did not go far enough and therefore was not providing a means of alleviating the Boy Labour problem to the extent that commentators would have wished to see. HMIs in 1911 were still able to point out that 'the need is being felt for a school for boys who need some different kind of preparation for their life-work from that which is to be had in the Secondary Schools..¹²⁰

A later Report (1928) noted the absence of a Junior Technical School which had played so prominent a part in the Portsmouth Education system. It advised that 'when circumstances become more favourable the provision of a Junior Technical School (which might also serve the needs of intending engineers), should be considered.'¹²¹ The Brighton Education Committee felt obliged to refer to the 'insufficiency of practical instruction under the Brighton

Authority...only 43% of the boys [eligible] obtain 2 years' handicraft instruction'.¹²²

Evening Schools

Throughout the period, and as in Portsmouth, it was the Evening Schools which were going to be important in providing opportunities for youth to obtain a degree of literacy and numeracy that had perhaps been missed in their younger years for whatever reason, or to gain new skills to enhance employment prospects. The 1870's saw six evening schools in existence in Brighton with an average attendance of 203 with 20 of that number under 13 years of age, but only open from October to March. They were generally available for children over 12 years of age and Managers of such schools were urged to offer higher instruction in Science and Art.¹²³ Evening Schools 'for older boys and youths' were commenced at the Middle St., Pelham St., and Hanover Terrace and Lewes Rd. Schools.¹²⁴ By the 1890's there were three grades of Evening Classes - elementary, commercial and technical. The School Board offered 5 Centres for males and 3 for females and subjects included drawing, elementary science and wood-carving. Only recently had money become available from the rates for such schools which had previously been supported by private donations.¹²⁵

HMI Reports for the decade suggest that the sector was being efficiently run. York Place Evening School was considered to be 'in good working order, and the instruction ...is thoroughly efficient.' At Hanover Terrace the

scholars were 'in good order and seem interested in their work.' And at Preston Road the work was 'carefully carried on and the discipline is good.'¹²⁶ By this time (1894) the School Board was also offering free education to anyone who had previously attended evening school, while new scholars were charged a registration fee of 6d which was returned to all who attend classes for 15 hours.¹²⁷ By 1897 prizes were also being offered for good attendance.¹²⁸ In spite of these financial attractions it could still be maintained in the early years of the twentieth century that 'only a very small proportion of the young men and women for whom Evening Classes are provided at present take advantage of them'.¹²⁹

Course organisers needed to be innovative and there was some achievement here. The *Annual Report* of the Education Committee for 1910 noted two additions to the courses - Lettering for Compositors and a preliminary course for Engineering before students moved onto the Technical College - and both these 'attracted a fair number of students and appear to meet a real need.'¹³⁰ Appendix VII gives an age analysis of those attending at this time.¹³¹

Improvements did begin to be seen in the popularity of the Evening Schools on the eve of the First World War and attendance became more regular (89.6% in 1911, for example).¹³² An HMI Report of 1913, while speaking favourably of the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering courses at the York Place Evening School, did regret the absence of a pre-apprenticeship school for boys leaving Elementary Schools at 13 or 14; it noted that it was 'a

matter of careful consideration'. There appeared to be the fear that such boys would drift into blind-alley employment if they were not given suitable direction when leaving the Elementary Schools.¹³³

Also significant for the Boy Labour problem were 'the commendable efforts...to bridge the gap between Day and Evening study...The results of these studies are already shown in a marked increase in the number of children who join an Evening School without allowing a long interval to elapse'. Of the scholars who left Elementary School between January and March 1913, 37.5% of the boys were admitted to an Evening School in the same session, compared to 28.5% in the previous year.¹³⁴

The inter-war period, while seeing the continued growth of this aspect of education, did not see the achievement of entirely free admission to such courses. Fees for first year classes in the session 1924-5 were 5/- p.a. and 7/6 per annum for each higher class. However, a limited number of free studentships were available as well as remission of part of the fees related to performance. Students who had worked satisfactorily could also enter the Technical College at reduced fees.¹³⁵ By this time the number and variety of courses had increased. They included the traditional mix of Engineering, Practical Drawing, Mathematics, Workshop, Construction as well as Shorthand, Book-keeping and Typewriting.¹³⁶ At the beginning of the 1930's there were a total of 752 students in attendance at the York Place Evening Institute, 346 of whom were free students. Of 537 males attending technical courses, all but

22 were aged between 13 and 18.¹³⁷ A further Report makes reference to the employers of the town encouraging their students to attend evening classes and this type of encouragement was vital if more boys were to embark on a process of self-improvement.¹³⁸

Secondary Education

Whatever view is taken of the need for secondary education, throughout the entire period, evening school provision was always going to be more accessible and of more relevance to the needs of the majority of youth than the secondary education sector. This is not to say that secondary education was totally irrelevant and, as we can now argue with the benefit of hindsight, could have played a more substantial rôle. As the *Brighton Guardian* argued in the 1880's secondary schools could 'supply the great deficiency in our educational system. They are the keystone that completes the bridge between the primary schools and the Universities.'¹³⁹

The Municipal Secondary School for Boys was established in 1905 having developed from the former Higher Grade Schools. On the eve of this transition to a new status the records show 752 male day pupils attending secondary schools of whom 154 were in 11 private schools. York Place Municipal Secondary School was to supply the needs of boys largely drawn from elementary schools at the age of 10 or 11 who required a secondary education 'of a modern type' but did not usually remain at school beyond 15 or 16.¹⁴⁰

Age had a bearing on the level of fees payable as did the area of residence. Appendix VIII gives details of the age structure of pupils at the Municipal Secondary School in 1908-9. 25% free places were offered as nationally. The archives for the pre-First World War period maintained that 'the school improved greatly [in those years], the organisation and staffing having been altered for the better.'¹⁴¹

By the 1920's the Municipal Secondary School for Boys had 673 pupils up to 16 and 56 over sixteen. Nevertheless, an analysis of the classes in life from which pupils were drawn shows the irrelevance of the secondary school system even by the inter-war period to those adolescents who were likely to be tempted into blind-alley employment: in percentage terms the statistics show: Professional 14; farmers 2; wholesale traders 4; retail traders and contractors 32; clerks and commercial agents 14; public service 9; domestic service 3; artisans 20; labourers 2. 71% of boys received their previous education at public elementary schools but the average school life above the age of 12 was still only 2yrs 11 mths. There was, however, a special class formed for boys who at 14 or 15 seemed more likely to benefit from a more practical education.¹⁴²

It was in the 1920's that the Authorities noted 'the greatly increased demand on all sides for secondary education' and so the decision to set aside 59 acres on the Varndean Estate for both girls' and boys' schools.¹⁴³ Varndean Girls' opened in 1926 and Boys' in 1931; both offered spacious, attractive accommodation which in itself

could have been a stimulus to demand.¹⁴⁴ Brighton was inevitably to follow the national trend, however, of only being able to provide a free secondary education to all after the Second World War allowing education to take on a substantially greater relevance for Brighton's youth.

Technical Colleges

Whatever the means of access it was the wish of increasing numbers of adolescents (with the support of their employers in a number of instances) to progress to technical college to gain qualifications which would offer them the opportunity to free themselves from the Boy Labour trap, sometimes through attendance at day classes, but more likely through attendance at the Municipal College's evening courses. In the session 1908-9, 1130 evening students were on the roll; Appendix IX shows the occupations of the participants.¹⁴⁵ Part of the growth witnessed could be explained by the provision of Elementary Trade teaching for young boys of about 14 years of age.¹⁴⁶

An HMI Report of 1911 showed the extent of the day and evening classes. At one point it stated that 'the demand for evening instruction in Mechanical Engineering comes mainly from persons employed at the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Works...'. However, the Inspectors also pointed out that 'a much larger number ought to have been taking prescribed courses' especially given that 'the arrangements for evening students are commendable'.¹⁴⁷

There is some evidence to suggest that such courses did

make the participants more marketable in the local labour market. In 1911 an enquiry was made into the occupations of former day students and 'more than half the students..... [were]...engaged in occupations for which they were trained in the College, many in responsible positions.'¹⁴⁸ It is to be regretted that improved marketability did not necessarily help to create more openings for labour. When blind-alley employment was being offered youth had a right to question the worth of the education being provided at this level.

It has to be remembered that boys under 15 were not admitted to the evening courses 'except on the special application of their parents or guardians, and with the sanction of the principal. In 1911-12 eight students under 15 were so admitted.' It was also noted in this Report that 'apprentices and others are not taking advantage to a sufficient extent of the generally good facilities for instruction.'¹⁴⁹

There was a widening of the range of courses offered. By the 1920's such subjects as Commercial Law, Economics and Geography were being taught.¹⁵⁰ However, it was in this later period that the nature of the College was undergoing change. Not only had the volume of work grown but so too had its character with 'a large and increasing proportion of the work...[being]...of University College Standard...Ten years ago, most of the students ranged between 15 and 17 years of age; now, sixteen is the minimum age of admission and 65% are over 18 years of age.' The consequence of this was its growing irrelevance to the Boy Labour problem since

many adolescents would have been lost to the education system by that time.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless it retained its importance for apprentices of the Railway Company, who were then being allowed to attend classes for one day a week in the Company's time. There were 32 part-time day students in 1930 of whom 25 were apprentices of the Southern Railway.¹⁵² There had been a long association of the Railway Company with the College. On the eve of the First World War the general manager of the Company had presented the prizes at the College and announced a scheme for its apprentices offering them refund of fees if attendance reaches 75% of the maximum and sat for the College examinations.¹⁵³

The Integration of the Education System

The College helped complete the education system of Brighton but there did need to be sufficient linkages between the various parts. Without such linkages youth could be, and was, lost to the system and was then more likely to drift into blind-alley employment. In spite of some major developments in the town's education system up to the First World War, Supply Files for 1913 were still able to point to insufficient 'elasticity of promotion' from infants' classes upwards. Such elasticity would have helped foster the development of channels through which pupils could travel on to higher studies.¹⁵⁴ It might be expected that a good number of students would progress from the York Place School to Technical College but the number of students so

doing was 'negligible'.¹⁵⁵ A Report of the 1930's speaks similarly of the lack of 'continuity of instruction for students' between these two institutions.¹⁵⁶ Such continuity within the system was not totally absent but would have to await the post-war period for its adequate development in an era of free secondary education and student grants for College courses.

Conclusion

There is no doubt, however, as in Portsmouth and other towns and cities, that much had been achieved in Brighton as far as education was concerned; the system that had evolved was able to stand comparison with those which had developed elsewhere. In a town where skilled industrial occupations were in existence but in limited supply the education system had to serve the purpose of teaching those skills but also help develop attitudes and abilities within young people which would serve them well in any occupation whatever the level of skill required. Weaknesses which remained in the town's education system by 1939 were often reflections of failings in national education policy and inadequate resources. The progress made did increase the potential for alleviating the Boy Labour problem but such potential could only be fulfilled if the labour market offered sufficient alternative occupations to those perceived as blind-alley in nature. Continued limited industrial development beyond the railway industry and an expanding service sector which - although providing some

employment with long term security - saw a proliferation of blind-alley employment and gave local policy-makers and consumers of education cause for pessimism in the assessment of the impact of education on the Boy Labour problem.

Portsmouth

Introductory Comments on the Development of Education in

Portsmouth

There is no doubt that considerable education provision existed in Portsmouth before the start of the thesis period. Not only were there church schools and private schools but, importantly in the life of the town, the Admiralty Dockyard School for apprentices. The *Hampshire Telegraph* in 1891, looking back on Portsmouth in the early 1840's, could only 'find a record of 36 schools';¹⁵⁷ the *Education Census* (1851) presents a very different picture:

Table 4.7

	<u>No. of schools</u>	<u>males attending</u>
TOTAL	266	5042
PUBLIC DAY SCHOOLS*	32	2564
PRIVATE DAY SCHOOLS	234	2478

*Supported by General or Local Taxation:5;by endowments:1;
by religious bodies:24;then, other public schools:2.

Table 4.7: Education in Portsmouth, 1851

Source: 1851 Education Census II Page 76

The *Census* gave the population of Portsmouth as 72,096 and day-school pupils as one in 7.57 of the population.¹⁵⁸ However, as in other parts of the country, education of any consequence was yet to impinge on the lives of the vast majority of families. It was, of course, the stage-by-stage developments after 1870 that were to be significant and of the upmost relevance to the Boy Labour issue.

After the passing of the 1870 Education Act the first meeting of the Portsmouth School Board was held at the Guildhall in February 1871. The Clerk to the Board, R.J. Spencer, produced statistics to show that there were 23,005 children between the ages of 3 and 13; this, he maintained, could be reduced because of 'a well known statistical experience that 3/20ths of the population of large towns belong to classes beyond the pale of the industrial wage earning class' and so could be deducted to leave 19,555 assumed to be within the industrial classes category.¹⁵⁹

The 1871 *Census* found that about half of this number were receiving some type of education but often in conditions that would not encourage pursuit of education beyond a perceived necessary minimum and of a type that would not, in many cases, be producing children of any marketable worth in the local economy beyond blind-alley employment.¹⁶⁰ Table 4.8 gives details.

Table 4.8

	No.Schools	Av.Attend.	Accommodation
1.Public & Private Day			
Schools under govt.	28	4023	6147
inspection			
2.Public & Private Day			
Schools not under	18	1475	2214
inspection			
3.Adventure & Depts.of	262	4842	3395
same			
	308	10340	11756

- 1.'All these schools are efficient and...are of a suitable character.'
- 2.'they generally afford what is called efficient instruction...but in other instances they are crowded out out of all proportionate fitness.'
- 3.'The conditions are altogether wanting...only...suitable for children of infant age.'

Table 4.8:Schools,Average Attendance,Accommodation

Portsmouth,1871

Source: PCRO:G/SB/1/1:*Population Census,1871*

The Board was concerned about the shortfall in accommodation of 6822 places;¹⁶¹ resources would have to be provided to make good this deficiency as well as improve its quality if the children were to be adequately catered for within the education system. The issue is returned to later in this section.

Despite the problems at elementary level this first Board did not seem to be without vision for it hoped that 'before any great period has elapsed' there would be 'public secondary schools in the large towns, open to all sections of the community'.¹⁶² It was, however, to be the inaccessibility to education beyond the elementary stage which would seriously exacerbate the problems for youth as the nineteenth century drew to its close.

For elementary education the bye-laws were quite clear cut in 1871 and broadly similar to those in Brighton. Appendix X gives details of these laws. The Board's Minutes indicate the number of boys on the rolls of the various categories of schools at this time and are shown in Table 4.9

Table 4.9						
Males under 3	3-6	6-8	8-10	10-13	13+	TOTAL
22	617	718	820	791	124	3092
<u>No. of boys on rolls of PES not under inspection</u>						
40	248	233	200	117	14	852
<u>No. of boys on rolls: Adventure Schools or Depts</u>						
313	1032	603	372	234	34	2588

Table 4.9: No. of Boys on Rolls of PES Under Inspection, 1894

Source: PCRO:G/SB/1/1: School Board Minutes

Considerable growth was to occur in the first decade after the 1870 Education Act as increasing attention came to be given to the issue of compulsory attendance. The total number on the registers of the Board Schools had grown by 1880 to 5802 boys with about 4/5ths paying fees at either 1d or 2d per week.¹⁶⁴ Towards the end of the century this number had grown to 8434.¹⁶⁵ By this time Portsmouth, like other towns, had been able to introduce free education, given the Government's decision in 1891 to allow Local Authorities to provide this. The *Hampshire Telegraph* reported Mr Bascombe, the Clerk to the Governors, as saying that 'I don't suppose it will make any appreciable difference either way' although this seemed to be contradicted by his own figures that about 2/3 rds of children were at that time still paying fees which many parents will, no doubt, have regarded as a drain on very limited resources.¹⁶⁶ Free education or not, there is no doubt that Portsmouth had made, by the 1890's, considerable educational progress since the early days of the School Board. At a Certificate presentation ceremony the Mayor was able to express surprise 'at what was being taught to the young men and women of the borough... He would impress upon the minds of the young men and women of the town how gladly they should grasp the opportunities of looking after their future.'¹⁶⁷

With the establishment of a Higher Grade School (later to become a Council Secondary School), a Junior Technical School and a Municipal College in the early years of this century, much development had come from the foundation stones of the first Elementary schools (Cottage Grove and Buckland). By the

inter-war period it was 'possible for the boys and girls of Portsmouth, starting in the Elementary Schools, to work their way to the College, where a training in almost any profession can be obtained....the facilities for acquiring any form of education by which a person is capable of profiting will be almost unlimited'.¹⁶⁸ The optimism may have been well placed in some respects: the progress cannot be denied and would have made a not inconsiderable contribution to the alleviation of a Boy Labour problem, assuming that the labour market was able to provide appropriate opportunities. But so too were there weaknesses, even by the inter-war period, which official reports or surveys - keen to show progress - may tend to minimise. These need to be further considered once the problems and developments of the 19th century have been discussed.

Attitudes Towards Education

The fundamental problem that the early School Boards had to address - and Brighton and Portsmouth are again similar in this respect - was how to bring about a change of attitude towards education on the part of employers, parents and, indeed, children. Legal compulsion may achieve some results but something more was required: the need to ensure that education was seen to be relevant to the needs of the developing child. Curriculum development was therefore crucial as well as ensuring that adequate opportunities were evident in the town to allow youth to extend their education. For the early years a schedule of offenders

against the bye-laws gives some (but by no means a wholly satisfactory) indication of the extent of truancy. A total of 236 parents were subject to action by the Authorities.¹⁶⁹ (See Appendix XI) The same Minutes also point to only a total of 36 14 year olds attending Board Schools at that time.¹⁷⁰

What was certain at that time was that nobody could really be sure of how well or badly education would be received. The Log Books of the first Board School in Portsmouth - Cottage Grove - do give some insight into the problems faced by policymakers and headmasters in the front line, but we should not assume that there was also widespread resistance to the thought of education as a means of self-improvement. Certainly the Royal Dockyard was increasingly to create the incentive to parents and children to welcome the education on offer and also inspire policy-makers to introduce improvements as time went on.

Cottage Grove School opened in January, 1873 with a Head Teacher and 6 monitors. There are references to sporadic bouts of poor attendance but entries also show a gradually improving picture, albeit only a relative improvement. The Head Teacher's Log entry for 24th October, 1879 stated that 'many boys who have errands to do in the dinner time are compelled to be absent in the afternoon'. And for 28th October 1880 he concluded that 'considering that the majority of the boys attending the school live in the immediate neighbourhood, the number absent on wet days is far greater than it should be.' In spite of these problems, however, there were achievements. Whereas an HMI's report of

May 1879 included in the Log that 'the Standard work is poor throughout...children attending these schools [boys, girls, infants] are habitually late..' those for the late 1880's indicate definite improvement:For the year ending 31st January 1888 the HMI was able to conclude that 'the boys have again passed an excellent examination.All the teaching has been most thorough.'¹⁷¹ It was recognised that the awarding of prizes might provide the incentive to children which no legislation could .In 1888 the *Evening News* in reporting the presentation of prizes by the School Board reflected the Board's view that,in the giving of 2395 prizes,there would be 'increased attendance and attention on the part of the children...[and that]..it was most pleasant to note the improved appearance and the general advancement of the children,particularly in some schools which had been regarded as most backward and unpromising.'¹⁷²

Curriculum Development

Even if improvement could be detected the momentum to further progress had to be maintained.As elsewhere there was so much to be done in terms of expanding the elementary curriculum,technical and commercial education,evening continuation classes and making what progress was possible to secure a longer stay in education for many more of the Portsmouth children.Only with these innovations would education be in a position to make a contribution to the alleviation of the Boy Labour problem.In a number of respects,however,progress was to be slow as it was

nationally. Although there was much basic provision to be made at the outset, the 1870's was not devoid of reference to what could be, and what needed to be, achieved. In the early part of the decade the School Board referred to the question of technical education as 'one that may before very long demand the notice of the Board and is a question which in view of the keen competition of foreign enterprise and other weighty considerations, is of the highest national importance.' ¹⁷³ There was also support for the creation of evening classes. 'It is an important function of the Board to furnish required means of Evening Instruction for children.' At this time the curriculum consisted of basic elementary education although drawing was included for the boys. ¹⁷⁴

Late Nineteenth Century Expansion: the Higher Grade School

It was to be the 1880's, however, before the developments that were to be crucial to the opening up of opportunities for Portsmouth youth began to take shape. Official concern for the plight that many adolescents could experience began to be more clearly articulated from this time. It was becoming clear through HMI Reports and local comments that school life was still far too short for the vast majority and the scope for providing education of any worth for the future prospects of youth very limited. In the mid-1880's the School Management Committee makes such a reference to an HMI Report which suggested that '..the conditions affecting children in seaport towns are unfavourable to early and

continuous schooling for the class for whom public elementary instruction is provided' and that after the age of 10 or 11 'the absentees increase largely..' meaning that children leaving school 'seldom obtain employment of any regular discipline.' This came at a time when attendance figures for Portsmouth showed the number of boys on the register to be 8241 but average attendance only 6700 and the highest number present of 7247.¹⁷⁵ Arundel Street, Landport was a school with some of the most severe problems with 'boys of a rougher character than in other schools' and the School Log shows a high level of absenteeism. The entry for 7th January 1887, for example, gives a 21% absentee rate.¹⁷⁶ Clearly the problem was not going to be overcome easily or quickly but the Authorities seemed to appreciate that this might well right itself to a large extent as reform in the nature of educational provision took place and the possible length of school life began to increase.

The creation of a Higher Grade School was obviously seen as an innovation: a school which would be able to offer a curriculum able to build on the elementary achievements of the lower schools and so improve prospects for those attending. There was not a sense of alienation amongst children considering moving to the Higher Grade School which dogged many of those who viewed the transfer to a secondary school with some concern. Hitchins, for example, explains the large drop in numbers after the conversion of the Higher Grade School to a Council Secondary School in 1904 in terms of 'the removal of the School from the elementary orbit'.¹⁷⁷ The early 1880's see an official recommendation that such a

school was desirable: '...a school with boys and girls departments each to accommodate from 180 to 240... [should] ...be established in a conveniently central position at an attendance fee of 9d per week'.¹⁷⁸ Hitchins has spoken of the school as 'having an honoured place in the life of this historic town...[holding]..a special position as the City's first public technical school'. Significantly for the Boy Labour issue Hitchins also maintained that the 'Portsmouth Council School boy has determined the real character of the school. Of humble origins for the most part....with the opportunities afforded to him by social and educational progress, he has shown that no distinction is beyond his reach.'¹⁷⁹

The Higher Board School Sub-Committee opinioned that 'the school should be of a central character both in regard to its situation and its relation to the ordinary PES'...while the site...'should be sufficient for a probable ultimate provision of room and appliances for technical instruction.' The Committee also recommended accommodation for 'at least 400'boys.¹⁸⁰ A decade later the returns for the Higher Boys' School show 511 on the register, with an average attendance of 469 but with all but 9 pupils required to pay fees.¹⁸¹

By this time the curriculum was a far cry from the ideas of many of the policy-makers in the 1870's who had had some dubious motives for providing education to anyone beyond the middle classes. There were both evening and day classes in such subjects as Practical Inorganic Chemistry, Mathematics, Building Construction, Machine Construction and Drawing, Naval Architecture and Geometry.¹⁸² Manual Instruction was also

started in the School in 1894. The *Hampshire Telegraph*, in referring to the School Board's *Annual Report* spoke of the workshops being able to 'turn out practical men... enabled to make a good start in life.'¹⁸³

The strong links between the Higher Grade School and the Royal Dockyard cannot be denied. At the beginning of the new century, the *Evening News* was able to report that 51% of those who competed in the Dockyard Examination were instructed at the Higher Grade School for Boys, and 90% of these proved successful. In 1901 a third Dockyard class had been formed at the School and numbers had increased by 50%. The newspaper provides other details showing, for example, that in 1899, 92 pupils had been presented for examination with 70 passing.¹⁸⁴

In a sense the School was a victim of its own success so that demand exceeded supply. The 1902 Entrance Examination Returns show that a total of 545 candidates presented themselves for the Entrance Examination but only 163 were admitted.¹⁸⁵ While accepting that a number of the candidates were not of the appropriate calibre, there must surely have been within this number a significant proportion who could have benefited from such an education. Additionally, others may well have been discouraged from applying aware of the intense competition to be faced. The School moved to new premises in Victoria Street in 1892 and the *Portsmouth Times* spoke of the building being 'quite worthy in every respect'; demand continued to exceed supply, however, with the consequent overcrowding of some classes.¹⁸⁶ On his resignation as Headmaster of the School, Mr Walker spoke of

it as being 'one of the largest and best of its kind in the kingdom' and the *Evening News* quoted one HMI as referring to it as a model of what a Higher Grade School should be. By that time 3500 12-16 year old pupils had passed through the school and 'evidence of the excellence...is best gained by the great struggle which occurs among the higher standards of the elementary schools yearly to obtain admissions.'¹⁸⁷ A later Headmaster spoke in 1914 of notable progress: 'The curriculum had been broadened, the school enlarged and its permanent success ensured, whilst the social life...[will]... in many instances provide a basis for the development of personal initiative.'¹⁸⁸ This is what the youth of Portsmouth needed to place them on to the first rung of a career ladder.

Accommodation

The importance to motivation of spacious, pleasant, well-equipped accommodation was not really appreciated until the inter-war period and even then could only be reflected in the new schools of that period. The earlier concerns had been with how to remedy the deficiency in places rather than with the quality of accommodation. The consequent standard of accommodation, however, was not conducive to improving attendance nor to encouraging children to stay for longer than the absolute minimum.

It was not a problem that the Authorities seemed able to remedy: Elementary School Log Books still make references to the issue in the 1890's. For Buckland Boys the entry for

31st October, 1893 claimed that 'the school is crowded but, nevertheless, good order is maintained..' 189; that for Arundel Street School, in an entry for 1st February 1895, refers to being notified that 'in consequence of the average attendance at the Higher Grade School being at present in excess of the recognised accommodation the Board have been compelled to stop the Admission of fresh scholars until further notice'. 190

The accommodation problem was to persist into the inter-war period especially since there were new demands being made upon the Education Authorities to substantially improve the provision of the various types of education. On the eve of the new century Inspectors had been heavily critical of the accommodation at the Central Institute: laboratories 'utterly unsuited for the work carried on therein', workshops 'cramped and dangerous', drawing offices 'insufficient'. 191 Problems continued with, for example, Board of Education Minutes in 1930 claiming that the Junior Technical School (JTS) premises were 'an utter disgrace to any institution'. 192 Further, an HMI Report on these premises felt that the accommodation gave the JTS 'little opportunity of fulfilling its functions in entirety'. 193 The problem was therefore a long-standing one and did inhibit in various ways access of more young people to courses while, for others, making the idea of voluntarily consumption of education far less attractive.

The Rôle of Private Schools

Private schools did, of course, play their part in supplementing education provision in Portsmouth and were a significant part of the education system in the town, often stimulated by the annual Dockyard Examination. Newspapers regularly included advertisements for such schools with the Oliver family being the best known proprietors of the late Victorian period. Minutes of the School Board for 1871 show, however, that not all could be regarded as satisfactory.¹⁹⁴ In the 1880's Mr G.L. Oliver was the Principal of the Commercial Road Academy. The advertisement in the *Hampshire Telegraph and Daily Chronicle* spoke of pupils receiving 'a thorough Mathematical and Commercial Education. Special facilities are afforded to those intending to compete for Engineer Studentships and the Civil Service.' The Gloucester House School in Southsea advertised the teaching of 'the usual branches of an English Education.'¹⁹⁵ Field has suggested, however, that long term success could prove elusive. There had, he points out, been a growth of crammers in the 1870's and a marked growth of some of the schools. Eight of them had over 50 pupils each but 'only two of the eight largest schools returned in Portsmouth in 1870 were advertising in the Post Office Directory of four years later'.¹⁹⁶

Official concern had been expressed in this same decade by the Authorities and Regulations were announced to try and ensure the improvement of standards. Public Elementary School masters were now to inspect such schools and 'overcrowding

will render void any recognition of the School'.¹⁹⁷

Such schools played their part in encouraging boys to seek entry to the Royal Dockyard and therefore avoid blind-alley employment at the outset; fees could be a very real obstacle, however. A Higher Grade School was not welcomed by them for it proved to be an effective competitor in the eyes of parents and their offspring.

Technical Education

If the Boy Labour problem was going to be properly addressed education provision had to go further; quite how to do this became the concern of the Technical Education Sub-Committee in its deliberations in the late 1890's and the early part of the twentieth century. The minutes show that the concept of technical education was given a wide perspective to include such subjects as building construction, chemistry, machine construction, steam and applied mechanics, with students' requests made for the provision of other subjects including geology and tailoring.¹⁹⁸ The courses offered therefore had to be given proper consideration if they were to appeal to those adolescents and adults which any technical institute was designed to help. If courses were to prove popular, however, the conditions under which they were offered had to be appropriate. Unfortunately there were problems at this time of inadequate accommodation - as elsewhere in the town's education system - and the consequent overcrowding and limitations on numbers.

In the Spring of 1897 concern was still being expressed:

the committee being 'of the opinion that a central building is urgently needed'.¹⁹⁹ This was not to come until the first decade of the 20th century and yet nobody interested in the development of the youth of the town could have denied the importance of the efficient provision of this type of education. It was certainly well summed up in 1894 by a town councillor speaking of the need 'to do something towards cultivating trades in Portsmouth and so advance the commercial prosperity of the borough. Nor was there any reason why they should not do more to properly equip the children of their townsmen to take part in the battle of life.'²⁰⁰

The Literary Society meeting in Portsmouth had also thought it proper to devote time to discussing Technical Education having not 'anticipated the rapid development of this question Technical Instruction would materially assist boys and girls to have some appreciation of their future work in life.' However, the Society also pointed to some disappointing comparisons as far as Portsmouth was concerned. In 1889 the number of students attending Science and Art classes per 1000 of the population was 1.17 in Portsmouth, 6.88 in Southampton and 5.61 at Brighton.²⁰¹ At this meeting Mr Jerrard argued that Portsmouth wanted an education not 'for the very clever people, who would get on anyway, but one that would improve the chances of the average youth and so improve Portsmouth relatively to other towns.'²⁰² This seemed to pinpoint the essence of the Boy Labour issue in relation to the provision of relevant education. The Technical Institute was able to play its part

but under trying conditions down to the very end of the 19th century when its facilities were spread around its main base in Arundel Street, Penhale Road and Arundel Street Board Schools, together with accommodation at Victoria Road and the Town Hall.

The Junior Technical School

Area Records on the eve of the First World War paint a gloomy picture of numbers staying for some secondary schooling. The number of boys leaving public elementary schools in Portsmouth in 1913-14 was 1401, with only 228 boys or just over 16% proceeding to secondary education. In 1918 there were 600 applicants for 130 places at the Boys' Municipal Secondary School; the leaving age tended to be 16 for most when entry was made to the Dockyard. The Dockyard Examination dominated the curriculum and organisation of the school so as to give it 'a special character'. It was noted that 'the demand for places is caused to a great extent by the desire of parents to get their boys into Government Service rather than by any general appreciation of the advantages of Secondary Education'.²⁰³

When the Higher Grade School had been converted into a Council Secondary School in 1904, fees had doubled to 6d per week, entrance was by examination and there was a big fall in numbers.²⁰⁴ The school leaving age from 1899 to 1907 being 12 (in 1907 it was made permissive to 14), 'the aim of most parents was to place their boys in suitable employment without too much delay'.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately for the youth of

labour the perception of 'suitable employment' was to vary considerably but what must also be appreciated is the financial strain parents would be under if allowing offspring to continue their education while fees persisted and scholarships were few and far between.

Portsmouth could be said to be fortunate, however, in having a Junior Technical School. It was opened in 1913 and 'although not a type which is common in this country...it is satisfying the needs of a large number of boys... who aim at posts in the Services...[and provides]...a very good preparation for boys who wish to enter industrial occupations.' Unfortunately it was being allowed, even in the 1930's, to exist in 'the disgraceful buildings at Queen's Road' and to the HMIs this was 'inexplicable'.²⁰⁶ The session 1913-14 had seen only 64 students attending for a 2 year course (age limit of admission 13 to 14) but by the end of the First World War this number had more than trebled to 185.²⁰⁷ There were two forms and fees were £3 7s 6d per year.²⁰⁸ Lane writes that the Junior Technical School had 'a totally different atmosphere [to what had been experienced up to that point by him]. It was very practical in Maths, Science, practical work'.²⁰⁹ Like most pupils attending the object was to pass the Dockyard Examination.

The Dockyard School

Because Portsmouth was a Dockyard Town it could be classed with that small group of towns who could boast a Dockyard School. In Portsmouth it made a significant contribution to

the teaching of apprentices and could even be said to have been in competition with what was on offer outside the Dockyard in terms of technical education. Haas describes such schools as a 'precocious embodiment of human resources development by a British employer...[they]...provide all apprentices with a secondary education of varying duration beginning in their first year (at the age of 14 or 15).²¹⁰ He goes on to say that the need for the schools was 'manifest and urgent. The incidence of illiteracy amongst apprentices was alarming..²¹¹

By the early years of the 20th century, they offered 'the best example of organised technical education' in the opinion of Sir William White, Director of Naval Construction (1885-1902).²¹² However, even though the Dockyard Schools had been established in the 1840's, it wasn't really until the 20th century that standards of achievement had reached any satisfactory level.²¹³ Between 1903 and 1951 'the fourth year Dockyard apprentice-scholar at Portsmouth began to earn a national reputation for acquiring a technical education unobtainable elsewhere.'²¹⁴ Further reference to the Portsmouth Dockyard School appears in Chapter 6.

The Inter-War Period

The inter-war period witnessed more significant progress in the town to cater for adolescents, some of whom, at least, seemed clearer about their educational needs than their less educated counterparts in the period 1870-1914. The more widespread provision of education and the articulation of

the need for more technical and vocational education had focussed the adolescent mind much more clearly on what his requirements were.

The composition of the Portsmouth Higher Education sector spanned the First World War years without significant change. The sector included the Municipal College (which was taken to include the College itself, the Day Training College and Hostels, the Pupil Teacher Centre and the School of Art); the Secondary Schools (the 1910 figures showed provision for 407 boys and 426 girls); Evening Continuation Schools.²¹⁵

The Board of Education noted with concern in 1919 that the provision of public secondary school accommodation was only 7 places per 1000 of the population in this LEA. For the boys' secondary school there were 600 applicants for 130 places in 1918; the leaving age tended to be 16.²¹⁶ Even in the mid-1920's an HMI felt it necessary to express concern at 'the short school life and the low average leaving age' of pupils. This same report also pointed to 'an unusual organisation of higher education [in Portsmouth]..to which there is no parallel in the country'. This was because the LEA refused to allow the work of the secondary schools to go beyond that of the first examination, given that they wanted pupils to move on to the Municipal College. However, many pupils, in feeling that the college represented the higher echelons of the education system, fought shy of the transfer and did not apply.²¹⁷

The HMI Report cited included the statistics given in Table 4.10 for the Boys' Secondary School in the town:

Table 4.10

	U15	15-16	16+	TOTAL
TOTAL	14	74	50	138
of whom:				
became artificers	2	52	5	59
to Munic.College				
or other H.Educ	-	6	17	23
entered occupations	1	9	9	19

Table 4.10:Southern Secondary School for Boys:Destinations
of Full-Time Pupils Who Left During the School Year 1923-4

Source: PRO:ED 53 Piece No.672 LEA Files

Other entries to this table were for those going to other secondary schools, student teachers, those leaving district.

The Board of Education records for this period note the continuing dominance of the Dockyard on the lives of the adolescent. The HMI noted that, with regard to the Dockyard, 'the age limit...for the Examination was not less than 15 but less than 17, but all those who leave for these reasons will attend part-time courses at technical training extending over 3 or 4 years...'.²¹⁸

The Inter-War Development of the Municipal College

There is no doubt from the records for the inter-war period that progress was made in the development of the Municipal College allowing it to offer a wide range of courses to meet the varied needs of Portsmouth youth. Such progress built on pre-War developments: an HMI Report for 1912 had referred to the employment of 26 lecturers on a full-time basis in the Day Technical Institution who were also required to support a similar number of part-time lecturers and instructors teaching evening classes. The demand for part-time (evening) instruction was always markedly higher than for day tuition which was to be expected given the financial circumstances of the vast majority of the student body. The HMI noted, for example, that 'the demand for day engineering courses is very small'.²¹⁹

At this time the Evening Technical School within the College attracted 1,224 students for the winter session including 96 dockyard apprentices or shipwrights,¹⁴⁷ mechanical engineers and 68 electricians. Of the total 214 were under 16 years of age, 538 were between 16 and 21 years of age, 472 were adults.²²⁰

An HMI Report does, however, refer to the 'striking development of the day courses' but no significant growth in evening class numbers since the pre-war days. It also referred to 'the wide range of classes ...[affording] ... adequate provision for the needs of the local trades and industries, including the special requirements of the youths

and others employed in the dockyard.'There was also concern expressed,however, at the 'distinctly low' numbers passing from the Junior Technical School to the College,even when taking into account those who transfer from the School to the Dockyard or Services and are unable to attend.Nor did the HMIs spare their criticism of the Evening Continuation Schools especially in terms of acting as 'feeders' to the College:they attracted 'only a relatively small number of students and this number has fallen to a somewhat serious extent in recent years...[when they]...should be a valuable source of supply of well-trained students for the evening classes of the College.'²²¹

The session 1922-3 had 1,254 students attending:190 were under 16;420 were 16-18; and 262 18-21.The students under 16 were 'mainly ''yard boys'',Post office messengers' and boys still attending local private schools who were attending an elementary science class in preparation for the Dockyard Entrance Examination.The statistics also suggest,however, that students were not always keen to pursue their studies beyond the first year,at which point in the session 1922/3 over half the total number left (738).The exact figures are given in Table 4.11:²²²

Table 4.11

Year of									
attendance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
No.students	738	245	165	60	28	12	4	2	1,254

Table 4.11:Municipal Technical College - Numbers Attending

Source: PRO:ED 114 Piece No.251 HMI Report,1923

While for some a one year course could well have been sufficient, others may have been able to secure better career prospects if they had continued with the courses being offered.²²³ The Report referred to here, in its conclusions, spoke of the College as striking testimony to the realisation by public opinion in Portsmouth of the value of higher education...The College is doing a very useful and important work for the town..[with reference also to]..the wide range of opportunities it affords to the young people of Portsmouth and the surrounding district.'²²⁴

The inter-war period saw continued development of the College in all facets of higher education .An HMI Report of the mid-1930's spoke highly of the commercial and domestic courses offered to young people within the College.The Junior Commercial Section, for example, was established in 1920 and through to the 1930's the number of applicants was always well over the number of places, with an average of two candidates for each place. For the years 1928-1932 an annual average of 43 boys attended the commercial course.²²⁵ The *Population Censuses* of 1901 and 1931 give an indication of job prospects: the number of males employed in Portsmouth in this category of occupations showed an increase of almost 450% between these years.²²⁶

There had been a significant increase in the volume of work of the day and evening classes as measured by student hours through the inter-war period, as Table 4.12 indicates.²²⁷

Table 4.12

	1922-23	1933-34	% increase
DAY	332,885	451,053	35
EVENING	130,483	174,197	34
TOTAL	463,368	625,250	35

Table 4.12: Student Hours in Day and Evening Classes

Municipal Technical College, Portsmouth

Source: PRO:ED 114 Piece No.257

Other Inter-War Developments

Although it was not to be until the post-1945 period that children could expect secondary education as of right, there had been progress in its provision in Portsmouth as an addition to what the Municipal College had been able to provide. The Portsmouth Education Committee's Year Book for 1934-5 referred to:

-the Southern Secondary Boys whose origins lay in the Higher Grade School now had 600 boys on its roll from 11-18 and included science and manual instruction in its curriculum;

-the Northern Secondary School for Boys, opened in 1921 and similarly with 600 pupils and a curriculum which included science and manual instruction;

-two similar schools for girls;

-the JTS (opened 1913) had 360 boys and a curriculum which emphasised English, Mathematics, Science and Practical Work; entry was by competitive examination with an age limit for admission of 12-13.

Such Year Books show that, to its credit, Portsmouth had persisted with Evening Institutes designed to continue the provision of the elementary schools and provide a possible basis for further education. They were now based at St. Luke's (which had also built up an impressive record in preparing pupils for the Dockyard Examination), Francis Avenue, Drayton Road and Penhale Road. These schools collectively had 2389 pupils on their rolls by 1933/4 indicating a greater popularity than at the time of their inception at other venues in the 1890's.²²⁸ The Flying Bull Lane Evening School, able to boast an average attendance of 190 for one week in March 1898, pointed to 'very low' numbers at the beginning of the new century with an average attendance of 35 in one week in January 1902.²²⁹

Again, the rise in numbers within this type of education through the inter-war period may be indicative of the increasing value attached to education by parents and adolescent off-spring in this latter period. Fees remained the problem for many parents beyond the elementary stage. Hitchins refers to the 'difficulties and hardship' which came to the homes in the mid-1920's but 'parents were determined that their children should not be at the mercy of such conditions. Secondary education seemed to hold out hope but this meant school fees.'²³⁰ At the end of the decade the Board of Education, given the poor condition of some of the

elementary schools in the district (6 schools on the Board's black list) and the LEA's tardy response to this problem, had 'even gone to the extreme in the last few years of holding up approval to Higher Education projects as an inducement to the Authority to get ahead with elementary school provision'.²³¹ Such poverty of provision could only discourage children from consuming education beyond this level and even where they decided to do so would be faced with the financial obstacle and the inadequacy of secondary accommodation.

The plight of those adolescents who sought self-improvement was inevitably going to worsen as the country was gripped by an even deeper economic crisis in the 1930's causing Local Authorities to have to take action. There was concern at the greater likelihood of the drift of youth from school to unemployment. Junior Instruction Centres were a feature of the inter-war period provided in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour for 14-18 year olds who were awaiting employment and offering a practical bias to instruction. The Portsmouth Education Committee's *Year Book* for 1934/5 pointed to their basic aim being to 'prevent deterioration of human material' and 'to assist the employer to secure lads most likely to 'make good' in the employment offered'.²³²

The Rearmament Programme of the 1930's was what Portsmouth people generally, and the Naval Dockyard in particular, had been waiting for. New hope was created for youth hoping to gain an apprenticeship in the Dockyard. The leaner economic years had taken their toll on the demand for such labour but

the impact of the Entrance Examination and, indeed, the Dockyard School, on local education had continued to be a feature of the locality. Jack maintains that the influence of the Examination 'was in no small way responsible for a local standard of syllabus - teaching to a level unlikely to be bettered by any other schools of similar nature in any other parts of the country.'²³³ In 1938 at a Dockyards' Schools' ex-students' Dinner the speaker, Mr Nancarrow, 'thought it amazing that in four years the Dockyard Schools produced men capable of proceeding to the highest posts in the shipbuilding and engineering worlds'.²³⁴ Rearmament was to mean more such posts and many below them becoming available in all the Dockyard towns, and Portsmouth youth amongst others could but reap the benefit.

The Need For Coordination of Policy

Over the whole period, great strides had been made both locally and nationally in education provision making significant inroads to the task of reducing the scale of the Boy Labour problem and the incidence of blind-alley employment. Criticisms remain, however. Some of these are fundamental and of national relevance, such as the dearth of secondary provision and the nature of the curriculum at all levels. Others may be more specific and local, such as the tardy responses to the need for the proper organisation of the education system including the coordination of its different parts, insufficient evidence of long-term planning, inadequate responses of employers outside the

Dockyard and the Railway Company.

At the very beginning of the period the *Hampshire Telegraph* was able to highlight a fundamental problem in its leading article: '...there are thousands of children growing up to be the ignorant men and women; and this must be the case till there is an organised system of education to include every child.'²³⁵ The 1870 Education Act was not necessarily going to bring that organisation at local or national level in the early years.

In the 1890's an Education Joint Conference in Portsmouth between the School Board and the Technical Education Committee spoke of the need for the 'correlation of Elementary with Advanced Scientific and Technical Education'²³⁶ Even in the inter-war period the Board of Education was able to correctly claim that '...no one has yet thought out in Portsmouth any consistent plan for co-ordinating the educational facilities in the area in a proper way.'²³⁷ Similarly, a Board of Education Report for 1927 expressed concern at the number of young people "lost" to the education system and allowed to drift and it was 'therefore clear that there is open a very large field of effort in the direction of catching more of the school leavers..²³⁸

The Rôle of Employers

Coordination would help to not only show to youth the relevance of the education provided but also encourage the greater consumption of it. But so too would the active

support of local employers. In many ways the Royal Dockyard and the London and South Western Railway directly or indirectly promoted the importance of education. Beyond these large employers there seemed not always to be the same enthusiasm. Employers had been concerned in the early years with the impact of education on the labour supply as the compulsion became more widespread. In 1868 the *Hampshire Telegraph's* editorial had rightly claimed that 'it would be extremely disturbing to a large class of vested interests.'²³⁹

It would have been difficult not to have made progress from this position but, in Portsmouth, it proved difficult to establish strong links between the education system and a wide range of employers. In the Edwardian years the HMIs expressed concern at the lack of employer representation on the Higher Education Committee and claimed that 'it was not unusual now to find even in the smaller towns many instances of employers giving facilities or offering inducements of one kind or another to their younger employees to attend schools for further education, and an earnest endeavour in this direction should be made in Portsmouth.'²⁴⁰ They went further just a few years later in saying that 'except that some of the chemists and grocers of the town have given their employees facilities to attend special courses at the College, there is little evidence that the active sympathy of employers of labour has yet been obtained.'²⁴¹

The inter-war period showed little change with HMIs then claiming that 'there is little or no connection at present between the [Municipal College Junior Technical] School and

the local industries...it is desirable that attempts be made to establish as close a relationship as possible between the local employers and the School, especially in view of the fall in numbers of apprentices now being admitted each year into the Dockyard.' However, 'no cases are known of private employers in Portsmouth paying the class fees of their employees' and nor was there any employer or dockyard representation on the management committee of the Municipal College.²⁴² One of the main expressions of any employer interest is the offer of scholarships, even as early as the 1880's when the School Board offered its thanks to the Chamber of Commerce for the establishment of a scholarship fund for the encouragement of Commercial and Technical Education in the town.²⁴³ Often, however, it was left to the Educational Authorities to establish scholarships such as those announced in the 1890's for the Organised Science School and the Municipal Technical Institute. Interestingly, one pupil who gained a scholarship was initially 'unable to enter upon the duties of the same, he being an apprentice to Messrs Timothy White Co. who could not allow him the necessary time'. The Company did later concede the boy's attendance at College on two evenings and two mornings per week.²⁴⁴

Conclusion

The studies of Portsmouth and Brighton education provision show that the links between education, the Boy Labour issue and blind-alley employment are complex but undeniable. On the

one hand, it is possible to have some objective measures of the position over the period, such as Local Education Authority expenditure and numbers of free places; on the other, less measurable, but no less important, criteria for assessment such as attitudes of youth, parents, employers, the relevance of the education to local labour markets, and the significance of the motives that lay behind the gradual extension of education provision between 1870 and 1939. What does need to be emphasised is that education's task was to improve the quality of adolescent labour - it was 'an instrument for economic and social advancement... a major factor in the transformation of working-class childhood' (Hopkins, 1994);²⁴⁵ it could not in itself, however, create openings for those who, having left school, sought jobs with prospects extending beyond their teenage years. In this sense then the development of local education systems can be regarded as potential alleviators of the Boy Labour problem but inevitably placed a reliance on appropriate developments in the labour market to fulfil the potential. For some, such reliance led inexorably to disappointment.

Chapter 5: The Rôle of the Railway Companies: the London,
Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR) and the
London and South Western Railway (LSWR)

Introduction

A study of the Railway Companies is highly relevant to an analysis of the problems of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment. They represent in a very stark way the dichotomy whereby a major source of employment can, on the one hand, offer opportunities for the acquisition of skill and for self-improvement, while on the other, attract and encourage the creation of a type of labour which was not particularly career orientated and was prone to drift. A TUC Report of 1896 pointed out that the Railway Companies '...seemed to take children immediately they were able to leave school, and to employ them for the sake of the low wages they were paid'.¹

Whatever type of employment was being offered there is no doubt that the Companies were significant job creators and trainers in so many urban and rural areas across the country.

Apprenticeship was still strong in the Engineering Works of the Companies even by the inter-war period. This should not really be of surprise to the historian given the traditional atmosphere prevalent throughout the Companies' activities. As Williams (1915) noted: 'old customs and systems die hard.... Many of the methods employed, both in

manufacture and administration,are extremely old-fashioned and antiquated...'2

Tawney (1909) refers to three classes of apprenticeship in Locomotive Works:Premium (those wishing to occupy industry's higher positions and passing through all departments); Privilege (either lads who were 'exceptionally clever and keen' or 'sons of old employees' who are moved from department to department);Ordinary (the vast majority who specialised in a particular department or process).³

Williams asserts that 'boys usually had but little difficulty in obtaining a start;they were soon taken on and initiated in the mysteries of the shed.'⁴ Beavor refers to making up his mind 'to apply for a Premium Apprenticeship at the age of 16 ',costing his father £50 and giving 'important advantages in that a wide curriculum of training was provided'.⁵ His apprenticeship lasted from the age of 16 in 1936 through to 1942.

However,the skills and experience an individual needed were not necessarily obtained through the formal instruction supposedly given through the institution of apprenticeship. Hewison maintained for the 1920's that 'the apprentices had to find out most things for themselves...I had worked on new engine components but after my second year I was transferred to the erecting shop for repaired locomotives'.⁶

Learning-by-doing seemed to be prevalent;Beavor points to the practice of 'sending junior men out on relief duties...a time-honoured way of training,which sometimes has an element of teaching the person to swim by throwing him in at the deep end....The railways have used this system extensively

since the year dot...'7

Williams writes of the opportunities for boy labourers in the Works in the early years of the century. 'Coming to the work at a time when their minds are in a receptive state, they soon master the principal parts of the business and before long become highly skilled and proficient'. They started on a wage of five or six shillings per week, progressing to a pound or twenty-two shillings.⁸

Within traffic operation activities it could often be a matter of learning by progressing through the ranks. More (1980) argues the case for mobility of railway employees through the various grades, learning as they progressed.⁹ Williams also points out that mobility could also be a feature of the process of gaining experience and improvement. Apprentices '...voluntarily hand in their notices and migrate to other towns. There they are received as improvers, or as journeymen, and are forthwith paid the trade rate of wages.'¹⁰ He maintains that 'the great majority of those in the shed...have migrated from place to place'.¹¹

Finally, it must surely have been a case of learning-by-example given the achievements of many of the Locomotive Superintendents (which any youth would find difficult to ignore) and, of course, the much less grandiose, more accessible foremen. Within the LBSCR, Mr Stroudley, for example, '...was undoubtedly the best bargain that the Company ever obtained in any sphere...He won the confidence of the engine crews...His engines remained in the front rank of British Locomotive design, commanding from every aspect a

universal admiration.' (Bucknall, 1944)¹²

Williams emphasises the significance of the foreman who was able to sum up a lad's capabilities at once and 'very often furnishes him [the apprentice] with hints of a personal nature which - whatever the lad may think of them at the time - bear fruit in after life'.¹³ In these ways the skilled man was created in a number of guises. At the top of the structure the fitters may have been regarded as 'the men *par excellence* of the shed' but 'in point of real usefulness and importance the boilermakers stand second to none at the works'.¹⁴

From what has been said so far it becomes apparent that it was in the operational work of the Railway Companies that the Boy Labour problem could be so easily born and allowed to flourish rather than the engineering operations of these companies, although the latter would not be entirely free from blame.

Whatever may have been the fact, there was a perception amongst those wishing to enter railway work that here lay clear prospects for self-improvement and distinct career potential through carefully delineated channels of promotion. Farrington talks of the 'young cleaner' who has spent 'from a few months to two or three years engaged in a great variety of jobs around the shed...and...is now judged ready to take the first real steps up the ladder of promotion'.¹⁵

Maturity and experience gained elsewhere did not make a great deal of difference to a railway company when deciding

a person's starting position. 'Junior Cleaner on the shed' was usually taken as that position as Gwillam discovered even though he had served in the Royal Navy for fifteen years previously.¹⁶ Promotion prospects were good, however. McKenna (1980), for example, surveying the period 1830-1970 spoke, even for the pre-1870 period, of '...an opportunity to move up the ladder of promotion. A porter could aspire to station-master, an engine cleaner to express-train driver, an apprentice to works manager. The railway offered prospects - a career open to talents.'¹⁷

Both McKenna and Kingsford (1970) refer to qualities required in such positions of responsibility as engine drivers. Kingsford points to the need for basic literacy;¹⁸ McKenna writes of the 'triple qualities of physical endurance, mathematical skill and modicum of literacy.'¹⁹

Although the railway companies could boast of clear promotion channels, McKillop (1950) casts doubt on the certainty of the process for any individual. He argues that the trade unions certainly did not feel that all was well in this respect. ASLEF was caused to write to its members in the 1880's that 'the course of promotion of Firemen to Enginemen, in most Companies, is far from satisfactory; the only chance of promotion being the favour in which a man is held by the foreman...'²⁰ However, his own experiences, allowed him to point out that, although systems vary from depot to depot, nevertheless 'right from the start there is a clear-cut line on a junior to senior system in the footplate grades, and this operates right to the top driving link.'²¹ He also shows that, for the LBSCR, promotion was according

to the need of the service.²²

Before the individual could consider his promotion prospects, however, he first had to gain a position within a Company. As with the Royal Dockyards, so too with the Railway Companies, the importance of family connections cannot be denied for youth seeking such employment. The importance of family was to continue into the inter-war period. As Gwillam writes for the mid-thirties 'the Great Western was a 'family' concern, and, not having any relative who was even remotely concerned with the Company, I went away dejected and jobless - turned down.'²³ Similarly, for the Victorian period, Simmons (1978) writes that 'the railways retained one pre-eminent characteristic. They were a family service, in which brothers joined, and fathers came to be followed by their sons... In a railway town it was very difficult for a newcomer to get employment with the Company unless he was a member of a family already working for it.'²⁴

Such connections became even more important when it is remembered how railway operations could, in one way or another, virtually create or, at least, strengthen urban and industrial development and become so important in the local labour market. Eastleigh within the orbit of the London and South Western Railway is a case in point, where, until the 1960's, 'most of its employed population worked for the railway'. (Course, 1973)²⁵ Similarly, the Brighton Locomotive Works was a key employer of labour in the town both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The impact of the railways cannot be ignored when considering the degree of mobility of labour. Again,

Eastleigh offers a relevant example. Positioned in close proximity to Southampton and only twenty miles from Portsmouth, the Eastleigh Works of LSWR gradually replaced the Company's engineering works at Nine Elms. The Carriage and Wagon Works were opened in 1890 and the Locomotive Works in 1909-10 and Luffman refers to 'the newly migrated workforce'.²⁶ The Wanderer in the late 1890's refers to the town as 'a remote and somewhat lifeless centre of small population...now correctly described as the principal key to the South West system.'²⁷ Primary references referred to later in this chapter also point to evidence of migration of labour within the operations of the LBSCR.

Two other aspects of railway company development and its impact on labour are worth emphasising. First, are the links which Companies fostered with education by encouraging employees to participate in the courses being offered. Creasey (1905), singled out the Directors of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway for this reason.²⁸ Similarly, Sadler (1904) refers to the LSWR Institute doing 'very useful work in Eastleigh'.²⁹ More generally, Lowndes wrote in 1937 of 'fourteen out of sixteen railway companies ...granting facilities for their employees to attend technical classes, seven out of the fourteen encouraging day classes.'³⁰ Such interest could only heighten the expectation in the minds of young workers who wished to improve themselves that the railway companies could help to fulfil those expectations. For others, of course, the attraction was a regular wage even if future prospects were not promising and not seriously considered.

The second issue concerns the growth of organised labour. The Railway Companies were not keen to see the infiltration of trade unions into any part of their operations. McKenna cites one William Ulliot of Sheffield as the first member of ASLEF in February, 1880; however, it was not until the successful railway strike in August 1911 that the new union gained full negotiating rights.³¹ In similar vein, Bagwell (1963) writes of the assemblage of men in the Sussex Hotel, London in 1872 to form the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. Amongst the delegates listed in these early years was one J.T. Gladwin from the Brighton Branch.³² Ten years later there were 6,321 members (1882).³³ It was not until 1913, however, that the modern-day NUR was founded.

Once started, it would have been difficult to stop the progress of the unions in the railway industry but Bagwell still maintains that, by the end of the 19th century, the railway companies were 'falling behind, failing to recognise trade unions when many other employers were learning the advantages of collective bargaining.'³⁴

All in all, there is much to be gained for the labour historian in making a study of the railway companies. So much of what has been referred to in this preamble has implications for Boy Labour which found itself attempting to enter, or already within, one or other department of a railway company. Much can be gained by research of records of

individual railway companies to reinforce general points made about the impact of their operations.

Over a period of seventy years such companies are bound to undergo some radical changes and labour, possibly a cause of some of these changes, was certainly not immune to the impact of them. The growth of trade unions, the trade cycle, amalgamations of companies (most notably in the 1920's), the changing attitudes and expectations of labour, changing company labour policies, may be amongst the factors which caused Bagwell to liken the railway companies by the 1930's to 'a drunken man moving, in the main, in a forward direction, but at times making no appreciable progress and at other times even lurching backwards before resuming an unsteady advance.'³⁵ It would be naïve to assume that labour had not played a significant part in all this. Primary sources offer some evidence.

The London, Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR)

In the middle years of the nineteenth century Brighton forged links with the LBSCR which were to continue into the twentieth century with the formation of the Southern Railway; the latter retained the Engineering Works of the LBSCR in Brighton into the post-Second World War. From the outset, a contrast between the two thesis towns of Brighton and Portsmouth needs to be understood. In the case of Brighton the combination of the traffic operations and engineering activities of the LBSCR meant, of course, a high level of demand for both skilled and unskilled labour. On the

other hand, Portsmouth was not a centre for any of the major engineering work of the London and South Western Railway (Eastleigh from the 1890's gained this position); consequently the demand was often for labour which required few, if any, skills, and consequently, little training. If literacy and numeracy were not always requirements of being accepted into a particular post, it was certainly an advantage, and would have become a prerequisite for many of those who wished to progress further in the industry.

Given the scale of operations of the LBSCR in Brighton, archive material is more abundant for the purposes of this thesis than is the case for the LSWR but records do survive for both companies.

The Railway Works were established in Brighton in the 1840's as far as maintenance and repair work were concerned; locomotives were produced from the early 1850's and then such additions as the paint shop and iron foundry were made in the second half of the century. The domination of the town by the Works is really beyond dispute. The periodical *Views and Reviews*, in a special edition of 1896, although recognising 'strong arguments' against monopoly, went on to say that 'it will surely be conceded that the LBSCR have proved themselves the least tyrannical of monopolists and have served the town in a way that leaves very little for competition to do'.³⁶

The *Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (1990) records the decline of the Works from the beginning of this century.³⁷ Statistics for 1891 show 2651 people were employed and, to serve these workers, a railway institute and library became

established in Peel Place in the town. At this time also, the Locomotive Superintendent, R.J. Billinton, further extended the Works in columns over the lower goods yard line. However, in 1901, all the marine engineering work which the LBSCR was involved in was transferred to Newhaven and the carriage construction and repair work were transferred to a new site at Lancing in 1912. This site consisted of 66 acres with 27 shops and eventually had 1950 employees.³⁸

Under the new ownership of Southern Railway further contraction followed as work was transferred to Ashford and Eastleigh. Decline then continued except for a Second World War revival; closure came in 1958 with the demolition of the Works occurring in the late 1960's.³⁹ Holcroft points to the beginning of the Southern Railway as the time when 'Lancing and Brighton were to be reduced to subsidiaries with small staffs to attend to local requirements. In the case of Brighton, however, some of the staff were formed into a Locomotive Testing Section to carry on investigations and experiments on the footplate or in sheds and shops.'⁴⁰

The Rusbridge Papers show a significant volume of rolling stock even in the 1870's:⁴¹

1st Class Stock	472
2nd Class Stock	308
3rd Class Stock	597
Break Vans	157
Horse Boxes	126
Carriage Trucks	110

In its heyday the rate of building work was impressive. An

entry in the LBSCR Board Minutes for 2nd November 1892, for example, refers to the proposal of Mr Billinton, the Locomotive Superintendent, to 'rebuild out of revenue during the half year ending 30th June 1893...at an estimated cost of £17,780:⁴²

- 4 first class carriages
- 2 first class carriages with lavatories
- 4 composites
- 2 composites with lavatories
- 20 third class
- 4 third class brakes with 4 wheels
- 4 horseboxes & 5 carriage trucks
- 5 passenger brake vans with 6 wheels
-a total of 50 units.

An entry for 10th May 1893 shows that he was further authorised to construct during the half year ending 31/12/1893 a further 50 units at a total cost of £19,640.⁴³ An edition of *Views and Reviews* for June 1896 confirms that the 'whole of the Company's rolling stock, with the exception of the Pullman Cars, are made at the Brighton Works, [with] a large amount of work in connection with the Company's steamships being also done here'.⁴⁴ Twelve locomotives were being built per year with 'a succession of engines coming in for repair'.⁴⁵

The Company's Traffic Operations could begin to develop with the construction of the main London to Brighton Line, commenced in 1838 and completed in 1841. The West Coastway line to Portsmouth was completed in 1847 and the East Coastway to Eastbourne in 1849.⁴⁶ By the 1890's the

expenditure of the Company exceeded £1 million per annum, reaching £43/4million at the time of the absorption of the Company by the Southern Railway in 1922.⁴⁷ Appendix I gives the breakdown of these totals.

The LBSCR certainly did not rank amongst the largest of the Railway Companies. Simmons (1978) shows for the mid-nineteenth century that amongst the largest as measured by capital value was the London and North Western with shares and loans totalling approximately £25mn; the figure for the LBSCR is just over £7mn. The smallest Company listed by Simmons was the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire with a capital value of £5½mn.⁴⁸

At the time of the takeover by the Southern Railway in the 1920's capital issued had grown to £30mn but it was still not regarded as a large Company. Owned route mileage had grown to 431 miles and ownership of rolling stock amounted to 615 locomotives and almost 13,000 freight and passenger vehicles. (Turner, 1979)⁴⁹

If Railway Companies were guilty of exacerbating the Boy Labour/Blind-Alley Employment problem through increasing openings for unskilled labour within Traffic Operations, the Companies could also claim to have helped defend and maintain the institution of apprenticeship and hence the demand for labour with skills for the engineering activities of their operations. Whatever weaknesses were perceived with the apprenticeship system it did, nevertheless, serve to channel boys into the learning of a skill or skills and this was of the utmost importance in Brighton where, beyond the

Locomotive Works, opportunities to learn skills and openings for skilled labour were certainly not abundant. The Works offered one of a few major opportunities for the adolescent to avoid becoming a part of the Boy Labour problem if he so wished. However, we must also be wary of the suggestion that all of the traffic operations of the Railway Company were, in contrast, going to display this weakness. Whatever the realities, many young people sought railway employment with a perception that there could be a job for life and that it would be something better than what they had endured before. Not all were able to maintain this perception over the long term, however.

For the Locomotive and Carriage Works in Brighton the LBSCR laid down the conditions which any aspiring apprentice would have to accept and adhere to for the duration of the apprenticeship.⁵⁰ Any premium had to be paid to the Locomotive Engineer in advance and the term of that apprenticeship would be 5 years or until the person reached the age of 21. Any applicant had not to exceed 16 years of age. In the early part of the thesis period, wages were paid at the following rates per day of nine hours:

1st year	10d
2nd year	1/-
3rd year	1/4
4th year	1/6
5th year	2/-
6th year	2/6

The apprentice could be discharged for any one of various misdemeanours such as dishonesty or serious neglect of duty; it was also stated that, even if good behaviour were maintained, employment was not guaranteed at the end of the term of apprenticeship. Archives also confirm that an apprentice could be assured that, should a Locomotive Superintendent, for whatever reason, no longer be able to continue, the successor would honour the apprenticeship.⁵¹

Some indentures of apprentices survive for the early years. One such document shows the binding of an apprentice to the Locomotive Superintendent, William Stroudley, in February 1871 'to learn the art, trade or profession of Turner'. The apprenticeship would not be 'lawfully completed until the said apprentice shall have duly served during the whole of the period to the entire satisfaction of the ...master...'.⁵² Another shows a 16 year old being bound 'to learn the art, trade or profession of Fitter' in November, 1875. The sum of £30 was paid to the Locomotive Superintendent so that the apprentice 'shall teach and instruct or cause to be taught and instructed'. There is also confirmation here that if the Locomotive Engineer ceased to hold that office 'the said apprentice shall be assigned or transferred to the successor in office... without further payment being made'. If there should be periods of absence the apprentice would have to accept an extension of the terms of the apprenticeship.⁵³ The sum of £30 continued to be the case into the 1880's when a Brighton youth of 15 years of age was bound to the Locomotive Engineer as an apprentice fitter in December, 1885. A later addition to the

indentures confirms that the youth had 'duly served his time...as a fitter's apprentice,and is now a fair workman'.⁵⁴

LBSCR records show a change of policy towards apprenticeship at the beginning of the 1890's when the Board of Directors issued instructions that 'for the future,lads and young men be taken on by him [the Locomotive Superintendent] without indentures or other legal agreements for fixed terms,it being left to him to carry out appointments on that principle,and that any special pupils be only taken on by permission of the Board as already directed'.⁵⁵

This may well have been the origins of the position in the Works of Engineering Pupil.Such a pupil had the opportunity to become acquainted with various trades connected with Mechanical Engineering,and,by the third year,with railway locomotive practice and drawing office experience.Unlike an apprenticeship,no wages would be paid but it would be up to the pupil to 'make a weekly return ...of the time worked by him each day,and of the work on which he has been engaged'.As with apprenticeship,there was no guarantee of employment at the end of the pupilage.⁵⁶

Apprenticeship as a form of labour training did,however, survive in the Brighton Works into the twentieth century and the LBSCR is certainly not the exception amongst Railway Companies.There was concern for young people who had started their apprenticeship in the years before 1914 but then had to go off to war.The minutes of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Brighton Branch) show that the LBSCR

intended to be sympathetic to those affected. It was confirmed in a letter to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers - Brighton Branch - that these people would be re-engaged if physically fit; that they would receive wages equal to other apprentices who had been continuously employed; that at the age of 21 they would be considered to have completed their apprenticeship and would therefore receive journeymen's wages.⁵⁷

A person who served his apprenticeship at Brighton from 1916 (then aged 14) to 1922 shows the apprenticeship system to be very much in evidence in the early post First World War period and, in its essentials, not to have changed from the practices of the later nineteenth century.⁵⁸ Apprenticed as a fitter, his father was already a labourer in the Company's Brighton Works, illustrating the significance of family connections in youth's attempt to find work where prospects were more promising. As a fitter's apprentice he would be expected to work an 11½ hour day with wages ranging from 5/- in the first year to 12/- in the fifth and final year.⁵⁹

There was also some expectation of apprentice's mobility on the part of the Company: at the end of the apprenticeship the individual would be sacked but would be welcomed back 'providing you got another job, and you worked away for at least 12 months.'⁶⁰ There was also the expectation at this time that the apprentice would wish to link his time in the Works with a College course to secure some qualifications: 'part of the apprenticeship conditions were of course that you should go to Evening School once a week'.⁶¹

As we might expect of any apprenticeship the emphasis was on learning-by-doing in that there was a 'round of experience, a round of teaching, in the different workshops'⁶² Learning by example also featured. First, the charge-hand - 'a privileged person...receiving a rate of pay which was better than even that paid to skilled men' - had 12-14 individuals under his jurisdiction.⁶³ Second, the foremen - 'the uncrowned kings of our lifetime' - had the responsibility of securing the good running of the different shops 'in entirety' and had the power to hire and fire workers.⁶⁴

Not all adolescents were able to take the discipline of apprenticeship and were content to drift into blind-alley employment where, especially, in the short term, there was the expectation of higher remuneration. Certainly, in the Brighton Works, even in the early years of the twentieth century, we are led to believe that 'discipline and the strict rules of getting on with your job and, working where you're supposed to be, they really did apply'.⁶⁵

For later years in this century there is evidence from another individual who worked at the Brighton Works and served his fitter's apprenticeship from 1928 to 1933. He started as a Premium Apprentice (taken on a one month's trial) at 9/8 per week with his father paying a premium of £60 after the probationary period.⁶⁶ Apprentices were expected to go through the various shops, although machinists or turners' apprentices remained in the machine shop for the duration of the apprenticeships. Otherwise, 'all pupils, premium apprentices and ordinary apprentices (the latter confined to sons of railway employees) went first to the

machine shop, then the brass shop, then either [the] erecting shop or fitting shop' and then moved on to other parts of the Works'.⁶⁷ This apprentice does, however, point to the demise of the apprenticeship system at Brighton as the Works began to be run down: no more apprentices were taken on after 1930 and for the last recruit there was a required mobility in that he was 'transferred completely to the Eastleigh Works, as it was considered he would not get sufficient engineering training at the [Brighton] Works'.⁶⁸

It was not, of course, simply the rundown of a particular Works which was jeopardising the apprenticeship system: openings for the traditional skilled craftsmen were declining and the Railway Industry was no exception.

In the early years of the 20th century 'machines were becoming introduced in design [at the Brighton Works] - the capstan, the turret lathe was being introduced, the horizontal boring machine' and the management 'thought these were machines which could be operated by the "unskilled"'.⁶⁹ Union opposition inevitably followed.

The various Employment Registers of the LBSCR provide an insight into Railway labour history. Registers provide lists of apprentices for the period 1866-1876, for example, with a total of 306 being listed.⁷⁰ A wide range of apprenticeships are referred to in the registers including those for Boilermaking, Fitting, Carriage Making, Painting, Pattern Making, Engineering. There is also an indication of the fall-out rate which was approximately of the order of 9%: 22 left prematurely, one had his indentures cancelled, another died

during his time and four ran away. There are two examples of apprentices completing 3-4 years of their time but then departing. One can only speculate as to the reasons for their premature departures but higher immediate, but short-term, rewards, may have featured amongst them.

A further register for just one year (1873-74) shows the applications for employment in the Brighton Works.⁷¹ There is evidence here of the strength of apprenticeship and other aspects of the labour force at this time. Many of those applying indicated that there was some perception that employment here could be regarded as a way of improving prospects. There is also evidence of geographical and occupational mobility (the latter certainly a feature of Boy Labour). The entries from the Register are illustrative of these points as Table 5.1 indicates:

Table 5.1

PREV.OCCUPATION	POST APPLIED FOR	AGE	REASON FOR MOVE
London Dairyman	Cleaner	19	To better myself
London Page	Carr.Maker's App.	16	"
Brighton Dyer	Lamp Cleaner	15	"
New Cross Shop			
Boy	Fitter's App.	15	"
Birkenhead			
Riveting	Boil'maker's Lad	18	To join Father
London Office			
Boy	Apprentice		
	Fitter	15	Because of move to Brighton
Brighton			
Servant	Apprentice		
	Machinist	15	-----
Nottingham			
M'Chine Fttr.	Carriage Fitting	18	To come to Brighton
Brighton			
Errand Boy	Boilermaker's		
	Apprentice	15	To better myself
Epsom Down			
Servant	Boil'maker's Boy	17	"

Table 5.1: Applications To Brighton Loco Works 1873-4

Source: PRO:414 Piece No.753

Other Registers reflect at least some of these features. For many of those listed for 1875 there is a strong probability that they were moving away from blind-alley employment to jobs where prospects could be somewhat stronger if those individuals had a will to make something of those positions.⁷²

Table 5.2

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION	POST APPLIED FOR	AGE	REASON FOR MOVE
Lewes Farm Boy	Engine Cleaner	18	To better myself
London Labourer	"	19	"
Brighton Smith	Striker	19	"
Railway Porter	Apprentice		
	Carriage Fitter	14	Dislike of late turns
Brighton Errand Boy	Brass Cleaning Lad	15	To better myself
Surrey Groom/ Gardener	Engine Cleaner	18	To better myself
Groom, Mayfield	"	19	"
Brighton Errand Boy	Rivet Lad	14	-----

Table 5.2: Applications - Brighton Loco Works, 1875

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece No.755

One of the Registers of the early 1880's similarly shows teenagers of various ages hoping to improve prospects. Movements by youth are shown in the extracts.(Table 5.3)⁷³

Table 5.3

<u>Movements are shown</u>	
FROM	TO
Errand Boy	Painter's Lad
Printer	Machinist
Striker	Rivet Lad
Grocer's Boy	Machinist Lad
Plumber's Boy	Rivet Boy
Errand Boy	Rivet Boy
Letter Carrier	Fitter's
	Apprentice
Errand Boy	Fitter's
	Apprentice
Errand Boy	Moulder's
	Apprentice
Porter	Steam Hammer's
	Lad

For two of these - the Plumber's Lad and the Printer - it could well have been that they were previously learning trades but still felt, as these two in fact indicated, that the Railway Industry held out better prospects.

Table 5.3: Applications - Brighton Loco ,1882

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece No.754

Registers for these early years are also able to show, however, that blind-alley employment did exist within the various positions offered by the Railway Companies. This did not necessarily imply, however, that the employers wished to dismiss this type of labour when it warranted adult wages. It is often employment, nevertheless, which did not offer, or was perceived by those involved not to offer, promising long-term prospects. Records for 1871 show amongst the teenagers employed that earnings per week were: a 16 year old Telegraph Messenger - 5/- , an 18 year old Gas Lad - 8/- , a 17 year old Messenger - 7/- , and a 17 year old Porter - 7/6 .⁷⁴ These would be amongst those positions offered by the Traffic Operations of the Company. Such employment could be transient, if only because the particular post holder wished it to be so. If this were the case then we could expect a high labour turnover; analysis of Company Records might lead us to this conclusion rather than to see it as the increasing labour needs resulting from an expansion of business or as a result of retirement (for which there was no official age at this time).

Taking the six-month period April to September 1877, the following staff requirements of the Company are indicated:⁷⁵

April:	7 Clerks, 1 Guard, 2 Signalmen, 3 Shunters, 3 Carmen, 1 Horse Driver, 13 Porters, 1 Lampman;
May :	10 Clerks, 6 Guards, 2 Signalmen, 1 Stableman, 2 Ticket Collectors, 1 Carman, 1 Horse Driver, 5 Porters, 1 Lampman;
June :	10 Clerks, 5 Signalmen, 2 Policemen, 2 Parclemen, 4 Ticket Collectors, 1 Horse Driver,

1 Shunter, 15 Porters, 1 Gateman, 1 Gatewoman,
 1 Lamp Lad;

July : 5 Clerks, 1 Yard Foreman, 3 Guards, 2 Horse
 Drivers, 1 Policeman, 1 Carman, 4 Lampmen;

Aug : 9 Clerks, 5 Guards, 5 Ticket Collectors, 2
 Shunters, 1 Carman, 7 Porters, 2 Lampmen;

Sept : 2 Parcels Carmen, 1 Signal Clerk, 5 Ticket
 Collectors, 4 Booking Clerks, 18 Porters, 1
 Guard, 5 Clerks, 1 Parcels Clerk, 1 Telegraph
 Clerk, 1 Messenger, 1 Lamp Lad.

This amounts to a total of 191 positions vacant over just
 a 6 month period.

A six-month period in 1880 shows an equally significant
 requirement of the Company.⁷⁶

April: No returns given

May : 6 Signalmen, 3 Signal Clerks, 25 Porters, 5
 Booking Clerks, 1 Messenger, 2 Stationmasters, 1
 Telegraph Clerk, 1 Policeman, 2 Goods Guards, 3
 Goods Clerks, 3 Ticket Collectors, 1 Shunter, 2
 Goods Porters, 2 Guards, 1 Sheeter, 2 Assistant
 Clerks, 1 Checker, 2 Van Guards;

June : 18 Porters, 1 Shunter, 3 Guards, 1 Carman, 1 Van
 Guard, 3 Clerks, 1 Goods Porter, 1 Goods Clerk, 1
 Labeller, 1 Parcels Carman, 1 Lamp Man, 2 Ticket
 Collectors;

July : 2 Guards, 2 Clerks, 1 Telegraph Messenger, 1
 Booking Clerk, 2 Shunters, 3 Signalmen,

10 Porters,1 Goods Guard,1 Signal Clerk;

Aug : No return for staff

Sept : No report of Directors'Meeting

Oct : 1 Booking Clerk,8 Porters,2 Goods Clerks,1
 Goods Porter,1 Parcels Clerk,1 Policeman,2
 Shunters,1 Carman;

Nov : 10 Porters,1 Clerk,2 Shunters,1 Head Porter,1
 Booking Clerk,2 Assistant Clerks;

Dec : 7 Assistant Clerks,1 Goods Clerk,10 Porters,3
 Ticket Collectors,2 Clerks,4 Signalmen,1
 Weighing Machine Attendant,2 Telegraph
 Clerks,1 Waiting Room Attendant,1 Shunter,1
 Capstan Lad,1 Carman,1 Inspector.

This amounts to a total of 189 vacancies taking statistics for 6 months within one year.

However,what will have attracted many youngsters to the Company's Traffic Operations was the clear-cut promotion ladder offered to them;the individual could progress from his initial appointment as Cleaner or Labourer to become a Fireman and then Locomotive Driver and then perhaps make further progress.Although the job of Cleaner is suggestive of blind-alley employment this certainly did not have to be the case:the individual could aspire to some of the key rôles in the day-to-day operations of the Company.The Register extracts in Table 5.4 convey this quite clearly;some entries give previous occupations:⁷⁷

Table 5.4

AGE	FIRST POSITION	FURTHER PROGRESS IN COMPANY
17	Cleaner 1872	Fireman, 1875; Driver, 1880
17	Labourer 1865	Fireman, 1870; Driver, 1874
15	Cleaner 1870	Fireman, 1870; Driver, 1878
18	Cleaner 1874	Fireman, 1876; Driver, 1884
15	Cleaner 1875	Fireman, 1878; Driver 1889 Promoted to Shedman, 1890
17	Cleaner 1881	Fireman, 1889; Driver, 1890 Previous occupation: Carpenter for 4 years
19	Cleaner, 1882	Fireman, 1889; Driver, 1901 Previous occupation: Vanman for a private firm for 3 years
16	Cleaner, 1883	Fireman, 1890; Driver, 1902 Previous occupation: Stable Attendant for 2 years
14	Cleaner, 1878	Fireman, 1888; Driver, 1900 Previous occupation: Coal Porter for 2 years
18	Cleaner, 1881	Fireman, 1889; Driver, 1901 Previous occupation: Carman in private firm

Table 5.4: Registers Showing Staff Histories (Extracts)Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece Nos. 863, 864

As the lower entries in Table 5.4 suggest, some of the Registers for the later nineteenth century offer additional information on labour and thus allow more definite conclusions to be drawn on the nature of employment. By showing an individual's career history it becomes clearer as

to whether that person made a career in the Company or merely regarded a position there as one of a number that he might take up during his working life. It is the individual who is contributing to the Boy Labour/Blind-Alley Employment problems in this instance rather than the employer; the latter would allow the youngster to progress into adult employment which the youngster found acceptable given previous experience. The examples of employment and careers in Table 5.5 are formulated from information contained in an Employment Register of the Company of the 1890's and early twentieth century:⁷⁸

Table 5.5

AGE	PREV. OCC.	LBSCR POSITION	CAREER-LBSCR
19	Laundryman- 1½yrs	Cleaner, 1892	Driver, 1907; 5/6 day
19	Porter - 3½yrs	Cleaner, 1892	Driver, 1909; 6/- day
19	Porter - 1½yrs	Cleaner, 1893	Driver, 1909; 6/- day
19	Stall Boy - 1 yr	Cleaner, 1893	Driver, 1910; serving to 1933
19	Porter - 1 yr	Cleaner, 1897	Served in Electrical Dept. to 1930's

others did not remain with the Company

19	Dyer - 2 yrs	Cleaner, 1893	Resigned 1898
19	Tel. Mess.- 3½yrs	Cleaner, 1893	Resigned 1899
19	Drapr's - 1 yr	Cleaner, 1893	Resigned 1898
	Partner		
19	Bill - 6 yrs	Cleaner, 1894	Discharged 1899
	Poster		
18	Messenger- 4mths	Cleaner, 1895	Left Service, 1903

Table 5.5: Staff Histories Within LBSCR - Brighton Based

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece No.866

The LBSCR Register of Staff in all departments (as at 31st December 1891) shows the adolescent element in both the Traffic and Goods Sections as well as the Locomotive and Carriage Works.⁷⁹ In this snap-shot of labour employed by the Company the proportion of teenagers to the whole can be measured and the remuneration for them ascertained. In the Brighton Traffic Department a total of 215 were employed of whom 24 or 11% were aged under 20 years of age. A Telegraph Clerk, aged 17, could expect to earn 8/- per week, a messenger, aged 15, 5/- . A 19 year old Parcel Porter could earn 16/- , a 17 year old Brass Lad, 10/- . In the Brighton Goods Department 196 were employed of whom 17 or almost 9% were aged under 20. A 16 year old Clerk could expect to earn 8/- per week rising to 19/- by the age of 19. A 14 year old Messenger earned 5/- and a Carman 16/- at aged 18.

In the Brighton Locomotive and Carriage Works there were a total of 3054 employed of whom 216 or 7% were aged under 20. A 15 year old Bar Boy could expect to earn 1/4 per day, a 17 year old Stores Lad 1/6, a 17 year old Fitter's Lad 10d per day, a 16 year old Labourer, 2/- per day.

Superannuation Records for this period do show that, what might have first been regarded as transient employment, was translated by some into a long term career in the Railway Industry as Table 5.6 illustrates.⁸⁰

Table 5.6

POSITION	DATE RETIRED	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE(YRS)
Engine	28/12/1892	61	40
Driver			
Guard	1/ 1/1893	62	44
Wagon			
Examiner	18/ 8/1893	68	44
Driver	Not Given	61	39½

Table 5.6:Examples: Employees Applying For SuperannuationBrighton,1892-3Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece No.80

Board Minutes for 1900 provide the Company's policy towards retirement:⁸¹ An entry for 14/3/1900 suggests that there was no officially recognised retirement age. One employee, a carpenter, aged 74, and another 80 year old in the Locomotive Department who were regarded as unfit for further work, were 'granted allowances of 10s a week from the Benevolent Fund'. A further entry for 4/4/1900 indicated that, upon employees reaching 60 or 65, depending on the type of work being done, 'the General Manager do submit his opinion and recommendation as to the fitness of the man to continue in the service and to satisfactorily perform his duties...'.

Some of the most detailed staff histories appear in the records of the Locomotive Superintendent's Department for

the period 1882 to 1908. There are a number of examples of the long service cited above and a reflection of other features - such as mobility and promotion prospects - mentioned earlier in this chapter (Table 5.7).⁸²

Table 5.7

1. A fitter's apprentice began at Brighton in 1891 on 10d per day; transferred to a Locomotive Fireman 2 years later; by 1895 he was an Assistant Inspector at New Cross earning 24/- per week.
2. A fitter's apprentice rose to Assistant Foreman at Brighton: wage: 33/- per week + 7/- expenses in 1896.
3. A 14 year old began as a fitter's apprentice at New Cross in 1862, transferred to Brighton in 1866, became foreman of the Wheel Shop in 1871 and was earning 70/- per week by 1891.
4. Company paternalism is perhaps indicated for an individual entering service as a painter's apprentice 1886; suffered accident in which right hand was severed; then employed as messenger boy, then time-keeper at 22 in 1892 and on a wage of 23/- per week.
5. A Template Maker appears in the Register, aged 64; he first appeared as a labourer on 2/8 per week in 1854, then became a Gas Fitter, a Striker in 1856 and then Template maker in 1891.
6. Extra Fitter: entered service at Battersea in 1894 aged 13 as fitter's apprentice, transferred to Brighton, later to New Cross

Table 5.7: Examples; Employment in the Superintendent's Dept.

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece No.752

Through the first two decades of the twentieth century (and hence the last years of the existence of the LBSCR) the employment patterns of the Company are not really subject to any major change. The Registers for these years provide further insight into the type of labour to be found within the employ of the Company, many of whom were to transfer their loyalties to the new Southern Railway in 1923. The Register of the Locomotive Department is a case in point and provides suitable examples as shown in Table 5.8 ⁸³

Table 5.8

1. An 18 year old, who had been a fountain pen maker for over 3 years, joined LBSCR as a Cleaner and had become a Fireman by 1906.
2. A person (18) had been a carpenter's apprentice for 3 years; became cleaner 1903; promoted, earning 11/- 1919.
3. A furniture porter (17), had done job for 3 years, became a cleaner; earned promotion to Driver in 1916: 5/- per day.
4. An 18 year old, who had been a gardener for 2 years, joined the Company as a cleaner and won promotion to Driver in 1919.
5. An 18 year old who had been a vanboy for 4mths joined the Company as a cleaner and was a fireman by 1913.
6. A ticket collector at a Brighton leisure attraction for just 6 months became, at the age of 14, a cleaner in the company but had won promotion to Driver by 1920 and was earning 15/- per day by 1924, now in the employ of the Southern Railway.

Table 5.8: Examples: Employment in the Locomotive Department

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 Piece No. 868

The archives which survive, although sometimes limited in scope, do nevertheless allow for some tentative conclusions to be drawn as far as the LBSCR is concerned. It does appear that apprenticeship, and hence the demand for skills, remained important in the Locomotive and Carriage Works and offered the young people of Brighton some of a limited number of opportunities in the town to learn such skills and set themselves up in a worthwhile career. Career prospects did exist in the Traffic Operations of the Company and it was really the attitude of the individual which would determine whether or not opportunities were to be taken up. There was always the possibility that the jobs taken up by adolescents in these Operations would be seen as a stop-gap until something 'better' appeared, at which point they would move on.

Equally, it cannot be denied that there was the possibility even within the Brighton Engineering Works that the younger members of the workforce would decide that there was something better to be had and so move on but this appears to have been less likely for the apprentices occupied there. There is no doubt that, for Brighton, the LBSCR and its various activities in the town did offer opportunities for permanent employment with reasonably secure prospects should an individual be seeking it. Within this context the Boy Labour/Blind-Alley problems certainly do not appear to have been inevitable features.

The London and South Western Railway (LSWR)

It would be surprising if this section were to reach radically different conclusions from those reached in the case of the LBSCR. However, as mentioned at the beginning of that section, there is a contrast to be emphasised as far as railway employment in Brighton and Portsmouth and its environs is concerned: the latter town did not possess a railway engineering works. In spite of this contrast, and as in any town through which a railway passed, the LSWR inevitably had an impact on the people of Portsmouth, an impact which found expression in a number of ways.

The London and South Western Railway has its origins in the London and Southampton Railway Company which obtained Parliamentary approval for the construction of a railway in 1834. In 1839 the name of the railway was changed to the London and South Western Railway. (Bucknall, 1970)⁸⁴ Steady expansion followed and 'the completed system divided itself into three main arteries, all of which sprang from the stem at Waterloo...[including]...the Portsmouth direct line from Woking, through Guildford and Havant.'⁸⁵

Financial Returns for the nineteenth century show the Railway with 206 miles of track and over £10 million of capital.⁸⁶ Eventually, the Company could boast over twice as much route mileage as the LBSCR with 1020 miles of track, over 900 locomotives and over 19,000 passenger and freight vehicles.⁸⁷ The stations at Portsmouth post-date the opening of that at Brighton: Portsmouth and Southsea in 1847 but Portsmouth Harbour not until 1876. (Course, 1973)⁸⁸

Eastleigh pre-dates these, opening as Bishopstoke in 1839 becoming the junction for Gosport in 1841 and for Salisbury in 1847. The LSWR Carriage and Wagon Works transferred from Nine Elms in 1889 and the Locomotive Works in 1909.⁸⁹ However, for many teenagers in Portsmouth considering employment on the railways, with short or long term ambitions and prospects in mind, the Company's Traffic Operations were all that were being offered, with limited work in the Yards such as that at Fratton. As the LBSCR shows the fact that only limited engineering opportunities (and hence the chance to learn a skill) were available did not mean that employment on the railways had to be of a transient nature for any individual who did not wish it to be so.

Fratton (a district of Portsmouth) offers the closest comparison with Eastleigh but on a significantly smaller scale. In the final year of LSWR operations, before being absorbed by the Southern Railway, Eastleigh (and its branch sub-depots) employed 2403 (including the workshops) while Fratton employed only 193.⁹⁰

The operations of the LSWR cannot always be seen in isolation since there were reasons for links between itself and, on the one hand, the Great Western Railway, and on the other, the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, especially concerning joint use of certain lines and some staff serving more than one of these Companies. Rivalry did accompany cooperation, however, as the episode surrounding the Southampton Docks Bill showed, for example, in the 1890's. The Bill would have altered the relationship between the Docks Company and the LSWR in favour of the LSWR, a fact which

caused the Great Western Railway to petition against the Bill.⁹¹ The same rivalry and cooperation was, no doubt, evident between the LSWR and the LBSCR in and around Portsmouth as the Companies' trains ran over the same track for some of their routes.

However, it would be safe to assume that such relations did not really impinge upon the thoughts of labour, young or old, who were seeking work, especially at those times that employment opportunities were limited. For many it was the job and not the local politics of the industry, which was all-important. Referring to the early years and the entire operations of the LSWR, the Employment Registers offer good evidence of a mix of skilled workmen and labourers, of Premium Apprentices and 'lads' - the latter perhaps reflecting the new method of learning skills from varied experience and attachment to the experienced skilled, without the need for a formal attachment via a premium apprenticeship.

In a Register for the period 1844-1890, of 5000 employees listed, only 76 (or between 1-2%) were actually described as apprentices on appointment; many more were entered as assistants or lads but with the same objective as the apprentice - to learn a trade. Some can be seen not to survive with the Company beyond the completion of their time - perhaps securing what they perceived to be better jobs with their newly won skills.⁹²

Table 5.9

REGISTER NO.	COMMENTS
1040	Apprenticed 1873, earning 14/6 by 1877; apprenticeship expired 1878
1059	Apprenticed 1872 at 5/- week; 26/- in 1879 but resigning later that year
1060	Apprenticed 1872 at 5/- week; earning 30/- in 1881 but resigning in that year
1097	Lad entered service 1873 at 4/- week; 13/- by 1877
1226	Erector's Assistant entering service in 1871 at 20/- week
1251	Boilermaker's Assistant entering service in 1874 at 38/- week

Table 5.9: LSWR Workmen: Apprentices and AssistantsExamples From the Period 1871-1881Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.524

The Register covering the period from 1864-1877 shows, through some of the Portsmouth entries which are a small minority of the total, the sort of labour requirements in the town in those years: entries are given for fitter's assistant, fitter, labourer, greaser and examiner. This undoubtedly is only a pale reflection of the requirements first at Nine Elms and later at Eastleigh.⁹³

A further Register for the years 1877-90 is supportive of this statement in a wider context.⁹⁴ Taking one

representative month from this record of employment (August 1877) fewer than 4% of the appointments concern Portsmouth and these for positions which, in turn, can be taken as representatives of the Boy Labour problem: two cleaners employed at wages of 2/2 and 2/4 respectively but with no entries against their names beyond 1882 in the first case (wage then of 2/9) and 1878 in the second (a wage then of 2/6), suggesting that employment was relatively short term. A coalman employed at a wage of 2/6 has no wage entries against his name beyond the year of appointment.

Taking a longer series from the same Register (July 1877 to December 1880 inclusive) just 1% of the appointments are based in Portsmouth at some point in their service with the Company. Few opportunities exist for those lads who wished to learn a skill, especially within the engineering sphere. Those who served for a short period seem to be illustrative of blind-alley employees. Table 5.10 gives the details:

Table 5.10

POSITION	DATE	APPT./WAGE	COMMENTS
Cleaner	Sept 1877	2/2	Resigned 1882
Cleaner	Sept 1877	2/2	_____
Cleaner	Jan 1878	2/2	Refusing to work:dismissed
Cleaner	Jan 1878	2/4	Left own accord 1879
Cleaner	Feb 1878	2/2	Became Steam Getter 1883
Greaser	May 1878	7/-	1881:13/- Wage
Cleaner	June 1878	2/2	Left in same year
Engine Cl'nr	Aug 1878	2/4	1883:2/9 Wage
Cleaner	Aug 1878	2/2	Left in 1879
Engine Cl'nr	Sept 1878	2/4	1883:2/9 Wage
Engine Cl'nr	Sept 1878	2/2	Left in same year
Cleaner	Oct 1878	2/4	Resigned in 1880
Cleaner	Apr 1879	-	1884:2/9 Wage
Apprentice			
unspecified	Jun 1879	5/-	Rising to 11/- by 1882
Cleaner	Oct 1879	2/2	1884:2/9 Wage
Boilermaker	Nov 1879	4/4	Transferred from Driver
Engine Cl'nr	Jan 1880	2/2	1884:2/9 Wage
Examiner	May 1880	26/-	1882:30/- Wage
Engine Cl'nr	May 1880	2/2	-----
Engine Cl'nr	Aug 1880	2/-	1885:2/9 Wage
Greaser	Oct 1880	14/-	1884:17/6 Wage
Engine Cl'nr	Oct 1880	2/-	1887:2/9 Wage
Cleaner	Nov 1880	2/-	Resigned in 1889

NO ENTRIES FOR DECEMBER FOR PORTSMOUTH

Table 5.10:LSWR:Portsmouth Employees,July 1877 -Dec 1880Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.526

Clearly, employment in the Company's non-Traffic Operations at Portsmouth had little to offer in terms of skill acquisition, given that the period identified above was representative of the whole Register; the 1880's Register shows the abundance of apprenticeships at Nine Elms and Eastleigh.⁹⁵ Portsmouth's LSWR operations continued to offer few prospects for the adolescent who wanted long-term prospects in a skilled trade. A cleaner appointed at a wage of 2/2 served just over 14 months; a call boy employed at a wage of 1/9 served the Company for 15 months. Other cleaners at Portsmouth show the same tendency to move on sooner rather than later as they seek other blind-alley employment or something less transient (Table 5.11):

Table 5.11

DATE OF APPT.	DATE OF RESIGNATION
6/10/1884	6/ 4/1887
29/ 5/1881	30/ 9/1882
4/ 5/1885 (then NE 15/5/1887)	11/11/1887
13/12/1882	28/ 3/1883
7/ 9/1885	31/ 3/1886
20/11/1882	29/ 3/1883

NE=Nine Elms

Table 5.11: LSWR: Examples of Temporary Cleaning Jobs

Portsmouth 1880's

Source: RAIL 411 Piece No.528

These examples are by no means exceptions in this Register which covers other depots also. We should not, however, make the mistake of assuming that the idea of transient employment was peculiar to such positions as call-boys and cleaners. There is evidence from the Registers to suggest that, even if some other jobs which we would more accurately describe as skill-developing were more abundantly available in Portsmouth, the town's lads would not have necessarily taken these to be positions with long-term prospects, whatever the employers' views may have been to the contrary.

The Register for a relatively short period of time (1886-1890) is a case in point; it covers the period during which the transfer of some employees to Eastleigh from Nine Elms began to take place.⁹⁶ Lads seemingly there to learn a trade sometimes could not stay the course. A Painter's Lad taken on in March 1886 was discharged in March 1888 for losing time; a forge lad appointed in May 1887 left without notice in April 1888; one individual appointed at Nine Elms in December 1886 only worked for half an hour; a lad loco-painter served two days. And yet skill acquisition offered the prospect of relatively attractive long-term rewards as this Register shows: wagon builders, joiners, coachmakers, wheelwrights could expect to earn 30/- per week in 1886; boilermakers and coppersmiths 28/- and 30/- per week respectively in 1886/7. Job security was also a factor which will have loomed large in the minds of these workers, a factor which may well have been lost on the younger generation. Whether by design or accident many members of the latter did not see a position in the Company as transitory but neither did they

necessarily wish to make their career in the railways. Some described as 'lads' joined the Company and served for varying periods of years - one shown in the Registers, by no means untypical, serving from 1887 to 1893, with wages rising from 5/- to 16/- a week. A Fitter served at Portsmouth from 1872 to 1882 and saw his wages rise from 2/4 to 50/- a week. The Register also shows an Assistant Jointmaker serving at Portsmouth from 1887 to 1894 with only a marginal rise in wages from 2/2 to 2/6. Job security may have been seen as a compensatory factor for the very limited rise in remuneration.⁹⁷

The archives for the 1890's allow more concentration both on Portsmouth and adolescent labour.⁹⁸ Employment in the town as far as the railways were concerned was divided into a number of departments. The Register refers to Town Traffic which, in turn, is divided into the Passenger Department and Goods Department. There were also separate departments for Harbour Traffic and Portsmouth Guards although, for the latter, no ages are given for those 25 people employed. Finally, employment details are given for the Steam Packet Department.

Table 5.12 gives examples taken from the Register of the types of employment, ages of youths employed and the wages they received as of 31st December 1891. Although apprenticeship does feature, the vast majority of positions are of the sort that would have been seen as offering only blind-alley employment but, as the labour records of both Companies show, long service could, after all, develop from them. Within the Portsmouth Town Traffic's Passenger

Department 77 were employed of whom 10% were under 20;the Goods Department's 76 employees included 8% within this age group.In the Portsmouth Harbour Traffic Department 9% of the 32 employed were in the under 20 age group while in the Steam Packet operations 18% of the 134 employed were in that age group.On average,therefore,in these four departments just over 10% of the total employment was made up of teenaged workers and often employed in activities that were seen as a contribution to the Boy Labour problem.

Table 5.12

OCCUPATION	AGE NEXT BIRTHDAY	WAGE PER WK
<u>A.PORTSMOUTH TOWN TRAFFIC:PASSENGER DEPARTMENT:</u>		
Telegraphist	18	12/-
Parcels	17	10/-
Signals Lad	17	5/-
Telegraph Manager	15	5/-
<u>B.PORTSMOUTH TOWN TRAFFIC:GOODS DEPARTMENT</u>		
Clerk	18	13/-
Clerk	17	10/-
Messenger	15	5/-
<u>C.PORTSMOUTH HARBOUR TRAFFIC</u>		
Parcels' Porter	18	11/-
Telegraphist	16	7/-
Messenger	15	5/-
<u>D.PORTSMOUTH STEAM PACK</u>		
Porter	18	12/-
Apprentice Fitters (6)	17	10d
Labourer	18	3/-
Boy	14	1/-
Desk Boy	16	9/-
Engine Room Boy	17	9/-

Table 5.12:LSWR:Examples of Teenage Labour,Portsmouth,1891

Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.766

Fratton became an important marshalling yard for the Portsmouth area of LSWR Company operations. Many of the employment opportunities were unskilled and open to the youth of the town as the Edwardian Employment Registers of the Company show.⁹⁹ The Records show that a large proportion of the total number of workers employed at Fratton were aged under 20.

Taking two representative letters, of a total of 172 employed with surnames beginning with F, 84% were in that age group. For the letter T the respective figures were 198 and 85%. Table 5.13 gives details of a selection taken from the Register of those employed at Fratton:

Table 5.13

OCCUPATION	AGE/DATE ENTERING SERVICE	INITIAL WAGE
Cleaner	17 March, 1903	2/4
Lad	14 March, 1903	5/-
Fitter's Lad	16 October, 1904	5/-
Office Asst.	16 June, 1907	2/2
Lad (£50)	16 January, 1909	5/-
Office Lad	14 August, 1910	5/-
Labourer	17 March, 1913	2/2
Cleaner	16 August, 1914	2/2

Table 5.13: LSWR: Examples of Teenagers, Fratton, 1903-1916

Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.667

Although apprenticeships were certainly not unheard of at

Fratton, they continued to be limited compared to Eastleigh. Nevertheless, the experiences of those lads was likely to be similar to their counterparts at Eastleigh. Those of the Edwardian years could continue to think in terms of long term prospects following training, and remuneration befitting a skilled craftsman. For a 50 hour week in 1910 wages ranged from the Stripper's 22/3 to 38/11 for Erectors, Fitters, Patternmakers and Angle Iron Smiths.¹⁰⁰

Where the apprentice entered service prior to his sixteenth birthday he would serve to the age of 21; if older, the minimum period was five years. The Machine Shop offered training for 2½ years and then passed lads on first to the Fitting Department and then to the Erecting Department. During their time there would also be opportunities to attend College. Although the Register of Employment does not usually specify the nature of the apprenticeship the wage range for the 14 to 17 year olds is given as 5/- to 9/-. Where appropriate the Premium is identified (usually £50 but something less when an apprenticeship was being embarked upon in the late teens). Only about 1% of the 4,400 employees listed are identified as having paid a Premium to the employer. For one individual his apprenticeship history is sketched: commencing November 1902, to the drawing office in January 1907, to firing May 1907 and the running shed (fitting) in December 1907. No other details were given for the early years of his training.

The LSWR, similarly to the LBSCR, could boast of many long serving employees - suggesting that railway companies were

not necessarily adding to the Boy Labour problem, whatever the nature of the employment. Company records give details for 1910 and 1911 as illustrated in Table 5.14.¹⁰¹

Table 5.14

<u>WORK MANAGER'S OFFICE (1910)</u>			
<u>AGE</u>	<u>ENTR'NG SERVICE</u>	<u>AGE 1910/11</u>	<u>LENGTH OF SERVICE</u>
17		51	34
17		42	25
13		27	14
14		22	8
<u>RUNNING OFFICE (1910)</u>			
15		18	33
16		15	31
14		14	28
16		10	26
<u>CHIEF MECHANICAL ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT (1911)</u>			
<u>1. FRATTON</u>			
17		30	13
17		24	7
<u>2. EASTLEIGH - RUNNING</u>			
15		36	21
15		33	18
14		31	17
<u>3. EASTLEIGH - SHOPS</u>			
15		52	37
19		59	40
19		46	26

Table 5.14:LSWR:Examples of Long Service Employees, 1910

Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.413

The analysis of staff now moves onto the last few years before the LSWR was absorbed into the Southern Railway. Very detailed data are provided in a Census of Staff for January 1st,1921.¹⁰² This gives 'particulars of all staff (other than non-supervisory shop grades) filling authorised positions in the Company's service on January 1st,1921 and also a summary of the Shop Staff (other than supervisory) employed in the various departments on November 1st 1920 together with similar information regarding the Portsmouth and Ryde Joint Staff.'

The Census shows that the total staff included within it numbered 30,364 (LSWR staff 29,696; Portsmouth Joint Staff 668).The composition of the LSWR staff is shown in Table 5.15. Appendix II gives further details:

Table 5.15

1.Male	(Adult)	26978	90.8%
2.Male	(Junior)	2081	7.0%
3.Female	(Adult)	605	2.0%
4.Female	(Junior)	32	0.2%
		<hr/>	
		29696	100.0%

Table 5.15:LSWR:Staff,January 1921

Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.673

Within these aggregates is included the staffing at Fratton where Junior Staff were 14% of the total as far as the Locomotive Department was concerned.This compares to 12%

in the same department at Eastleigh. Table 5.16 gives the breakdown of the Fratton staffing; although jobs are represented which required training, the juniors have only the unskilled menial tasks to perform - tasks which would have not inspired them to necessarily remain for any length of time:103

Table 5.16

GRADE	NUMBER IN EACH GRADE
Foremen	1
Inspector	1
Clerk	4
Boiler Washer	2
Cleaner (Chargeman)	3
Cleaner	9
Coalman (Leading)	4
Coalman	3
Drivers	56
Firemen	58
Shed Labourer	2
Shunter	1
Stationary Machine Attendant	1
Stores Issuer (Head)	1
Stores Issuer	2
<u>JUNIOR STAFF</u>	
Cleaner	24
Messenger	1
TOTAL	173

Table 5.16: LSWR: Fratton Staff, Locomotive Dept., 1921

Source: PRO:RAIL 411 Piece No.673

As far as the Traffic Superintendent's Department was concerned, 52 people were employed at Fratton, of whom only 4% were juniors and employed as Signal Lads. This compares to 262 employed at Eastleigh in total, of whom 5% were Juniors (2 Messengers, 1 Number Taker, 3 Porters, 7 Signal Lads). Portsmouth stations other than Fratton did not offer Juniors much in the way of employment within the Traffic Superintendent's Department: of 194 people employed in total, 2½% were Juniors (Parcels' Porter, Messengers, Signal lads).¹⁰⁴

It has to be remembered that by this time more opportunities were being offered in the local labour market for what was an increasingly literate and numerate youth population. The introduction to this chapter makes general reference to the probable literacy requirements for those employed in such work. The spread of education, at least of an elementary nature, made it increasingly unlikely that young recruits to the railway industry would be without the basic qualities of literacy and numeracy. It cannot be denied that those qualities would be more necessary for certain types of railway work than others but it would be wrong to discount their significance in any part of the industry. Within the engineering sector the learning of skills would inevitably be facilitated if it was able to build on general school education, causing railway companies' support for further training of their employees to be more realistic and worthwhile.

An HMI Report of 1928 pointed out that railway apprenticeships generally started at 16 years of age;

recruitment was usually from the sons of workers already in the industry 'who pass into the works soon after the age of 14 as positions are offered'. The period between 14 and 16 years of age was 'not without its value, as opportunities occur which offer to an observant boy chances of becoming acquainted with shop processes...'¹⁰⁵

It can be suggested that, whatever period we are referring to, these years, as well as the apprenticeship years, would have been significantly less effective had the youths involved not received basic education before entry to the works.

The Report was concerned about these years, however, and whether enough was being done for youth during that time to make the post-16 experience at work as useful as possible. It pointed out that 'the youth is too often neglected and forgets much that he has learnt and so is not well fitted to receive further instruction.'¹⁰⁶ In a way this reflects Sadler's point twenty years earlier when he stressed what he saw as the rôle of the elementary school as being 'to form good habits; to stimulate the imagination'.¹⁰⁷ Achievement could well fade in any interim period imposed on youth awaiting the start of an apprenticeship.

Railway Companies were also not without their requirements within Traffic Operations and this is certainly made clear by a forerunner of the LBSCR in the 1840's long before the Forster Act made it increasingly likely that schooling would be undertaken by children.

In its *Regulations for the First Appointment of an Engineman* it was pointed out that those concerned 'must be

able to read and write, and, if possible, understand the rudimental principles of mechanics.'¹⁰⁸ There is evidence that both the LSWR and the LBSCR were supportive of the further education of their employees - both pre- and post- 1914 - whether within the Companies' Institutes or in other colleges.

The HMI Report of 1928 spoke of the companies as having 'a high tradition of fostering the educational welfare of their engineering apprentices. Last century much good work was done in railway institutes and, though the technical classes in these institutes have in most cases disappeared, the railway companies have continued to take an interest in the work which is now generally located in technical schools maintained by the Local Education Authority.'¹⁰⁹ Sadler made reference to the Institute at Eastleigh 'which owes its existence and continued success to the liberality of the LSWRC'.¹¹⁰

For LSWR apprentices nearer to London Sadler was also able to point out that they were excused from their work on two mornings per week until 9.30 or 10 on condition they attended the Battersea Polytechnic from 8 am. Wages were paid as though they were at work at 6 am. All fees for day classes were paid by the Company.¹¹¹ As mentioned in the introductory section (reference 28) Creasey (1905) cited the LBSCR Directors for the support given to employees in their further education through the offer of 'prizes to those of their employees who are taking courses in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering at the Brighton Technical School'.¹¹² All this encouragement was, of course, largely given, and

confined, to those who were involved in the engineering operations of the Company.

It cannot be denied that the railway never took on the importance to the labour market in Portsmouth that it had in Brighton. In the latter town the Engineering Works were at the very heart of the community both geographically and in the lives of each of those families who had at least one of its number working there. However, no town or labour market remained untouched by the coming, and the development, of the railway and its accompanying activities. Fratton's Yards, in particular, imposed themselves on the locality as did the Traffic Operations of the LSWR within the whole Portsmouth area.

Without any major engineering activities it could be argued that the railway in Portsmouth was more likely to offer to youth, for the most part, blind-alley employment; however, Employment Registers cited in this chapter certainly do not allow sweeping statements to be made without qualification. There is evidence of long service in an industry which, even if not able to offer high financial rewards to those without skill and qualifications, was able to offer secure employment prospects to those who, in their younger years, did not wish to contribute to the Boy Labour problem. Others who moved to jobs offering higher short term rewards, often would not have had the job security which companies such as the LSWR and the LBSCR were able to provide in an industry whose decline, to any significant extent, post-dates the thesis period.

Chapter 6: The Significance of the Royal Dockyard, Portsmouth

Where Brighton had the employment benefit of the Locomotive and Engineering Works of the LBSCR for its labour force, Portsmouth had the Royal Dockyard. The development of the latter was, of course, over centuries rather than decades as in the case of the Brighton Works; inevitably, then, its life had become unquestionably ingrained into that of Portsmouth and that of its labour market.

The Boy Labour issue does have tremendous significance here; parents and off-spring were well aware of the opportunities offered: the learning of a skill and, whatever the reality, the perception at least that here was the offer of a job for life, heightened the attraction of the Dockyard.

Although the Apprenticeships to the Principal Trades were an important part of the Dockyard labour market, and were those positions that many local parents coveted most, they were not the only opportunities on offer. HMI Baxandall stressed what he thought to be one important aspect of apprenticeship when he wrote in 1916 that 'the achievement of apprentices in one generation have fired the imagination of those in the next, and at a very early age boys in these towns have come under the influence of a competition to which, as regards keenness and active interest of parents, there probably exists no parallel in any other part of the country...'¹

The Portsmouth Dockyard had a long history but it was the Victorian period which saw significant expansion when 'the importance of this particular Yard [Portsmouth] cannot be

overestimated'.(MacDougall,1982)². Riley and Chapman (1989) assert that 'such was the Dockyard's central rôle that it was the fundamental determinant of both the speed and nature of the region's economic expansion throughout the nineteenth century'.³ By 1860 the size of the Dockyard had already reached 99 acres - including 11 docks - and by 1876 it was nearly three times its size a century earlier.⁴

By the 1880's its significance for the youth of Portsmouth had become apparent, being regarded as 'the best training ground on account of the varieties and amount of work done there.'⁵ In 1891 the Royal Commission on Labour required evidence to be submitted by the Royal Dockyards on an individual basis. The Commission asked for the number of people employed by any Department, Corporation, Board or Trust under the control of the Admiralty to which the Portsmouth Dockyard responded: 7,400 (approx), exclusive of officers but including Yard Craftsmen. On this criterion Portsmouth was the biggest of the Admiralty Dockyards. The Yard also described its work at that time as the construction and repair of ships, marine engines, and all work pertaining thereto, harbour moorings, machinery and plant. Additionally, it was involved in the construction, repair and maintenance of Yard Buildings and dredging.⁶ Galliver gives employment figures for a longer period leading up to the First World War (Table 6.1).⁷

Table 6.1

1880	5892
1890	7615
1900	10044
1914	16692

Table 6.1:Numbers Employed in Portsmouth DockyardSelected Years 1880-1914Source: Galliver Thesis (see end note 7)

Other Admiralty archives noted in 1913 that 'since the beginning of 1910, the rapid growth both in the shipbuilding programme and in the number of ships in commission and requiring repair has necessitated a heavy increase in the number of men employed in all trades in the Royal Yards'. The statistics showed 283 additions to authorised numbers at Portsmouth for 1913-14 and 331 for 1914-15.⁸ The Admiralty spoke of 'considerable development in Portsmouth Dockyard, particularly with reference to the provision of improved facilities for docking and repairing ships.'⁹

All this was, of course, welcome news for the working population of the town including its younger members looking for employment with prospects. Wrigley (1987) points out that by this time 'of the ten largest manufacturing employers there were...three...provided by the railway workshops...and...two were the Royal Dockyards and Royal Ordnance Factories'. In employment terms Portsmouth remained the largest of the Admiralty Dockyards.¹⁰ More specifically,

Haas (1990) points out that by 1914 the Admiralty was not just 'the biggest shipbuilder but the biggest manufacturer in the UK.'¹¹ It is true that the Portsmouth Yard suffered a decline after the War and, as Horne points out, 'it was not until 1937 that it was realised that we were faced with yet another crisis and serious efforts were made to...modernise the Dockyard still further'. Coincidentally, opportunities for labour began, once again, to improve.¹²

Although parents and sons looked to the Dockyard for jobs with some permanence, such permanence certainly could not be too readily assumed. Creasey, writing in 1905 with reference to Royal Dockyard lads argued that there was 'a continual weeding-out of those who show themselves unable to profit by the instruction'.¹³ However, as Galliver (1986) points out the Admiralty was able to state that 70% of Skilled Labourers had originally entered the Dockyards as Ordinary Labourers. It was also the case that boys of 14 could enter as Yard Boys, be included in the ranks of Ordinary Labourers and acquire skills to allow elevation to the status of Skilled Labour after the age of 21. Thus even if a boy was unable to secure a traditional apprenticeship there was still a strong prospect of avoiding the blind-alley employment lying beyond the Dockyard.¹⁴

There seemed to be a concern in the opening years of the century to ensure that all that could be done for youth was being done within the confines of the Dockyard. The archives do confirm in places, however, Creasey's point that there was a process of weeding out in evidence. The *Report on Dockyard Schools* (1905) referring to the rules on attendance,

indicates that they were so framed 'with a view to weeding out the dull and backward boys...the effect [being] that only about 12% of the Apprentices who attend school in the first year succeed in getting permission to make a second year's attendance'.¹⁵ The figures for Portsmouth in particular show 158 boys attending the School: 105 in the first year, 33 in the second year, 18 in the third and just 2 in the final year. The Report thus argued that 'many even of the less ambitious and capable boys would profit if the opportunity were held out to them of continuing some school work beyond the first year'.¹⁶ The Report also made reference to the age of entry which it noted had been reduced from 14 to 13½ in 1901 to increase the number of candidates. There had clearly been concern with trying to reduce the potential for a drift into blind-alley employment; however, it asserted that 'boys anxious to enter would not, except in isolated cases, drift into other employment earlier than 14 rather than remain at school till they reached that age'.¹⁷ Proposals were made in the Report to bring improvement in the way the Schools were conducted, to regulate more strictly the progress of boys and to introduce some incentives for them. A certificate of conduct and progress was to be issued to each apprentice with the right given to the Superintendent of each Dockyard of 'excluding an apprentice from entry in the Yard, as a workman, if these certificates are not satisfactory'.¹⁸ By the War years those in official circles felt confident that those boys from any class that the Dockyards took under their wings and retained 'may secure advancement to the

highest positions solely as the result of [their] own ability and hard work.' (Board of Education, 1916).¹⁹ This degree of satisfaction really emanated from changes that had taken place within the previous few years as the Admiralty became bound up with the national debate on Boy Labour.

In a memo from the Admiralty to the Superintendent at the Portsmouth Dockyard in 1911 attention was clearly being focused on the non-apprentices. There was seen to be a need to provide school education to Boy Writers, Yard Boys, Messenger Boys and boys employed in the Store and Works Department with all boys being obliged to attend School for one year from the beginning of the term in which they had gained entry. The special facilities were to terminate when the age of 18 was reached.²⁰

Concern was also reflected in the recommendations of the Court of Arbitration eight years later; the Court argued that there should be a 'supplementary scheme of apprenticeship... for the training of boys in HM Dockyards to meet the cases 1) of boys who fail to pass the high education test demanded under the scheme as present in operation, and 2) of boys who, owing to the limited education facilities they have enjoyed, are not qualified to enter for the existing competitive examination'. There could still be a transfer by such candidates to higher positions, however.²¹ The Portsmouth Dockyard had urged that opportunities be preserved for boys who had not had educational advantages.²²

There was also official support for the continuation of the grade of Skilled Labourer, given that there had been 'great difficulty in recent years in getting enough boys as

apprentices and those that do enter look to something better than becoming merely Riveters....it would be ridiculous to apprentice a boy for 5 or 6 years to a job that we know can be learnt by an ordinary man in a few months and it cannot be supposed that parents would consent to such a course'.²³ In a meeting between the Financial Secretary and the Boilermakers' representatives it was made clear that the government was 'anxious to keep open the chance for the boy who had not been apprenticed' given that 'the industrial system of the country does not admit of all boys being apprenticed to trades'.²⁴ For the most able of the boys in the Dockyards there were certainly promotion prospects which would expel the fear of regression to blind-alley employment for ever.

The Office of Constructors had come into being in 1883 and studentships for the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors were offered in part to the best of the Dockyard apprentices.²⁵ Competition was stiff: at this time [1911] Portsmouth had only 3 Constructors and 15 Assistants.²⁶ The fortunate boys were 'the pick of a very large number of keen and clever youths....A large number of boys, although they do not attain to the Corps of Naval Constructors, nevertheless come under the stimulus which is given by the existence of these prizes [the posts of Constructors]'.²⁷

Although there is little direct mention of the Boy Labour problem in the archives referred to here, there is no doubt that, whether officially intended or not, much of what was considered and proposed in these years with youth in mind was of significance in this regard, whether or not there was

a positive outcome.

Particular aspects of Royal Dockyard labour will now be considered in more detail. Apprenticeship - whether to the Principal or Minor Trades - remained a strong institution within the Royal Dockyards. Ashworth claims that at the end of the nineteenth century the shipbuilding industry 'was the only large industry where apprenticeship was still common...[but that] ...even where, as in shipbuilding, apprenticeship persisted, it often lacked much of the training and supervision formerly associated with it...'.²⁸ If this were, in fact, the case in much of the shipbuilding industry archives do not suggest that this is the case for the Admiralty Dockyards. Writing in the 1960's Horne could still refer to the 24 different trades displayed there in that decade with 'most of the Craftsmen [receiving] a full apprenticeship which is, and always has been, recognised as one of the best on offer'.²⁹

It was pointed out in 1916 that apprentices were 'afforded a good opportunity of acquiring a varied experience of the practical work bearing on their trade... Their complete training is ...an example of the ''sandwich'' system in which the theoretical and practical parts alternate with a frequency approaching the practicable maximum'.³⁰

Certainly apprenticeship was a position to which the young aspired. Lane, an apprentice shipwright in the Portsmouth Dockyard during and after the First World War, points out that they were 'considered the élite in the Yard and chose their trade according to their position on the entrance

exam'. He also points to the possible promotion to draughtsmen and inspector for the most able.³¹ Most, however, were content to learn a trade and remain with it through their working lives. For them it meant a secure income and something much more than the blind-alley employment in which many of their contemporaries would find themselves by choice or because alternatives were non-existent.

The position of shipwright which Lane finally secured for himself was central to the work of the Dockyards and one which was much sought after. MacDougall points out that, of the various groups of workers, they were 'the most prominent ...[and]...had the greatest skills'.³² Their status rose from the 1860's when the Admiralty broke the Ironsmiths' strike, and began to retrain shipwrights in the craft of iron shipbuilding. 'Numerous shipwrights became competent ironsmiths and were soon training their own apprentices'.³³

Some Indentures of Apprenticeships of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in the Dockyard survive. A boy aged 15, whose father was already serving in the Dockyard, became an apprentice shipwright in 1869 under the guidance of a Master Shipbuilder. Just one week's absence other than for sickness could be cause for the Master to declare the Indenture unlawful.³⁴ Another who was an apprenticed shipwright in the early years of this century fell on troubled times as the shipbuilding industry suffered problems in the 1920's, confirming that employment could certainly not be assumed to be permanent. A friend advised him to include in his applications to Yards particular

details which give the historian an insight into the typical experiences of shipbuilding craftsmen during these years. He advised the inclusion of classes attended at the Dockyard School and Technical Institute; length of apprenticeship including training in the whole of hull construction and fittings and experience in the drawing office; his experience in various classes of shipbuilding work and in the supervision of men and keeping of records; the working out of lists of repairs necessary for the reconditioning of ships.³⁵

Local archives help us trace the career of an apprentice who served as a Naval Shipwright at Portsmouth from 1903 to 1946; his apprenticeship ran from 1903 to 1908. He is described as 'a very capable Chief Shipwright - reliable and energetic'. The apprenticeship developed as follows: the first two years involved in general shipbuilding and fitting; year 3: drilling and caulking (1st quarter), wood and caulking (2nd quarter), masts and span (2nd half); year 4: boat repairing (1st half), ships fitting (next 5 months) and rivetting (final month); year 5: work taken from the above.³⁷

Another Indenture shows a boy aged 14½ apprenticed as a painter to the Chief Constructor in 1881 for 6 years - the Indenture not allowing any degree of lassitude in that this boy was expected to 'demean himself at all times with strict propriety and submission to his superiors.'³⁷ In such examples, we perhaps have an understanding of the attractions to some of the freer atmosphere which blind-alley employment presented to youth if Masters adhered strictly to the letter of the law in applying the terms of the Indenture.

Reference to the Entrance Examination will be made later in this chapter. An apprentice had to recognise that his choice of trade was conditioned by the remaining vacancies after each boy above him in the examinations list had made his choice; attendance at the Dockyard School was a requirement and 'idleness or indifference brings summary dismissal'. Those apprentices in the Upper School who survived the tuition and exacting standards represented 'material of first rate ability'. Healthy competition amongst these apprentices was spurred on by the awarding of prizes by the Admiralty.³⁸

The War years were to see the minimum age of apprenticeship raised from 14 to 15 years and its length reduced from 6 years to 5.³⁹ While the later starting year might have caused a few to drift in the period between leaving school and the apprenticeship commencing, the shorter period of training may have been an attraction. There was also to be an increase in wages so that the level of remuneration was at least equal to those of Skilled Labourers, given that Yard Boys become men at the age of 20 and received Skilled Labourers' wages.⁴⁰ New rates of pay for the 5 year apprenticeship were announced in 1918 and are shown in Table 6.2:⁴¹

Table 6.2

	Old Scale of Pay	New Scale of Pay
1ST YEAR	4/-	8/-
2ND YEAR	6/-	8/-
3RD YEAR	8/-	10/-
4TH YEAR	10/-	14/-
5TH YEAR	12/-	20/-
6TH YEAR	15/-	-

Post-apprenticeship, youths to be probationers on 30/- per wk

Table 6.2: Apprenticeships' Rates of Pay: Admiralty Dockyards

1918

Source: PRO:ADM 179 Piece No.69

Shortly after these changes proposals for a new class of apprentices were announced: Junior Apprentices would offer hope to those who were unable to gain a Trade (or senior) Apprenticeship. It was suggested that 'the age for entry in the new apprentice class should be higher than that for trade apprentices, so that boys who kept at school who might have secured trade apprenticeships, shall not be given facilities for taking up the inferior position until they have lost all opportunity of gaining the superior apprenticeship'. It was made clear that the intention was not to shut out the class of boys who have previously been entered but that 'the arrangements will in practice be that

the boys entered in the new apprenticeships will be for the most part nominated before entry and that the entrance examination will be merely of a qualifying character'.⁴²

Apprenticeship remained a highly significant method of both recruitment and training. Numbers of apprentices are not always given in official records for individual Yards. However, in the early years of this century some of the Yards were making returns to the Admiralty showing apprentices and established men in various trades.⁴³ Devonport was such a Yard giving details of numbers of apprentices while Portsmouth only gave the number of Established Men. If we assume that Portsmouth had similar ratios of apprentices to Established Men as Devonport, some tentative figures can be arrived at as Table 6.3 shows:

Table 6.3

	DEVONPORT		PORTSMOUTH	
	1	2	3	4
Boilerm'krs	139	143	106	109
Caulkers	11	5	13	6
Cpprsmths	17	7	32	13
Fitters -ship	89	33	120	44
Fitters -				
engine	300	173	310	179
Founders	24	9	19	7
Joiners	70	12	8	1
Pattnmkrs	13	11	12	10
Sailmakers	16	5	22	7
Shipwrights	710	576	800	650
Smiths	76	17	113	25

1=Established Men -Devonport (from official records)

2=Apprentices - Devonport (from official records)

3=Established Men -Portsmouth (from official records)

4=Apprentices in selected trades - Portsmouth (estimates
using the same ratios as established for Devonport)

Table 6.3:Apprentices and Established Men:

Devonport and Portsmouth:Selected Trades,1899-1903

Source: ADM 116 Piece No.900A

As Chapter 4 showed, the education system of the town was dominated by the Dockyard Entrance Examination - whether we are looking at the private or state sector. The minds of youths and their parents, as well as those in education, came to be dominated by the demands of the Examination. However, as the statistics often show, it was one thing to achieve success and quite another to secure an apprenticeship in the Dockyard. It all depended on the number of vacancies in any one year and at times these were very few and far between. But success was important: without it there was always the danger that boys would be forced into some type of blind-alley employment; with failure that danger became evermore immediate. The Civil Service Return for 1882 gives the examination details as shown in Table 6.4:⁴⁴

Table 6.4

SUBJECT	MAXIMUM MARK
Arithmetic	300
Addition	50
Handwriting	100
Orthography	100
English Composition	100
English Grammar	100
Geography	100
Algebra	150
Euclid	150
	1150

Table 6.4: Details Of the Dockyard Entrance Examination, 1882

Source: PRO: CSC 10 Piece No. 213

The statistics high-light the problem:130 candidates were competing for just 36 places - a ratio of 3.6:1. This proves to be much stiffer competition than,for example, Chatham (1.9:1).1884 saw a 77% pass rate at Portsmouth but 3.5 candidates competed for every one place (marginally better than Devonport's 4:1, marginally worse than Chatham's 3:1).⁴⁵ The pass rate showed an upward trend:from 80% in 1894,to 87.5% in 1905 and 94% in 1906.⁴⁶ This is compatible with the wider consumption of education and the greater professionalism evident in the preparation of candidates for the examination.

The limited number of vacancies continued to be the over-riding problem,however.The 1906 statistics show 272 successful candidates competing for 52 vacancies at Portsmouth - a ratio of 5.2 to 1.⁴⁷ There were better years: 1908 showed a ratio of 3.1 to 1.⁴⁸ 1911 and 1912 show similar ratios (3.2:1 and 3.0:1 respectively).⁴⁹ The last two years for which statistics are given show a contrasting picture but with 1922 providing the hint of pessimism which was to prove so accurate for much of the inter-war period and so devastating for shipbuilding centres and the labour they contained - young or old.The figures for 1921 show a ratio of successful candidates to vacancies of 1.5 to 1;those for 1922:4:1.⁵⁰

Those who were successful in gaining places would soon realise - if they had not done so up to that point - that their education was to continue within the Dockyard.Haas points out that the reason for the creation of the Dockyard School in the 1840's was 'to shape a more efficient

workforce...to provide better education...to prepare apprentices [unskilled labourers and those classified as Skilled Labourers - 40% of the workforce in the late nineteenth century - would have not attended] for the short-lived School of Mathematics and Naval Architecture established in 1848 [closure 1853]'.⁵¹

Jack argues that, after a weak beginning, these schools came to offer boys 'a specialist course of instruction which included the teaching of mathematics to standards rarely obtainable elsewhere'.⁵² The Board of Education similarly felt that the excellent mathematical training which the apprentices received accounted for 'the rapid progress which they are able to make in the study of other engineering subjects, and for their confidence and power in attacking problems'.⁵³ During the early twentieth century the Dockyard apprentice-scholar began to earn a national reputation for acquiring a technical education unobtainable elsewhere. 1917, 1918 and 1919 saw Portsmouth apprentices doing particularly well in winning 12 Whitworth Scholarships. For the period 1915-1920, of the 20 Admiralty Prizes, 15 went to the Portsmouth School. Even into the inter-war period and the Second World War itself it was felt that few, if any, changes had to be made in the structure, conduct and emphasis of the teaching. The schools 'continued to offer to the ambitiously-able boy a specialist part-time education to standards unobtainable elsewhere outside university life'.⁵⁴

For the aspiring youth, therefore, who found himself within the Dockyard, progress in the school could distance himself further and further from the Boy Labour situation. The

official records of the early years of this century allow us to learn more about the nature of these schools than at any other time. In 1904 the Board of Education drew information from the Admiralty on their precise nature as well as their curriculum.⁵⁵ A letter from the Admiralty confirmed the division of each school into 2 sections - upper and lower. The Upper School was further divided into two divisions. Appendix I gives the curriculum for both sections at this time.

The 'weeding out' of boys was of concern - the general effect being that 'except in the work of the first year, the schools are largely devoted to bringing forward a few exceptionally clever boys of whom the best ultimately reach the Corps of Naval Instructors'.⁵⁶ It would have helped the motivation of those concerned if there had been better prospects of progressing further as their apprenticeships developed.

It was felt that numbers could rise quite significantly if certain reforms were carried out, as Table 6.5 indicates:⁵⁷

Table 6.5		
	ATTENDANCE 1903	FUTURE ESTIMATED ATTENDANCE
		ASSUMING REFORMS
PORTSMOUTH	304	470
WITHIN A TOTAL		
OF	954	1470

Table 6.5: Attendance and Estimated Attendance

Dockyard Schools

Source: PRO:ADM 1 Piece No.7824

In 1905 *Revised Regulations for Dockyard Schools* were published. The subjects of examinations for engine fitter and shipwright apprentices at the end of the fourth year, for example, were to be as in the following groups:⁵⁸

A: MATHS, MECHANICS, APPLIED MECHANICS, HEAT, ELECTRICITY, STEAM
AND STEAM ENGINES;

B: DRAWING AND ENGINEERING, STEAM AND STEAM ENGINES

C: LAYING OFF AND DRAWING; SHIPBUILDING

A: BOTH ENGINE FITTER AND SHIPWRIGHT APPRENTICES

B: ENGINE FITTER APPRENTICES

C: SHIPWRIGHT APPRENTICES

The *Revised Regulations* did seem to reflect a concern in official circles for the Boy Labour issue. Article 369 is worth quoting in full to illustrate the point:⁵⁹

Other boys employed in the Yard are to be allowed to attend schools after working hours if they can be accommodated provided they are able to follow the most elementary teaching given in the school. If room is not available in the Dockyard Schools they may attend any suitable evening school and be paid one shilling per week extra, subject to proof of attendance, conduct and application.

The Dockyard did offer other openings which many of Portsmouth's young males would realistically be able to consider if apprenticeships to the Principal or Minor Trades

were not open to them. It was possible, again through competitive examination, for boys to become engineering students, some of the regulations for which were common to both those students and the apprentices to which reference has already been made. Candidates for the examination (details of which are given in Appendix II for 1880) had to be not less than 14 but not more than 16 and be of respectable character.⁶⁰ An analysis of parentage of students carried out in 1883/4 suggests that the boy looking for an engineering studentship may not have been the type of person who would have otherwise drifted into blind-alley employment. However, as Appendix III shows, this may not have entirely been the case and such studentships certainly did offer to all boys another method of avoiding jobs with only short-term prospects.

Finance, however, could prove to be a major obstacle. Students were required to join with parents or guardians in a Bond of £300 to enter the Dockyard Service as Assistant Engineers and 'these Bonds and the Indentures or Apprenticeship must be completed in all respects before the students join the Dockyard'. Parents were then to pay £25 per year for the first 3 years of training. Board and Lodging could be provided for these students and their pay would be 1s per week for the first year rising in stages to 10s per week for the 6th year.⁶¹ An exemplar of such an Indenture is given in Appendix IV. The cost of training these students over 6 years at Portsmouth in the 1880's was £8311.⁶²

This decade saw some official concern for the type of education the students were receiving, especially when

compared to the Apprentices to the Principal and Minor Trades. In January 1883 the Portsmouth Yard had 144 engineering students and 13 Instructors allocated as shown in Table 6.6:⁶³

Table 6.6		
	ENGINEERING STUDENTS	INSTRUCTORS
FITTING SHOP	51	3
FOUNDRY	4	1
ERECTING SHOP	9	1
PATTERN SHOP	4	1
COPPERSMITH SHOP	4	1
BOILER SHOP	5	1
AFLOAT	40	4
DRAWING OFFICE	9	-
SHIPBUILDING	18	1

Table 6.6: Portsmouth Dockyard Engineering Students and
Instructors, 1883

Source: PRO:ADM 116 Piece No.268

In November of 1883 the Director of Studies at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich carried out an inspection of the Portsmouth Dockyard School; there were 146 engineering students, 98 apprentices to the Principal Trades, 97 apprentices to the Minor Trades as well as 15 messengers and store boys. Of the engineering students there were 7 in the

7th year, 39 in the 6th, 56 in the 5th, 5 in the 4th, 1 in the 3rd, 23 in the 2nd and 15 in the 1st. The Director of Studies felt obliged to report that 'the 56 in their 5th year have had no school instruction at all during the five last months of the past year....I fear that this long and total cessation of study will have an injurious effect upon them. It is more serious since nearly half of them are still in the lower Division....My conviction is still unchanged respecting the necessity of providing a higher and more sufficient education for the engineering students...and of separating their instruction from that of the Apprentices.'⁶⁴

As some comparison, the 98 apprentices to the Principal Trades were thus divided: 3 in the 5th year, 7 in the 4th, 25 in the 3rd, 27 in the 2nd and 36 in the 1st. The 97 Apprentices in the Minor Trades were thus divided: 3 in the 4th year, 19 in the 3rd, 29 in the 2nd and 46 in the 1st.⁶⁵

A further report of 1884 refers only to a 'moderate degree of satisfaction....That their [engineering students] tuition at Portsmouth at the present time is not altogether what might be desired is proved by the very low marks obtained by a large number of the students of the first year in the College exam.'⁶⁷ An indication of the curriculum and time allocation to its various parts is given in Appendix V.

The more unsatisfactory the education and training given the more likely that students would become disheartened and abandon the course in favour of earning better short-term remuneration elsewhere. In this sense the need for reform is self-evident. Nevertheless, if a boy did look elsewhere, there was some agreement in the Dockyard that, as one instructor

expressed it in the 1880's, 'the discipline and education... will fit for him [sic] for entering upon other pursuits outside'.⁶⁷

In considering reforms to remedy some of the weaknesses one suggestion was made that these students would be better educated on board the Training Ships rather than in the Dockyard Schools 'especially as a very strong feeling of antagonism exists between these two bodies [students and apprentices]'.⁶⁸

The training of boys could take place in Training Ships once having joined the Navy. This can be considered as relevant to the thesis since it was a career open to adolescents of varying abilities and would offer prospects on leaving the Navy whenever this should be. It was also a career which was probably more apparent to those living in Dockyard towns such as Portsmouth. The three Training Ships at Portsmouth were the Excellent, St. Vincent, and Boscawen.⁶⁹ The qualifications in the 1880's for a boy when presenting himself for entry included that he be of 'robust frame, intelligent, of perfectly sound and healthy constitution' and be between the ages of 15 and 16½ and be able to read and write.⁷⁰ The entry of boys from agricultural districts [of which Portsmouth and its environs was still an example in the nineteenth century] was to be encouraged.⁷¹ The syllabus to be followed was to include parts of a ship, ship's fittings, masts and yards, sails, compass work, knots and splices, with extra subjects possible including sail making and signals.⁷² The Regulations also stated that 'first class boys [having passed a proper examination at the age of 16],

and all boys of 17 and upwards,are to be kept all day at their trades,and are not to be required to attend school'.⁷³ Training Ship Regulations were very strict as far as school attendance and attitude were concerned.School was to be on 4 evenings per week 'for the benefit of boys who are anxious to improve themselves in any subject in which they may be backward,with a view to their obtaining advancement to higher instruction...'.Idle boys could be ordered to attend night school and be subject to further punishment if there was no improvement.⁷⁴

In the 1930's a question mark hung over the future of the Training Ship St.Vincent at Portsmouth.A letter to the Admiralty from the Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth claimed that 'one cannot be struck when going over HMS St.Vincent... what a splendid training the boys are given,and how well they are looked after and what a high standard of life and ideas is inculcated.'At this time there were 600 boys in St.Vincent. ⁷⁵ Such a comment takes on a particular significance in the economic context of the 1930's and the higher unemployment to be found in shipbuilding towns such as Portsmouth before the commencement of rearmament.

Where Training Ships did not appeal to the adolescent who had been unsuccessful in gaining an apprenticeship to a Principal or Minor Trade,but who still wanted something other than blind-alley employment,the position of Labourer - skilled or unskilled - did offer hope.A Return from Portsmouth Dockyard to the Admiralty showed that the classification,Skilled Labourer,'had come into existence to meet special circumstances of employment in the Dockyards,

which are generally situated at a distance from industrial centres'.⁷⁶ In 1919 the Court of Arbitration gave a formal classification of Skilled Labourers. For example, in the Constructive Department drillers, riveters, iron caulkers, hammermen and galvanisers were included in this category. In the Engineering Department: engine drivers, foundry workers, stokers.⁷⁷

Boys entering the Dockyard as Unskilled Labourers had the prospect of training to become Skilled Labourers. The Portsmouth Return to the Admiralty referred to above stated that the 'maintenance of the requisite number [of riveters and similar workmen] has been effected by selecting and training suitable men from ranks of unskilled labourers, also by entry of boys who have received informal training by association with skilled men.'⁷⁸ The Chatham Dockyard supported this scheme which kept open the 'prospect for advancement'. The Pembroke Return referred to the considerable training required and that the best results were to be obtained by training boys outside any formal apprenticeship.⁷⁹

For some young people, however, manual dexterity was not their strong point but they may have had other abilities and so sought employment in the Dockyard because of the security they perceived it offered as these abilities were utilised. Two examples are offered here: Messengers and Foremen of Works Clerks. Although Established Messengers had to be at least 21 before they were eligible for such a position (according to the Regulations of the 1880's) teenagers were

able to secure positions as Hired Messengers in the first instance. Established Messenger vacancies were to be filled from the Hired List by competitive examination. 1883 saw four candidates for the examination at Portsmouth with only one successful. The examination consisted of writing from dictation (including the need to have a moderate proficiency in spelling) and Arithmetic.⁸⁰ The Secretary to the Civil Service Commissioners, in referring to the Messengers' pay of 2/6 to 3/- per day, confirmed that this was 'merely the wages of labourers and that it is from this class [that] men will be selected for Employment as Hired Messengers'.⁸¹

A degree of literacy and numeracy was equally important for the positions of Clerks to the Foremen of Works in the Dockyards. An Admiralty memo of 1911 made it clear that 'only boys of good education, between the ages of 15 and 17 years are to be entered so that they may be thoroughly trained in Departmental routine... The rate of pay on entry is to be not less than the rate paid to trade Boys of similar age'.⁸² A further memo at this time showed the clerical establishment in the Professional Departments at Portsmouth to be 64 adults and boys in total including six Boy Writers in departments such as the Constructive and Engineering Departments.⁸³ Thus there were opportunities in these and similar areas of work but they were certainly not abundant.

To the young child a largely unknown world lay behind the Dockyard Gates. Such a child could become more aware of the Dockyard's importance to the locality as older members of

the family received good or bad news following an attempt to secure employment within its walls. The child, on reaching adolescence, might then on his own volition and/or through parental pressure and encouragement, make his own attempt to become a part of this centre of industry. Success in gaining entry to the Dockyard, and remaining within it as each new challenge was faced, could perhaps mean the fulfilment of ambitions to learn a trade, to follow in the footsteps of father and brothers, to gain relatively secure employment and regular income, and to improve one's status in the locality. Equally, failure could doom this teenager to sporadic employment, or frequent changes of employment, a sense of insecurity and a working life in which long-term prospects in the Portsmouth labour market proved to be elusive as blind-alley employment strengthened its grip.

Chapter 7: Brighton: the Labour Market Beyond the Railway:

Opportunities for Youth

A town which finds difficulty in adequately developing its labour market opportunities beyond those offered by a dominant employer may inevitably be more prone to a Boy Labour problem, especially in the event of a decline in the opportunities offered by that employer. It would indeed be surprising if the number and nature of opportunities did not change through a period of seventy years as the town reflected changes occurring nationally in the structure of the economy and hence in the labour market.

At various times during this period there was local expression of concern at the dearth of opportunities available for Brighton's youth should the Brighton Works of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway not be recruiting in sufficient quantity. This concern is, of course, bound up with concern for educational provision or lack of it. In the 1870's there was a proposal to form the Brighton Russell Institution (formerly Eastern Road School) which was to be the means of continuing the Brighton Educational Charitable Trust. This Trust - with origins in the 1820's - offered maintenance grants to local residents undertaking apprenticeships or articulated clerkships, or, more unusually, to those undertaking courses of study.¹ In a meeting held to formally propose the setting up of such a Trust one speaker 'felt strongly that some such place ought to be in existence. One of the great needs in a town so large as Brighton was a place where the working classes could go

to their moral, physical and educational benefit.'² In such a meeting place, being able to learn of financial help available, for example, to potential apprentices, in whatever trade, would have given youth some much needed guidance at a crucial time in their development. Fifteen years on, a list of Trust Scholarships showed 48 scholars coming from a variety of Board Schools and the York Place Higher Grade Schools with a good proportion going on to University.³

For many, however, this was not to be the way of things; the LBSCR was recognised as the life-line to secure, and often skilled, employment. There must have been some consternation and expressions of concern amongst ordinary people about alternative employment prospects when rumours spread at the turn of the century that the LBSCR was considering the removal of the Works from the town. Its argument was 'that there should be sufficient [land] taken to provide for the....the Carriage Works...[and]...the Locomotive Works, whether simultaneously or not...' Although the former was to transfer to Lancing a decade later much of the engineering activities of the Works survived at Brighton into the post-Second World War period.⁴

In the early part of the new century it was pointed out that, although education had made significant strides, even to the provision of a Technical College, '...after that there is a difficulty. Brighton is not an industrial centre, and there are only two Engineering Works of any importance. One of them [LBSCR Engineering Works] requires a premium of £50 for boys other than the sons of workmen, and the other [Allen West]

provides work of a special nature for only a limited number of boys. Students...[completing courses]...must therefore in general go North as apprentices.⁵

In similar vein His Majesty's Inspectorate, on the eve of the First World War, referred to the engineering industry as of 'considerable local importance' but that apart from the LBSCR 'there are a few other factories and workshops but their combined contribution to the total engaged in engineering is relatively small.'⁶ As later references indicate the First World War made some exceptional demands on the local labour market. One apprentice at the LBSCR, learning his trade during the War and early post-war years, and referred to elsewhere in this thesis, paints a pessimistic picture when he points to the only alternative to an LBSCR apprenticeship was to become a navvy in the streets.⁷ Even as late as 1930 the Inspectorate could only reiterate that 'the only other industrial concern [apart from, what had become by that date, the Southern Railway] which makes a relatively large contribution to the total engaged locally in engineering is the firm Allen West and Co Ltd.'⁸

What is noticeable about some of the above comments is the narrow perspective taken of job opportunities. It is perhaps more understandable for the period up to the beginning of the inter-war period that the need for industrial occupations is highlighted; nevertheless, the pessimism is on weaker ground if we widen the perspective as the service economy becomes more evident. Durr, referring to the

local economy in the last decade of the nineteenth century,talks of 'a time of new horizons'.⁹

Even before this,however,with the opening of the Brighton Railway Works mid-century and subsequent expansion 'came a flow of railwaymen and engineers from the industrial north'. Although this would probably be bad news for youth seeking work within the Works,nevertheless,what followed was 'a period of intense building activity and the development of the town as a popular resort....To the engineers and railwaymen were now added an army of building workers.'¹⁰

The records of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Cabinet Makers and Joiners (members of which could benefit from increased building activity) are sufficiently detailed to show that local youth was not excluded from the benefits of the town's physical expansion.¹¹ It has to be remembered, too,that not all would have been unionised.Although the condition of a small part of the surviving records is such as to make calculation difficult it is possible to ascertain from the Proposition and Entry Book that,for the period 1864-1897,the approximate total number of entries is 280.Youth plays a not insignificant part in these entries.¹² Within the period covered by the Proposition and Entry Book three sub-periods have been chosen to gauge this more accurately.(Appendix I provides a detailed breakdown.)¹³

For the period 1876-1879 the first entry was for 15th February 1876 and the last entry,21st October,1879.If we assume that all those entered started in the trade in Brighton and were in employment positions at the time of their application to the union,then there were 26

individuals whose starting ages in the trade varied from 12 to 18 - representing an average recruitment of 0.6 per month or just over 7 per year of the years covered here.

Disappointing as these figures may appear, even they could not be maintained in the difficult economic years of the 1880's. Taking the period from January 1884 to November 1889, there were 23 applicants to the union whose starting ages in the trade ranged from 13 to 18 - an average of 0.3 per month or almost 4 per year. Finally, for the period January 28th 1890 to December 1892 (all entries for that month) 40 individuals who had starting ages ranging from 12 to 19 applied - an average of almost one per month or 10 per year.

Construction certainly offered opportunities to youth which could only increase in significance as urban development went on apace. By the 1920's the Inspectorate was able to conclude that 'building is one of the most important industries in all the seaside towns from Worthing to Eastbourne.' The 1921 Population Census had shown 9% of the population of Brighton (aged 12 or above) to be engaged in building work.¹⁴ (See Appendix II).

As the annual holiday became a stronger feature of British society in this century, Brighton as a seaside town could only expect to benefit. The sea also offered another outlet as it had done to varying degrees for some years. The inhabitants of Brighton were said towards the end of the First World War to 'devote themselves almost entirely to the amusement of visitors' but 'an extensive herring and mackerel fishery is also carried on...'.¹⁵

The inflow of labour cited earlier and the natural growth of the town's population inevitably lead to the development of a service orientated economy and labour market and hence new opportunities for youth or expansion of existing ones in that sector. As later references suggest, observers' pessimism must be qualified but not without some caution in the context of the Boy Labour problem: parts of the service sector might well have exacerbated that problem.

What cannot be ignored also is the effect of the trade cycle on opportunities for labour, and for youth in particular. Local archives refer to concern at the state of trade at intervals, often reflecting national economic downturns, as might be expected. In the mid-1880's carpenters and joiners were pressing for a reduction in hours which would serve the purpose of creating work for those unemployed. They believed that 'if employers of Labour in Brighton would consent to reduce the working hours from 10 to 8 per day until trade improves 25% more men could find employment. The distress would very much diminish and all classes in the Town be benefited thereby. (motion carried)'.¹⁶ In the 1890's the Engineers expressed concern with members working for less than the District Rate but that 'owing to the state of trade it was advisable to let them remain.'¹⁷ The printers were not necessarily immune from the problems of the local economy. In the Edwardian period 'replies were received from several branches in the district as to the state of employment, but all stating that work was very bad.'¹⁸

The inter-war period was to provide evidence of similar

problems. The Railways were not immune and, the fewer opportunities they provided, the more young people there would be competing with older workers for jobs elsewhere in the labour market. As Bagwell (1963) points out 'on some companies' lines the youths were the first to feel the effects of the slump.'¹⁹ Durr (1970) records that it was in 1921 that the 'Brighton Unemployment Committee sent 40 men to march round Sussex to look for work.'²⁰ A report to the Town Council in the mid-1920's highlights the problem for youth in Brighton. Referring to the numbers of boys and girls (14-18) unemployed in Brighton, the statistics for the three months to January 28th, 1924 show 317 (including Xmas and school leavers); for the three months to March 17th 1924, 201; and to April 7th 1924, 237. The impact of trade cycle downturns should not blind the historian to the increasing opportunities that were becoming available through the period. However, an evaluation of them will allow conclusions to be drawn on their significance, if any, to the Boy Labour problem and blind-alley employment. Evidence of these opportunities can be drawn from a number of sources.

The 'Situations Vacant' columns of local newspapers are an invaluable source of evidence on the requirements of employers. On one day in 1878, for example, the *Sussex Daily News* could offer the youth of Brighton a range of vacancies with varying degrees of prospects attached. An apprentice was wanted for training as a cabinet maker, upholsterer and blind-maker; a printing business was offering 'an opportunity to thoroughly learn the trade' with no premium but wages

from the outset; a well educated youth was required as an apprentice to a stationery and circulating library business and a drawing apprentice to one George Stephens, 'British manufacturer'. This same manufacturing business was, however, also offering employment to adolescents as 'common drawing hands' - positions unlikely to have held out the same prospects as the apprentice could usually have expected. Amongst the other vacancies which might have had limited potential and hence fall into the blind-alley category were: a boy wanted in the hotel trade, two 'respectable and active youths 14-16' for a chemist and a lad 'aged about 14' for the Brighton Sailing Club.²²

An edition of the *Argus* in the mid-1880's stressed the need for respectability of applicants for various positions whatever the future prospects might have been. The newspaper itself was advertising for an office boy for a 'small salary'; 14 year olds were also invited to apply for an office job in St. James' Street and an equally respectable (and quiet) lad as odd boy for a gentleman's family. In this particular edition only one apprenticeship was being offered and this by one Henry Dell in the upholstery and polishing trade. A small premium was requested.²³

The retail trade - a potentially strong creator of Boy Labour - features strongly. A bakery wanted a young man to make dough and deliver bread while a butcher of Grenville Place needed a strong youth who had at least some experience of the trade.²⁴ Both positions have their elements of training but not always offering sufficiently attractive future prospects to cause youth to remain for long in any

one position. The same newspaper in a later edition that year included advertisements for 'a respectable lad...not under 16' for chemist work; boys to pack tea; a general servant 16-17 and 'a strong lad' to do unspecified work.²⁵

Analysis of later editions of newspapers for the period 1900 and beyond can only serve to arouse concern over the dearth of skilled jobs advertised and the demands of employers for adolescents (often in the retail trade) who could expect to take up positions with few prospects. An edition of, what was now, the *Evening Argus* in 1900 carried 27 advertisements for employment potentially contributing to the Boy Labour problem: the origins of these requirements ranged from grocers (one offering the opportunity to learn the trade and another 'the chance of improvement'), butchers, chemists, fruiterers to jewellers, laundries, servants and picture-frame makers. Parcel porter, carrier and clerk also featured but, within all this, no offers of apprenticeships.²⁶

As Chapter 2 has shown, expressions of concern with the Boy Labour problem were at their height in the years of this century leading up to the First World War. The desire of some youth to obtain a job with prospects (which for many of them would mean taking up a trade) is epitomised in just one entry in the *Evening Argus* of 1908 under 'Situations Wanted' where one individual requested a placement in a carpenter shop 'or any useful trade' for an 'industrious lad'.²⁷ Unfortunately that same edition simply continued in the same vein as those previously in the 'Situations Vacant' column: a kitchen porter, page boy, slaughterman with cycle round, and

canvassing work with commission.²⁸ An edition in 1909 offered one apprenticeship but this was almost lost within the list of vacancies for servants, errand boys, selling newspapers, office boy and messengers.²⁹

It is to be expected that the difficult years of the inter-war period would only serve to exacerbate the problem; however, it must also be borne in mind that Brighton's expansion had gone on unchecked and, with it, the blossoming of the retail sector which cannot necessarily always be equated with blind-alley employment. There is some suggestion also that mobility was becoming a more significant feature of the labour market as two entries in the *Evening Argus* reflect in the 1930's:

Appointments for boys and girls 16-17 years of age in Clerical Class of the Civil Service. Splendid opportunity, starting salary £90 per year. Particular of all Civil Service Exams and Postal Preparatory courses from Skerry's, Regent Street.

and...

Careers for youths - J. Sainsbury offers a splendid opportunity in the Provision and Butchering Trade for tall, well educated youths (aged about 16) at their new branches. Commencing salary 25s per week rising to 30s after 6 months. Applications in own handwriting to London Office.

While opportunities may indeed have been provided locally,

career progression would require a willingness to move on from the initial local opportunity.³⁰

Appearing with the usual limited opportunities in the retail trade for boys are entries for such openings as photographic work, estate agency work, 'good vacancies...in first class hotels, private families, clubs and schools' (some of which were increasingly available as holidaymaking became more widespread), and radio service work.³¹ In any downswing of the trade cycle, however, youth would have found itself in more intense competition with unemployed adults although the advertisements cited here did specifically specify the former category.

Just as newspapers offer some insight into opportunities available so too do college records or Inspectors' Reports on local schools and colleges. Courses, as now, often sought to cater for the requirements of the local labour market for qualifications and skills. In 1910 the Brighton Education Committee had conducted an enquiry into the occupations of former day students. Over half the candidates contacted replied with 'nearly all of them being engaged in occupations for which they were trained in the College, many of them in responsible positions.'³² This situation is unlikely to have altered very much through the thesis period: the *Preliminary General Prospectus* published in 1878 for the Russell Institution, established for the benefit of the poor and labouring classes' was advertising evening classes in such subjects as mechanical drawing and building construction.'³³

In 1888 Sir Philip Magnus had visited Brighton and remarked on the teaching of subjects of applied science to men and youths at the Technical School and these included carpentry and joinery and mechanical engineering with all classes being well attended.³⁴ In 1900 the *Brighton and Hove Guardian* could report that 'in the evening classes they were mainly concerned with persons out of employment or occupied during the day...the largest classes numerically being those in the building trade and in engineering subjects.'³⁵

During the Edwardian period the Brighton Education Committee published the occupations of students attending the various evening schools. 316 were in mechanical or electrical engineering trades, 75 were carpenters, joiners or cabinet makers; however, 116 were porters and telegraph messengers, occupations which were strongly representative of blind-alley employment. Further education may have created more options for them.³⁶

Reference has already been made to the continued expansion of Brighton and an improvement in opportunities in the construction industry: a report of 1913 described the number of building students in attendance at the Municipal College as 'very satisfactory considering the size of Brighton, and the nature of the local industries.'³⁷

It can be argued that courses and qualifications do not necessarily add up to opportunities being available; nevertheless, the evidence of employer support for what was going on in local education suggests that there was, at least, some correlation between college and job prospects. Such evidence is more abundant as the concern for the Boy

Labour problem reaches its height but there is some evidence of direct financial support being given in the earlier period. The Brighton Gas Company's records, for example, provide information on two occasions in the 1880's when donations were given to the building and maintenance of schools.³⁸ A further entry for 1911 reports the provision of 'technical lectures to the Company's men, with advantageous results.'³⁹ By the immediate pre-War period some half-dozen employers [within Brighton]..[had]..already been induced to grant special leave to enable their employees to attend evening schools.'⁴⁰ A report two years later again refers to employer encouragement to children to attend evening schools but not all employers could be trusted: one applied to the Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee for a boy to learn a particular trade at 3s per week but it was found that the boy worked 5 weeks without pay; another applicant for a boy apprentice put him on truck work. The support of such people for local education provision seems, at best, unlikely.⁴¹ Evidence of employer support can be found in the inter-war period similarly: one HMI was able to state that 'a number of building employers take an interest in the work of the College, and there is an active College Advisory Committee for the building trades consisting of members of the industry in the town.'⁴²

Business archives, or references to local businesses from other sources, can also be expected to offer some material pertinent to a survey of youth opportunities beyond the railway industry. It has to be said, however, that references

to labour within any archives which survive are not abundant and the researcher is therefore left to draw tentative conclusions in some instances.

The Allen West Engineering Company was regarded locally as holding out the most significant opportunities for youth beyond the Railway Works.⁴³ The Company was incorporated in 1910 - 'a modest engineering enterprise...on what were then the Downland outskirts of... Brighton' and whose aim was to design electrical motor control gear for an industry which was still in its infancy.⁴⁴ It offered opportunities for youth in the form of apprenticeships. Reference is made to them in the company's reply to a trade union letter - following the end of the War - in which the union was trying to secure places for lads - once employees of Allen West and now returning from the Front. The company replied that 'the only fair way to deal with re-engaging these lads will be to take into consideration their record and degree of skill at the time they leave.'⁴⁵

Within the engineering sector Southdown Motor Services could also be expected to have offered apprenticeships from its early days. It was formed in 1915 from a merger of Brighton and Hove and Preston United Omnibus Company (formed 1884) and Sussex Tourist Coaches (1904) and the London and South Coast Haulage Company Ltd (1912). By the early 1920's it had premises in Park Street and Freshfield Road, Brighton as well as in other towns with up to 350 units of rolling stock. Minutes make reference to 'skilled staff which it was necessary to possess in order safely and comfortably to carry the public.' The need for good workshops saw major new

premises opened in Portslade in this decade and certainly within daily commuting distance for the youth of Brighton if fortunate enough to be offered apprenticeships.⁴⁶

Caffyns is a well known and well established company in the motor trade in southern England. Its origins were not in that trade, however: William Morris Caffyn, born in 1842, became an indentured apprentice in 1856 to learn the trade of 'ironmonger, tinman and brazier'.⁴⁷ Entry into the motor trade came in the twentieth century with premises in Brighton first being opened in 1920 at Dyke Road and Preston Road.⁴⁸ Additional Premises were opened in the town in 1934.⁴⁹ The fact that the Dyke Road branch became the venue for a Civilian Training School in the Second World War suggests that there was some expertise here with regard to the training of young people in peace-time and evidence of this continued into the post-war period.⁵⁰

There were, as in most towns, numerous smaller engineering establishments offering limited opportunities for youth. Specific evidence is sparse but copies of indentures do survive. One young man was apprenticed to Reed and Son in 1893 as a jobbing engineer. It was to last for 5½ years with pay of 5s per week for first 1½ years and then rising by annual instalments of 1s to 8s, and then to 10s for the final year. His father was expected to pay £20. The Reed business first appeared in the Directory of Brighton in 1855 and last appeared in 1912.⁵¹

Gas Works were a common feature of the urban landscape and Brighton was no exception. The Directors' Report of the Brighton Gas Company in 1877 was able to announce that 'the

various New Works and enlargement of the Works undertaken by the Company in the early part of the year 1876 were all satisfactorily completed in time for the winter working..⁵² The number of consumers rose from 19,432 in 1895 to 31,264 in 1904.⁵³ A wide range of occupations were represented here from the early years of the thesis period:engine drivers, firemen,blacksmiths,bricklayers and their labourers,general labourers,engine fitters and carpenters.In the early 1870's 176 were employed at the Company's Works.⁵⁴

Some of the later Company archives give examples of long service employment,with some employees commencing service in their youth.In 1892,for example,a coke clerk entered service at 19 years of age and was still serving at the age of 36;a gas fitter entered service at the same age in 1899 and was serving there 10 years later.⁵⁵ Later Minutes offer similar examples to highlight the fact that opportunities to secure permanent positions did exist for the Brighton adolescent. Table 7.1 provides some details:⁵⁶

Table 7.1

<u>Position on Retirement</u>	<u>Date Began Service</u>	<u>Age on this Date</u>
Chief Gas Fitter	1876	14
Service Layers'		
Labourer	1882	17
Foreman Fitter	1889	13
Foreman Mainlayer	1890	19

Table 7.1:Examples of Employees Recommended for Pensions

1929-1931,Brighton Gas Company

Source: ESRO:GBR 2/12

As indicated earlier the growth of a tourist industry could be expected to have some connection with the expansion of the building sector, given the increased need for accommodation. Developments in the late nineteenth century gave an indication of developments in the twentieth. As now, the vast majority of building firms were on a relatively small scale: each able to offer very limited opportunities for youth but collectively becoming more significant certainly as far as the demand for general labourers was concerned. The Vacant Book of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Cabinet Makers and Joiners - Brighton Branch - for the period 1895-1900 lists sixteen building firms based in the town (see Appendix III).⁵⁷

For at least some of the tourists and native population the public house was a must and the breweries were another significant feature of the local labour market by 1900. The archives of the Tamplin Brewery include Wages Registers. No details of ages are given but it is possible that some of those employees on the lowest wages within the various departments came into the category of adolescents. The Register for July 1932 shows a total of 69 employees engaged in a range of jobs requiring different degrees of skill or no skill whatsoever. In the Brewing Room, for example, whereas the top wage was £37.10.0d, the lowest was 12s.6d. The Delivery and Loading Out Department would not have required skill and so offered a top wage of £1.15s.0d and 10s at the bottom level. Company telephonists were paid from 5s to 10s.⁵⁸

A trade not directly affected by the expansion of Brighton

as a tourist centre and whose business had much earlier origins was printing. Apprenticeship remained a strong aspect of the trade. In the 1870's Howell had written that no matter how stringent the rules regarding that institution 'in actual practice they do not have the effect of limiting the number.'⁵⁹ Trade Union archives for Brighton give a list of offices for the early twentieth century which employed 'practically the whole of the working Printers and Compositors in the Town': these numbered 16 (see Appendix IV).⁶⁰ The Minutes of the Typographical Association - Brighton Branch - make frequent reference to the applications from apprentices employed in these businesses to join the union.⁶¹ The trade could be learned and the threat of blind-alley employment kept at bay as long as the trade remained bouyant. This, inevitably, could not always be the case. In 1894, for example, the Brighton Branch was asked to endorse Number 1 Proposition of the Plymouth Branch which pressed the Executive Council to issue notice to all branches 'calling their attention to the number of unemployed...and earnestly appealing to them not to apprentice any boys to their business.'⁶²

Brighton reflected the national concern for Boy Labour in the Edwardian and inter-war periods in the increased activity in helping the young to find employment. In the Education Committee's *Annual Report* (1911) concern was expressed about the problem of finding suitable employment; a draft scheme was prepared for the establishment of a Juvenile Employment Bureau with the Committee feeling that

'this task of keeping in touch with boys and girls during the most critical years of their lives from 14 to 17 and of fitting them for satisfactory employment...is one of the most important to which their attention could be directed.'⁶³ The Bureau opened in September, 1913 and it was felt that 'a very successful beginning had been made..it was seen that Brighton had taken a leading place among towns of the same size in regard to the volume of work.'⁶⁴ A Juvenile Employment Officer had also been appointed at a salary of £150 p.a.⁶⁵ Head Teachers were instructed to complete registration cards for all children when they had reached the age of 13 yrs 9 mths.⁶⁶ A Return for August 1912 showed the number of school leaving cards received was: 137 boys, 162 girls; the detailed statement of placings did not provide welcome reading for those concerned with the plight of youth as Table 7.2 indicates:⁶⁷

Table 7.2

ERRAND BOYS	21
SAMPLE DELIVERERS	3
HOUSE BOYS	4
GPO MESSENGER	1
PICTURE PALACE ATTENDANT	1
OFFICE BOYS	3
BUILDER'S LABOURER	1

Table 7.2: Statement of Placings - 4 Weeks Ending 27/9/1912

Boys, Brighton

Source: ESRO:R/E2/13/1

Over the next two years the Returns displayed an improving picture although blind-alley employment continued to dominate. Apprenticeships did feature, however (see Appendix V a and b). The *Report of the Juvenile Sub-Committee* (1914) was able to assert that 'the nature of vacancies sought has been of a rather better class than last year, not so many boys requiring unskilled work, and it has been possible to find some good openings for them.'⁶⁸

The First World War had a not unpredictable effect on the Brighton labour market in general and youth labour in particular. It was shown by the report cited above that an immediate, significant effect was 'the rapid absorption of all available boy labour at abnormally high wages...[but that]...the tendency to change situations frequently on the part of some boys and girls has been investigated.'⁶⁹ It went on to point out that engineering was the occupation asked for by the majority of the boys and 'there is a fairly good field of employment in the Railway Works, Messrs Allen and West, the Brighton and Hove Gas Company and other minor mechanical and electrical engineering firms. Owing to the small amount of building work in the town it has not been possible to place many boys in the trade.'⁷⁰

The 1916 *Report of the Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee* reiterated the growth of opportunities in engineering: openings had risen from 157 to 206 although some employers reported 'unsatisfactory behaviour of both boys and girls'. Although this occupation can be thought as one which kept the Boy Labour problem at bay, the War may well have caused some adolescents to be invited into it who had no

inclination to stay and make the most of their opportunities should these have continued into peace-time. Such opportunities were so necessary when Returns show 1003 boys leaving Brighton elementary and secondary schools in just one year alone (1916).⁷¹ The unskilled could certainly come into their own now as the War began to bite into local labour markets. It was noted by the Engineering Union, for example, that 'there was considerable unrest over skilled men and apprentices being called up for military duties while unskilled men were being trained to take over their jobs.' One unionist of the Brighton 2nd Branch 'claimed he had been dismissed from Allen West's for refusing to slave-drive a number of boys he had in his charge.'⁷²

After the problems of the War came the problems of economic disturbances to the national and local economies, not helped by the return of men from the Front wanting to return to their original peace-time employment. This is where the rise of the service sector referred to earlier was so vital to the town during the inter-war period in that it widened the range of occupations with prospects.

The years 1870-1939 were inevitably going to witness markedly changing opportunities for Brighton's youth; adolescent labour was often helped by periods of prosperity and stability which allowed successive stages of expansion of the county borough. This is not to say, however, that blind-alley employment reduced its grip on the local labour market. In some respects it was given new impetus as the service sector of a developing holiday town offered what

might be seen by the young to be improving prospects, but which, in reality, certainly could not be assumed to be so. As Chapter 4 indicated, however, an expanding and increasingly accessible education sector increased the prospects of avoiding such occupations if there was a will to do so and if appropriate labour market opportunities were sufficiently abundant. Better education provision and employment opportunities were factors to be contemplated with increasing realism by parents and their offspring in the years after 1870. For some, of course, the immediate and reasonably attractive remuneration of blind-alley employment provided too strong a temptation which the education system found difficult, if not impossible, to counter.

Ch 8:Portsmouth:the Labour Market Beyond the Railway and
the Royal Dockyard:the Opportunities for Youth

Portsmouth, like Brighton, cannot be dismissed simply as a town whose labour market was essentially dominated by a single employer and that little else could be expected from it in terms of opportunities for youth or for adult labour. For particular aspects of their labour markets it is possible to draw the two towns together; as illustration parts of this chapter (those dealing with agriculture and the cooperative movement) include references to Brighton where there is the use of national records as well as local archives.

It should not be forgotten, for example, that both Sussex and Hampshire remained counties with significant agricultural sectors down to 1939. As far as youth employment was concerned, it would be wrong to try to isolate the towns from the rural environments in which they existed simply because the agricultural sector could not boast of the growth in opportunities that other sectors may have had. The 1901 *Population Census* showed that within the boundaries of both towns 21% of those employed in the agricultural sector were in the 10-24 age group (in Portsmouth 94 out of a total of 445; in Brighton 118 within a total of 572).¹

Portsmouth offers a good example of where agricultural land came under increasing pressure from urban development through the nineteenth century, a century in which 'Portsmouth and Portsea parishes lost approximately 66% of their agricultural area to urban uses'. Each of the last

three decades of the century averaged a 17% loss of agricultural land in Portsea Island excluding Hilsea.²

Agriculture, however, was not offering the opportunities that many adolescents wanted; far from it being seen as such an attractive option for Portsmouth and Brighton youth to consider migration to rural areas at the busier times of the year, the flow of labour was in the opposite direction; this caused rural and urban labour to compete with each other in the urban labour markets. In the evidence to the Royal Commission on Labour various factors such as low wages and long hours were cited which served 'to induce the younger generation to renounce the vocation of their fathers, and to migrate into towns, where they displace the older and less efficient workers in industries already overcrowded.'³ Appendix I provides some examples of local agricultural wages for this period.

By the 1890's attitudes towards the learning of skills pertinent to agricultural work were becoming more negative. When listening to witnesses from Sussex the Royal Commission on Labour recorded 'complaints of depreciation in the quality of labour. The young men, it is said, do not take the same pains to become skilful in the various kinds of farm work as their fathers took.'⁴ The issue of education was felt to be relevant here: the nature of it was said to 'implant in the young an ignorant dislike of their calling' but with money spent on technical education in rural areas being largely wasted 'through the want of a preliminary training in the elementary school.'⁵

The Report of the Royal Commission on Labour concentrated

on small parts of Sussex and Hampshire (Thakeham and the Basingstoke Union respectively in drawing conclusions) but it seems realistic to assume that the nearer rural youth was to urban areas, the more tempted it would be by what it thought to be better opportunities in those towns. For Sussex it concluded that 'the supply of labour was not sufficient in busy times and that the number of boys was especially deficient.'⁶ Even during harvests immigration was 'much less than it used to be.'⁷ For the Basingstoke Union in Hampshire, although the supply of labour was said to be sufficient, 'there were barely enough lads to be trained as ploughmen' and 'a scarcity of labour in busy seasons was also mentioned in two or three instances.'⁸

In the decade in which the Royal Commission was reporting, a periodical concluded that 'since the opening up of the railway lines, the town and district [of Portsmouth] have rapidly improved; and, with the large modern steamships and great engineering works, the place has become revolutionised.'⁹ Nevertheless, at various times concern was expressed that non-Royal Dockyard opportunities did seem slow to develop; youth looking for work related to ships, but unable to secure a position in the Dockyard, was certainly not spoilt for choice elsewhere.

The Royal Commission on Labour took evidence from many trade unionists. Richard Gould - Secretary of the Portsmouth Branch of the Associated Shipwrights' Society - in reply to a question concerning private shipbuilding yards as significant employers replied: 'Southampton, Woolston... these

are the two nearest...There is Mr Nicholson's at Gosport, a yacht building firm.'¹⁰ As Riley notes, however, H.E. Vosper began as a shipbuilder and marine engineer in Broad Street in the 1860's with 'five of the firm's boats...registered in Portsmouth between 1894 and 1906.'¹¹ Expansion took place in 1912 with the taking over of the shipyard of J&W Reid who had been running a similar business for 50 years.¹² Nevertheless its small-scale nature may have been the reason for it being ignored by Mr Gould in his evidence.

Neither did Portsmouth compare very favourably with its near neighbour, Southampton, as far as commercial docks were concerned. Post-war developments of Portsmouth as a commercial port have been said to have developed from 'fairly modest beginnings.'¹³ Most of the commercial docks are modern developments but Flathouse Quay to the north of the Royal Dockyard was built in 1911 'the first commercial quay to be constructed away from the Camber', the latter having had city council involvement since the 1830's.¹⁴ In the inter-war period, however, the location of certain firms such as coal merchants was said to be influenced by the close proximity of Rudmore Quay - itself 'a haven of ships' in those years.¹⁵

It would be wrong to be too easily swayed by official comments being made even into the inter-war period of the limited opportunities available for youth in the town. Many of these comments tend to refer to industrial openings and yet, as in many other towns, the commercial and retail sectors were beginning to blossom from the later nineteenth century onwards.

By the 1920's 'you could buy anything in Commercial Road [the main thoroughfare] - there were shops for everything'.¹⁶ It was regarded by local people as 'a lively and varied street'.¹⁷ Possible opportunities in non-industrial work will be further considered later in this chapter. HMIs have referred to Portsmouth being 'in the main' a ''Service'' town 'dependent chiefly on the Dockyard'.¹⁸ Earlier, Portsmouth was said to have 'no industries of special importance; there are only two or three small shipbuilding yards, and a number of small engineering and motor repair works'.¹⁹ Nevertheless, a report of the 1930's could refer to 'a growing number of small industrial firms' in the town.²⁰

As some confirmation of this a similar report, looking at the period 1926-33, gave details of occupations taken up by those leaving the Junior Technical School. Table 8.1, although still highlighting the importance of the Dockyard, also gives reason for some optimism at that time for those wishing to take up an industrial skill:²¹

Table 8.1

Occupation	No.of Placements
Engineering Trades:	
Electricians	11
Mechanics	23
Motor Mechanics	20
Building Trades:	
Plumbers	3
Painters/Decorators	6
Bricklayers	0
Carpenters/Joiners	16
Dockyard Apprentices	115
Artificer Apprentices RN	54

Table 8.1:Examples of Occupations Of Those Leaving
Portsmouth Junior Technical School,1926-33

Source: PRO:ED 98 Piece No.32

Youth of the period will have witnessed the opportunities opening up in the commercial/retail sector, building on such developments at the end of the nineteenth century. Of 645 students attending Junior Evening Institutes in Portsmouth in 1927, 158, or over 24%, were in commercial occupations.²² Even the pre-First World War period shows that of 536 students enrolled in the first year of a total of 20 courses offered by the Municipal College, 154, or almost 29%, were pursuing commercial courses.²³

As with all other areas of the country employment opportunities would rise and fall with the trends in the trade cycle. One report of the Master Builders in Portsmouth in 1879 felt that 'compared with the majority of other large towns in the kingdom Portsmouth is in a favourable position, having suffered but little from the great depression in trade.'²⁴ The view could not always be maintained, however: in the Edwardian period overtime had to be suspended 'during the present depression of trade.'²⁵

In the 1920's pupils were staying on longer at school 'due mainly to the difficulty of securing employment in consequent of the present industrial depression..²⁶

As the depression deepened nationally Portsmouth was not to be immune. Perhaps one measure of this are the trends in business wage bills. The Barber Iron Mongers was established in Albert Road, Southsea in 1870 and was to remain in operation until the 1980's. The inter-war records of wage/National Insurance expenditure is shown in Table 8.2 showing a rise through the 1920's but a sustained fall from 1929 to 1935 - rising slightly by 1937.²⁷ The records do not give reasons for the trends but economic downturns do obviously stimulate businesses to embark on cost-cutting exercises and a reduction in the size of the labour force may well have been a necessity for Barbers and other Portsmouth businesses at this time.

Table 8.2

Year	Wage and National Insurance Bill		
	£	s	d
1923	2116	4	8½
1929	3170	9	4½
1933	2439	14	3
1935	2405	1	1½
1937	2439	10	7½

Table 8.2:Barber Iron Mongers,Portsmouth
Wages Ledger,1923-1937 (selected years)

Source: PCRO:1379A/1.1

However inevitable downswings might have been,they were transient features,although it has to be accepted that the inter-war period was a particularly troublesome one for the country as a whole.The remainder of the chapter hopes to show,however,that such problems occurring through the thesis decades cannot detract from some marked progress in the development of the local economy of Portsmouth and,within this,an expansion of opportunities for an increasingly educated youth population.

Over the years the town's Chamber of Commerce has made clear its views and policies on labour market issues and young people in particular.The Chamber was formed in 1879

when a committee of 20 was established.²⁸ It was aware, for example, even in its early years, that the sea could play a part in the thoughts of those seeking positions in the local labour market. At the beginning of the 1880's it became involved in trying to secure the adoption of Portsmouth as the Mail Station for the Channel Islands in preference to Southampton.²⁹ Shortly after this episode pressure was being put upon the Town Council to recognise 'the necessity for improving the dock accommodation of the port, a necessity which every day becomes more urgent.'³⁰ As a follow up to this, reference was made in the Inaugural Dinner of June, 1883 to the growth of trade nationally as a result of the opening of the Suez Canal and that Portsmouth must be able to 'avail herself of this enormous traffic.'³¹ The Chamber was no doubt aware of the opportunities to be created for labour in this sector, the adolescent included.

The potential opportunities of a budding commercial sector seem also to have been uppermost in the minds of Chamber members even in the 1890's. The *Evening News* in 1895 was able to report 'a new departure... by the Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce with a view to infusing more life locally into the scheme for popularising commercial education'. It would provide for 'the supplementing of the ordinary school curriculum by special training calculated to fit boys for commercial life... This year the number of candidates from Portsmouth Schools promises to be higher than at any previous examination.'³² Two years later a Technical Fund to the value of £450 was advanced on the mortgage of freehold property at 4% which would realize an income of £18 per

annum to devote to commercial education in the future.'³³
The Chamber did also have an eye to industrial development, however, reflecting the continuing desire of some youth to embark on this type of career.

The beginning of the Edwardian period saw the setting up of a sub-committee to consider the introduction of the new industry of glass bottle manufacture in the town.³⁴ In the same year, in referring to the introduction of Jewish labour into the locality, interested parties were invited to a meeting to discuss the development of the boot, clothes and furniture industries.³⁵ In the difficult years of the inter-war period the Chamber made plans (in 1928) for a conference to discuss the introduction of new industries; in 1933 it was suggested in a meeting that 'members of the Council should visit some of the Industries in the district particularly those smaller industries requiring development.'³⁶

Both within the Chamber and beyond it there was support from employers and official bodies for the different ways in which youth opportunities could be expanded. Inevitably this often involved strengthening links between education and industry and by the inter-war period becoming involved with such government initiatives as Juvenile Employment Committees and Juvenile Instruction Centres. However, organisations such as the Gordon Boys' Brigade often worked outside the sphere of education and tried to address specific problems. Immediately before the First World War Spencer J. Gibb in his study of Boy Labour drew attention to the fact that the Post Office nationally was annually

discharging 3-4000 messengers at the age of 16.³⁷ Locally, it was observed that even by the inter-war period 'people didn't have telephones...and if you wanted to get a message to someone you had to telegraph them....there were lots of telegraph boys about too.'³⁸ The Gordon Boys' Brigade in Portsmouth aimed to offer the same type of work to local youth, but without this annual exodus, 'as a means of giving to boys of the poorest homes a better start in the working world...Boys who otherwise might have drifted into street-trading...are offered by this means both a start in disciplined work and a ladder by which they may climb to more settled occupations.'³⁹

Nevertheless, the importance of continuing education was not lost upon many businessmen. In the early 1880's the Chamber of Commerce 'could not fail to be struck with the fact that lads of 14 or 15 had no means of gaining technical information beyond the sphere in which their lives were passed' and looked forward to a Technical Institute.⁴⁰ It was not happy to remain inactive on this subject as is seen in 1888 when the Portsmouth School Board 'expressed its thanks...[for]...the unanimous resolution [of the Chamber] to establish a scholarship fund for the encouragement of Commercial and Technical Education especially that part of the resolution that centres the encouragement in the new Higher Grade School.'⁴¹

Beyond education the Chamber also showed its support for youth guidance and training schemes as the inter-war problems emerged. Through the late 1920's it maintained contact with the Juvenile Employment Committee and had four

representatives on it by the mid-1930's.⁴² A local newspaper advised employers 'to note that vacancies can be filled with the highest degree of satisfaction...because the expert officers at the bureau have at their disposal reports relating to the conduct and capabilities of boys and girls who are starting out in life.'⁴³ In a similar vein the Junior Instruction Centres were set up by the Ministry of Labour for 14-18 year olds who had left school but still awaited employment. The aim was 'to prevent deterioration of human material' and 'to assist the employer to secure lads most likely to "make good" in the employment offered.'⁴⁴

Apprenticeship was still seen by the 1930's as a viable means of offering guidance and training to local youth. There were moves in 1936, for example, to encourage Trade Associations affiliated to the Chamber to 'offer facilities to the Executive Officer of the Juvenile Employment Committee to explain to members the advantages of the apprenticeship schemes' of which he was supportive.'⁴⁵ A similar invitation was made for an explanation of youth entry to the building trade as trainees.⁴⁶

Much of this inter-linkage between local employers, education and government bodies was more evident in the inter-war period. The pessimism of HMIs in the pre-First World War period as far as Portsmouth was concerned is quite clear. They asserted that 'except that some of the chemists and grocers of the town have given their employees facilities to attend special courses at the College, there is little evidence that the active sympathy of employers of labour has yet been obtained.'⁴⁷ Even given the positive

steps outlined above, the Principal of the Municipal College still felt able to refer in a speech made in Portsmouth in 1938 of 'a general lack in this country of association of industry with education.'⁴⁸ Nothing in this speech to the Chamber of Commerce suggested that he wished to exclude the town from his remarks.

It will always be a matter of debate as to how effective apprenticeship as a means of training actually was. Certainly some doubt can be placed on its value as a means of training and as a way of preventing adolescent drift in the labour market if an employer only saw it as a source of cheap labour for a few years. Whatever its effectiveness - and it would be wrong to condemn it outright - parents may well have been happier to see their sons participate in an institution which was still perceived to offer a guiding hand in a way that blind-alley employment did not.

Local archives include a number of examples of indentures of apprentices and of local businesses, although in the latter case it is not always made clear whether young people were taken into employment or, if they were, what their status was; it is left to historians therefore to draw their own tentative conclusions. In 1870 John Dugdale - carpenter and cabinet maker - started a lad on a 7 year apprenticeship paying him 1/- in the first year and an additional 1/- in each successive year.⁴⁹ In 1875 a plumber, painter and glazier - Frederick Orange of Southsea - took on two lads for 6 year apprenticeships with a starting wage of 1/6 per week and an additional 1/- in each successive year.

Interestingly both lads had fathers working in the Royal Dockyard as skilled workmen and it may well have been that their two sons failed the Entrance Examination for the Yard or that there were no vacancies at that time.⁵⁰ Also in that year a lad began a 5 year apprenticeship with John Marmion - trunk, bag and portmanteau maker - at 1/6 a week, to be increased by 1/6 per week for each successive year.⁵¹ Later in the decade a 16 year old lad became indentured to a plumber, gas fitter and painter - Stephen Lillington of Kingston, Portsea - for 6 years at a starting wage of 2/- per week, to be increased by 1/- per week in each successive year.⁵² An upholsterer of Palmerston Road, Southsea - Charles New - took on three apprentices in that year [1878] as cabinet makers, two with indentures for five years and one for four years, the employer promising to 'teach and instruct or cause to be taught and instructed.' Hours were long: 8am to 7pm with one hour for lunch.⁵³

A four year apprenticeship with seemingly good prospects was begun by a 15 year old lad in 1884 (the son of a commercial traveller) with Rake, Son and Cogswell of Portsea - architects and surveyors. Three successive annual payments of £25 were to be made by the father on behalf of his son.⁵⁴ A year later the engineering company Hand W. Davis & Sons agreed to take on a 16 year old lad for 5 years, again with the father agreeing to pay a premium of £60. Hours of work were to be governed by the Factory Acts up to the age of 18 and nine hours per day from then onwards. Pay was 4/- per week initially, rising to 12/- by the end of the apprenticeship.⁵⁵

As mentioned earlier it was quite natural for youth to look for sea-related occupations especially given their growing up in Portsmouth and the dominance of the Dockyard. In 1886 one William Price took on an apprentice seaman for four years with a premium of £40. The employer was to pay £25, £6 at the end of each of the first three years and £7 at the end of the fourth year with an allowance of 12/- pa 'in lieu of washing'. It was also stated that after the first voyage the employer or employee could cancel the indenture.⁵⁶ Another sea- and Dockyard-related apprenticeship was served by a 17 year old Portsea lad for seven years from 1898 in the smithy department of Camper & Nicholsons Ltd, yacht builders, engineers and boilermakers of Gosport. The archives contain a letter from these employers dated 10/7/1907 certifying that this apprenticeship had been served but that 'we are obliged to part with him owing to slackness of trade....we found him to be very steady and well conducted, painstaking in his work.' Emigration to Canada followed.⁵⁷ It was not unknown for the call of the sea to prematurely terminate an apprenticeship. Against his wishes one 15 year old was apprenticed to a carpenter and joiner; he subsequently broke this apprenticeship 'joined the Navy...[and]...soon became a Petty Officer and got a Commission at 28.'⁵⁸

As the Brighton labour market showed, apprenticeships were often going to be disrupted by the First World War. In 1912 a 16 year old youth began an apprenticeship when he was indentured to Alfred Moth trading as Charmentier & Company, printers, of High Street, Portsmouth. His pay of 3/6

in the first year was to rise to 10/6 in the final year of his indentures. However, the lad in question enlisted in March, 1916 and only returned to the business in January, 1920 to complete the remaining 15 months of his apprenticeship. It was stated on his indentures that on 5th May he had 'faithfully served the agreed 5 years to our satisfaction.'⁵⁹

In spite of the economic difficulties of the inter-war period, apprenticeships continued in a similar vein during those years. According to the experiences of one 16 year old apprentice to the plumbing and electric lighting trade between 1929 and 1934, youths could expect to earn something in the region of 6/- in the first year, rising to 16/- in the fifth and final year.⁶⁰ There were variations, however. When a youth was apprenticed in 1933 to the plumbing trade for five years and indentured to James Southey, Heating and Sanitary Engineers, the hours of employment were 'those generally recognised as the working hours for journeymen in the industry', with wages starting at 4s per week and rising to 8s in the final year.⁶¹ In the inter-war period in Portsmouth apprenticeship seemed to be favoured by educationalists and employers for positive reasons. It was the HMIs' view, for example, that the building industry could gain a great deal from the expanding provision of technical education in the town. They also looked favourably on the steps that had been taken locally to set up a Joint Building Apprenticeship in the town under the chairmanship of a member of the Higher Education Committee. The plumbing trade was also said to be reviewing its apprenticeship policy.⁶²

Although local business histories do survive, information on their labour and employment policies is often sparse or non-existent. There are exceptions, however: William Charles Coasby, printer, set up in business in partnership with George Hawkins in c1884 in Arundel Street, Landport and was known initially as Coasby and Hawkins. In 1891 Coasby left the partnership and set up on his own in St. James' Street, Southsea. In 1899 Coasby formed a new partnership with E.A. Forster and in 1909 created a limited company under the name of Coasby and Company Ltd, surviving into the post-Second World War period.⁶³ In the immediate post-First World War years the archives show in the summaries of labour expenses the business being made up of composing, machining and binding.⁶⁴ Most of the surviving indentures of this company's apprentices are for this same period and for the more modern period (especially the 1960's).⁶⁵ William Coasby himself, at the age of 16, began his five year apprenticeship in 1878 'to be taught the art of printing' and started at 3/- per week in his first year. A number of indentures survive for the Edwardian and post-Edwardian years up to 1914: two youths, 15 and 16 respectively, were indentured to the company as printers, as was a 14 year old lad in 1910 who could expect to earn 5/- in the final year of his apprenticeship. In the following year a five year apprenticeship was begun in order to learn the trade of letterpress printing by a 16 year old. On the eve of the War a member of the Coasby family started his apprenticeship at the age of 15. Apprentices could not, of course, expect permanent employment as a matter of course in the business

where they served their time especially in periods of economic uncertainty. A 14 year old started his five year apprenticeship in letterpress printing at Coasby's in 1927 at a wage of 9/6. It was pointed out to this individual that his pay in the first year of experience following the expiry of his indentures would be 49/6 per week 'if kept on'.

As was the case for Brighton, the local newspapers do help to provide some insight into the opportunities for adolescent labour. The expanding retail sector was opening up opportunities for youth in terms of apprenticeships being offered; however, Situations Vacant columns also show that Boy Labour was a significant feature of that sector. At the turn of the century William Pink, provisions merchant, had been established in Portsmouth for over forty years. By the inter-war period it was regarded as 'one of the finest and most well known grocers in Portsmouth.'⁶⁶ The *Evening News* carried an entry in the Situations Vacant column offering an apprenticeship to the grocery trade at this store with 'liberal terms'.⁶⁷ This could well have been an apprenticeship with some credibility. The business had small beginnings in Commercial Road in 1858. William took his three sons into partnership in 1887 and it was converted to a limited company in 1912.⁶⁸

By the inter-war period the main warehouse was at Portsea which, in itself, offered opportunities for youth. Pinks' was now seen as 'one of the ideal grocery shops of England... there are now enough employees to make a fair-sized town.

There were so many young people that there were 13 marriages last year.'⁶⁹ By 1939 the company had 47 shops throughout Hampshire and the Isle of Wight.⁷⁰ The inter-war period, in particular, saw a very positive policy towards the younger members of staff. Efficiency certificates were given to every young lad who had completed a four year course of training and 'all ambitious young men or women are provided with books or courses of study if they express a desire to learn. The company is a school as well as a business firm.'

Reference was also made to the loyalty of staff to the business over many years.⁷¹ Perhaps, then, this was a business which discouraged the Boy Labour problem. Pinks' also illustrate one specific consequence of the First World War for the labour market when 'many staff did not return; they had learned new skills in the forces and went into industry.'⁷²

In the 1890's one edition of the *Evening News* had carried two entries indicating that apprenticeships were available in the boot and shoe trade.⁷³ It is possible that at least one of these entries had its origins in a major boot and shoe business which operated in Portsmouth throughout the thesis period. Bishop Brothers began as a boot and shoe manufacturer in Southampton in the mid-19th century, opening a factory and retail shop in Commercial Road, Portsmouth in 1860. Branches also appeared elsewhere, even in London for a time.⁷⁴ By the mid-1880's it was able to generate annual profit of over £500.⁷⁵ In 1904 manufacturing came to an end and the business concentrated on the wholesale and retail trade, trading 'throughout Hampshire and neighbouring

counties'.Physical expansion took place in Commercial Road in the 1920's.⁷⁶ At times the Situations Vacant column included offers of apprenticeships in more industrial concerns: the engineering trade and iron working are good illustrations of this.⁷⁷ The increased provision of public transport in the town will have created opportunities for varied types of labour.Successive pieces of legislation lead to the setting up of a tramway system in the town in the latter half of the nineteenth century.Earlier legislation was incorporated into the 1898 Portsmouth Corporation Tramways Act conferring powers on the local council with reference to 'the acquisition, construction and working of Tramways' and outlining twelve tramway routes to be laid down.⁷⁸

At the beginning of the new century the City of Portsmouth Passenger Transport Department was created by taking over private companies; it then owned and operated 58 tramcars with 249 horses with a consequent need to maintain 'the necessary stables,offices and sundries'.⁷⁹ Omnibuses gradually superceded the trams,the former numbering over 122 by 1932.⁸⁰ Even in the nineteenth century this sector offered many 'trades and callings' including drivers,ticket clerks,conductors,bodybuilders,fitters,upholsterers,engineers,cleaners and painters.⁸¹

In iron-related work Barber Iron Mongers of Albert Road, Southsea has already been referred to in this chapter;George Cash and Robert Wood were also notable iron founders - Cash becoming established in Aylward Street in Portsea in 1867 and Wood in Old Portsmouth in the 1820's.⁸² In a similar,but

more specific vein, Hoad and Son had its wheelwright origins in the 18th century; from 1843 to 1914 it was based at Kingston and then moved to Basin Street. Its continuance until the 1980's caused it to be the last practising wheelwright in the town.⁸³ Within this business, however, the opportunities for labour remained small: for example, 1909 archives show time sheets for only 6 employees.⁸⁴ Its small-scale nature was typical of businesses in the town through the entire period.

Overall there is certainly a wide variety of apprenticeships offered through the Situations Vacant columns of the *Portsmouth Evening News* and this variety is illustrated in Appendix II. Equally, these columns included a wide variety of positions which may have carried higher short term earnings for lads but had few, if any, prospects and only exacerbated the Boy Labour problem. Again, the retail trade was well represented but, as Chapter 7 showed for Brighton, it would not just be offering blind-alley employment. The reference to Pinks' shows that there must be caution in expressing widespread condemnation without qualification. The retail sector could offer long term employment with prospects even without a formal apprenticeship. An inter-war resident of Portsmouth, for example, was taken on in the 1930's as a butcher's boy but 'eventually...became the shopman...[spending]...most of the time serving in the shop, and preparing meat for sale.'⁸⁵

Nevertheless, amongst the positions on offer in local newspapers - and not confined to retailing alone - were those to collect Penny Subscriptions and to deliver

bread⁸⁶;the serving of wines and spirits,grocer's errand boy,boots and knives work in a hotel,a boy wanted for dairying⁸⁷;a strong lad as porter,a 14 year old boy for shop work,a 16 year old smart,clean lad for photography work⁸⁸;a smart lad wanted for bottle washing and a hotel wanting a strong lad to clean bars⁸⁹;such advertisements continue through to 1930's:a 15 year old delivery boy wanted - able to cycle;an 18 year old youth wanted for the Woolworth stockroom;male school-leaver wanted for bakery and delivery;smart lad wanted for fruit trade.⁹⁰

The larger retail stores certainly did not seem entirely innocent of creating blind-alley employment:the various cooperative societies - albeit highly successful ventures in many cases - were by the inter-war period being accused of creating blind-alley employment.⁹¹ Both Portsmouth and Brighton had Cooperative Societies.The Portsea Island Mutual Cooperative Society Ltd was first registered in March,1873 when just 15 men opened a shop in Charles Street,Landport.At the end of its first year it had 40 members but 'from such a frail beginning grew one of Britain's largest and most prosperous Cooperative Retail Societies and the country's first regional society' with a trading area covering Hampshire,West Sussex and parts of neighbouring counties.⁹² Table 8.3 gives an indication of its growth:⁹³

Table 8.3

YEAR	MEMBERSHIP	SHARE CAPITAL	£	GROUP SALES
1873	40	56		470
1893	3159	13462		47925
1913	11816	127430		239886
1933	41348	656483		1100608

Table 8.3:Portsea Island Mutual Cooperative Society LtdGrowth 1873-1933Source: PCRO:567A/4/2

The Brighton Equitable Cooperative Society Ltd developed from early experiments with cooperation in the 1820's. Brown writes that although Cooperation 'reached its maturity in the North of England, it was cradled in the South. Brighton was its nursery.'⁹⁴ By 1938 it had 50,000 members and had become 'the principal distributive organisation in Sussex'.⁹⁵ It had achieved a turnover of over £1mn by 1933.⁹⁶

It was in the inter-war period that the Cooperative Movement came to the attention of the Trades Union Congress as far as its policy towards youth was concerned: 'Information obtained from societies shows that the problem of "blind-alley" labour is widespread throughout the movement...[but]...there is a very genuine desire for its amelioration and gradual abolition.'⁹⁷ The Labour Committee of the TUC made various suggestions including:

- careful supervision of juniors
- training of suitable juniors 'with a view to absorption either in the department or some other section of the Society'
- technical education during adolescence
- establishment of a cooperative labour bureau 'facilitating the transfer of surplus cooperative labour'
- the need for representations to the cooperative wholesale societies 'with the view to absorption in wholesale and productive establishments of trained surplus labour from retail societies instead of taking on fresh labour'. There was also an appeal to Societies to 'make continued education a condition of employment for all juniors' in order to 'increase the prospects of securing other employment for those whom the Society is not itself able to absorb.'⁹⁸

Certainly Brown shows for Brighton that the Cooperative had pre-empted the TUC in some respects: that by 1900 it had become 'the local educational centre' and its Educational Committee asserted that it stood for 'improvement in the conditions under which people live and work.'⁹⁹ Each year from 1888 2½% of the surplus had been allocated to education.¹⁰⁰ In 1920 the Committee showed its concern for both members' children and the wider population when it made 'useful protest against the increased fees that were proposed for the York Place Secondary School.'¹⁰¹

It did seem that in a national context the Cooperative Movement was giving education due prominence even in the

latter part of the nineteenth century. The representative of the Education Committee of the Cooperative Union, in giving evidence to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, showed that the Southern section, which included Portsmouth and Brighton, had an annual education grant of £1827 out of a total national grant of £23250.¹⁰² Lectures were provided for all members (those over 21 not being excluded).¹⁰³ Subjects covered included book keeping, science and technology, shorthand, and social and economic subjects.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless the Cooperative movement as a whole had shown that retailing as a sector was prone to being part of the cause of the Boy Labour problem even though some facets of it, such as the Cooperative Movement, did seem to be making an effort to open up more long-term opportunities for youth.

Chapman and Riley have recently advised historians not to underestimate the importance of the utilities in Portsmouth when an assessment is being made of employment prospects for local labour.¹⁰⁵ To take the gas industry as an example, the Portsea Island Gas Light Company was first incorporated in 1821; by 1895 it had 10,600 consumers and 52,364 by 1920. The Flathouse and Hilsea Works manufactured gas and Rudmore was the company's distribution centre.¹⁰⁶ The archives for 1911 show over six hundred employees of the company some of whom were employed in the workshops which included the wash house for boiling and cleaning stove plates, the smithy, the meter repair and testing shop, the boiler house as well as the stores and stables. Table 8.4 gives the distribution of the

employees:107

Table 8.4

LOCATION	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES
GAS OFFICIES:FITTING,LIGHTING DEPT.	150
FLATHOUSE WORKS	225
HILSEA	140
RUDMORE	80
MAIN AND SERVICE LAYERS	28
LAMPLIGHTERS	34
	—
TOTAL EMPLOYEES	657

Table 8.4:Portsea Island Gas Light Company

Distribution of Employees,August 1911

Source: PCRO:232A/1/1

Any utility,like retailing companies,will inevitably have opportunities to promote apprenticeship and the cause of the skilled worker but also be able to offer a number of posts to the unskilled,to be taken up by young males,some of whom had no intention of regarding them as permanent.The archives of the Portsea Island Gas Company,perhaps not surprisingly, do not indicate any deliberate policy on the part of the company to add to the Boy Labour problem.On the contrary, there is evidence of a much more constructive policy towards labour.Loyalty to the Company, rather than an encouragement to young labour to view their positions as transitory,seemed

important to the employers. A souvenir issue publication of 1921 made a specific point of listing each of 18 employees each with between 40 to 63 years service to their credit.¹⁰⁸ In various parts of the Minutes of Company Board meetings certain categories of employees are listed showing a range of opportunities with good prospects for adolescent labour. Table 8.5 offers examples of such positions:¹⁰⁹

Table 8.5

	OCCUPATION	AGE
<u>1906</u>	RENTAL CLERKS (6)	16-19
	ASSISTANT CASHIER	17
	GENERAL CLERKS (2)	16-17
	METER EXAMINER	18
	AUTOMETER COLLECTOR	20
	CLERKS (4)	16-18
<u>1909</u>	CORRESPONDENCE CLERK	19
	JUNIOR CLERKS (2)	17-19
	AUTO CASHIER IN STOVE DEPT.	20
	METER STORES	19
	GENERAL CLERK	17

Table 8.5: Portsea Island Gas Company

Examples of Opportunities For Adolescent labour, 1906, 1909

Source: PCRO:45A/2/1/2/12,13

Of course there were jobs on offer with fewer prospects. Archives for 1917 give lists of employees - their period of service broken by the War - some of whom were then in their

20's and 30's and so would have been adolescent recruits to the Company in the years leading up to the War. Their tasks included: bricklaying, labouring, excavating, meter repair, working as fitters and retort housemen.¹¹⁰

It is also apparent that apprenticeship remained as one way of training young labour in the industry in the period around the First World War. In 1919, for example, permission was given to the Engineering Section to take an indentured pupil, with the Company undertaking to pay wages of 5/- per week in the first year, rising to 20/- in the fifth and final year.¹¹¹ In addition to this the Company did give some encouragement to its employees to continue with their education. It was noted in the pre-First World War years, for example, that a number of the 'subordinate staff and workmen' had passed the City and Guilds Examination in Gas Manufacture and Supply and the Company resolved to pay incentive bonuses for these and similar successes ranging from 12s 6d to £2 2s.¹¹² Such a utility as this was therefore able to offer some reasonable prospects to the youth of Portsmouth; it may well have been the latter who chose to view it as blind-alley employment in the sense that it was their wish to drift from job to job, rather than the employer necessarily dismissing them as they reached adulthood. The archives certainly offer no indication that the latter was the case.

In conclusion, the studies of both Brighton and Portsmouth show that it is not possible to paint a totally pessimistic

picture of the local labour markets beyond that created by the major employers. It cannot be concluded with any certainty that all the apprenticeships offered by the various businesses of the two towns were valuable contributions to improving the quality of adolescent labour; nevertheless, it would surely be wrong to conclude that all had been created for highly dubious reasons and were apprenticeships in which concern for the long-term welfare of those adolescents involved failed to feature. Nevertheless, expanding local urban economies could not but fail to create a number of openings which would not consider that long-term welfare and, whether it was the deliberate intention of the employer or the wish of the employee, the Boy Labour problem would be permeated and with it, of course, a proliferation of blind-alley employment.

Chapter 9: The Attitude of Trade Unions to Youth,
Apprenticeship and Education

Introduction

It is certainly the case that the period 1870-1939 witnessed the development of an interest by trades unions in the issue of adolescent labour and the evolution of what were perceived as appropriate policies. It also has to be said, however, that, although these were features of the period, the motives such unions may have had in causing them to concentrate their minds on this issue and those related to it were varied. Archives of local union movements do not allow for simplistic or generalised conclusions to be drawn for the whole of the trade union movement.

What is of greater interest than motives in the context of the Boy Labour problem are the possible consequences of their ideas and policies on that problem. Official reports could be broadly condemnatory of trade unions and, in being so, hide much of the positive aspects of their work at local level. The Royal Commission on Labour claimed for example, that 'the Trade Unions aim at a monopoly of work.... this policy, if successful, would fatally arrest the development of trade in this country, besides being unfair to the children of workmen outside the trade.'¹

One of the most controversial issues surrounding the trade union movement was that of apprenticeship and the movement's real motives in trying to preserve the institution in certain trades. Again, of greater interest here will be the

impact of such policies rather than the motives in pursuing them. The Royal Commission cited above felt able to refer to the drift of apprentices either to other countries or to other occupations (which may well have been in the blind-alley category);² however, this does not of itself necessarily allow for any judgement to be made on the union policies themselves, if it could be shown that such policies were indeed supportive of a genuine and effective apprenticeship system. The call by Jackson, for example, in the early 20th century for unions to 'actively assist in the regulation of Boy Labour and in the improvement of the education of the workman' does not allow us to conclude that this was not already being done by some unions nationally, or locally where the national policy of a union was less decisive.³ He also cites engineers and printers (whose unions were both in evidence in the thesis towns during much of the period) as examples of those who had encouraged trade education 'by fixing the duration of the training which must be undergone before a learner can be admitted to the union.'⁴ There is also a timely reminder that, whatever conclusions we do eventually draw on the effects of the union policies we must remember their minority position in the labour force; in 1910, for example, 'the total number of trade unionists is only about one fourth of the working men in the country.'⁵ Additionally research of local level archives show that the national share of the total labour force quoted by Jackson to be a far cry from what was actually the case locally; for some branches it was truly a battle for survival.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, if not before in some trades, disillusionment was beginning to creep into people's views of the apprenticeship system as a form of training. Such a view is epitomised in the Webbs' work *Industrial Democracy* (1898). They were able to cite the strength of the institution within a union such as the Boilermakers (to which local references will be made later).⁶ However, they also concluded that apprentice regulations '...cannot be said to be enforced to-day over more than a small fraction of the Trade Union world, and...even this fraction is steadily dwindling.'⁷ They were also of the opinion that when a union could no longer use the system to restrict numbers 'it very soon gives up striving after any educational servitude.'⁸

It could further be argued that even where apprenticeship remained strong and youth was encouraged to, and did, complete their time, the impact of restrictions on numbers could have an adverse effect on those excluded from it and any training or opportunities for adult work that it might have had to offer. Clegg (1964), in his reference to the 'heroic years' (1889-1892) for the General and Municipal Workers, talks generally of the craft trades within which 'labourers had no chance of bettering themselves so long as the apprenticeship system was rigidly enforced, and there was no question of their joining the craft union even in a subordinate position.'⁹ In contrast, Pelling (1979) quoting from official sources of the 1890's, pointed to an exception to this in the Royal Dockyards which 'offered a very good opening for the unskilled labourer...to become skilled.'¹⁰

Given what could be a very tentative existence, especially in some localities, it is not surprising that not only did unions wish to restrict numbers, but also wished to retain educational provision for adolescents under their control. Any recorded resistance to the spread of education, particularly technical and vocational, may have had this motive. As McClelland concludes, it may have been the case that 'the primary interest of the unions was in trying to ensure the continuing training of labour by labour itself rather than by external institutions.'¹¹ Reference to local archives would not necessarily support such a conclusion without some qualification, however.

Even if we were to concern ourselves only with national developments the limited membership of trade unions down to the inter-war period must cause caution to be exercised in any assessment of their impact on youth labour. Local studies similarly advise the historian against making what are perceived to be definitive statements.

Casson (1979) argued that the Trade Unions in this century had 'done little to promote the interests of young workers' in not always opposing the laying off of apprentices who had completed their time and so laying them open to the shorter term temptations of the labour market.¹² More (1980) has, however, left the issue open to further debate to a greater extent, in his reference to the woodworking, engineering and building trades, in concluding that 'they performed a useful role at the margin' with regard to the treatment of labour.¹³ Research of local archives may help to clarify the picture.

Reference to national sources should also include consideration of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), increasingly seen over the thesis period as the voice of the trades union movement. It could be argued, however, that the TUC took too long to develop a policy on youth and to become more vociferous in the defence of the adolescent in the labour market. Certainly some definitive statements began to flow in the inter-war period, to some extent inspired by the deteriorating economic climate which, as the TUC realised, was having an impact generally on labour with some serious implications for the adolescent. In its support for the raising of the school leaving age in 1928 the TUC argued that 'a community that employs juveniles, and scraps them when later they ask for adult remuneration, is living, not merely upon its capital, but upon the most valuable type of capital which it possesses.'¹⁴ The TUC did point out in the same year that there were occupations - notably engineering, shipbuilding, printing - where there was a reasonable chance of juveniles being retained in adult employment with good prospects and these were trades which were important to either Brighton or Portsmouth or both.¹⁵

There did seem to be genuine concern at the welfare of the young although the implications for adults were not lost on the trade union movement when considering the issue of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment. Walter Citrine spoke in 1926 of what he perceived as 'less scruple in exploiting young workers' and that 'the effect on both young and adult workers had to be considered.' He claimed that 434,600 juveniles had left school at that time at the age of 14.¹⁶

TUC archives also show that some of the key unions of the period continued to give their support to apprenticeship in general and indentures in particular. Amongst them were the National Association of Coopers, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) and the Typographical Association.¹⁷ The starting ages for apprenticeships were of some relevance to the Boy Labour problem and these continued to vary even in the inter-war period. For the Coopers and Boilermakers commencing age was not to exceed 16, for the AEU the starting age could be from 14 upwards and for the printers there were no rules on age of starting.¹⁸ The time between leaving school and starting an apprenticeship could encourage boys to take up blind-alley employment and then to keep with it. Some trades were careful to make special provision for indentured apprentices and included in this category were boot and shoe repairers, retail bespoke tailoring and tobacco.¹⁹

Research into the earlier history of the TUC suggests that expressions of concern for issues affecting adolescent labour and consequent policy formation are far less evident. Although Roberts (1958) cites an 1869 Resolution of the TUC wanting 'nothing short of a system of national, unsectarian and compulsory education' the work of Griggs in the 1980's gives rise to greater pessimism.²⁰ From his research of TUC archives Griggs argues that from 1872 to the mid-1880's 'no paper or discussion directly related to education' with one or two minor exceptions was presented to Congress.²¹ He felt able to conclude for the period up to the mid-1880's that there was 'little evidence that TUC

delegates felt deeply concerned about the education system..... There was certainly no attempt to form any coherent detailed policy on education during these years.'²² Change was to come,however,perhaps epitomised in the 1897 call for 'secondary education for all.'²³ Again, however, local research may present a contrast to some extent to the apparent lack of interest and inaction in the national ranks up to the late 1890's.

Local Studies

Trade Unionism had an existence in both Brighton and Portsmouth at the beginning of the thesis period, even if the stronger movements within the industrial cities further north could not be imitated.Trory refers to the formation of the Old Mechanics in Brighton,for example,in October 1846, subsequently absorbed by the Amalagamated Engineering Union in 1851.The Old Mechanics had their origins in Hull and the organisation was taken by the men to Brighton when they migrated to that town.²⁴ The Brighton Branch could boast of 150 members by the end of 1851.²⁵ By 1916 Brighton had by far the greatest number of workers unionised of all Sussex towns.The Brighton membership was 7626 (5.8% of the population) out of a total for Sussex of 16338 (2.5% of the population).²⁶ Appendix I gives the comparison between Sussex towns.

The Railway Engineering Works accounted for much of the union activity within the town as was the case for the earlier years of the period.Of the 7626 unionised,2215 were

members of the National Union of Railwaymen while a further 684 were of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Steam Engine Makers' Society. The archives do point out, however, that the NUR membership, though based in the Brighton Branch did not necessarily live or work in Brighton.²⁷ The Printers boasted the highest number of their workers unionised at this time: 79.5%. The Iron Founders (referred to later in the chapter) and the Engineers could claim that about half their workforce were organised (52.7% and 48.1% respectively).²⁸ Appendix II provides details of these and other unions for the 1916-1920 period.

The Trades Councils

The Brighton Trades' Council had been inaugurated some years earlier. In 1890 a member of the Bricklayers' Society became its first chairman, a member of the Engineers its secretary, while the Treasurer was drawn from the Ironfounders' Association.²⁹ The new century saw a gradually widening membership of the Council, a membership which also reflected the growth of the retail and leisure sectors within the local economy: Musicians, Theatrical Employees and Shop Assistants were all to find a place there by 1910.³⁰ Appendix III provides further details of Council membership for this year.

Inevitably the view taken of trade unionists and, in turn, their own view of employment issues was bound up with the state of trade in the national and local economies. The inter-war period showed this all too clearly. In 1920 the

Brighton and Hove Chamber of Commerce (which by that time had a membership of 162 local businesses) viewed the state of trade with apprehension. They spoke of 'the impossible demands of trade unions and their Leaders' unwillingness, or inability, to understand or foresee the consequences. The present state of unemployment is to a large extent a direct reply to their excessive requirements.'³¹ As the local economy moved into the 1930's the Chamber (now with over 300 members) was no more optimistic, believing 1932, for example, to be 'one of the worst in the history of this Country' although the signs of improvement were noted.³²

The trade unions speaking through the medium of the Trades' Council were no more positive about the economic climate at this time and we also see how this concern includes an interest in the plight of juvenile labour. 1928 was described as 'one of the most anxious years that the trade unions have experienced' with 'delegates' reports from the Juvenile Employment Committee...[showing] how very necessary it is to have representatives there.'³³ Additionally during this period the Trades' Council had members on the town's Youth Advisory Committee which was composed of 10 delegates.³⁴

The twentieth century is the time that a greater interest in education begins to show through at local level, not least through the medium of the Trades' Council in Brighton. This interest might have been intended to go beyond the needs of youth: in 1914, for example, a directive to the Officers of the Branches of the Trades' Council pointed out that it was their responsibility 'to enthuse [members], to give facilities for

their working class education and hold them together...'³⁵

The interest could have more specific expression: concern for the raising of school fees for secondary education at York Place School became a major trade union issue in the years before the First World War.³⁶ Certainly this could have been a reflection of all that was being spoken and written at national level of the Boy Labour problem. In 1911 the Trades' Council claimed that it was due to its pressure that the Board of Education agreed to a local enquiry, emphasising that 'we must always fight to obtain the finest education for the workers' children.'³⁷ The issue appeared again in 1911 when the issue of a reduction of free places at York Place School was added to that of raising the fees. A resolution was moved against this asking unions to pass similar resolutions and forward these to the Brighton Education Committee and the Board of Education.³⁸

The Portsmouth Trades' Council pre-dates that of Brighton by a few years, being established in 1886.³⁹ The *Sixth Annual Report* showed income emanating from nine unions, the details of which are given in Appendix IVa.⁴⁰ This had increased to twenty by 1896, details being given in Appendix IVb.⁴¹ In the early years of the new century the number of branches affiliated could muster a total membership of over 4000.⁴² The number of affiliated societies continued to increase in these early years and Appendix IVc shows, for example, for 1906 the addition of the Sailmakers, whose archives survive, and the Tramway and Vehicle Workers.⁴³ Amongst the objectives of the Trades' Council stated in the late 1890's was 'the establishment of a more intimate connection....

..between all branches of the operative classes' and yet for some time the Council had not shown 'the vitality that ought to characterise an institution representing the organised workers of this important Borough.'⁴⁴ However,two years later'considerable progress' was said to have been made 'to infuse new life into the Labour Movement in Portsmouth.'⁴⁵

As in Brighton,the Portsmouth concern for youth labour does seem to mirror the national trend.There was interest displayed in unionising those trades where Boy Labour might predominate;in 1912 sadness was expressed at the demise of milk sellers' and coal porters' unions when 'we would like to see an attempt made to organise carriers,hire carters, milk sellers,coal heavers etc' - perhaps an early expression of concern towards the distributive trades.Interestingly,the growth of the Trades' Council had been quite marked in these years with 52 branches affiliated representing an aggregate of 8000 workers.⁴⁶ Using statistics from the 1901 *Population Census* presented in Chapter 3 this figure would indicate in approximate terms that about 13% of the male labour force of Portsmouth aged 15 or over were unionised.⁴⁷ However,if we take this figure of 8000 as a percentage of the entire male and female population then the figure falls to 4.25%,marginally higher than the Brighton figure presented above for 1916.

It is not surprising to see the same concern with the state of trade as in Brighton with reference being made in 1902,for example,to the need for 'effective steps...to mitigate the sufferings entailed by lack of employment.'⁴⁸ In similar vein the 1905 *Annual Report* spoke of the

'wholesale discharges of workmen from the Royal Dockyards' which would only increase the competition from jobs elsewhere in the town and, of course, present even greater problems for youth in its search for decent employment.⁴⁹ The following year was also described as one of 'exceptional hardship' for trade unionists as well as for 'a large percentage of wage-earners who prefer to do nothing themselves towards provision for times of unemployment and distress.'⁵⁰

This concern for employment prospects was inevitably linked to the provision of education. It is not possible to make sweeping statements about union motives behind the concern: education could delay the appearance of adolescents in the labour market so helping the employment prospects of adults; better education could improve the marketability of adolescents; a good education was the right of each individual. Certainly, the positive aspects of their views and policies cannot be dismissed just as it would be equally wrong to condemn out-of-hand similar views in the present day. The 1893 *Report of the Trades' Council* referred to two delegates on the Portsmouth School Board 'endeavouring to justify the trust reposed in them.'⁵¹

Concern was expressed in 1902 (after the Education Act had abolished the School Boards) when the Trades' Council lost 'its solitary representative on the governing bodies of the town.'⁵² In spite of the political change pressure could still be brought to bear through the Labour Party. In 1912 the Education Committee had decided to buy a site at Copnor for an elementary school but (as a result of the Labour

Party's action) another site has been chosen which is over 1000 square feet larger and about £600 cheaper.'⁵³

The Trades' Council was quick to express concern on other issues affecting young people. Apprenticeship was an issue always at the forefront of trade union policy, especially as this institution came under increasing threat in the inter-war period. This concern is epitomised at local level by the attention given by the Trades' Council to the Airspeed Company in the 1930's. It was felt that youths were being taken on with the promise of formal apprenticeships but were being 'lead up the path' since there was no definite scheme for such apprenticeships.⁵⁴ In a letter of protest to the TUC the Council stated that it was putting pressure on the Juvenile Employment Committee 'for a proper apprenticeship scheme.'⁵⁵ However, in a letter from the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment to the Trades' Council it was noted that steps were then being taken to introduce a scheme at the Air Speed Works.⁵⁶ All this was in the context of the TUC view that, at this time, there was an acute shortage of juvenile labour in the South East but with 'four areas [Bristol, Southampton, Portsmouth and Chatham] in which there was a surplus of juvenile labour and a live register of appreciable size.'⁵⁷

Individual Unions and their Relevance to the Youth Issue

Railway Unions

By 1916 the National Union of Railwaymen was by far the

largest union in Sussex with a membership in Brighton of 2215 organised in three branches.⁵⁸ For the later nineteenth century Durr sees them as 'the major force behind the development of the labour movement in Brighton.'⁵⁹ Gupta (1966) traces the development of the two railway unions - the former Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) and the General Railway Workers' Union (GRWU) - in Sussex and provides membership figures for Sussex for 1889. The ASRS had 290 members, 2.3% of the total membership and the GRWU 176 or 6% of the total for that union.⁶⁰ The National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) was formed in 1913 and it is the records of this union which survive locally. Moxwell (1963) argues that its creation 'arose almost as much from the ferment of social and economic ideas as from the need of railwaymen to organise and gain recognition by the management'.⁶¹ If economic and social ideas included views on Boy Labour and perhaps some interest in education then the Brighton railway workers support Moxley's contention, at least as far as the new century was concerned. Trory referred to them as 'a highly respectable class of men, a credit to the Railway, and a credit to the town.'⁶²

A belief in the need for education of the young is not difficult to contemplate when considering trade unionists of some status; however, job security for themselves was equally important if not more so; the minutes of the NUR's predecessor express this concern. Those for 1906, for example, record a meeting, the reason for which was stated as being 'to assist the Boilermakers [in the Railway Works] in their present struggle against the system of the

officials...who are trying to introduce boy labour and [to ascertain] how it affected some of our members.'⁶³

In that same year the system of piece-work had been denounced not only because of the rate set but because 'it was impossible for them to earn their day money without the aid of two or three boys who had to make up the man's money..⁶⁴ Concern was further expressed later in that year when it was pointed out that one brother 'was told he had to go piecework [sic] with two boys under him;they made 4/- instead of 6/10 - this proved the bad system.'⁶⁵ Such may have been the concern for exploitation of the young who at the same time may have been damaging to adult prospects.

Later archives of what had then become the NUR give tentative suggestions of an interest in education:the sending of delegates to the local Workers'Education Committee in 1927 and attendance at its annual conferences.⁶⁶ Continuing concern with Boy Labour well into the inter-war period may be reflected in the reference to casual staff in Southern Railway's Goods department in Brighton.⁶⁷ Within the Railway Engineering Works the continuance of a strong apprenticeship system - even though the Works had seen their best days - may help to explain the dearth of references to educational matters in the local records of the union in this later period.

The Engineers

The Engineers were a notable feature of the trade union movement in both towns.The Royal Commission on Trade Unions

(1867) showed a total of 308 branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) with 33,600 members.⁶⁸ A quarter of a century later the Royal Commission on Labour, in providing a deeper analysis by region or town in some cases, indicated that in January 1892 the ASE had 156 members in Brighton and 547 in Portsmouth.⁶⁹ Numbers could not be relied upon for any length of time, however. Trory pointed to 150 organised engineers even in the 1870's; ⁷⁰ the ASE Registration Book for the Brighton Branch for 1888 shows 86 organised engineers at the Railway Works alone.⁷¹ In Brighton the influence spread beyond the Railway Works, however, With ASE minutes of branch meetings in the 1890's showing influence in a number of firms including Allen West, the Corporation Waterworks, as well as technical staff in the Electricity Company.⁷² In the inter-war period influence had spread to other businesses including Southdown Motor Services (although the union was banned for a time), Tilling's (public transport) and Southern Publishing.⁷³

Engineering was a trade in which apprenticeship had been strong and where members were keen to maintain such strength for fear that any weakening of its position would bring dire consequences for young and old alike. In the 1890's the Brighton Local District Committee wanted to take steps to ascertain the number of apprentices employed in the trade in the town.⁷⁴ In 1916 a letter of protest is included in the minutes to the District Committee complaining of the employment of labour as mechanics in the Brighton Works who had not served an apprenticeship; the War was thought to be

no justification.⁷⁵

Reference was made in 1920 to the problem of boys being introduced during the War years leading to a doubling of the complement of apprentices. There had to be a policy for apprentices returning from the War in a fit state, for those unfit having to be given light jobs and for those apprentices who had remained in the shops during the War.⁷⁶ Appendix V gives details of young engineers organised in the early post-1918 period in Brighton. The debate continued into the 1920's in Brighton with concern for the apprenticeship system in the local municipal transport undertakings and in the desire to secure lists of apprentices in the District with a view to their better organisation.⁷⁷ Further minutes indicate that a successful meeting of apprentices had been held and arrangements had been made for visits to places of engineering interest; complaints from boys were also under consideration.⁷⁸

The archives for this century show a concern to defend the union members against a dilution of their skilled status and at the same time to defend exploitation of young workers in Brighton. Although Laybourn (1991) has recently referred to some unions (including the ASE) altering their rules in the late 1880's and early 1890's to admit less skilled workers, this should not lead us to conclude that the maintenance of an apprenticeship system was of less importance to the union. Local archives would not support this conclusion.⁷⁹

A watchful eye was continually being kept on changing work practices in the Brighton Railway Works: an issue was made in 1906, for example, of cheaper, unskilled labour being used to

operate a new turret lathe. After protest the foreman agreed to put an apprentice onto the machine but not at apprentices' rate. This was accepted under protest.⁸⁰ The union also found there was work to be done in similar vein in other local companies - not least of which was the engineering company Allen West. 1917 had seen accusations of the sweating of boys employed by the company.⁸¹ Later, in the inter-war period, it had been found necessary to circularise young workers in the Company with the rates of pay they were entitled to at 21 - at a time when Allen West employed 1500 people.⁸² Other local companies also received the attention of the union: securing the raising of apprentices' wages to the appropriate rate at Messrs Vandevills in 1917; ⁸³ protesting at the dismissal of a youth of 19 after an apprenticeship by indenture at the Tramway Depot; ⁸⁴ action towards CVA Ltd of Hove where non-apprenticed youth labour nevertheless had been doing skilled work but were being used as cheap labour by the company.⁸⁵

Support for education and training was also evident at local level and reflects the national union policy which had given its support to the TUC initiative on vocational guidance for school leavers.⁸⁶ Small businesses were not going to be ignored, with a circular of 1921 wanting the admittance to the union of indentured apprentices from small motor and general shops and suggesting schemes for the education of those boys.⁸⁷ The mid-1920's saw news of affiliation of the union to the Brighton Labour College and the provision of winter lectures for members.⁸⁸ A month later the Secretary was instructed to request the secretary

of the local Municipal College to 'make arrangements for our local branches to be represented on the management committee.'⁸⁹

The concern for youth continued through the depressed years of the 1930's:shop stewards in 1938 were requested to forward names of those under 22 suitable to act as delegates to the Brighton Trades' Council Youth Conference;⁹⁰ annoyance was expressed a year later in not being allowed direct representation on the town's Juvenile Employment Subcommittee rather than indirectly through representatives sent by the Trades' Council.⁹¹

A similar approach to labour and youth issues in particular were followed by the Engineers in Portsmouth as we might expect.Portsmouth membership had grown to 198 by 1919.⁹² Support continued for apprenticeship with apprentices being drawn into the union while still serving those apprenticeships:a youth almost 15 years of age serving at Air Speed,one aged 17½ serving his apprenticeship in the Dockyard as a fitter,two youths serving their time at Vickers Armstrong in the Dockyard,a 17 year old serving at Messrs Shervills and another of 19 years serving at the Floating Bridge Company.⁹³

The local union wanted to support its young members:in 1934 there were efforts to secure proper training of apprentices at Messrs Bowerman in the town;after an enquiry the union was 'satisfied that the firm was endowed with conditions of workshop and qualities of work to adequately train their apprentices.'⁹⁴ Congratulations were given to the District Committee in 1938 in appreciation of their

successful efforts to secure an increase of pay to apprentices outside the Dockyard.⁹⁵

Shipwrights and Boilermakers

As far as Shipwrights and Boilermakers were concerned, although the shipwrights were largely the preserve of Portsmouth, the Boilermakers were evident in both towns. By the 1890's at national level the Boilermakers could not have been clearer on what they felt needed to be done for youth. They pointed to the virtual end of the old system of bound apprenticeships in shipbuilding and engineering but 'unless we take our proportion of lads...in accordance with the number of journeymen working at the trade between the ages of 21 and 45 we shall condemn a portion of the population to enforced idleness.'⁹⁶

The Shipwrights at this time wanted to see 'some method...to insure lads being properly taught their trade' given that the bound apprenticeship system had declined. The union intended urging its young members 'to secure certificates at the naval architectural classes' held in various ports.⁹⁷ Indeed by 1912 there were 69 students on such a course at the Portsmouth Municipal College.⁹⁸ The Shipwrights recognised that even by the 1890's most youth were apprenticed by certificate or a note from the firms rather than by indentures.⁹⁹ The intention was stated at the time that prizes were to be offered by the union to encourage students at College to secure certificates at the end of their courses.¹⁰⁰

Robertson and Alston (1992) point to the Boilermakers having achieved a closed shop in all fields with which they were concerned by the later nineteenth century and so fought successfully against the trend towards deskilling to preserve their skilled status.¹⁰¹ Dougan (1975) points out, however, that the Shipwrights remained supreme in the Naval Dockyards largely because these 'being under Government control, were less open to new ideas and influences.'¹⁰² As far as the Boilermakers were concerned the actions taken in the 1890's to preserve the indentured apprentice system proved to be short lived, with employers allowing it to lapse in 1899. (Cummings, 1905) ¹⁰³ The arguments continued, however, with the union determined to preserve the institution.¹⁰⁴

In any case concern can be expressed in the context of the Boy Labour issue that the agreement - not unusually at that time - pointed to the commencement of indentured apprenticeships at not earlier than 16 and no later than 18 outside the Shipyards and 19 within them. The drift of labour was a very real possibility between leaving school and being allowed to take up an apprenticeship. The one note of optimism was that boys could be taken on at 14, for example, as rivet boys, and be regarded as probationers but certainly not be bound. Although there were to be restrictions on the number of apprentices this would not apply to boilerships.¹⁰⁵

Despite the setback at the hands of the employers Mortimer (1982) still claims that by the early part of this century the Boilermakers had become one of the country's most

influential unions.¹⁰⁶ To study them and their history he argues is to study the history of British labour.¹⁰⁷ Such claims makes the research into local archives even more interesting. The minutes show for Brighton that apprentices were being taken into membership from the inception of the Society in 1883 and new regulations would be reviewed with interest as they evolved.¹⁰⁸ By 1890 the number of members eligible to vote was 97.¹⁰⁹ By 1916 total membership had increased to 200 in Brighton.¹¹⁰

It appears, however, that any support for young workers would not be at the expense of adult labour. In 1909, at the height of national concern over Boy Labour, a motion was carried that the union would not allow members to be sent home while boys were allowed to remain.¹¹¹ However, there was action taken when existing apprentices were being unfairly treated; representations would be made to management if a youth having completed his time was not advanced the customary increase in wages.¹¹² Such treatment could certainly act as a disincentive for youth to seek an apprenticeship when higher immediate rewards might be obtained elsewhere and would certainly be more attractive if it should be thought that qualification via an apprenticeship did not secure any higher remuneration. This point would surely not have been lost on the union. In a similar way to the Engineers it played its part in opposing any increase in fees in the York Place Schools, sending two delegates to the meeting at the beginning of 1912 to voice their protests.¹¹³

Even by the 1930's the Boilermakers were intent on giving

good reason to youths that they should seek an apprenticeship: the foreman at the Brighton Railway Works was urged to give lads who pay their union dues a better opportunity of learning their trade in preference to those who did not.¹¹⁴ By the outbreak of War it wanted to maintain the ratio at local level of five apprentices to one journeyman.¹¹⁵

In the Royal Dockyard the Boilermakers were suggesting ways in which boys of a wide ability range might be made suitable for employment with prospects. In the immediate post-First World War period, for example, the Society pressed for a supplementary scheme of apprenticeship for training in HM Dockyards for boys who failed to pass, what they perceived to be, a demanding educational test and who may have had limited educational facilities to take advantage of in the past. It would be an apprenticeship which required less technical training but such boys would not be required to study at a technical school during the period of probation or apprenticeship.¹¹⁶ This seemed to be hitting part of the Boy labour problem head-on but the Admiralty remained unmoved by such suggestions. Reference has already been made to Dougan's point that the Shipwrights remained supreme in the Royal Dockyards, although the Admiralty did not wish to recognise any union for the purpose of negotiations.¹¹⁷

The national organisation did not become established until the early 1880's but the economic depression quickly took its toll, stimulating the Portsmouth Branch to press for a national recruitment campaign.¹¹⁸ In one year alone (1887) 2000 men were discharged from the Portsmouth Dockyard.¹¹⁹ In

such economic circumstances it would be difficult for any shipbuilding union to maintain a defence of old customs which Howell, writing in 1877, felt the shipbuilders had 'striven so pertinaciously' to do.¹²⁰ Difficulty was experienced in successfully opposing employers who increased the number of apprentices to such an extent that the quality of training had to be brought into question. Pollard (1950) cites Reads Shipbuilders of Portsmouth who at one point in the 1870-1914 period had 44 apprentices to just 8 journeymen.¹²¹ He also refers to a membership of 140 for the Portsmouth Shipwrights by 1883.¹²² Shortly afterwards the Branch Secretary at Portsmouth spoke of what could be the positive effects of discharge on attitudes of those left behind but clearly ignored the effects on youth opportunities in the Dockyard which was 'worse off for work than it has been for years' and on youth prospects in the local economy where they had now even greater competition from experienced adult labour probably willing to work for lower wages.¹²³

By the end of the First World War the Shipwrights had 5 branches in Portsmouth with a total of 2157 journeymen and 511 apprentices, an approximate ratio of 4:1.¹²⁴ By 1921 this ratio had risen to 7:1 with 2159 journeymen and 288 apprentices.¹²⁵ Perhaps it was an indication of the state of trade that 1937 saw only 3 new journeymen recruited and no apprentices.¹²⁶ The implications for local youth do not really have to be stated.

Trade unionists seemed to be well aware of the relevance of appropriate education for the young even though they were

less sure that they wanted to lose control over it. It is significant therefore that as early as 1885 the Chairman and Secretary should be waiting on a committee of the Chamber of Commerce 'for the purpose of urging the establishment of a technical school' making a favourable comparison with what had been done already at Brighton.¹²⁷ It would not, however, be allowed to become a threat to the apprenticeship system.

The Sailmakers

Before leaving the consideration of unions within the Dockyard and the shipbuilding industry generally, mention can also be made of the Sailmakers. The Federation of Sailmakers of Great Britain and Ireland had been formed in 1889, eventually with headquarters in Hull.¹²⁸ It was in Hull that in 1890 it was asserted that 'young members should be taken by the hand and trained into Society principals.'¹²⁹ The Sailmakers of Portsmouth eventually declined to join the Federation in 1904.¹³⁰ However, a Portsmouth return to the Federation in 1897 showed 39 sailmakers and 4 apprentices employed locally.¹³¹ The Federation earlier in that decade had spoken of 'the depressed state of the Sailmaking Trade and the long continued slackness throughout all our branches.'¹³² Membership of the Federation did eventually follow and a return from the Portsmouth branch to HQ in 1912 referred to trade as 'good'.¹³³

There was national concern in the trade in this period at the employment of boys, especially as apprentices were being

thrown out of some centres as soon as they had finished their time and would expect higher wages. The Portsmouth Branch declared its intention in 1907 to send a delegation to the Annual Conference of the United Government Workers' Federation to complain of firms who 'do not employ Bone-fide Sailmakers, but Labourers and Boys and to whom they pay 4½d to 6½d per hour.'¹³⁴ A year later the Portsmouth Branch could claim a membership of 48, rising to 104 in 1914 and 206 in 1916 with trade again described as 'good'.¹³⁵ Their numbers were never going to allow them to be a significant influence on Admiralty policies towards youth - even if the Admiralty had been more amenable to trade unions - but their concern about the central issues of apprenticeships and Boy Labour are of interest in the wider context of Dockyard industrial relations; none of the unions in the Royal Dockyards - small or large - had any real impact on the policies of their employers but could, nevertheless, be an influence on youth labour which came within their grasp.

Other Unions

Other local unions at times expressed concern over those issues important to the youth of the towns. The Typographical Association had representation in Brighton and Portsmouth during this period. In fact, there is evidence in the archives of links between the Association's two branches in the early years of their formation.¹³⁶ The Portsmouth Branch is listed as first being affiliated to the town's Trades' Council in

1893.¹³⁷ A meeting at Running House Inn in Brighton on September 23rd, 1893 saw the foundation of the Brighton Branch when 'a copy of the Rules of the Portsmouth Branch were gone through.'¹³⁸ The Brighton Branch at this time had a membership of 70 and 90 just four months later.¹³⁹ Brighton membership forged ahead of that at Portsmouth with a circular of 1902 showing Brighton with 120 and Portsmouth with 75.¹⁴⁰

Given the early contacts between the printers in the two towns it seems reasonable to assume that objectives were similar and reflected those of the national movement. In the 1890's the *Brighton Gazette* reported the speech of the Chairman of the Association's Brighton Branch at the annual conference when he said that 'the purposes of unionism were three-fold: aggressive, defensive, provident.'¹⁴¹

Musson (1954) described the Association's frequent complaints in the second half of the nineteenth century over the inadequate training being given to apprentices by unscrupulous masters who were too often using them as cheap labour.¹⁴² Clegg, Fox and Thompson (1964) wrote in similar vein of unions' keen awareness of the constant threat of firms which were using large numbers of boys in their attempt to undercut the market. By implication these boys would not be kept on into adulthood, having outlived this purpose.¹⁴³

There did seem to be a genuine concern for youth over and above the concern to protect the institution of apprenticeship to preserve control over entry to the trade. This is epitomised in a speech by the Brighton

Secretary at the Annual Dinner when he spoke of being 'glad to see so many young people present' at that event.¹⁴⁴ A year earlier in 1894 the first annual gathering of Southern Branches at which both towns were represented spoke of the Association taking care that all its members should know their trade, implying that apprenticeship as a form of genuine training was being protected in printing.¹⁴⁵ This goes some way to explaining their opposition to any employers' attempts at short apprenticeship. One employer of Dean Street, Brighton had 'the evils of the short apprenticeship he practised with lads' pointed out to him by the Brighton Branch.¹⁴⁶

The Branch had previously stated its opposition to the idea of a shortened apprenticeship except in the case of lads continuing their education in the Higher Grade School or secondary school when a five or six year apprenticeship might be considered.¹⁴⁷ The unions' view of the possible impact of changes in apprenticeship on their power cannot be overlooked. Nevertheless, opposition to shortened apprenticeships may have been short-sighted and underestimated the impact of greater educational provision.

There are frequent references to education, however. In its early years the Branch saw some value in making arrangements to form a technical typographical class at the York Road Technical School. Eleven had joined the class 'and more were expected.'¹⁴⁸ A prize was to be awarded for performance.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, in the early years of this century there was concern at the threat that such classes might pose to apprenticeship with the Brighton Branch wanting assurances

'that none but apprentices of those actually engaged in their specific branches of craftsmanship shall be eligible as pupils.'¹⁵⁰

The archives suggest that, compared to some unions, education played a more important part in the ideas and policies of the Typographical Association; this was perhaps to be expected given the importance of literacy and a curriculum relevant to some parts of the work expected of printers. It is significant that the Trades Council saw fit to write to the Brighton Branch urging action over the proposal (subsequently dropped) in the 1902 Education Bill 'to limit the scope of teaching in Board Schools to merely elementary subjects' and only for those children who were 14 years of age or under.¹⁵¹

As the distributive trades' sector expanded in these years so too did the concern over the treatment of young people in those occupations within it. Such concerns were being expressed right down to the 1940's at both national and local levels. In the mid-1920's there was the attempt to translate these into positive action by establishing 'apprenticeship schemes in conjunction with Local Juvenile Employment Committees' with the issuing of indentures, a stated ratio of apprentices to journeymen of 1:3 and a possible requirement of attendance at Technical Classes.¹⁵² A decade later, however, references were still being made to the 'very large amount of exploitation of juvenile labour in the Distributive Trades.'¹⁵³ Shortly afterwards, the Brighton Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee stated that 'the

predominance of shop work for boys..... continues' with 'considerable movement between jobs' as youth searched for 'security of employment and the opportunity of advancement.'¹⁵⁴ By the end of 1938 there were 1200 boys in retail businesses in Brighton, it having 'been impossible to meet many requests for errand boys.'¹⁵⁵

Such figures and comments through the inter-war period had caused the unions through the Brighton Trades' Council to express in 1928 their 'emphatic protest against the exploitation of junior labour in the Distributive Trades through the payment of low wages and working hours... [Parents].... should assure themselves that the working hours are not such as to interfere with the physical and mental development of their children.'¹⁵⁶ Mention of those in the Bakery and Confectionery Trades seems appropriate at this point. The first meeting of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners (South of England District) was held in Southampton in July 1912; this meeting included three representatives from Portsmouth (with one of this number becoming the first District President) but Brighton was yet to be organised, becoming so in June 1913.¹⁵⁷ The union had 833 members in southern branches by the end of the First World War.¹⁵⁸ In spite of its small representation it does seem to be very concerned about the treatment of the young including the nature of the provision of education. In the mid-1920's the Executive Council supported the idea of educational classes for members with 'the hope that members of the various branches will take

advantage of the scheme.'¹⁵⁹ A year later the union branch at Portsmouth agreed by 7 votes to 1 that lads under 21 attending the Trade Classes 'shall have the fees paid by the union.'¹⁶⁰

Protection of the young was high on the agenda:the attempt at organising vanmen in 1914; ¹⁶¹ pressing employers to accept a scale of wages for boys and girls (for boys rising from £1 at 16 to £2 7s 6d at the age of 20 and then full rate at 21);¹⁶² expressions of concern and protest action in support of young Cooperative Workers and their remuneration.¹⁶³

The building trades had also become a stronger feature of the two towns as they physically expanded during the later nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.Burgess (1975) writes of building as being 'one of the least organised industries' nationally in the later nineteenth century;¹⁶⁴ Hilton (1963),however,refers for the 1890's to all the building unions in major towns establishing joint-town working rules.¹⁶⁵

The Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1867 had reported 28 branches of the Plasterers'Society which had had been founded in 1859.¹⁶⁶ Price (1980) refers to their militancy in the later nineteenth century when they had 'replaced the masons as the most troublesome of the [building] trades' directing 'much of their militancy towards maintaining their insufficiency and locally their restriction of apprenticeship' which had seemed to be effective.¹⁶⁷ The Royal Commission on Labour reported for the early 1890's a

national membership of 5600 and identified the work for boys as receiving the moulds from the plasterers and then casting this work.¹⁶⁸ The origins of the union in Brighton are to be found in 1877 when 29 full members became organised. Subsequent data is sparse but a vote taken in 1894 showed 76 members voting.¹⁶⁹ In 1896 the Portsmouth Operative Plasterers numbered 90.¹⁷⁰

The union minutes show 'heartiest support' for: the technical school scheme in Brighton in 1890; ¹⁷¹ a candidate from among its ranks for the School Board elections in 1893;¹⁷² an enthusiasm for taking into its membership young lads new to the trade to offer them protection in the face of aggressive employers if the need arose.¹⁷³

Pelling (1979) does, however, point to the reduced importance of apprenticeships in building by the Edwardian years, if London can be taken as representative of the nation, with the art of plastering 'as a rule picked up by the boys without regular apprenticeship' with the same being true to some extent in plumbing.¹⁷⁴ TUC archives nevertheless pointed to the aim of the trade in the 1930's as being to set up an apprenticeship scheme for 'assisting in the education, training and regulating of the number of apprentices entering into the industry' and lasting not less than 5 years.¹⁷⁵

The Bricklayers had 96 branches throughout the country by the late 1860's and 5700 members.¹⁷⁶ In Portsmouth the Operative Bricklayers first appear in the Trades Council Reports in 1893 showing a membership of 250 in 1895.¹⁷⁷ Even by 1916 the Brighton Branch only included about one quarter

of this figure (70).¹⁷⁸ The Plumbers showed a national membership of 5500 in 1889.¹⁷⁹ Like the Bricklayers the Plumbers are first recorded by the Portsmouth Trades Council as members in 1893.¹⁸⁰

Although archives of local branches of these unions do not survive it seems realistic to assume that their concerns and policies would reflect those of the Carpenters for which there are some records at least for Brighton. The 1867 Royal Commission on Trade Unions points to a relatively strong national following with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners having 190 branches and 8261 members.¹⁸¹ This had grown to 30,693 by 1890.¹⁸² The Society's Secretary, Robert Applegarth, was known for his support for the wider provision of education. Kelly (1970) refers to his support for technical classes for members in the late 1860's, pointing to the pioneering stance of the union in this area.¹⁸³ Griggs (1983) sees Applegarth as one of the few exceptions to those trade unionists who looked upon education in a 'fairly restricted manner.'¹⁸⁴ It may be a significant pointer to the local interest in education amongst carpenters that Applegarth was invited to speak to the Brighton Branch and was seen to be 'an example to us younger members..., for years... an esteemed friend and brother of the Brighton Trades.'¹⁸⁵

1920 saw 350 members at Brighton divided into two branches.¹⁸⁶ Portsmouth had almost reached this number by the time of the 1896 Trades' Council Annual Report when a membership of 344 was shown organised into three branches.¹⁸⁷ Archives show the Society's opposition to the

raising of fees at the York Place Secondary School in Brighton and called upon the Board of Education 'to institute a public enquiry into the reasons which have led to this decision.'¹⁸⁸ The Society was also shown to be supportive of the Technical College in nominating a member for the Building Trades Advisory Committee and having that person duly elected.¹⁸⁹ It also pointed to its membership and support for the State Scheme of Apprenticeship at that time.¹⁹⁰

Other unions give brief references at local level to youth and issues affecting them. Amongst these, for example, are the Portsmouth Iron Founders for which records survive for the early period and listed as one of the affiliated unions to the Trades Council as early as 1892.¹⁹¹ It had its first meeting in October, 1873.¹⁹² There was a membership of 119 by 1896.¹⁹³ As a reflection of a possible local job shortage in the late 1870's it allowed young labour under 22 years of age to 'work for what they can get subject to the consent of the Branch Committee.'¹⁹⁴ There seemed also to be a concern to play a part in the town's education policies in the mid-1890's in supporting a member in his candidature for the School Board election of 1895, illustrating a similar policy to some other local unions during these years.¹⁹⁵ Brighton archives show membership of 59 in 1916 of a total of 116 working in the trade.¹⁹⁶

As stated earlier in the chapter, it is not easy to ascertain the true motives of local union branches, assuming

that there was a united view on matters affecting youth. Research of local movements suggest that mere preservation of their own power and custom would not be a complete or an accurate picture. There did seem to be genuine concern which is reflected in their participation in TUC work on the issue in the inter-war period and in earlier examples of evidence to Royal Commissions.

Apprenticeship still seemed important to them over other forms of training but at local level there was not by any means outright opposition to the provision of relevant courses at colleges nor to the development of the curriculum at school level. Indeed those who sought representation on School Boards may well have wanted to promote the argument for a wider curriculum more relevant to their members and their children. It can also be argued that, although support for apprenticeship may have been seen as a means of preserving power, and sometimes by its nature was open to criticism, it cannot be denied that it had strengths at a time when educational provision was often inadequate; it could be of benefit to lads who might otherwise have entered the problem areas of blind-alley employment.

The effects of concern are more important than motives in the context of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment; it can be argued that the trade unions of Brighton and Portsmouth played their part in acting as a pressure group on those authorities which ultimately made the policy decisions which, in turn, would affect the local labour markets and the adolescents within them.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

Introductory Comments

The prime objective of this thesis has been to assess the treatment afforded to the young males of Brighton and Portsmouth within the education system and the labour market, 1870-1939. The thesis therefore allows conclusions to be drawn on the degree of effectiveness of that treatment and the economic implications. An important contention is that there were serious failings in these years which served to significantly exacerbate the 'Boy Labour' problem to the detriment of the overall quality of labour.

Additionally, given that the experiences of at least some other towns were unlikely to be radically different from those chosen for the thesis, the impact on quality has important implications for the performance of the British economy in these years. Various specific arguments can be put forward. First, that because this was essentially cheap labour there was the obvious threat to adult workers who might find themselves priced out of the market with the consequent loss to the economy of their expertise, experience and maturity. Second, for those groups within the working-class with which this thesis has been concerned (and identified in Chapter 1) parents and off-spring were in danger of becoming demoralised if job prospects into adulthood remained so bleak. One can cite, for example, those families in Portsmouth who failed to secure apprenticeships in the Royal Dockyard even though examination performance had been satisfactory. Demoralisation does have economic

implications as some of the work practices of modern industry will testify. Third, young males remained undeveloped or certainly underdeveloped in economic terms as a result of their early experiences in education and work and therefore never fulfilled their potential in the labour market even as adults; overall, the problems are clearly manifested in the worsening competitive strength of the British economy and the consequent impact on economic growth.

In Street's view (1994) the study of youth has 'passed through many phases, followed many avenues and relied on many disciplines' ;¹ it has to be remembered also that Boy Labour and blind-alley employment form only one of many aspects of that study. The local studies have certainly illustrated the complexity of these issues. Generalisations are possible - and very often necessary - but must be made with caution. Literature which takes an essentially national perspective cannot always convey the complexity cited here. Brighton and Portsmouth offer examples of good and bad practices with consequent positive and negative impacts on the young respectively. Much was to be found within the employment policies of the Royal Dockyard and the railway companies which could keep the threat of blind-alley employment at bay. On the other hand, the meanderings of local and national education policy frustrated efforts to make sufficient inroads into the problems. It is possible to conclude from the experiences of these localities that there was much to be critical of even as policy initiatives began to take

shape in the inter-war period.

Research on archives relating to Brighton and Portsmouth suggests strongly that policy - from whatever origins, and however loosely the term has to be applied - was often based on what policy-makers thought was the appropriate policy given their own concerns. If youth was seen as an increasing 'threat' to society this concern would colour policy far more strongly than any economic perspective. Taking education as one issue, to confine children to schools for a large part of the day and year would keep them off the streets and hence reduce the 'threat' which they were collectively perceived to pose; at the same time it would allow 'middle-class' values to be instilled. With the exception of this criterion the archives, although certainly not painting a totally bleak picture on curriculum matters, suggest too little attention being paid to building on the initial provision of basic education in the later nineteenth century, even given the constraints imposed by national government policy. Where progress was made policy-makers were too slow to recognise that education could only play the rôle of facilitator: providing a means of helping to alleviate the Boy Labour problem but not in itself able to provide a solution. Only developments within the labour market would begin to provide that and were developments with which the authorities could, of course, also be involved.

Because of their more obvious connections with the local economies the Chambers of Commerce and Trades' Councils often show themselves to have a better understanding of what was needed to help youth both within schools and colleges

and in the labour market. The archives of local unions researched provide some evidence showing that in their small way - although motives were mixed and unclear - they did wish to be seen as a pressure-group on local government in order to try to influence policy. Some sought direct participation, for example by seeking membership of local committees or school boards. The references to these issues are too infrequent in some local union minutes for it to be suggested that they dominated the activities of these branches in any way but the interest in them is clear and often does not feature in general union histories.

Such interest was also reflected in the archives of Chambers of Commerce but research on individual businesses and industries in these towns does present a more complex picture. The essence of capitalism does of course suggest that cheap labour must have been an attractive proposition for employers with profit in mind. Nevertheless there were those employers in both Brighton and Portsmouth who did seem to want to manage their labour efficiently, aware of the returns that could be enjoyed in the long-term by doing so. Examples within the utilities, the retail sector as well as railway company and Dockyard practice are all testament to an opening up of opportunities to youth for self-improvement and a security of employment if wanted. Youth had to decide on its response to them; it was a response, however, which was more likely to have been positive if participation within education and early experiences within the labour market were viewed favourably by them. Unfortunately this was by no means certain to be the case in

these towns.

Chapter 1 included references to historians' perspectives on Boy Labour. The research does support those historians who point to the danger of sections of the working-class being involuntarily marginalised in the labour market if conditions were not made right for them within schools, colleges and work. The records of the Brighton Education Committee after 1900, for example, are particularly informative on this point. Whatever the social implications of this it was also a woeful undervaluing of this part of the labour force and therefore in the short and long terms the economy was going to be all the weaker for this shortcoming.

The opening chapter illustrates the disagreement amongst historians concerning the rôle and attitude of parents towards off-spring. Both Brighton and Portsmouth offer very strong evidence that it is wrong to comment on working-class parents as one category. Support for apprenticeship was strong - even if sometimes based on a misconception of its value in some parts of the labour market - and there are few stronger examples than the desire of at least some working-class parents in Portsmouth for their sons to secure apprenticeships in the Royal Dockyard. The apprenticeships in the Railway Engineering Works in Brighton were similarly valued. Other parents, however, often by force of circumstance gave greater importance to higher and more immediate earnings to help the family budget. The local research carried out supports the view that the issue of parental

attitudes is a complex one and helps to explain the differences of opinion amongst historians.

The opening chapter also related the de-skilling controversy to the incidence of Boy Labour and blind-alley employment; again it would be wrong to draw simplistic conclusions. The towns cited provide two key examples of where skill acquisition remained paramount - Brighton's railway engineering works and the Royal Dockyard in Portsmouth. Whatever the prime motive of labour in trying to preserve apprenticeships it would be wrong to conclude from the evidence that they were a sham in terms of skill acquisition in these activities. Of course, aspects of them were open to criticism but they stand as a testament to the importance given to skill training in certain industries. The declining skill requirements nationally in specific sectors can help explain the demise of apprenticeship but the local studies caution against sweeping generalisations on this trend. In any case it does seem that the concept of skill is often too narrowly interpreted especially within the context of structural change taking place in the economy. Such an interpretation has led some to conclude that there was an inverse relationship between skill requirements in traditional manufacturing activities and the incidence of Boy Labour and essentially unskilled work in other parts of the economy. On the contrary it needed to be understood that skills, albeit different in nature from those in manufacturing, were often necessary in these other parts and had to be nurtured.

In the context of Boy Labour the de-skilling debate does have a relevance but needs to be qualified. With the debate often being centred on the trends in manufacturing as a whole or in specific industries, too little consideration has been given to the changing nature of the concept of skill and to the qualities needed in the labour force beyond those required in manufacturing and especially in the expanding service sector where working-class youth increasingly perceived there to be opportunities. There are so many qualities which appropriate education, training and guidance can engender which take us beyond the narrow perspective of the de-skilling debate and the two towns are illustrative of this fact as they witnessed the growth of commercial, retail and financial services as well as the utilities. Government, education, employers, even trades unions had a potentially significant rôle to play here which was only patchily fulfilled, to the detriment of the young and, more widely, the economy in the long-term.

The notion of de-skilling is further weakened by the identification of shortages of a range of skills in this century. Given the contraction of manufacturing - more severe in recent years - such identification suggests a belated recognition that skill increasingly had a breadth which would not have been amongst the thoughts of some earlier writers but needed to be so. One newspaper has recently shown its recognition of the historical dimension to this issue in arguing that the lack of skills 'locks our businesses into older and simpler technologies..this is an old problem, but a fundamental one.'² The modern history of Brighton and

Portsmouth helps illustrate that a wider interpretation of skill requirements in the years down to 1939 could have brought an alleviation of the 'Boy Labour' problem and hence enhanced the general quality of youth labour.

The changing requirements of the labour market were not only brought about by changes in the structure of the economy but also by the changing nature of education provision which could serve to alter the expectations of potential employers of young labour. Thus Leipmann (1960) concluded that 'the adequacy of apprenticeship turns largely upon its success in harmonising the interests of education and of production.' ³

For the period in which Leipmann was writing More (1989) estimates that the number of boys entering apprenticeships averaged around 100,000 per year - about 25% of those entering work. For the 1980's about one-third of the male manual workforce had experienced apprentice-level training or the equivalent compared to about 20% in the 1900's.⁴ However, 1980 marked the eve of a period of a quite traumatic loss of manufacturing capacity; the harsh consequence was that apprenticeships in manufacturing fell from 140,000 in the early 1980's to 55,000 by 1994.⁵ The thesis years experienced no such dramatic change of economic structure, locally or in the economy as a whole in such a short space of time. As Chapter 3 concludes from Census data the economies of both Brighton and Portsmouth did undergo gradual change. Problems were caused for youth by the belated recognition of this by those who were charged officially, or by implication in the case of employers, with helping the

young whilst in education or in the labour market. Such an omission prevented adolescents fulfilling their potential within these local economies.

The tendency has been for writers to be condemnatory of apprenticeship where it existed as a form of training and to enter the debate on its alleged decline. There needed to be less concern with the latter and more thought given to its nature. There would have been value in considering how the traditional form of apprenticeship could have been made more acceptable to youth and more effective as a form of training in any sector of local economies. Fleming and Pearce (1916) seemed aware of this need when arguing that apprenticeship had 'failed to adapt itself to the changing requirements', referring also to the 'lack of a clear conception of these requirements, and the temptation to exploit youths for immediate gain.'⁷

No matter what the differences are amongst historians on these issues they will at least agree that there was something wrong with the way in which the young were being dealt with and the serious economic and social implications this could have. The fruits of local studies, not always agreeing with general historians on matter of detail, certainly support this underlying contention. Hendrick (1994) has recently used the term ageism: a prejudice against young people.⁷ In the view of this research it is more valid to use the term to represent not only a prejudice but often a blatant misuse and undervaluing of a significant aspect of the nation's human resources; it was especially significant

for the quality of labour in the long-term if these were the early experiences of many adolescents in the labour market.

During the First World War a government committee reminded the country that it had been 'more than a century since the problems of juvenile employment first became the subject of public discussion and legislative enactment.'⁸

Throughout the period in question for labour in general, and youth in particular, they were 'flung into the midst of an environment, in part friendly, in part hostile, but on the whole indifferent to their needs, and must battle with their circumstances as best they can.' (Bray, 1907)⁹ All that can be said in qualification is that, increasingly, and especially in this century, the authorities were prepared to step into that battle to promote the interests of the young. Nevertheless, perhaps because of the economic circumstances, or a belated recognition of the changing requirements of the economy, the pessimists on the issue carried significant weight even into the 1930's. Gollan argued in 1937 that what had been the workshop of the world could not 'guarantee that the skill of the old generation will be handed down to the young. Years ago complaints were raised about the blind-alley characteristics of certain trades. To-day that blind-alley has become the basic characteristic of almost the whole of industry.'¹⁰ The complex and changing nature of the problem represented in the thesis may have been lost on Gollan, however. It was not in many instances necessarily the skills of the past which had now to be instilled into the adolescent if the economy

was to improve its performance.

For the youth of the 1930's the local economy was inevitably a very different place in which to develop a career compared to the 1870's. In some ways prospects were better for all - a much improved provision of education and parents increasingly accepting its benefits and so able to be more supportive of the aspirations that their sons may have had. Where they were not of this view, the expansion of tertiary activities accompanying the growth of towns had opened up so many more blind-alley occupations (even if they also offered careers with greater opportunities). Even with better prospects an economy under some strain, whether because of war or the economic circumstances of peace-time, could not leave youth untouched. Stanley Hall's comment (1904) remained relevant for the inter-war period when he argued that, for youth, 'modern life is hard, and in many respects increasingly so... Youth awakes to a new world and understands neither it nor himself.'¹¹

Whether aspirations were short or long term, whether a job was gained on his own initiative or through parental pressure, employment of some sort was often seen by those adolescents cited in this thesis to be important. 'It may not be their work that holds their main attention or interest; but the job as a job is of paramount importance.' (Ince, 1945) ¹² The reality was that adolescents, if finding themselves and their families in straitened financial circumstances, were eager for income. However, they entered a labour market whose operation was far from perfect in these years (although in some respects improving) and an economy

whose circumstances were often far from ideal. The towns of Brighton and Portsmouth were certainly not immune from either of these weaknesses. The stark fact was that the world of work was subject to dramatic changes as were the demands being made upon youth in its search for employment. There had to be a willingness to absorb and respond to changed and changing circumstances and it was so important for those with the necessary power to divert youth away from blind-alley employment where this was possible or withdraw them from it where it had already claimed them.

Jewkes' and Winterbottom's comment (1933) could have been made with equal relevance to the 1870's or any subsequent decade - that 'whether Great Britain can prolong her privileges will depend upon whether her population is better trained, more imaginative industrially and commercially, and more capable of rapid readjustment than that in other countries.'¹³ Although such improvements in themselves would not have peripheralised the Boy Labour/blind-alley problems, a policy reflecting these requirements would at least have acted as a facilitator for the young to allow them to have a greater influence over their own destinies. The studies of both Brighton and Portsmouth show, for example, the proliferation of college courses over a wide spectrum of subjects designed to give the training needed by youth in the inter-war period, thus enhancing its quality. Courses obviously could not create jobs but their introduction in colleges suggests that appropriate opportunities were opening up in these towns.

The Post-1900 Period:Proposals and Policies

Chapter 1 indicated that greater weighting would be given in the thesis to the years after 1900.The idea gathering pace in the early years of this century that 'the country's youth are the trustees of her future prosperity' augured well for subsequent generations,but only if fine words were translated into actions at local level. (Kennedy,1912)¹⁴

It would indeed have been strange if so much articulation of the problems was not at some point converted into policy to bring improvements.Through the subsequent decades actions became intertwined with continuing concern with issues which many saw as becoming permanent features of an economy having seen its best years and which,in its mature phase, was that much weaker and less able to respond to the needs of the labour market.

As Chapter 2 indicated the problems were epitomised by the actions of the Post Office which,until pressure had been brought to bear,had had no qualms over dispensing with teenaged employees as they approached adulthood.Table 10.1 does show,however,that the problem was a diminishing one in the years leading to the First World War:

Table 10.1				
1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911	1912
4322	4471	3628	1277	433

Table 10.1:Total Number Ceasing to have Employment in
the Post Office at the age of 16,1908-12

Source: Cd.6959:*Third Report of the Standing Committee on
Boy Labour in the Post Office*

Some perceived that the state had a rôle to play in such significant socio-economic problems and local authorities needed to include themselves in this process. Lightbody, writing in 1909, supported this 'in conjunction with a wider scheme of social reform' which he took to include education provision.¹⁵ A need for a sense of orderliness in the adolescent labour market seemed not to be lost on the government in these years. Chamberlain (1909) had described the buying and selling of labour as 'a combination of blind chance, personal favouritism and mercenary short-sightedness' for which he hoped the government initiative on Labour Exchanges would be a remedy.¹⁶ The 1909 *Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools* reached similar conclusions.¹⁷ So came the Education (Choice of Employment) Act of 1910 allowing Local Authorities to assist teenagers under 17 (later to be 18 under the 1918 Education Act) 'with respect to the choice of suitable employment'.¹⁸ Appendix I shows the original registration form for juveniles. Some contemporaries were concerned, however, that the first Exchanges were, in their opinion, 'advertising very unsuitable employment' for adolescents.¹⁹

Towards the end of the First World War the *Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War* (Lewis) gave a timely reminder that all was still not well on these matters, reminding policy makers of the need for a social conscience to remedy economic exploitation. It wanted to see a uniform elementary school leaving age of 14, that all 14-18 year olds be

compelled to attend Continuation Schools and for employers to comply with such an innovation.²⁰ Spencer Gibb reinforced the need for something to be done as peace was restored and as war employment came to an end, throwing 'thousands of boys into unemployment at an early age.'²¹ In Brighton at this time the Chamber of Commerce - with 85 members - gave explicit support for the work of the local Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee perhaps foreseeing the difficulties ahead in the immediate post-war years.²²

The Ministry of Labour returned to the problem of adolescent drift and wanted to enlist the support of the TUC in causing trades to try to employ boys in some way in the years leading up to the start of their apprenticeships. It also wanted to discuss the possibility of making attendance at evening classes compulsory.²³ The Ministry of Labour was in full agreement with the Malcolm Committee's Report *Education and Industry* (1926) in arguing for the continuation of the highly regarded Juvenile Unemployment Centres to prevent the deterioration of unemployed juveniles.²⁴ (The Ministry's 1923 Report had given statistics for Portsmouth: there were two Centres - one for each sex - with 209 boys in attendance on one particular day - 19th September, 1923).²⁵ The Malcolm Committee also wanted to go further in recommending the setting up of a National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment.²⁶ Nevertheless in the ten years leading up to the Second World War it could not be denied that any progress made with these problems had been limited; reforms had had too narrow an impact both locally and nationally.

The Balfour Committee in 1929, while accepting that there was a 'great and growing body' of workers for whom apprenticeship or highly specialised technical education was inappropriate, did stand out for a curriculum for older children which tended towards 'combining manual with literary training'. It recognised that the demand for that type of education had greatly increased; of some concern is that the demand was still at this time waiting to be satisfied.²⁷ The Government also thought it necessary in the mid-1930's to reinforce the policies that had developed since 1919, in particular in making arrangements under the 1935 Unemployment Insurance Act to give persons under the age of 18 years of age some assistance 'with respect to the choice of suitable employment by means of the collection and communication of information and the furnishing of advice.'²⁸ Interestingly, the government felt further analysis and consolidation of the help given up to the War years was necessary: in 1945 the Ince Committee was set up 'to consider the measures to establish a comprehensive Juvenile Employment Service.'²⁹ (See also Chapter 2).

The Continuing Problem

In 1994 the Government announced an investigation into why thousands of teenagers were (and are) boycotting youth training schemes, partly to ascertain how many were content to work in the black economy which is essentially composed of blind-alley employment.³⁰ This at a time when there was concern to clarify national targets for education and training (see Appendix II) and when a report was published

by the National Youth Agency. This report estimated that around 100,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 24 occupied a 'status zero' position in society - those who are not in education, training or employment and have effectively dropped out of society. One comment is without time constraint: such youngsters were 'aimlessly drifting, with no apparent purpose in life, no sense of attachment to mainstream society, with ever diminishing prospects of employment.' The report reflects an important issue in the thesis: the appropriateness of the school curriculum and training schemes which these youngsters were being asked to consume.³¹ Many could agree with Peter Mortimore of the Institute of Education that 'if pupils judge their chances of success as being too remote, then boredom, apathy, misbehaviour and truancy during their teenage years become much more difficult to resist.'³² Not all those youngsters for whom concern might be shown as employment begins would be included in any 'status zero' category but this does not mean that they have not shared the disenchantment with the nature of education provision, as will have been very much the case in the past.

Concluding Remarks

It becomes apparent that the recent debate on these issues and subsequent policies echo those of the years 1870-1939. The greater provision of education after 1870 served to change people's expectations. Employers would increasingly have expected more from each successive generation of school-leavers even if this was not to be reflected in the

wage they were willing to pay or in an increased willingness to offer something more than a short term position. Parents, showing a gradually increased acceptance of the benefits of education, would also raise their expectations of what sons might be able to aspire to, especially if and when poverty began to diminish, making it possible to view the future with greater optimism. The greater diversity which occurred within the local economies in question served to reinforce this optimism, causing the significance of employment in the Portsmouth Dockyard or the Brighton Railway Works to recede. The study of urban economies does show diversification to be a mixed blessing for youth, however.

The adolescent certainly would be justified in feeling more optimistic about his prospects even if we consider only the expansion of education in these decades. In reality, however, even though the local education systems began to take shape and increasingly began to serve the requirements of the young and of employers, something more was needed. Economic management was still largely in its infancy down to 1939 and so economic downturns could be devastating for adults and teenagers alike. So too could the slow but sure demise of the dominant employers of these towns, making the need for more diversified economies that much more urgent. Training would be a requirement of a number of occupations in these local economies in transition; the problem was that apprenticeship had lost its appeal or proved to be unsuitable. Alternatives were of varied quality and from youth's point of view uninspiring. For this reason blind-alley employment became a stronger temptation.

It does have to be emphasised, however - as Chapter 1 suggests - that not all adolescents entered the Boy Labour category and blind-alley employment involuntarily; no matter what amount of relevant education and training had been provided, how expansionary the economy, or how many jobs were on offer with longer term prospects, there would still be those whose attitude was nothing more than 'living for to-day'; the exploitative behaviour of employers and the expansion of job opportunities in the service sector could easily foster this attitude amongst adolescents.

The argument remains irrefutable however, and is reinforced by these local studies through to 1939 that youth was a potentially valuable asset - the potential (even with inter-war innovations) too often remaining undeveloped by those who had the means to bring about improvement in the way education, training and the labour market served the needs of youth or might do so in the future. In the words of an Edwardian writer, probably unknowingly making a comment so pertinent to both earlier and later decades: 'It is such living wealth as this that we squander...labour that is so cheap, and costs so dear.'³³ For this reason a long term perspective on the Boy Labour and blind-alley issues - highlighted by the two growing urban communities - may be seen as a contribution to the continuing debate on the changing fortunes of the British economy after 1870.

APPENDICES

Chapter 1:Appendix I

Table 1

	<u>BRIGHTON</u>		<u>PORTSMOUTH</u>	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>
<u>1871</u>	90,011	39,125	113,595 11,169	57,581* 7,425**
<u>1901</u>	123,478	54,210	188,133	91,069***
<u>1931</u>	147,427	65,677	249,283	120,065

* Portsea Island including the districts of Kingston, Portsea Town, Portsmouth Town, Landport

** Portsmouth Town

*** The County Boroughs of Brighton and Portsmouth

Table 1:Total Population & Male Population,1871,1901,1931

Table 2

	<u>UNDER 5</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	
<u>BRIGHTON</u>					
<u>1871</u>	5,245	4,633	4,613	3,783	
<u>1901</u>	5,792	5,597	5,632	5,430	
<u>1931</u>	--*	5,258	5,221	5,449	
<u>PORTSMOUTH</u>					
<u>1871</u>	7,467 472	6,520 425	5,419 360	5,775 1,383	PORTSEA PO'MTH TOWN
<u>1901</u>	10,014	9,362	9,008	9,780	
<u>1931</u>	--*	10,798	10,414	9,667	

* Youngest age group in 1931 not included since their entry to adolescence would lie outside the period under consideration

Table 2:Age Analysis - Young Males,1871,1901,1931

Sources:

- 1871 *Population Census,England & Wales*
Vol II Registration or Union Counties - Hampshire
Vol III Ages,Occupations and Birthplace Div II,South East,Table 2 Sect 3,Sussex
Table 2 Sect 4,Hants
Table 3,Sect 4 Hants
- 1901 *Population Census,England & Wales,Table 24,*
Hants/Sussex
- 1931 *Population Census,England & Wales,Table 14,*
Hants/Sussex

Table 3

	<u>BRIGHTON</u>	<u>PORTSEA/PORTSMOUTH CB</u>
<u>10-14</u>		
<u>1871</u>	12	9
<u>1901</u>	10	10
<u>1931</u>	8	9
<u>15-19</u>		
<u>1871</u>	10	10
<u>1901</u>	10	11
<u>1931</u>	8	8

CB=County Borough

Table 3:A Comparative Summary of Brighton and
Portsmouth:Male Populations in 10-14 and 15-19 Age-Groups
as a % of Total male Population
(rounded to nearest whole number)

Source: Calculated from *Census Returns* as given for Tables 1
& 2

Chapter 2:Appendix I

OCCUPATION	EST.NO.	14-16	16-18	TOTAL
PROVINCES:				
a) Van Boys		3243	2191	5434
Errand Boys		455	198	653
Messengers (office/ works)		2330	707	3037
Warehouse Boys		474	678	1152
b) Cinema/Theatre Workers		500	582	1082
Hotel Pages/Attendants		790	837	1672
Billiard Markers		5	49	54
Beach Workers/ Amusement Attendants		71	229	300
<hr/>				
Total from 59 provincial centres		7868	5471	13339
The London Region		14682	7991	22673
<hr/>				
TOTAL		22550	13462	36012
<hr/>				

Appendix I:Summary of Information Received From 59 Local
Committees For Juvenile Employment and from those in the
London Area 1935-6

Estimated Number of Juveniles in each Occupation

Source: *Report of the Departmental Committee on Hours of
Employment of Young Persons in Certain Unregulated
Occupations, March 1937*

Chapter 3:Appendix I

Calculations have been made to provide some statistics for the U20 age group in the two labour markets for 1871 which the official Census does not provide on an individual town basis.

The 1871 *Census*, in its analysis of individual towns, only provides statistics on the male workforce aged 20 years and upwards. Given the subject matter of the thesis, and the fact that it represents the period from 1870, it seems appropriate to attempt to arrive at some approximations for the youth element in selected occupational categories in this first Census year of the thesis period.

Amongst the problems encountered in such an exercise are:

- i) Occupational categorisation changes to some extent;
- ii) The age-groups decided upon are changed over time;
- iii) Between 1871 and 1901 (when actual figures are provided for youth labour) legislation, desire, attitudes will have intervened to alter the ages at which children decided to leave school and enter the labour market;
- iv) The geographical areas are subject to change 1871-1901.

Any statistics arrived at, therefore, can only be very crude approximations but do, nevertheless, give some indication of the possible scale of youth involvement in some key sectors of the local economies.

Two methods have been adopted:

- i) A calculation of the 10-19 population as a proportion of the 20-69 population, and then applying these ratios to selected occupational groupings where figures are given for the over 20s age-group. The female figures are included to show the similarity of the ratios with male labour.
- ii) The 1901 *Census* provides occupational statistics for the ages including adolescents. Actual ratios can be calculated for the 10-24 and 25-65+ age groups (only males have been included) and these ratios for particular occupational categories are then applied to the 1871 data.

An average of the two values has then been calculated for each occupational category.

Chapter 3; Appendix I, Table 1

MALE POPULATION	1. AGED 10-19	2. AGED 20-69	RATIO 1:2
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BRIGHTON	8396	19812	1:2.4
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PORTSEA ISLAND	11194	31374	1:2.8
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FEMALE POPULATION	1. AGED 10-19	2. AGED 20-69	RATIO 1:2
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BRIGHTON	10196	29229	1:2.9
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PORTSEA ISLAND	10574	29955	1:2.8
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Portsea Island=districts of Kingston, Portsea Town, Portsmouth
Town, Landport

Chapter 3: Appendix I, Table 1: Population Statistics, 1871

Sources: 1871 *Population Census*, England & Wales

Vol III Ages, Occupations and Birthplace Div

II, South East Counties, Table 2 Sect 3,

Sussex; Table 2 Sect 3 & 4, Hants; Table 3

Sect 4 Hants

Occupational data is given below for the workforce 20 years of age or over (non-italicised figures are the figures provided in the 1871 Population Census); using the ratios from Appendix I, Table 1 statistics are calculated for males in the 10-19 age group (italicised figures).

Chapter 3; Appendix I, Table 2

MALE	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
Class III Section 7: Conveyance		
of Men, Animals, Goods, Messages	2089	2080
	<i>870</i>	<i>743</i>
Class IV Agriculture Class		
	1219	913
	<i>508</i>	<i>326</i>
Class V Industrial Class		
	10895	9653
	<i>4540</i>	<i>3448</i>
Class VI Indefinite & Non-Productive Classes		
Section 16: Labourers	1969	2072
	<i>820</i>	<i>740</i>

Chapter 3: Appendix I, Table 2: Calculated Occupational

Statistics, Males 10-19, 1871

Source: *Population Census 1871: VOL III DIV II: Occupations of the People, SE Counties. Table 17: Occupations of Males/Females Aged 20+ Urban Sanitary Districts.*

The aim of this table is to compare two Census years 1871 and 1901 (statistics were given for all age groups in 1901, but occupational categories are not exactly compatible with those of 1871.) Ratios have been calculated as shown in the table. Non-italicised figures are the actual figures provided in the 1901 Census for all age-groups as are those for the 20+ age group in the 1871 sections below. Figures in italics are those calculated for the 10-19 age group for 1871 - selected occupations - using the 1901 ratios indicated.

Chapter 3; Appendix I, Table 3

MALE		BRIGHTON		PORTSMOUTH	
	10-24	25-65+	10-24	25-65+	
1901:Section VI:Conveyance of men,goods & Messages					
	2067	3496	2275	3305	
	1:1.7		1:1.5		

	<u>20+</u>		<u>20+</u>		
1871:Class III Sec 7:Conveyance of Men,animals,goods,me'ges					
	1229	2089	1387	2080	
1901:Section VII:Agriculture					
	118	454	94	351	
	1:3.8		1:3.8		

	<u>20+</u>		<u>20+</u>		
1871:Class IV:Agricultural Class					
	321	1219	240	913	

Chapter 3: Appendix I, Table 3 (contd)

MALE	BRIGHTON		PORTSMOUTH	
	10-24	25-65+	10-24	25-65+

1901: Sections IX - XXI (incl) Details below

5609	13302	7934	17698
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1:2.4

1:2.2

20+

20+

1871: Class V: Industrial Sections 10-15 (incl). Details below

4540	10895	4388	9653
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1901: Sections IX Mines, Quarries; X Metals, Machines, Implements, Conveyances; XI Precious Metals, Jewels etc; XII Building & Works of Construction; XIII Wood Furniture, Fittings, Cabinet Making, Decoration; XIV Brick, Cement, Pottery, Glass; XV Chemical Oil, Grease, Soap, Resin; XVI Skins, Leather, Hair, Feathers; XVII Paper, Prints, Books, Stationers; XVIII Textile Fabrics; XIX Dress; XX Food, Tobacco, Drink, Lodging; XXI Gas, Water, Electric Supply, Sanitary Service.

1871: Section: 10 Engaged in Art & Mechanical Production;

11 Textiles, Fabric, Dress; 12 Food & Drink

13 In Animal Substances; 14 In Vegetable

Substances; 15 In Minerals

Chapter 3: Appendix I, Table 3: Comparison: Brighton/Portsmouth

1871, 1901

Source: 1901 *Population Census*: Vol: Dorset to Leicestershire (Portsmouth); Rutland to York (Brighton) Table 35 in each.

Chapter 3, Appendix I, Table 4

		BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
Conveyance:	Method (i)	870	743
	Method (ii)	1229	1387
	Average:	1050	1065
Agriculture:	Method (i)	508	326
	Method (ii)	321	240
	Average:	415	283
Industry:	Method (i)	4540	3448
	Method (ii)	4540	4388
	Average:	4540	3918
Labourers/ Undefined	Method (i)	820	740
	Method (ii)	579	505
	Average:	700	623

Chapter 3: Appendix I, Table 4: Averages Of The Two Methods For
The 10-19 Age-Group

Selected Occupational Groupings, 1871

Source: Population Census, 1871

Chapter 3:Appendix II:Population Census,1901:Occupational
Analysis

STATISTICS:MALE OCCUPATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO FEMALE
OCCUPATIONS WHERE SIGNIFICANT;

P=PORTSMOUTH,B=BRIGHTON.M=MALE,F=FEMALE

	M	F		M	F
ALL AGES:P	91069	97064	U10:P	19376	19303
B	54210	69268	B	11389	11684
			10+ P	71693	77761
			B	42821	57584

TOTAL OCCUPIED AND UNOCCUPIED:

		10+	15+	25+	45+	65+
P	MALE	9008	19530	26296	13161	3698
	FEMALE	9423	18856	29447	14922	5113
B	MALE	5632	10237	15435	8694	2823
	FEMALE	5872	14037	21353	12021	4301

I.GENERAL OR LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY

1.NATIONAL

GOVT.	P	45	240	361	180	7
	B	59	150	173	60	2

2.LOCAL

GOVT.	P	0	67	373	80	6
	B	1	42	201	67	10

II.DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY

1.ARMY

(AT HOME)	P	5	649	1526	250	60
	B	0	268	211	67	31

2.NAVY/

MARINES ASHORE AND IN PORT

	P	16	5866	5468	553	74
	B	0	11	7	12	5

III PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS AND THEIR SUBORDINATE SERVICES

1.CLERICAL	P	0	10	89	72	37
	B	0	0	104	96	43
2.LEGAL	P	6	71	80	24	7
	B	13	112	144	62	14
3.MEDICAL	P	0	18	92	63	14
	B	0	15	127	94	22
4.TEACHING	P	11	182	153	57	2
	B	6	99	170	61	6
5.LITERARY & SCIENTIFIC	P	0	16	19	9	2
	B	0	12	52	21	7
6.ENGINEERS & SURVEYORS	P	0	13	26	17	3
	B	0	13	41	23	2
7 & 8 ART,MUSIC,DRAMA ETC	P	4	137	258	110	16
	B	9	171	362	164	30

FEMALES IN III:	UNMARRIED	MARRIED/WIDOWED
P	1483	409
B	1624	396

Chapter 3: Appendix II (contd)

	10+	15+	25+	45+	65+
<u>IV. DOMESTIC OFFICES OR SERVICES</u>					
<u>1. DOMESTIC INDOOR SERVICE</u>					
P	30	139	99	32	4
B	42	268	258	108	15
<u>2. DOMESTIC OUTDOOR SERVICE</u>					
P	2	35	94	55	7
B	5	83	209	109	25
<u>3. OTHER SERVICES E.G. CHARWOMAN</u>					
P	13	119	191	157	23
B	1	90	211	147	26

FEMALES EMPLOYED IN IV:

	UNMARRIED	MARRIED/WIDOW
P	7653	2341
B	9701	2854

V. COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

<u>1. MERCHANTS, AGENTS, ACCOUNTANTS</u>					
P	1	53	306	164	25
B	0	52	395	233	37
<u>2. COMMERCIAL OR BUSINESS CLERKS</u>					
P	31	369	298	102	11
B	44	484	413	122	17
<u>3&4. DEALERS IN MONEY. INSURANCE</u>					
P	2	80	217	108	18
B	2	78	174	86	12

VI. CONVEYANCE OF MEN, GOODS AND MESSAGES

<u>1. ON RAILWAYS</u>					
P	4	199	355	131	12
B	6	353	635	258	29
<u>2. ON ROADS</u>					
P	20	528	844	334	45
B	11	512	1157	597	86
<u>3. ON SEAS, RIVERS & CANALS</u>					
P	7	230	544	340	33
B	0	21	74	51	14
<u>4. IN DOCKS, HARBOURS ETC</u>					
P	2	25	99	101	4
B	0	7	11	7	1
<u>5. STORAGE, PORTERAGE, MESSAGES</u>					
P	592	668	270	177	16
B	449	708	349	188	39

VII. AGRICULTURE

P	11	83	124	168	59
B	7	111	206	180	68

VIII. FISHING

P	3	33	79	37	15
B	2	44	94	64	11

IX. MINES & QUARRIES

P	0	35	65	37	10
B	2	13	51	40	8

Chapter 3: Appendix II (contd)

	10+	15+	25+	45+	65+
<u>X. METALS, MACHINES, IMPLEMENTS & CONVEYANCES</u>					
<u>1&2. IRON&STEEL ETC MANUFACTURE</u>					
P	0	3	2	1	0
B	0	0	0	2	0
<u>3. ENGINEERING AND MACHINE-MAKING</u>					
<u>IRONFOUNDERS</u>					
P	0	40	39	28	2
B	2	34	46	25	3
<u>BLACKSMITHS/STRIKERS</u>					
P	9	280	374	226	18
B	7	114	149	80	17
<u>ERECTORS, FITTERS, TURNERS</u>					
P	7	570	910	361	5
B	1	160	183	70	10
<u>OTHERS (INCL. P 650 B 244 MALE BOILERMAKERS)</u>					
P	12	455	639	340	15
B	10	215	294	173	13
<u>4. TOOLS</u>					
P	0	5	8	6	2
B	0	5	11	1	4
<u>5, 6, 7. ARMS, MISC. METAL TRADES</u>					
P	1	38	73	50	6
B	5	54	86	61	7
<u>8. SHIPS AND BOATS</u>					
P	11	750	1534	1055	22
B	0	3	6	5	3
<u>9. VEHICLES</u>					
P	6	176	138	75	5
B	19	284	370	159	31
<u>10. DEALERS</u>					
P	4	79	81	33	2
B	6	50	68	24	4
<u>XI. PRECIOUS METALS, JEWELS ETC.</u>					
P	5	178	296	86	13
B	21	383	374	107	18
<u>XII. BUILDING & WORKS OF CONSTRUCTION</u>					
P	80	2063	2766	1344	173
B	72	1332	2316	1404	238
<u>XIII. WOOD FURNITURE, FITTINGS, DECORATIONS, CABINET MAKING</u>					
P	13	287	376	225	38
B	21	271	465	263	57
<u>XIV. BRICK, CEMENT, POTTERY, GLASS</u>					
P	10	97	137	44	12
B	3	19	29	16	7
<u>XV. CHEMICALS, OIL, GREASE, SOAP, RESIN</u>					
P	2	59	92	58	10
B	5	84	125	54	18

contd..

Chapter 3: Appendix II (contd)						
	10+	15+	25+	45+	65+	
<u>XVI. SKINS, LEATHER, HAIR, FEATHERS</u>						
P	1	52	65	47	5	
B	3	26	59	32	14	
<u>XVII. PAPER, PRINTS, BOOKS, STATIONERS</u>						
P	17	224	269	99	15	
B	33	293	391	159	26	
<u>XVIII. TEXTILE FABRICS</u>						
P	8	155	195	81	12	
B	8	146	199	84	13	
<u>XIX. DRESS</u>						
P	63	588	826	401	132	
B	13	365	631	385	112	
<u>FEMALE:</u>		UNMARRIED		MARRIED/WIDOWED		
P		5071			1482	
B		2540			728	
<u>XX. FOOD, TOBACCO, DRINK, LODGING</u>						
P	96	1410	2140	1123	158	
B	85	1400	2294	1028	173	
<u>XXI. GAS, WATER, ELECTRICITY SUPPLY, SANITARY SERVICE</u>						
P	2	43	199	81	18	
B	0	42	123	78	6	
<u>XXII. OTHER, GENERAL, UNDEFINED WORKERS & DEALERS</u>						
P	66	964	2334	1741	126	
B	26	429	908	563	98	
<u>XXIII. WITHOUT SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS OR UNOCCUPIED</u>						
1. RETIRED FROM BUSINESS						
P	0	22	396	1894	1963	
B	0	3	49	463	851	
2. LIVING ON OWN MEANS						
P	0	28	139	255	224	
B	0	42	277	423	355	
3. OTHERS AGED 10 YEARS AND UPWARDS INCL. STUDENTS						
P	7790	1099	238	149	212	
B	4633	756	163	118	185	

Chapter 3: Appendix II: Condensed List of Occupations, Brighton
and Portsmouth, 1901

Source: 1901 Population Census: Vols: Dorset to
Leicestershire (Portsmouth); Rutland to York
(Brighton); Table 35 in each; analysis of 5 age
groups, 10 years and upwards

Chapter 3:Appendix III 1931 CENSUS OF ENGLAND AND
WALES:Occupational Analysis

STATISTICS:MALE OCCUPATIONSFEMALES ADDED HERE WHERE NUMBERS
ARE SIGNIFICANT

	BRIGHTON		PORTSMOUTH	
	M	F	M	F
TOTAL POPULATION	65677	81750	120065	129218
UNDER 14	14032	13793	29217	28542
AGED 14 AND OVER	51645	67957	90848	100676
OPERATIVES IN WORK	32985	19590	63458	22115
OPERATIVES OUT OF WORK	4026	1637	7157	1858

FOR SECTIONS I-XXXI BELOW:

OCCUPIED OVER 14 45230 79156

XXXII:

UNOCCUPIED/RETIRED 14+ 6415 11692

SECTIONS:

I.	FISHERMEN	129	71
II.	AGRICULTURAL OCCS.	1195	522
III.	MINING & QUARRYING	28	34
IV.	WORKERS IN TREATMENT OF NON-METALLIFEROUS MINE & QUARRY PRODUCTS	28	95
V.	MAKERS OF BRICKS, POTTERY, GLASS	101	180
VI.	WORKERS IN CHEMICAL PROCESSES, MAKERS OF PAINTS, OILS ETC.	50	32
VII.	METAL WORKERS, OF	3735	8212
	WHICH FOUNDRY WORKERS	114	214
	FITTERS	1263	3060
	RIVETTERS	50	103
	COPPERSMITHS	14	153
	BOILERMAKERS, PLATERS, IRON SHIPWRIGHTS	76	1683
	BOILERMAKERS' & PLATERS' LABOURERS	11	218
VIII.	WORKERS IN PRECIOUS METALS & ELECTRO-PLATE	85	32
IX.	ELECTRICAL APPARATUS MAKERS FITTERS	1374	1787
X.	MAKERS OF WATCHES, CLOCKS SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS	129	107

Chapter3:Appendix III (contd)

	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
XI. WORKERS IN SKINS, LEATHER AND MAKERS OF LEATHER	50	66
XII. TEXTILE WORKERS	45	47
XIII. MAKERS OF TEXTILE GOODS, ARTICLES OF DRESS	741 (f1250)	1056(f3448)
XIV. MAKERS OF FOOD, DRINKS & TOBACCO	735	932
XV. WORKERS: WOOD/FURNITURE INCLUDING:	2014	2953
CABINET MAKERS	127	247
PATTERN MAKERS	6	76
SHIPWRIGHTS/BOAT/ BARGE BUILDERS(WOOD)	1	35
XVI. PAPER & CARDBOARD WORKERS	55	45
XVII. PRINTERS & PHOTOGRAPHERS	585	536
XVIII. BUILDERS, BRICKLAYERS, STONE & SLATE WORKERS, CONTRACTORS	2463	2966
XIX. PAINTERS & DECORATORS	1874	2066
XX. WORKERS: OTHER MATERIALS	50	62
XXI. WORKERS IN MIXED/UNDEFINED MATERIALS, OF WHICH BUILDERS SHIPS & BOATS	236	616
OF THESE BUILDERS:		
SHIPWRIGHTS	3	414
OTHER SKILLED WKRS	0	174
REMAINDER: EMPLOYERS, FOREMEN, MANAGERS	2	198
XXII. PERSONS EMPLOYED IN TRANSPORT & COMMS. INCL.	6010	8286
RLWY. TRANSPT. WKRS.	1048	648
of these: Loco Eng. Dvrs	(226)	(120)
ROAD TRANSPT. WKRS.	2876	3353
of these: vanboys/vgds	(101)	(133)
MESSENGERS	680	1541
PORTERS	739	433
XXIII. COMMERCIAL, FINC, INS	8193(f3694)	9792(f5051)
XXIV. PUBLIC ADMIN./DEFENCE	1000	18024
XXV. PROFESSIONAL OCCS.	1582(f2238)	1950(f2330)
XXVI. PERSONS PROF. EMPLOYED: ENTERT'MENTS/SPORT	731	615

Chapter3:Appendix III (contd)

	BRIGHTON	PORTSMOUTH
XXVII. PERSONS ENGAGED IN PERSONAL SERVICE	3900(f12824)	3440(f11199)
XXVIII. CLERKS/DRAUGHTSMEN	2905	3165
XXIX. WAREHOUSEMEN/PACKERS/ STOREKEEPERS	681	1143
XXX. STATIONARY ENGINE DRIVERS, DYNAMO & MOTOR ATTENDANTS	215	593
XXXI. OTHER & UNDEFINED WKRS 4311		9791
INCL.		
GENERAL LABOURERS	1841	3862
LABOURERS	478	1018
OTHER UNSKILLED WKRS		
(CLASS OF WORK SPECIFIED)	1276	2702
OUT OF WORK	258	329
XXXII.		
RETIRED OR NOT GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	6415(f43540)	11692 (f73741)
INCL.		
STUDENTS IN EDUC. INSTITUTIONS	1024	2127
OTHER PERSONS FOR WHOM NO GAINFUL OCC. STATED	1738	1794

Chapter 3:Appendix III:1931 Census of England and Wales
Occupation tables

Source: *Population Census, 1931, England and Wales*

Table 16: Occupational Tables for aged 14 and over

Statistics are for males except that females are added where
their numbers are significant

Chapter 3:Appendix IV

Occupation 1st place	Number	2nd place worked as	3rd place worked as	Comments
Errand,milk, paper,pier brasier boys	50	Errand Boys 20..... In trades 18 House wkrs 5..... PO messgers 3 Van boys 1 Office Boy 1 Army Band 1 Tramway Boy 1	10 8 3 Theatre Service 1 1	7 boys had 4 sits., 2 being trades.One errand boy chgd place 6 times
House & Page Boys	6	House & Page Boys 2..... Errand Boys 2..... Trades 2.....	 1 2 1	2 boys had 4 places viz 1 as house boy and the other as tram boy
Office Boys	22	Office Boys 13..... Trades 6..... Errand Boy 1..... Music Dealer 1 Sugar Dealer 1	2 1 1 1	One boy went as laboratory boy for a 4th situation
Engineers	4	Engineers 2 Clerk 1 Shop Asst. 1	 1	
Trades	18*	Trades 12..... Errand Boys 4 House Boy 1 Office Boy 1	2 1	One trades boy changed place 4 times

100

100

32*

It seems that the
remaining 68 have
kept their 2nd
situations - no
reports received

* In 3 cases boys who went to learn trades reported that they were only used to do errands.One boy left a trade because his father refused to have him bound as an apprentice.

Chapter 3:Appendix IV:Trades Taken Up By Boys Who Have
Changed Their Situations Once or More During the 14-17
Period

Source: BRL:SB 040 B76:Report of Juvenile Employment
Sub-Committee year ending July 31st,1915

Chapter 4:Appendix I

Table 1

BOYS

AGE	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20
TOTAL	1,536,464	1,350,819	1,220,770	1,084,713
1)	222,259	978,498	620,289	51,635
2)	1,314,205	360,810	208,240	52,203
3)	-	11,511	392,241	980,875

Appendix I:Table 1:E & W:Number of Boys of Different Ages
Distinguishing:1)Scholars,2)Boys at Home and Others
of no Stated Occupation,3)Those Engaged in Occupations

Source: Population Census,1871 Vol IV:appendix A to
Report:Table 105 England and Wales (E&W)

Appendix I:Table 2

To Every 100 Boys of Different Ages 1871,the Proportional

	<u>Number of:</u>			
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20
1)	14.47	72.44	50.81	4.76
2)	85.53	26.71	17.06	4.81
3)	-	0.85	32.13	90.43

Appendix I:Table 2:The proportional Number of Boys to Every
100 of Different Ages,1871

Source: as above,Table 106;key as above

Chapter 4:Appendix II

INFORMATION	1	2	3	4
a.Schools now in receipt of Annual Grants from Educ. Dept.	32	5996	3645	5184
b.Schools not receiving such Grants but which will be conducted as PES, seeking annual aid.	7	836	448	549
c Schools which will not seek Annual Aid.	4	444	311	421
d.Private Adventure Schools.	38	1132	767	902
e.Schools which with improvements might be recognised as efficient.	6	760	450	640
f.School contemplated and soon to be erected.	1	168	-	-
Totals	88	9336	5621	7696

KEY:1 = NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
2 = ACCOMMODATION
3 = AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
4 = NUMBER ON ROLL
PES = PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Chapter 4:Appendix II:Results of 1871 Education Survey of Brighton

Source: ESRO:R/E2/1/6 School Board Minutes,1871-2

Chapter 4:Appendix III

BOYS			
PAYING	12/6	PER TERM	107
"	15/-	" "	16
"	£1 1s	" "	288
"	£1 11s 6d	" "	54
"	£2 2s	" "	3
JUNIOR SCHOLARS -	1st YEAR		27
	2nd YEAR		17
	3rd YEAR		19
INTERMEDIATE SCHOLARS			--
' 'FREE' 'SCHOLARS			29
' 'BURSARIES' '			12
TOTAL			572

Chapter 4:Appendix III:Number of Male Pupils,Brighton
Municipal SchoolVarious Scales of Fees and Scholarships,
December 1908

Source: BRL:SB 370.6 B76 Education Committee,Annual Report
1909

Chapter 4:Appendix IV

	<u>AVERAGE NO.ON</u> <u>REGISTERS</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u> <u>ATTENDANCE</u>	<u>% OF ATTENDANCE</u>
INTERMEDIATE			
BOYS	505	476	94.3
BOYS	1717	1581	92.1
SENIOR MIXED	398	369	93.0
JUNIOR MIXED	4293	3947	91.9
		ATTENDANCE (BOTH SEXES)	90.4

Chapter 4:Appendix IV:Attendance of Children at Brighton
Public Elementary Schools,year ending 31/8/1939,Boys/ Mixed
Source: ESRO:R/E2/3/37 Agendas/Reports

Chapter 4:Appendix V

CIRCUS ST	32	MIDDLE ST	48
DITCHLING RD	48	PELHAM ST	44
ELM GROVE	33	PRESTON RD	28
FINSBURY RD	52	QUEEN'S PARK	14
HANOVER TERRACE	20	STANFORD RD	39
LEWES RD	38	YORK PLACE	124
RICHMOND ST	29		
		TOTAL	549

Chapter 4:Appendix V:Number of Boys Presented For
Examination in Manual Instruction at 6/- or 7/- Per
Head,1903-4

Source: ESRO:R/E2/2/1 Education Committee Minutes,1903-4

Chapter 4:Appendix VI

<u>NUMBERS OF PUPILS PER AGE GROUP</u>						
<u>UNDER 12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18+</u>
15	40	80	82	44	18	2

235 OF THE 281 PUPILS WERE FROM BRIGHTON

BOYS' PARENTS' CLASS IN LIFE

PROFESSIONAL	32
RETAIL TRADERS	114
FARMERS	5
CLERKS ETC.	70
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL MASTERS	7
ARTISANS ETC.	53
	<u>281</u>

Chapter 4:Appendix VI:Number of Pupils at York Place Higher
Grade and Secondary School,November 1904
Source: ESRO:R/E2/7/1 Higher Schools Sub-Committee Minutes
Containing HMI Report for the above school

Chapter 4:Appendix VII

AGES	1	2	3	4	TOTAL
UNDER 14	2	28	123	11	164
14-15	37	14	281	60	392
15-16	77	27	226	12	342
16-17	113	29	164	6	312
17-18	109	22	92	13	236
18-19	105	25	55	7	192
19-20	108	22	62	9	201
20-21	92	19	58	9	178
21+	490	129	369	66	1054
TOTAL	1133	315	1430	193	3071
OF WHICH					
FROM					
BRIGHTON	931	266	1286	190	2673

KEY:1= MUNICIPAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE;2= SCHOOL OF ART;
3= YORKPLACE;4= ELM GROVE

Chapter 4:Appendix VII:Ages of Students Attending Evening
Schools,1908-9 Session

Source: BRL:SB 370.6 B76 Appendix,Table 5
Education Committee *Annual Report*,1910

Chapter 4:Appendix VIII

UNDER 12	102
12-13	96
13-14	131
14-15	107
15-16	95
16-17	36
17+	1
	<hr/> 568

Chapter 4:Appendix VIII:Number of Male Pupils Attending
Brighton Municipal Secondary School By Age,1908-9 Session

Source: BRL:SB 370.6 B76,Table 13
Education Committee *Annual Report*,1909

Chapter 4:Appendix IX

MECHANICAL ENGINEERING TRADES	131
ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING TRADES	123
CARPENTERS, JOINERS, CABINET MAKERS	49
PORTERS AND TELEGRAPH MESSENGERS	70
COACH BUILDERS	6

Chapter 4:Appendix IX:Examples of Occupations of Students
Attending Evening Classes at the Municipal Technical College
1907-8 Session

Source: BRL:SB 370.6 B76, Table 8
Education Committee Annual Report 1909

Chapter 4:Appendix X

No child shall be required to attend a Public Elementary School (PES) if:

- a)the child is under efficient instruction in some other manner;
- b)the child is prevented by sickness or any unavoidable cause;
- c)there is no PES...within distance of one mile;
- d)the child has attained the age of 10 years and approved in the Fourth Standard of education.

Two decades on,the School Board Manual,1894,continued to point to exemptions:

- a)a child between 11 and 13 [1902:12] shall not be required to attend school if such child has received a certificate from one of HMIs of Schools that it has reached the Fifth Standard prescribed by the 1876 Code;
- b)a child between 11 and 13 [1902:12] years of age, shown to the satisfaction of the Local Authorities to be beneficially and necessarily employed,shall not be required to attend school for more than five attendances in each week during which the school is open,if such a child has received a certificate from one of HMIs that it has reached the Third Standard prescribed by the Code of 1876.

Chapter 4:Appendix X:Attendance ByeLaws,Portsmouth,1871,1894
Source: PCRO:1871:G/SB/1/1;1894,1902:138/19/2/2/1-2

Chapter 4:Appendix XI

DIVISIONS	SCHOOLS	NO.SCHEDULED BY DIVISIONAL COMMITTEES	
		PARENTS	CHILDREN
NORTHERN	BUCKLAND	30	42
	STAMSHAW	7	13
	CONWAY ST	5	10
	CHURCH ST	38	47
CENTRAL	PORTS'TH TOWN	23	47
	KENT ST	8	14
	ARUNDEL ST	20	36
	FRATTON	42	60
SOUTHERN	SWAN ST	24	39
	COTTAGE GROVE	16	32
	ALBERT RD	19	38
	MILTON	4	5
		236	383

Appendix XI:Legal Action Against Parents for Children's
Non-Attendance,Portsmouth,February 1881

Source: PCRO:G/SB/2/7:Minutes Oct 1880-Feb 1882,p 142

Chapter 5:Appendix I

Table 1

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE	TOTAL EXPENDITURE OF WHICH WAGES					
	£	s	d	£	s	d
A MAINTENANCE OF WAY, WORKS ETC.	99,598	5	9	32,582	16	9
B LOCOMOTIVE POWER	172,499	2	11	79,018	19	6
C REPAIRS & RENEWALS CARR/WAGS	55,312	1	10	22,240	15	5
D TRAFFIC EXPENSES	178,917	7	3	WAGES/SALARIES		
				123,636	0	1
E GENERAL CHARGES	22,783	5	9	SALARIES		
				10,433	5	8

Appendix I:Table Abstract of Accounts (Half-Year Ending
30/6/1893)

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 CODE 4

Table 2

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE	TOTAL EXPENDITURE OF WHICH WAGES					
	£	s	d	£	s	d
A MAINTENANCE/RENEWAL OF WAY,WORKS ETC	933,847	19	8	260,194	3	9
B MAINTENANCE/RENEWAL ROLLING STOCK						
1.LOCOMOTIVES	458,117	8	11	162,030	10	5
2.CARRIAGES	284,606	12	8	126,311	8	8
3.WAGONS	100,128	0	6	40,241	4	2
C LOCO RUNNING EXPENSES	1,136,796	9	5	493,466	9	3
D TRAFFIC EXPENSES	1,554,969	0	0	WAGES & SALARIES		
				1,197,262	1	2
E GENERAL CHARGES	162,444	5	3	SALARIES ONLY - NOT GIVEN		
F EXPENSES:COLLECTION /DELIVERY OF GOODS, PARCELS	90,164	12	6	WAGES & SALARIES		
				53,288	11	11

Appendix I:Table 2:Financial Accounts:Abstracts for Whole
Year,1922

Source: PRO:RAIL 414 CODE 5

Chapter 5:Appendix II

1.DETAILS OF SUMMARY GIVEN IN THESIS CHAPTER

DEPT.	TOTAL NUMBER	MALE		FEMALE	
		A	J	A	J
		%		%	
CARR.& WAGON	2144	85.4	12.3	1.9	0.4
ENGINEERS	5328	98.3	1.3	0.4	-
GOODS	2916	87.1	11.2	1.7	-
LOCOMOTIVE	6652	88.9	10.8	0.3	-
STORES	254	75.2	15.8	8.2	0.8
TRAFFIC	8513	90.5	5.9	3.4	0.2

THESE AND OTHERS TOTAL:

29696 90.8 7.0 2.0 0.2

KEY:A=ADULT;J=JUNIOR

2.WORKSHOP STAFF (MALE FIGS EXTRACTED)

DEPT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ADULT:				JUNIOR:			
CARR/WAGON	1175	238	66	1479	165	18	183	1662
DOCKS	119	76	32	227	3	-	3	230
ELECTRICAL	49	20	138	207	3	7	10	217
ENGINEERS	800	513	122	1435	19	-	19	1454
GOODS	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	2
HORSE	12	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
LOCOMOTIVE	1552	217	60	1829	192	-	192	2021
MARINE	218	72	12	302	33	-	33	335
STORES	9	-	5	14	32	-	32	46
TRAFFIC	7	2	-	9	1	-	1	10
LSW STAFF	3942	1138	435	5515	449	25	474	5989
JOINT ST.	48	40	6	94	-	-	-	94
TOTAL	3990	1178	441	5609	449	25	474	6083

KEY:

- 1 MECHANIC
- 2 LABOURER
- 3 MISCELLANEOUS
- 4 TOTAL - ADULTS

U18 JUNIOR:

- 5 APPRENTICES AND SHOP LADS
- 6 MISCELLANEOUS
- 7 TOTAL JUNIORS
- 8 TOTAL MALE STAFF

Appendix II:LSWR Census of Staff,January 1st,1921

Extracts from the Statistics

Source: PRO:RAIL:411 CODE 673: LSWR CENSUS OF STAFF JAN 1ST
1921 Sections A & J

It can be calculated from Table 2 that junior males were
15.6% of total males employed in the Workshops.

Chapter 6:Appendix 1

The Curriculum of the Dockyard School, Portsmouth, 1904

UPPER SCHOOL

UPPER DIVISION (3RD AND 4TH YRS):

Descriptive Geometry	1½hrs
Analytical Conics	1½
Theoretical Mechanics	2
Physics and Chemistry	1
Applied Mechanics	3
Calculus	2

11 hrs weekly	

LOWER DIVISION (2ND YR):

Geometry	1½hrs
Statics	1½
Algebra	1 1/4
French	1½
Hydrostatics	1½
Trigonometry	1½
Physics and Chemistry	2 1/4

11 hrs weekly	

LOWER DIVISION (1ST YR):

French	3
Statics and Hydrostatics	3
Trigonometry	2
History and Geography	1
Mensuration	1
Physics and Chemistry	1
-	
11 hrs weekly	

LOWER SCHOOL

Mensuration & Euclid	2hrs
Algebra & Physics	2
-	
4 hrs weekly	

Further Notes: Instruction in English subjects became discontinued in the Lower School but papers were set at the annual examination in Geography, English, History, English Composition and Dictation.

Instruction in Professional subjects was given (to 4th year apprentices only) in the Drawing Offices in the Dockyard and was not included in the curriculum of the Schools.

Chapter 6:Appendix I:The Curriculum of the Dockyard School, Portsmouth

1904

Source: PRO:ED 53 Code 430 LEA Files on Secondary Education Provision 1898-1919, Portsmouth.

Chapter 6:Appendix II

SUBJECTS		MARKS
*ARITHMETIC		300
ENGLISH		
	*HANDWRITING	40
	*ACCURACY & INTELLIGENCE - WRITING FROM DICTATION	60
	*COMPOSITION	100
	GRAMMAR	150
		350
FRENCH		
	TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH	100
	GRAMMAR	50
		150
GEOGRAPHY		100
ALGEBRA		300
GEOMETRY		300
		<u>1500</u>

*Candidates failing in these subjects would be failed overall.

Chapter 6:Appendix II:The Examination for Engineering
Students,Royal Dockyards,1880 (1879 Regulations)

Source: PRO:ADM 116 Code 188

Chapter 6:Appendix III
Analysis of Parentage

FROM THE SERVICE:14 in total

One each of a retired naval captain,
assistant engineer,chief carpenter,Dockyard clerk,
constructor,ship's steward;8 were sons of Chief Engineers.

FROM OUTSIDE THE SERVICE:24 in total

One each of grocer,cashier,accountant,
professor of music,journalist,aerated water manufacturer,
licensed victualler,hotel keeper,captain (merchant
service),land agent,master pilot,clerk of works,master
tailor,farmer,clerk in Inland Revenue,Clergyman;additionally
there were 3 wine merchants,2 school masters,3 civil
engineers.

Chapter 6:Appendix III:Analysis of Parentage of Engineering
Students 1883-4

Source: PRO:ADM 116 Code 268

Chapter 6:Appendix IV

'Know all men,by these Presents,that ____ who has been admitted as an Apprentice to ____ at HM Dockyard at ____ in the county of ____ for the purpose of learning and practising the art or occupation of Naval Engineering and ____ of ____ are held and family bound to our Sovereign Lady,the Queen,her heirs and successors in the sum of £300...' Bond

'The apprenticeship is for 'the purpose of learning and practising the art or occupation of Naval Engineering,for a term of 6 years,to be extended to 7 years'...if a Certificate of Fitness is not obtained after 6 years.

The apprentice had to be aged 14 or upwards and had to 'most faithfully and industriously serve and obey his said master'.

Chapter 6:Appendix IV:Engineering Student's Apprenticeship Indenture Exemplar,1880's (Extracts)

Source: PRO:ADM 116 Code 268

Chapter 6: Appendix V

HOW OCCUPIED	TIME SPENT: YRS	MTHS
Fitting Shop	1	9
Afloat	0	3
Coppersmith Shop	0	3
Foundry	0	2
Boiler Shop	0	4
Pattern Shop	0	3
Fitting & Erecting Shop	1	6
Hulls of Ships	0	6
Drawing Office	0	3
Erecting Shop	0	3
	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 0

Chapter 6: Appendix V: Allocation of Engineering Students' Time
Over a Six Year Period, 1880's

Source: PRO:ADM 116 Code 268

Chapter 7:Appendix I

Extracts from the Proposition and Entry Book of the
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Cabinet Makers and Joiners
1876-1897 (Extracts Represent those Individuals Commencing
Work in the Trade as Teenagers):15th February 1876 - 21st
October 1879

<u>AGE:NEAREST YEAR</u>	<u>YEARS IN TRADE</u>	<u>STARTING AGE IN TRADE</u>
26	10	16
22	8	14
21	9	12
22	8	14
40	26	14
26	12	14
26	10	16
23	9	14
25	11	14
28	10	18
22	6	16
29	15	14
30	14	16
22	8	14
21	5	16
21	6	15
26	11	15
24	9	15
29	14	15
32	16	16
25	11	14
23	7	16
23	8	15
22	6	16
33	15	18
22	7	15

PERIOD JANUARY 28TH 1890 TO DECEMBER 31ST 1892

29	15	14
24	10	14
28	13	15
27	12	15
38	20	18
33	17	16
32	15	17
40	22	18
29	15	14
30	12	18
31	16	15
26	10	16
22	7	15
54	35	19
36	24	12
25	10	15
30	15	15
34	18	16
24	8	16
48	34	14
27	12	15
32	15	17

contd.

Chapter 7:Appendix I (contd)

SELECTED PERIOD JANUARY 28TH 1890 TO DECEMBER 31ST 1892

40	26	14
26	11	15
38	22	16
26	11	15
24	12	12
30	16	14
36	20	16
39	20	19
27	12	15
32	18	14
25	8	17
29	12	17
24	8	16
22	7	15
28	12	16
22	8	14
25	11	14

SELECTED PERIOD JANUARY 1ST 1889 TO NOVEMBER 30TH 1889

22	5	17
21	8	13
29	14	15
26	11	15
28	10	18
34	18	16
24	9	15
31	14	17
44	30	14
31	15	16
22	8	14
37	20	17
43	27	16
24	6	18
40	23	17
25	8	17
34	16	18
29	10	19
35	19	16
39	22	17
28	12	16
25	10	15
32	17	15

Chapter 7:Appendix I:Extracts From Proposition and Entry
Book of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters,Cabinet Makers
and Joiners 1876-1897 (Extracts Represent those Individuals
Commencing Work in the Trade as Teenagers):Period 15th Feb,
1876 to 21st October,1879

Source:BRI:SB 331.88 AMA

Chapter 7:Appendix II

TRADE	NUMBER EMPLOYED
Builders including Clerks of Works/Foremen	324
Carpenters/Wood Machinists	804
Plumbers/Heating Engineers	448
Bricklayers/Labourers	415
Plasterers/Labourers	222
Masons/Labourers	58
Painters/Decorators	1557
Glaziers/Tilers etc	38
Builders'Labourers	352
Miscellaneous	274
Total	4492
Total Male Population aged 12 or above	49637
% Occupied in Building	9

Chapter 7:Appendix II:Employment in Building Trades
Brighton,1928

Source: PRO:ED 114 Piece No.904 HMI *Report on the Day and Evening Courses in Building,Commerce and Housecraft at Brighton Municipal College,July,1928,section A*

Chapter 7:Appendix III

Barnes;Bostel Bros;Botting;Brown & Sons;Cornford;Field & Co.;Lynn & Sons;Saunders &Son;Taylor;Vaughan;Wilson; Patching & Son;Howard;Winter;Fisher (deceased);Wright (deleted).

Chapter 7:Appendix III:Building Firms Named in the
Vacant Book of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters,
Cabinet Makers and Joiners - Brighton Branch 1895-1900

Source: BRL:SB 331.88 AMA

Chapter 7:Appendix IV

Southern Publishing Company

Moulton and Co.

W.Pettett and Co.

Brighton Herald

King,Thorne and Stace

Brighton Gazette

Trill and Sons

Pike and Co.

Guardian and Society Press
(closed in 1909)

Pell and Sons

Smith's Printing Works

Farncombe's,Kemp Town

Robinson Printing Works
(closed 1909)

South Coast Programmes Co.

Garnett,Fisher and Mephram

Caxton Printing Works

Chapter 7:Appendix IV:Printing Businesses in Brighton
June 1st,1909

Source: BRL:SB 331.88 TIP - Typographical Association -
Brighton Branch

Chapter 7:Appendix Va
Trades Entered By, and Openings For, Boys in Brighton
Year Ending, August 31st 1913

BOYS	1	2	3	4
LEARNERS:				
BUILDING	11	9	10	30
ENG.	14	21	16	51
TINSMITHING	2	8	6	16
OTHERS IN WIRE				
ETC.	1	-	1	2
PAPER PRINTING	5	5	2	12
BOX-MAKING	1	-	-	1
RELIEF STAMPING	-	-	1	1
UMBRELLA MKING	1	-	-	1
TAILORING	2	3	1	6
HOSIERY	-	-	2	2
HAIRDRESSING	3	-	1	4
BOOT/SHOE MKG	-	-	3	3
BAKING	2	-	2	4
BUTCHERING	3	-	3	6
CHEF	3	1	1	5
		(£10 PREM)	(£10 PREM)	
GROCERS	-	-	2	2
PAWNBROKERS	1	1	2	4
WATCHMAKING	1	1	-	2
SURGICAL INST.				
MAKING	-	1	-	1
UPHOLSTERING	1	3	-	4
CABINET MKNG	-	2	4	6
BILLIARD TABLE				
MAKING	1 (HOME)	-	-	1
FURNISHING	1	-	2	3
PICTURE FRAME				
MKNG	1	-	1	2
PHOTOGRAPHY	-	-	1	1
CARRIAGE MKG	2	-	1	3
" " TRIMMING	2	-	-	2
COACH PAINTING	1	-	1	2
DENTIST MECHNC	1	-	3	4
GARDENING	2	1	1	4
TOY MAKING	1	1	4	6
UNDEFINED	3	-	-	3
FLORIST	-	-	1	1
OTHERS:				
OFFICE BOYS	36	47	12	95
ERRAND BOYS/				
SHOP PORTERS	91	49	164	304
PO MESSENGERS	-	23	12	35
TRAMWAY SERVICE	-	1	3	4
DOMESTICS	13	12	61	86
GARAGE, VAN,				
STABLE BOYS	-	5	10	15
PIER, GOAT CHAISE,				
STATION MSSNGRS	8	-	-	8
THEATRE SERVICE	-	3	6	9

<u>Chapter 7;Appendix Va (contd)</u>				
	1	2	3	4
OTHERS CONTD.				
SHOP ASSTS	1	3	-	4
FACTORY,BREWERY				
ETC.	-	2	11	13
BUULDERS' LABS	-	-	3	3
ORGAN BLOWER	-	-	1	1
ARTIST	-	-	1	1
TEMPORARY				
OFFICE,ERRANDS	-	-	23	23
TOTAL	215	202	379	796

3 GONE INTO NAVY

KEY:1.School children finding places independently
 2.Placed by bureau on leaving school
 3.Other placings up to 17 years of age
 4.Total

Chapter 7;Appendix Va:Trades Entered By,and Openings For,
Boys in Brighton,Year Ending August 31st,1913

Source: BRL:SB 370.6 B 76

Chapter 7:Appendix Vb

Boy Placings:Entries For:

3 WEEKS ENDING 17TH JANUARY:

Apprenticeships:Cabinet Maker 1,Letterpress Printer 1,Relief Stamper 1,Chef 1 (£10 Premium).

Non-apprenticeship PLacings Included:Van boy 1,GPO Messenger 1,Kitchen Boy 1,Builder's Yard Boy 1,Coal Merchant 1,Cycle Shop Asst. 1,Warehouse Asst. 1,Grocer's Assts. 3 - 1 with prospects,Hosier 1 (with prospects).

Three Weeks Ending Feb.1913:Apprenticeships and Learners:

Plumbers 2,Cabinet Maker 1,Printer 1,Jeweller 1,Tailor 1,Grocer 1,Engineers 10,Boot and Shoemaker's Improver 1

Four Weeks Ended 14th March 1913:

'The supply of office boys and junior clerks during the month has not been equal to the demand.'Age of boys placed in situations:37 @ 14,15 @ 15,14 @ 16.

Learners Placed:

Boilermakers 5,Cabinet Maker 1,Carpenter 2,Engineer 1,Fitter 1,Garage Worker 1,Pawnbroker 1,Steamhammer Boy 1,Tinworker 5,Zinc Worker 1

Four Weeks Ending June 13th:Apprenticeships and Learners:

Bootmaker 1,Book-binder 1,Carpenter 1,Chef 1 (£10 Premium),Dentist's Mechanic 1,Engineers 2,Plumbers 3,Shop Asst.1,Tailor 1,Upholsterer 1.

Entry For Year Ending August 1913:Report of Juvenile Sub-Committee:

School Leaving Cards received from 953 boys:215 found places for themselves;203 boys placed in the first situation through agency of the bureau.Of the remainder '400 are still in attendance at the elementary schools,whilst others have passed on to higher schools,have left the town,are helping at home,or are unfitted for employment.'

Twelve Weeks Ending September 12th:

Learners: Carpenter Improver 1,Engineers 11,Cabinet Makers 2,Dental Mechanic 1,Upholsterer 1,Watchmaker 1,Game Keeper 1,Plumbers 4,Printing Machine Minder 1,Tinsmiths 8,Iron Moulder 1,Hairdressers 2.

LAST ENTRY FOR 1913

Chapter 7:Appendix Vb:Employment Officer's Detailed Statement of Boy Placings,1913

Source: BRL:SB 370.6 B 76

Chapter 8:Appendix I

§ 17 The range of wages for adult agricultural labourers in Sussex:

12s to 15s for ordinary labourers
15s to 21s for shepherds

§ 25 Ordinary weekly earnings for a carter's family in Pulborough

16s 0d for a man
8s 0d for a boy of 16
6s 0d for a boy of 14
3s 0d for a boy of 13

33s 0d total income for family

§ 20 The weekly wages for the Duke of Wellington's employees at Basingstoke:

13s 6d for labourers
14s 6d for carters
15s 0d for cowmen/shepherds

§ 31 Hampshire: 'Boys of 12 or 13 years of age commonly start work at about 4s a week...probably adds 1s a week to his average by the extra money which he earns at harvest and other times...At 15 they usually get more...Carter lads... get 6/6 a week.'

Appendix 7:Wages for South Hampshire furnished by Messrs Smith and Moore, Surveyors, Land Agents, of Southampton and include Professor Long's figures for Romsey:

12s 0d for labourers
13s 0d for carters
16s 0d for cowmen
14s 6d for shepherds

Chapter 8:Appendix I:Examples of Agricultural Wages
Early 1890's:Sussex (Thakeham) and Hampshire (Basingstoke
Union

Source: 'Boy Labour in Agriculture' in *The Agricultural Labourer* Vol 1, Part 1, England, 1893
Royal Commission on Labour

Chapter 8:Appendix II

The DATE OF ENTRY column refers to the date on which the entry appeared in the Portsmouth Evening News

DATE OF ENTRY	NATURE OF APPRENTICESHIP
5/ 1/1878	A WELL-EDUCATED YOUTH WANTED AS AN APPRENTICE TO THE PRINTING TRADE
5/ 2/1878	AN APPRENTICE TO THE SADDLE AND HARNESS- MAKING BUSINESS
29/ 3/1878	AN APPRENTICE WANTED TO THE DIE-STAMPING AND ILLUMINATING TRADE:WILL HAVE A FIRST RATE OPPORTUNITY OF LEARNING THE STATIONERY BUSINESS
4/ 7/1888	AN APPRENTICE WANTED TO THE JOINERY TRADE
4/ 9/1888	PLUMBING AND PAINTING APPRENTICE WANTED; RESPECTABLE YOUTH WANTED AS AN APPRENTICE TO HAIRDRESSING AND ORNAMENTAL WORK
1/ 1/1895	APPRENTICE WANTED:A SMART GENTLEMANLY YOUTH AT GENTLEMEN'S MERCER; APPRENTICE - BOY OR GIRL - FOR COAT WORK
1/ 4/1901	APPRENTICES WANTED TO CABINET MAKER, UPHOLSTERER,FRENCH POLISHER
25/ 5/1901	APPRENTICESHIP: RESPECTABLE LAD WANTED FOR PAWNBROKING; APPRENTICESHIPS:2 SMART YOUTHS TO THOROUGHLY LEARN THE TRADE AS OUTFITTERS; APPRENTICE WANTED FOR WORKSHOP:GAS FITTER, WHITESMITH,BELLS AND GENERAL WORK IN IRONMONGERS

Chapter 8:Appendix II (contd)

DATE OF ENTRY	NATURE OF APPRENTICESHIP
24/ 6/1909	APPRENTICE CHEMIST WANTED -FINE OPPORTUNITY FOR A SMART WELL- EDUCATED YOUTH; 'GIVE YOUR BOY A TRADE' - W.T.WILLIAMS HAVE A VACANCY FOR AN INTELLIGENT LAD AS APPRENTICE IN THE MACHINE PRINTING DEPT.; SMART APPRENTICE TO GUN AND FISHING TACKLE TRADE
<hr/>	
1924	
3RD SEPTEMBER	APPRENTICE TO MOTOR AND GENERAL ENGINEERS IN COUNTRY GARAGE:PREMIUM REQUIRED
24TH SEPTEMBER	PAINTING,DECORATING AND SIGN-WRITING APPRENTICE REQUIRED 15-16
7TH OCTOBER	SMART LAD TO LEARN MOTOR PANEL AND WING MAKING
16TH OCTOBER	BOY REQUIRED WITH DRAWING APTITUDE TO LEARN PROFESSION - SMALL PREMIUM
<hr/>	
1939	
7TH MARCH	IMPROVERS AND APPRENTICES WANTED FOR SHOW CASE AND POSTERS; WANTED FOR BODYWORKS, MOTOR BODY BUILDER,PANEL BEATER,WELDER,SPRAYERS: 2 APPRENTICES

Chapter 8;Appendix II:Examples of Apprenticeships in
Portsmouth Businesses

Source: *Evening News*,Portsmouth - various editions

Chapter 9:Appendix I

<u>TOWN</u>	<u>TRADE UNIONISTS</u>	<u>PERSONS</u>	<u>% UNIONISED</u>
ARUNDEL	223	2842	7.8
BALCOMBE	3	1332	0.2
BEXHILL	65	15350	0.4
BOGNOR	125	8142	1.5
BRIGHTON	7626	131237	5.8
CHICHESTER	349	12591	2.8
CRAWLEY	18	426	4.2
EASTBOURNE	1723	52542	3.3
EAST GRINSTEAD	147	7089	2.1
ETCHINGHAM	9	1015	0.9
HAILSHAM	208	4604	4.5
HASTINGS	1663	61145	2.7
HAYWARDS HEATH	289	4851	6.0
HELLINGLEY	60	3182	1.9
HERSTMONCEAUX	17	1438	1.2
HORSHAM	515	11314	4.6
HOVE	161	42173	0.4
LEWES	693	10972	6.3
LITTLEHAMPTON	9	8351	0.1
MIDHURST	4	1894	0.2
NEWHAVEN	1537	6665	23.1
PETWORTH	65	8776	0.7
RYE	73	4229	1.7
SHOREHAM	10	5731	0.2
THREE BRIDGES	137	-	-
UCKFIELD	31	3344	1.7
WORTHING	578	30305	1.9

TOTAL TRADE UNIONISTS IN SUSSEX: 16338

TOTAL POPULATION IN SUSSEX: 663378

% OF TRADE UNIONISTS TO THE
POPULATION: 2.5

Chapter 9:Appendix I:Trade Unionists in Sussex,1916 By Town
Compared With Population

Source: BRL:SO 40 SUS Sussex Papers,Box 99

Chapter 9:Appendix II
Estimated Number of Trade Unionists, Selected Trades
Brighton - 1916-1920

TRADE UNION	MEMBERSHIP	NO. IN TRADE	% T. UNIONISTS
TYPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION	140	176	79.5
OPERATIVE BRICKLAYERS' SOC.	70	285	24.6
SOC. OF OPERATIVE STONEMASONS	12	41	29.3
NAT. ASSOC. OF PLASTERERS	26	198	13.1
UNITED OP. PLUMBERS, ETC. ASSOC.	12	307	3.9
NAT. AM. SOC. OF OP. HOUSE & SHIP PAINTERS	70	1302	5.4
UN. BUILDERS' LABOURERS	110	393	28.0
AM. SOC. OF CARPS. & JOINERS	95	741	12.8
UK SOC. OF COACHMAKERS	25	-	- *
NUR:3 BRANCHES	2215	-	- *
ASLEF	70	-	- *
RLWY. CLERKS ASS.	165	-	- *
FS OF IRONF'DERS	59	112	52.7
ASE:2 BRANCHES	654)		
ST'M ENG. MKRS	30)	1422	48.1
US OF B'MKRS ETC	200	-	- *
LONDON AND PROVINCIAL UNION OF VEHICLE W'KRS	200	-	- *
WORKERS' UNION -BRIGHTON	130	-	- *
NAT. FED. WOMEN WORKERS	1200	-	- *

contd...

Chapter 9:Appendix II (contd)

TRADE UNION	MEMBERSHIP	NO. IN TRADE	%T. UNIONISTS
POSTMEN'S FED.	343	-	- *
POSTAL & TELEG. CLERKS' ASSOC.	197	-	- *
PO AMALG. ENG. & STORES ASSOC.	167	-	- *
AM. SOC. TAILORS & TAILORESSES	31	-	- *
NAT. AM. UNION, SHOP ASSTS., CLERKS & WAREHOUSEMEN (CENTRAL)	121	4337	2.8
AM. UNION. OF COOP EMPLOYEES	50	-	-
NAT. UN. TAILORS	80	669	12.0
NAT. UN. LIFE ASSURANCE AG'TS	-	-	- *
NAT. ASSOC. OF PRUDENTIAL AG'TS	20	148	13.5
JOURNEYMEN BUTCHERS' FED	90	-	-
AM. UN. OP. B'KRS & CONFECTION.	16	363	4.4
AM. MUSICIANS' UN.	210	-	- *
NUT	636	1134	56.0
TOTAL	7626	64870	11.8

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE BRIGHTON POPULATION: 49.5%

TOTAL POPULATION OF BRIGHTON: 131237

% IN A TRADES UNION: 5.8

* THE MEMBERSHIP, THOUGH BASED IN BRIGHTON, DID NOT
NECESSARILY LIVE OR WORK IN BRIGHTON

Chapter 9:Appendix II:Estimated Number of Trade Unionists
- Brighton - Selected Trades, 1916-1920

Source: BRL:SO 40 SUS Sussex Papers Box 99

Chapter 9:Appendix III

General Railway Workers' Union

Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants 1 & 2

Amalgamated Society of Engineers

United Society of Boilermakers and Iron
Shipbuilders

Typographical Association

Friendly Society of Ironfounders

Building Labourers

National Amalgamated Society of House & Ship
Painters and Decorators

Amalgamated Society of Operative Bakers &
Confectioners

National Association of Theatrical Employees

Railway Clerks Association

National Union of Clerks

National Association of Operative Plasterers

Musicians Union

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters,Cabinet Makers &
Joiners

Cooperative Employees

Shop Assistants

Steam Engine Makers (deleted from list but entered
again for 1912/13)

Secretary of the local Labour Representation
Committee

Chapter 9:Appendix III:Brighton,Hove and District
Trades' Council - Membership,1910

Source: BRL:SB 331.88 BRI Brighton,Hove and District
Trades Council - Addresses to Delegates,1910-1918

Chapter 9:Appendix IVa

General Labourers' Union

Coppersmiths'Society

Friendly Society of Ironfounders

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters,Cabinet
Makers and Joiners

Painters' and Home Decorators' Society

United Society of Boilermakers and Iron
Shipbuilders

Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants

Associated Shipwrights'Society

The Dockers' Union

Chapter 9:Appendix IVa:Portsmouth Trades' Council
Membership,1892

Source: BRL:331.88 BRI

Chapter 9:Appendix IVb

UNION	MEMBERSHIP
General Labourers'Amalgamated Union No.1 branch	550
No.2 branch	36
Amalgamated Union of Bakers and Confectioners	150
Operative Stonemasons	100
Amalgamated Society of Engineers	238
Navvies and Bricklayers' Labourers	no figure
Operative Bricklayers (figure for 1895)	250
Alliance of Cabinet Makers	each half year 35,39
Operative Boot and Shoe Makers	no figure
Amalgamated Tailors	no figure
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters/Joiners No.1 branch	240
No.2 branch	64
No.3 branch	40
House Decorators and Painters	160
Associated Shipwrights	each half year:
	A branch 540;592
	B branch 280;298
	C branch 108;139
Coppersmiths	18
Friendly Society of Ironfounders	half year figures:
	58;61
Operative Plasterers	90
Hand Drillers	170
United Society of Smiths & Hammermen	30
Typographical Association	96
House Decorators and Painters	220
Amalgamated Union of Horsemen	half year: 144

Chapter 9:Appendix IVb:Portsmouth Trades' Council
Membership,1896

Source: MRC:MSS 292/79P/23 41T (BoT) Portsmouth Trades'
Council *Annual Reports* 1891-1906

Chapter 9:Appendix IVc

Amalagamated Union of Operative Bakers &
Confectioners

United Society of Boilermakers & Iron Shipbuilders

Bricklayers

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners
(1,2,3)

Coppersmiths

Cooperative Employees

Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1,3,4,5)

Government Labourers

Ironfounders

Masons

Municipal Employees

National Telephone Employees

Painters

Portsmouth Dockyard Ship Riggers

Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants

Postmen

Sailmakers

Shop Assistants

Shipwrights (A,B,C & Auxiliary Branch)

Smiths and Hammermen

Steam Engine Makers (2 branches)

Tin,Iron and Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers

Tailors

Tramway and Vehicle Workers

Typographical Association

Chapter 9:Appendix IVc:Portsmouth Trades' Council
Membership,1906

Source: MRC:MSS 292/79P/23 41T (BoT) *Annual Reports*
1891-1906

Chapter 9:Appendix V

1919 There were 74 entrants to the ASE in 1919 listed in the Proposition and Entrance Books for Brighton of whom 26 were aged up to and including 21;only 4 of these had served indentured apprenticeships and these were people over 21 but still in their 20's;46/74 served with the LBSCR

EXAMPLES FROM THE LISTS (ALL WITHOUT INDENTURES)

TRADE	AGE	YRS AT TRADE	WHERE TIME SERVED	NOW WORKING
F	16/7	12/3	LBSCR	LBSCR
T	16/7	11/12	DARLING,BTN	DARLING
F	16/1	1	LBSCR	LBSCR
F	16/0	11/12	LBSCR	LBSCR
F	21/4	51/6	LBSCR	LBSCR
F	19/7	55/12	BROWN'S,BTN	STANFORD Gge BRIGHTON
F/T	16/6	01/4	LAMBOURNE	LAMBOURNE
F	16/0	1½	LBSCR	LBSCR

EXAMPLES OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN INDENTURED AND HAD STARTED IN THE TRADE AS TEENAGE APPRENTICES

F	28/1	14	GWR,SWINDON	LBSCR
F/T	26/3	101/12	D.D.WYLES,BTN	WYLES
F/T	22/4	51/6	D.D.WYLES,BTN	WYLES

1924

17 NEW ENTRANTS WERE LISTED OF WHOM 13 WERE AGED UP TO AND INCLUDING 21;2 HAD SERVED INDENTURES AND THIS WAS AT,WHAT HAD BECOME,SOUTHERN RAILWAY ALTHOUGH THE MAJORITY HAD NOT AT SR.SR DOMINATED THE PROVISION OF APPRENTICESHIPS IN THE TOWN.

EXAMPLES OF INDENTURED AND NON-INDENTURED APPRENTICESHIPS

TRADE	AGE	YRS AT TRADE	WHERE TIME SERVED	NOW WORKING IF APPLIC.
F	21/1	6	TILLING'S (PUBLIC TRANSPORT)	X
T	20/5	5½	SR	X
T	20/9	53/4	SR	X
F	20/5	5½	SR	X
F	19/1	2½	SR	X
F	18/0	3½	SR	X
F	21/4	5	SR	X
F	19/10	5	SR (INDENTURED)	X
F	27/10	12	SR	SR
T	30/0	16	SR (INDENTURED)	SR

KEY:F=FITTER;T=TURNER;SR=SOUTHERN RAILWAY;GWR=GREAT
WESTERN RAILWAY

Chapter 9:Appendix V:Examples of Young Engineers,Brighton 1919,1924

Source: BRL:SB 331.88 AMA Amalgamated Engineering Union
Proposition and Entry Book 1919-1941

Chapter 10:Appendix I

SURNAME	OTHER NAMES
DATE OF BIRTH	
FULL ADDRESS	
NAME OF LAST DAY SCHOOL	
DATE OF LEAVING	
STANDARD/CLASS IN WHICH APPLICANT WAS ON LEAVING	
WHETHER APPLICANT WAS HALF-TIMER BEFORE LEAVING;IF SO, HOW LONG?	
WHETHER ATTENDING/PROPOSING TO ATTEND ANY CONTINUATION/ TECHNICAL SCHOOL,AND,IF SO,IN WHAT COURSE/SUBJECTS,AND WHETHER IN THE DAY OR EVENING	
EMPLOYMENT OR EMPLOYMENTS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL:	
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	
EMPLOYMENT DESIRED	
WHETHER WILLING TO BE APPRENTICED,AND,IF SO,WHETHER A PREMIUM CAN BE PAID	
WHETHER WILLING TO TAKE WORK AT A DISTANCE	
REMARKS	

Chapter 10:Appendix I:Registration Form for Adolescents
Using the Juvenile Labour Exchanges

Source:GREENWOOD A. *Juvenile Labour Exchanges and*
After-Care (King:1911) Appendix C

Chapter 10:Appendix II

NATIONAL TARGETS FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING,1995 AIM

To improve the UK's international competitiveness by raising standards and attainment levels in education and training to world class levels through ensuring that:

1. All employers invest in employee development to achieve business success;
2. All individuals have access to education and training opportunities,leading to recognised qualifications, which meet their needs and aspirations;
3. All education and training develops self-reliance, flexibility and breadth,in particular through fostering competence in core skills.

TARGETS FOR YEAR 2000 FOUNDATION LEARNING

1. By age 19,85% of young people to achieve 5 GCSEs at grade C or above,or intermediate GNVQ or an NVQ level 2;
2. 75% of young people to achieve level 2 competence in communications,numeracy and IT by age 19,and 35% to achieve level 3 competence in these core skills by age 21;
3. By age 21,60% of young people to achieve 2 GCE A-Levels,an Advanced GNVQ or an NVQ level 3.

LIFETIME LEARNING

1. 60% of the workforce to be qualified to NVQ level 3,Advanced GNVQ or 2 GCE A-Level standard;
2. 30% of the workforce to have a vocational, professional,management or academic qualification at NVQ level 4 or above;
3. 70% of all organisations employing 200 or more employees,and 35% of those employing 50 or more,to be recognised as Investors in People.

Chapter 10:Appendix II:Government National Targets for
Education and Training,1995

Source: Times Educational Supplement,June 9th 1995

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