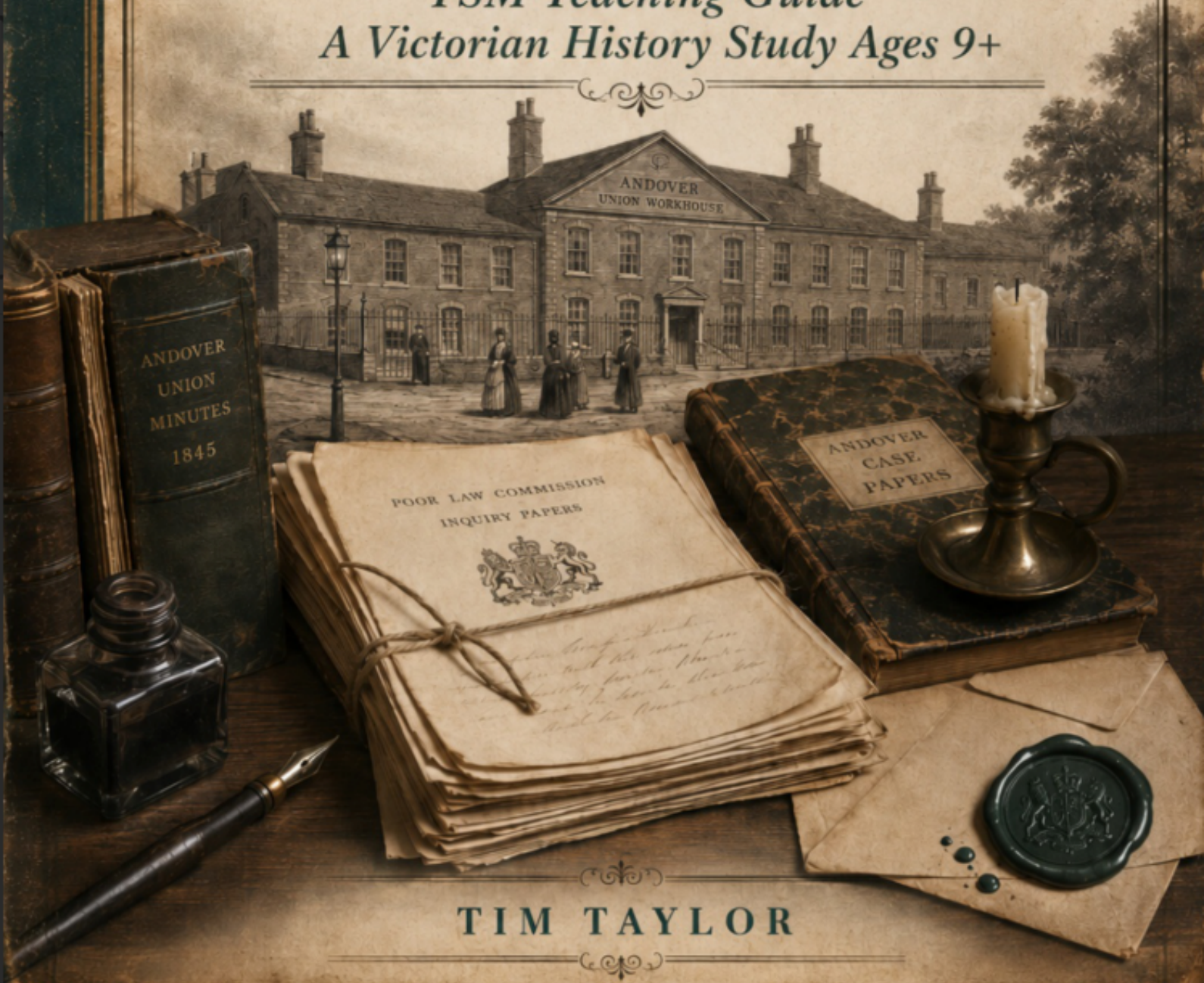
The ANDOVER SCANDAL

TSM Teaching Guide
A Victorian History Study Ages 9+



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Teaching resources:
Resources for the Andover Workhouse

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Context

Theme

Victorian workhouse

Overview

Students come to understand how the Victorian Poor Law shaped the lives of the poorest people in nineteenth-century England, and how the conditions inside workhouses revealed deeper questions about responsibility, cruelty, and the limits of institutional oversight. The situation enables this understanding to develop through the careful interpretation of records, testimony, and physical evidence, where meaning is not immediately clear and judgement must be reached gradually. There are opportunities to develop historical reasoning, source analysis, written communication, and ethical thinking about what is owed to those without power.

Inquiry Questions

1. How did the Victorians decide who deserved help and who did not?
2. What can the conditions inside a workhouse tell us about the values of a society?
3. When official systems fail the people they are meant to protect, how does the truth come to light?
4. How do those in power respond when wrongdoing is uncovered?
5. Why do some voices go unheard, and what does it take for them to be listened to?
6. What is the responsibility of an inspector when the truth is uncomfortable?

Narrative

Andover is a market town in Hampshire, the autumn of 1845. The workhouse on Junction Road has stood since 1836, managed throughout by Colin McDougal, a former sergeant-major, and his wife, who serves as matron. For nearly a decade, the establishment has returned its paperwork on time. Its accounts have balanced. The Board of Guardians, chaired by the Reverend Christopher Dodson, has consistently endorsed McDougal's conduct and seen no reason to question his methods. On paper, and to those who have not looked closely, Andover Union Workhouse has appeared to function as it should.

What has reached London is harder to account for. Thomas Wakley, the MP for Finsbury, has raised the matter in the House of Commons, and his account — that inmates at Andover have been found fighting over the rotting bones they are set to crush, gnawing at gristle and marrow to ease a hunger that the official rations are not coming close to meeting — has caused a reaction that cannot now be contained. The Times is pursuing the story. Questions are being asked about what the Board of Guardians knew and when, and about whether the Poor Law Commission's own officers were warned earlier and chose not to act. The Commission, aware that its credibility is under direct

scrutiny, has appointed the Team to travel to Andover. The instruction is clear in its general terms. What the Team will find when it arrives, and how much of it can be established with the certainty that Parliament will require, is not yet known.

The Team

Role A team of inspectors appointed by the Poor Law Commission, under instruction from the Home Secretary, to conduct a formal independent examination of the Andover Union Workhouse.

Powers The Team has the authority to enter all areas of the workhouse without prior notice, to examine any record or document held on the premises — including minute books, punishment records, and dietary accounts — to speak with the master, matron, guardians, staff, and inmates, and to submit a formal written report directly to Parliament.

Responsibilities The Team is responsible for forming an accurate and honest account of conditions inside the establishment and of the conduct of those responsible for its oversight. It must gather evidence with patience and rigour, weigh conflicting accounts fairly, and produce findings that Parliament can rely on — including any findings that reflect poorly on the Commission itself.

Values The Team works with thoroughness, fairness, and discretion. It takes seriously the testimony of those without power and does not allow the reputation or social standing of individuals to shape its judgement before the evidence has been properly examined.

Commission

The Poor Law Commission, acting on the instruction of the Home Secretary and under direct pressure from parliamentary debate, has commissioned the Team to conduct a full inspection of the Andover Union Workhouse. The Team is required to investigate the conditions in which inmates are living and working, the conduct of Master McDougal and the matron, the adequacy of the Board of Guardians' oversight, and the extent to which the workhouse is operating within the law. A full written report is to be submitted to Parliament. The work matters now because questions have already been raised publicly in the House of Commons, The Times is reporting on the matter, and the credibility of the entire Poor Law system — and of the Commission itself — depends on whether this inquiry can produce a trustworthy account of what has truly been happening inside that building.

Other Points of View

- **Colin McDougal, the workhouse master** — a former sergeant-major who has run the establishment with military severity, who disputes the allegations made against him, and whose conduct toward inmates and female staff is likely to become central to the inquiry.
- **The Board of Guardians, chaired by Reverend Christopher Dodson** — local figures who have consistently endorsed McDougal's management, who received and dismissed earlier complaints, and who have a strong interest in the inspection finding that responsibility lies with the master alone rather than with their own oversight.

- **The inmates of the workhouse** — men, women, and children whose testimony is the most direct evidence available, and who may fear that speaking plainly will make their situation worse rather than better.
- **The Poor Law Commission in London** — whose own assistant commissioner is alleged to have received earlier warnings and failed to act, and whose authority and reputation are directly at stake in the outcome of this inquiry.
- **Local clergy and townspeople** — some of whom have defended the workhouse and its master, and others who have quietly raised concerns, reflecting a divided community in which speaking out has carried real risk.

What the Team Needs to Know

1. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 established that relief for the able-bodied poor would be given only inside workhouses, under conditions deliberately harsher than those of the lowest-paid independent labourer outside — a principle known as less eligibility.
2. Andover Union Workhouse was run by Colin McDougal, a former sergeant-major, whose regime combined military discipline with rations set below even the meagre dietary scale recommended by the Poor Law Commission, leaving inmates in a state of serious and sustained hunger.
3. Bone-crushing was the principal form of labour at Andover: inmates broke down old animal bones — collected from knackers' yards and slaughterhouses — to be sold as fertiliser, work that was exhausting, filthy, and conducted in conditions of significant physical deprivation.
4. The allegations that reached Parliament included not only starvation but also McDougal's cruelty, his drunkenness, and his sexual abuse of female inmates — matters that the Board of Guardians had either not investigated or had chosen to ignore.
5. Workhouse records — minute books, punishment books, dietary accounts — were required to be kept by law, and these documents can be tested against one another and against spoken testimony to identify inconsistencies or omissions.
6. The Poor Law Commission's own assistant commissioner for the district is alleged to have received earlier warnings about Andover and to have failed to act; the Team's inquiry therefore extends beyond the workhouse itself to the structures meant to oversee it.
7. Testimony from those inside the workhouse must be gathered with care: fear of punishment, dependence on the institution, and uncertainty about whether speaking out will change anything may all shape what people feel able to say, and how they say it.

Curriculum Objectives

History Develop knowledge and understanding of the Victorian Poor Law system and its social consequences, using the Andover workhouse scandal as a specific and documented historical case; assess the nature, origin, and purpose of a range of primary sources, including official records, parliamentary testimony, and contemporary press reporting; understand how historical interpretations

are shaped by the evidence available, by who produced that evidence, and by the interests they held.

English — Reading and Comprehension Read and interpret a range of primary sources, including letters, official reports, minute books, and witness testimony; distinguish fact from opinion and identify how language is used to manage, conceal, or selectively present information; draw inferences from texts and justify them with reference to evidence, including where sources are incomplete or contradictory.

English — Writing Write formal reports using appropriate register, structure, and precise vocabulary directed at a specific and consequential readership; construct reasoned arguments supported by cited evidence; use cohesive devices to link findings, reasoning, and recommendations into a coherent and persuasive whole.

English — Speaking and Listening Engage in structured collaborative discussion about evidence, interpretation, and judgement; develop the ability to frame questions carefully for different witnesses, adjusting tone and approach according to context; present findings and reasoning clearly to others and respond to challenge with reference to evidence.

Oracy Develop confidence, clarity and precision in using spoken language to investigate, reason and deliberate; listen attentively, build on and challenge others' contributions, and refine ideas through evidence-based discussion; adapt vocabulary, register, tone and questioning to different roles and audiences, including collaborative inquiry, formal witness interviews, and the presentation and defence of conclusions.

Citizenship and PSHE Explore how systems of law and authority are meant to function, and what happens when those systems fail the people they are designed to protect; consider the rights and responsibilities of individuals and institutions in relation to vulnerable people; examine ethical questions concerning fairness, dignity, accountability, and the use of power.

Mathematics Interpret tables, accounts, and records of provisions; compare quantities across time periods or categories; identify and explain discrepancies in data that may be significant to an inquiry.

Geography Locate Andover within Hampshire and understand its position within the wider landscape of nineteenth-century rural southern England; examine how patterns of rural poverty and local economic conditions shaped the experience of the Poor Law differently from urban settings.

Art and Design Study Victorian visual sources, including illustrations from publications such as the Illustrated London News and Punch; consider how images were constructed to inform, persuade, or shape public opinion, and what choices were made about what to show and what to leave out.

Literacy Links

- **Note-making from testimony** — The Team records what witnesses say, how they say it, and what the conditions of that testimony might mean for how it should be read, distinguishing what is stated from what is implied or withheld.
- **Cross-referencing written records** — The Team examines minute books, punishment records, and dietary accounts alongside one another and against spoken testimony, identifying inconsistencies that may require explanation.

- **Drafting questions for witnesses** — The Team prepares lines of inquiry appropriate to different witnesses, considering what each person is likely to know, what they may be reluctant to disclose, and how questions should be framed accordingly.
- **Constructing a formal parliamentary report** — The Team produces a structured written report with clear findings, acknowledged uncertainties, and reasoned recommendations, written for a readership that will scrutinise both the conclusions and the quality of the reasoning behind them.
- **Creating documents from within the workhouse world** — The Team may encounter or produce artefacts of the institution itself: rule books, punishment records, dietary registers, letters from inmates, or communications between the master and the guardians, each of which carries its own version of events.

Teacher Briefing

Historical Basis and Reconstructed Material

This context is based on the documented scandal at Andover Union Workhouse in 1845–46. The workhouse, the wider historical circumstances and the leading public figures—including Colin McDougal, Reverend Christopher Dodson and Thomas Wakley—are real.

The inquiry undertaken by the students is a historical reconstruction. Some of the characters, documents, testimony and events have been created or adapted to support the investigation. Although these materials are informed by the historical record, they are not surviving primary sources and should not be presented to students as such.

The core inquiry focuses on hunger, bone-crushing, punishment, the treatment of inmates and the failure of those responsible for overseeing the workhouse. The historical record also contains allegations concerning drunkenness and the sexual abuse of female inmates. These more disturbing elements are not presented explicitly within the main inquiry. Some are suggested indirectly through testimony, allowing the teacher to decide whether to pursue them, leave them unresolved or exclude them altogether. This decision should be made in relation to the age, experience and needs of the class.

Background

Andover Union Workhouse opened in Hampshire in 1836 under the system created by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, commonly known as the New Poor Law. The new system was intended to discourage people from seeking relief by making conditions inside the workhouse less desirable than those experienced by the poorest independent labourer outside—a principle known as *less eligibility*.

Families entering the workhouse were separated: husbands from wives and parents from children. Inmates wore institutional clothing, followed a strictly regulated daily routine and were expected to undertake assigned labour. Meals were taken under close supervision, and silence, discipline and obedience were enforced throughout the institution.

The workhouse was managed by Colin McDougal, a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo, and his wife, who served as matron. McDougal imposed a severe, military style of discipline. The Board of Guardians, chaired by Reverend Christopher Dodson, exercised little effective supervision and allowed him considerable freedom in the management of the institution.

Rations at Andover were inadequate, and inmates experienced persistent hunger. Punishments were severe, complaints were frequently dismissed, and the records maintained by the workhouse did not provide a complete or reliable account of conditions inside it.

One of the principal forms of labour at Andover was bone-crushing. Inmates were required to break down old animal bones, many of them collected from slaughterhouses and knackers' yards, so that the resulting material could be sold as fertiliser. The work was filthy, exhausting and accompanied by an overwhelming smell.

How the Scandal Emerged

During 1845, reports circulated that starving inmates were fighting over the bones they had been ordered to crush, eating scraps of gristle and marrow that remained attached to them. The concerns were eventually brought to the attention of Thomas Wakley, the MP for Finsbury and a prominent critic of the New Poor Law. Wakley raised the matter in the House of Commons in August 1845, prompting an official investigation and widespread public concern.

Newspapers, particularly *The Times*, continued to pursue the story. Further accusations emerged concerning the diversion of food, brutal discipline, drunkenness and McDougal's conduct towards female inmates. Some of these accusations were supported by testimony, while others remained allegations that were never fully resolved.

The controversy expanded beyond McDougal's personal conduct. Questions were raised about the failure of the Board of Guardians to supervise the workhouse properly and about the actions of the Poor Law Commission, whose officers had received earlier warnings but had failed to intervene effectively.

McDougal was eventually removed from his position. In 1846, a parliamentary select committee investigated both the administration of Andover Union Workhouse and the conduct of the Poor Law Commission. Its findings exposed serious failures in the management and oversight of the Poor Law system.

The scandal contributed to the abolition of the Poor Law Commission in 1847 and its replacement by the Poor Law Board, which was more directly accountable to Parliament. Andover became one of the most notorious examples of cruelty and institutional failure under the New Poor Law, shaping Victorian debate about poverty, public responsibility and the treatment of people without power.

I have corrected two potentially misleading points: Wakley was MP for Finsbury, not Andover, and it is safer to say that the scandal contributed to the abolition of the Poor Law Commission rather than presenting it as the sole direct cause. These points are supported by the UK Parliament record and the National Archives overview of the 1834 Poor Law.

Episode 1: Something That Cannot Be Ignored

Curriculum connections

Victorian Poor Law system and its social context; inference and interpretation from visual and written primary sources; distinguishing what is stated from what is implied; formal English register; ethical reasoning about institutional responsibility.

Narrative function of this episode

Students encounter the world of the workhouse before they are asked to do anything about it. Three images and a letter establish conditions, atmosphere, and the first hint that something at Andover may require serious attention. By the end of the episode, students have been drawn gradually into the Team through the four casting mechanisms and have produced the first document in what will become a formal record of inquiry. Nothing is resolved. The letter raises more questions than it answers. The episode ends on the edge of a decision that has not yet been made.

Resources

Slides

• Slides 2–4: three workhouse images — an exterior view, an interior work scene and a close human detail.

• Slide 5: the anonymous letter.

• Slide 6: preliminary record sheet.

• Slide 7: carriage leaving for Andover.

Printouts

Inquiry books

• Inquiry books or paper for the preliminary record sheet.

The anonymous letter

Drafted below. It is presented as a physical object. It has arrived, addressed to the Poor Law Commission in London, without a name. It carries a postmark: *Andover, Hampshire. October 1845.*

To whom it may concern at the Poor Law Commission, London

I write to you without giving my name, as I have reason to believe that doing so would bring consequences I am not prepared to face. I ask only that you read what I have to say and consider whether it deserves your attention.

I live near Andover and have done so for many years. I know people in this town. I hear things. What I have been hearing about the workhouse on Junction Road has troubled me greatly, and I have waited some months before writing this letter, hoping that someone with more authority than I possess would act. No one has.

The people inside that building are hungry. Not ordinarily hungry, as any working person may be, but hungry in a way that I am told has led them to fight over the bones they are given to break. Those bones are old — collected from knackers' yards and slaughterhouses and brought to the workhouse

as material for labour. The inmates are set to crush them down to dust, to be sold as fertiliser. I am told — and I cannot verify this myself, as I have not been inside — that some among them have been found gnawing at whatever gristle and marrow remains, because the food they are given is not sufficient to sustain them through the work they are required to do.

I do not know whether the master is aware of this and permits it, or whether he is the cause of it. His name is McDougal and he was a sergeant-major before he came to this post. People in the town who have dealt with him describe a man who does not tolerate complaint.

I have heard other things too — things concerning his conduct toward the women in his care — but I will not put those in writing until I know that this letter has been taken seriously and that someone with the power to act is prepared to use it.

The Board of Guardians meets regularly. The Reverend Dodson chairs it. As far as I am aware, nothing has been raised at those meetings that reflects what I have described to you here.

I am not a person of influence. I have no standing that would cause anyone in authority to listen to me if I spoke openly. That is why I am writing to you. You have the power I do not have. I hope you will use it.

I remain, for reasons I have explained, anonymous.

World-building artefact

The preliminary record sheet

A double-page working document. Divide it into three parts:

- The left side is headed: *What this letter establishes.*
- The right side is headed: *What this letter does not establish — questions requiring investigation.*
- A third section at the bottom, spanning both pages, is headed: *What we would need to see or hear before we could reach any judgement.*

This form could be marked out in the students' inquiry books or on a separate sheet, that can be attached to their inquiry books after the session.

Lesson Plan

Opening: Three Images

No narration yet. No fiction yet. The teacher opens the lesson simply, in a facilitator voice.

> "I'm going to show you three images. I'd like you to look at each one carefully and say what you actually see - not what you think it means, just what is there."

Image 1 - Slide 2 Workhouse exterior

Allow ten to fifteen seconds of silence. Then:

> "What can you see? Describe it - the building, the space, the detail."

Collect four or five responses. Hold interpretation if it comes: "Good - and what do you see that makes you think that?" Keep the group at the observational level. What is the building made of? How large is it? Where does it sit in relation to other buildings? What kind of place does this look like?

Image 2 - Slide 3 Workhouse interior.

> "Now we're inside. Same question - what is here? What can you see?"

Again, observational first. The number of people. The nature of the work. The space. The light. What the bodies suggest about the conditions. Do not ask for conclusions. If a student says "they look miserable", ask: "What do you see in the image that makes you say that?"

Image 3 - Slide 4 Inmate.

This one is held longer. Allow twenty seconds before speaking.

> "Look at this carefully. What do you notice?"

This image is doing different work from the first two. It is asking students to look at a person closely. The teacher's question can follow whatever students notice: "What might that expression tell us? What are we not able to see in this image that we might want to know?"

Then, connecting across the three: "These three images are all showing us the same kind of place. What kind of place is it? And from what you've seen - not what you know from elsewhere, just from these images - what kind of life do you think people in this place are living?"

Take several responses. This is the first moment of tentative interpretation, earned through observation.

The Letter Arrives

The teacher does not announce a shift in activity. They place the letter - or a copy of it for each student - on the tables without comment, and speak briefly in narrator voice.

> *"London. The offices of the Poor Law Commission. November 1845. A letter has arrived, without a name on it, postmarked Andover, Hampshire. Someone has passed it on. It is sitting on a desk, waiting to be read."* **Slide 5 - letter**

Then, in facilitator voice: "Read it once through. Underline anything you think is important."

Allow reading time. Then read it aloud for the students to listen to, stopping if you think they need clarification.

> "Now: what did this letter actually say? Not what you think about it yet - what did it say? What are the specific things it claims?"

Collect responses. List them visibly if possible. The bone-crushing. The hunger. The name McDougal. The Board of Guardians. The suggestion of something further that the writer won't yet put in writing. The Reverend Dodson. The anonymity, and the reason given for it.

> "What do you notice about the way this letter is written? What kind of person wrote it, from the evidence of the writing itself?"

This is an inference question, and students should be pressed to point to specific language: the formal register, the careful hedging ("I am told", "as far as I am aware"), the deliberate withholding of the further allegation, the self-awareness about the writer's own lack of standing.

> "What does this letter establish as fact? What does it allege? And what is the difference between those two things?"

Hold this question. It is not easy. Students may need to return to the text. That is the point.

Then, moving the inductive sequence toward interpretation: "If you were the person who received this letter - who had to decide what to do with it - what would concern you most? And what would you need before you could act on it?"

This question is the first conditional casting move. It is asked in facilitator voice, but it places students at the edge of the fiction.

Moving Toward the Team: Conditional Questions

The teacher does not announce a change. The questions continue, each one drawing students a little further in.

> "If you were responsible for this - if it fell to you to decide whether this letter required a formal response - where would you begin? What would you need to establish first?"
>
> "If a team of inspectors were to be appointed to travel to Andover and find out whether any of this is true - what powers would they need to have? What would they need access to?"
>
> "If those inspectors were to arrive in Andover and walk into that building - what would they be looking for? And what might they be careful about, given that the master and the guardians would know they were coming?"

These questions require no commitment from students. They are hypothetical. But by the third question, students are thinking inside the situation, not about it.

Then, a shift: the collaborative "we" enters the language for the first time.

> "We have a commission from the Poor Law Commission, acting under the instruction of the Home Secretary. We have the powers we need - to enter the building, to examine the records, to speak with anyone inside. What we don't have yet is a clear sense of what we are actually going to find, or how much of what this letter suggests we will be able to establish as fact."

No announcement has been made. The "we" simply assumes shared membership, and students will adopt it because the teacher already has.

The Task: Preliminary Record Sheet

Slide 6

> "Before any inspector arrives on site, they establish what is known and what is not. They set out the allegations precisely. They identify the questions that will need to be answered. They are careful about the difference between what has been stated and what has merely been implied.
>
> "Our first document is that record. Left side: what this letter establishes - the specific, statable facts. Right side: what it does not establish - the questions we will need to pursue. And at the bottom: what we would need to see or hear before we could reach any judgement on any of it."

Students move to tables. They work individually, though brief quiet discussion is natural.

As the teacher circulates, the voice is twilight throughout. Some examples for this specific moment:

> "You've put the bone-crushing in the established column. That's the allegation - but is it established? The writer says 'I am told'. What would move it from allegation to established fact?"
>
> "I think the anonymity matters. Have you noted it, and noted the reason the writer gives? That may become relevant - if this person ever comes forward, or if they don't."
>
> "There's something the writer says they won't put in writing yet. Whatever it is, we need to note that there may be more to find out. We don't know yet what that means."
>
> "The Board of Guardians - you've noted that Reverend Dodson chairs it and that nothing has been raised in their meetings. But is that established, or is that also the writer's account? Is there a difference between those two things?"
>
> "Look at the bottom section - what would we actually need, before we could say anything definitive? What counts as evidence, and what counts as one person's account of what they've heard?"

Back Together

Students return to the carpet with their record sheets.

> "What has the team established? Let's hear the left column first - the things we're prepared to say are in the record."

Take contributions. Note where students have classified the same thing differently - one student puts the hunger as established, another puts it as alleged. Hold the disagreement: "These two things are both defensible. What would it take to move hunger from the alleged column to the established column? What kind of evidence would do that?"

Then: "What is in the question column - the things we know we don't yet know?"

Collect these. Write them up where students can see them. These questions belong to the Team now. They will be carried into subsequent episodes.

Then, a single moment of direct TIR. The teacher shifts posture slightly - perhaps sits, or picks up the letter - and speaks as a senior figure at the Commission, briefly and without theatricality.

> *"The Home Secretary has been informed. The Times is already asking questions. We need to travel to Andover, and we need to do it properly - because if we find what this letter suggests, and we have not gathered the evidence rigorously, our report will not hold. And if we find nothing, and we have not looked carefully enough, we will have been part of the problem rather than the solution."*

A beat. Then the teacher sets the letter down and returns to twilight voice without announcement.

> *"What is the one question each of us most wants answered when we get inside that building?"*

Take five or six responses. Write them up and leave them visible. These are not closed at the end of the lesson. They stay open.

Closing

Narrator voice, measured and quiet.

> *"The letter is in the file. The commission has been issued. The carriage leaves for Andover in the morning. The master of the workhouse will have been informed that an inspection team is coming. What he has done with the time between that notification and the team's arrival is not yet known."*

Pause.

> *"The inmates have not been told anything."* **Slide 7 - carriage**

Give the students time to look at the slide. Leave it there.

Teacher Notes

On the three images (slides 2 - 4) and pace

The images do most of the work in the first fifteen minutes. Resist the urge to fill the silence with talk. Ten to fifteen seconds of quiet looking before the first question is not too long. If the class is unfamiliar with close looking as a practice, the second and third images will be easier than the first - they will have understood what is being asked of them by then.

The third image should be the one you return to, if you return to any of them. The close human detail - a face, hands, a posture - is what connects the institutional scale of the first two images to the specific people whose lives the inquiry will eventually concern.

On the letter

The letter is carefully constructed to model the evidential habits the Team will need throughout the context. The writer distinguishes between what they know and what they have been told. They withhold one allegation deliberately. They acknowledge their own limitations. These are not accidental features - they are what makes this a useful source for students learning to read documents analytically. Point none of this out directly. Let students find it through the inductive questions.

The final line of the letter - "the inmates have not been told anything" - is repeated in the closing narration. This is intentional. It is the detail that should stay with students between this episode and the next.

On the TIR moment

The TIR near the end is brief and functional. It is not a performance. The character it represents is a figure of institutional authority who is also, quietly, under pressure - the Commission itself has questions to answer about what it knew and when. If students ask who the character is, you can answer simply as that character: "Someone who has read the letter and has to decide what to do with it." Then step out of role cleanly.

On the twilight voice during circulation

Prepare your specific twilight prompts before the lesson. The five examples above are a starting point, but adapt them to what you know about how your students are likely to approach the task. The key discipline is the test for every sentence: could a colleague in this situation say this? If only a teacher could say it, rework it before you speak.

On the closing narration

Deliver the closing slowly. The final sentence - "the inmates have not been told anything" - should have silence after it. Do not follow it with a facilitator instruction or a cheerful closer about next week. Let students leave the lesson carrying that sentence. It is doing work that the next episode will build on.

On time

If the image discussion runs longer than expected, protect the time at the table. The preliminary record sheet is the world-building artefact that anchors the whole context - later on students will have added to it, revised it, crossed things out, and written findings in the margins. Time on that document is never wasted. The TIR moment and the final questions can be shortened if necessary. The closing narration cannot.

Episode 2: The Master's Office

Curriculum connections

Victorian institutional life and the culture of the workhouse; reading body language and behaviour as evidence; inference from objects and space; formal note-making; speaking and listening in a formal inquiry context.

Narrative function of this episode

The Team crosses the threshold. The world that existed as images and a letter in Episode 1 becomes physical and present. Before the Team meets McDougal, they read the building, the man at the door, and the room he works in. By the time they sit down opposite the Master, they have already formed provisional judgements about him - and the encounter tests those judgements against the man himself. The episode ends with the Team's first direct evidence: not what McDougal said, but how he said it, and what he chose not to say.

Resources

Slides

• Slides 8–14: episode title, Andover town, the workhouse entrance, the Master’s office door, McDougal’s medal and portrait, and the bolted door.

Printouts

• No additional printouts required.

Inquiry books

• Inquiry books containing the preliminary record from Episode 1.

World-building artefact

The inquiry notebook - meeting record

Students add a second entry to the inquiry notebooks begun in Episode 1. This entry records the conditions of arrival, observations about the building and the door warden, and notes on the meeting with McDougal - what he said, what he did not say, what his manner suggested, and what questions remain open. The record is written for a parliamentary readership. It is not a personal diary. The distinction matters and the twilight voice during circulation holds it.

Lesson Plan

Opening: The Journey and Arrival

Slide 8 - Ep.2
Students are settled, sitting at their desks. The inquiry notebooks from Episode 1 are visible but not yet open. The teacher speaks in narrator voice - slow, measured, no performance.

> *"The carriage from London takes the better part of a day. By the time it reaches Hampshire the light has changed - lower, thinner, the kind of autumn light that makes everything look a little further away than it is. Andover is a market town. There are shops, a coaching inn, a church, people going about their business in the streets. It looks, from the carriage window, like any other small English town.*
>
> **Slide 9 - Andover**
>
> *"The workhouse is not in the centre of town. It sits on Junction Road, set back a little from the street. The carriage slows. The building comes into view."*
>
> **Facilitator:**
>
> "This is Andover. Before we go any further - what kind of place is this? What do you notice about it?"

Keep this brief - three or four responses. The purpose is not a detailed analysis. It is to establish that this is an ordinary town, which makes what the letter described all the more significant.

Then, without transition, Resource 2 **- Slide 10** - **the pencil drawing of the front door** - replaces the town image.

Allow ten seconds of silence.

> "Look at this carefully. What do you see?"

Collect observational responses first. The weight of the door. The worn step. The carved words. The closed door.

> "What does a door like this say about the place behind it? And about the people who are expected to use it?"

Students may note that the door is not welcoming, that the worn step suggests heavy use, that the institution announces itself by name above the entrance. Hold any response that notices the door is closed. "The door is closed. We are on the outside of it. What do we know, standing here, before it opens?"

Then, in twilight voice - the first use of "we" in this episode, assuming shared membership of the Team without announcement:

> "We have the commission. We have the authority to enter. Whatever is behind that door, we are going in."

The Door Warden

The teacher signals clearly - a brief, practical signal that the fiction is about to begin. A simple statement, in facilitator voice: "I'm going to represent the man who opens the door. Watch him carefully."

The teacher moves to stand at the front. A slight shift in posture: a stiffness in posture, a little guarded, weight on one foot, arms crossed. Nothing theatrical. Then, in role as the door warden - a man doing his job, not quite at ease:

> "Aye. Commission, is it? We've been expecting you."

Narrate: ‘He steps back, not quite far enough, so that the Team has to move past him rather than being welcomed through. He looks at them - at their faces, at what they are carrying - in a way that is slightly too attentive. Then he smiles, a beat too late.’

> "I'll take you to the Master. He's in his office. This way."

The teacher steps out of role cleanly - a deliberate shift back to their normal position, a change in posture and voice.

> "Let’s pause here for a moment. What did you notice about him? Not what you think it means yet - what did you actually see? His posture, his face, his manner?"

Take responses. Students may note the lateness of the smile, the way he looked them over, the slight blocking of the entrance.

> "There's a word for that quality - for someone whose manner makes you feel that they are not quite telling you everything, or that they are watching you more carefully than the situation requires. The word is shifty. What was it about him that felt shifty to you?"

This is a vocabulary moment embedded entirely inside the fiction. Students are not being taught a word. They are being given the word for something they have already seen.

> “We’ll need to make a note of this in our Inquiry Books.”

The students write in their books.

Then, back into role as the warden - the teacher returns to the position and posture.

> "Right then. If you'll follow me."

Slide 11 - Master office door

A brief moment of narrator voice closes the transition:

> *"The corridor is stone-flagged. It is clean. Whatever the warden's manner, the building, so far, looks as it should."*

Co-Constructing the Office

The teacher comes fully out of the fiction. Facilitator voice, practical and direct.

> "Before we go into that office, we're going to build it together. We're going to decide what is in the room - what's on McDougal's desk, what the furniture looks like, how the space is arranged. Because the things a man keeps in his office, and the way he arranges them, tell you something about him before he opens his mouth. Think about what we know about him so far.
>
> "What do you suppose is on his desk?"

Take suggestions. The teacher accepts and builds, pressing for specificity and implication. Not just "papers" but what kind of papers, how they are arranged. Not just "a pen" but an expensive one or a plain one, - what does that suggest?

Some prompts to develop the room as students contribute:

> "A ledger - yes. Open or closed? And if it's open, is that because he's been working in it this morning, or because he wants us to see it?"
>
> "A window - where does it look out? Into the workhouse yard, or away from it?"
>
> "What kind of chair does he sit in? And what kind of chair are we going to be offered - or not offered?"

The room builds. Then: "And on the wall - there are framed medals." **Slide 12 - Medals** (McDougal did receive the historic Waterloo Medal for his service. This was a massive honour.)

Discuss

> “Beside the medals is a portrait. A painting of the Master.”
>
> “How do you suppose he has chosen to be painted? What does he look like in this portrait - his posture, his expression, his clothing?"

Take several contributions. Then move to the enactment.

Enacting the Portrait

> "Can everyone stand up for a moment."

No further explanation. The teacher speaks in a calm, descriptive narrator voice as students stand and find the posture.

> “Let’s see this portrait. Could you decide how it looks, you might be standing or you might be sitting.”

Students settle into the posture - enacting how they think the master might be portrayed in the painting. The teacher stands and looks, then uses a narrator voice - not commenting on individual students, but reading the portrait as a whole.

> *"Ah. McDougal seems to think a lot of himself. Arms folded - not welcoming, not open. Chin lifted - looking down on the world. In uniform still, even though he has not been a sergeant-major for years. A man who has not forgotten what it felt like to give orders and have them obeyed without question."*

A pause.

> *"This is a man who has run this institution for nearly a decade and has never, until now, had anyone come through his door with the authority to question him."*
>
> "Thank you - sit down."

No discussion follows immediately. The image has done its work. Move directly into the TIR.

Meeting the Master

Slide 13 - Master’s portrait
The teacher picks up a chair and places it in front of the portrait on slide 13 - this is McDougal's chair, behind his desk

Facilitator voice.

"When I sit in this chair, I will represent the Master - Colin McDougal. He's been expecting you. Watch him carefully - not just what he says, but how he says it, what he does with his hands, when he pauses before he answers, when he doesn't answer the question you actually asked. By all means make notes in your 'Inquiry Books' all of this might be useful later."

The teacher sits on the chair. A shift in posture - straight-backed, arms folded, a slight lift of the chin. McDougal looks at the Team for a moment before speaking. He does not smile.

> "I understand you've come from the Commission. I've had word. I trust your journey was comfortable."

He waits. He is in no hurry.

Guidance for the TIR exchange

McDougal is formal, controlled, and entirely accustomed to authority. He does not volunteer information. He answers the question asked and nothing more. Some suggested responses for common student questions:

On the conditions and the food: "The dietary scale is set by the Commission. We follow it. The records are available for your inspection."

On the bone-crushing work: "It is the labour assigned to this establishment. It produces income for the union. The inmates are here to work - that is the purpose of the institution."

On the allegations that have reached Parliament: "I am not responsible for what is said in Parliament. I am responsible for what happens within these walls, and I run a proper establishment."

On whether he is aware of any complaints from inmates: A pause. "Inmates who have complaints may raise them with the matron." A beat. "Very few do."

On the Board of Guardians: "The board meets regularly. The Reverend Dodson chairs it. They have full confidence in my management. You are welcome to examine the minute books."

McDougal never lies outright. He manages. That is what students need to notice.

The in-and-out rhythm

The teacher should step out of role two or three times during the exchange - not more. Each time, the movement out is physical and clear: the teacher stands, steps to the side of the chair, and speaks in facilitator voice.

The first step out might come after McDougal has deflected his first significant question - perhaps when he redirects to the Board of Guardians. The teacher steps aside:

> "Did you see what he did there? He was asked about the food and he pointed us toward the records and the board. What does that tell us? Is he hiding something, or is he doing exactly what a man in his position would do - keeping himself behind procedure? Did you notice what he did with his eyes? What does it mean when someone does that?"

Allow three or four responses. Then: "Let's go back."

The teacher sits. McDougal returns.

A second step out might come after a moment of particular stillness or controlled deflection - a pause before an answer, a careful choice of words. The teacher steps aside:

> "Watch what happens to his hands when he answers a difficult question. Watch his face. Is there anything there that the words are not telling us?"

And once more back into role.

The final step out comes to close the TIR entirely. McDougal has indicated that he is prepared to show the Team whatever records they require and to make the building available for inspection. He stands - the meeting is over, in his view. The teacher steps out of role, moves the chair aside, and returns to facilitator voice.

> "Right. We've met him. What do we think?"

Return to the Inquiry Notebooks

The discussion following the TIR should be brief - five minutes at most. Hold the inductive sequence:

> "What did we observe? Not conclusions - what did we actually see and hear?"
>
> "What patterns did you notice across his answers? What kept happening?"
>
> "What might that tell us - tentatively - about this man and about what we are going to find in this building?"

Then, in twilight voice, the transition to the notebooks:

> "We need to get this down while it is fresh. The meeting with the Master is the first direct evidence we have gathered. Parliament will want to know not just what he said, but how he conducted himself - what his manner suggested, what lines of inquiry his answers have opened up. This is not a personal impression. This is a professional record. What we write now will be read by people who were not in that room."

Students work in their inquiry notebooks and write the meeting record. The teacher circulates in twilight voice.

> "You've written that he seemed evasive. That's a judgement - a useful one - but what did he actually do or say that supports it? Can you note the specific moment?"
>
> "He said 'very few' inmates raise complaints. Not 'none'. That's worth recording exactly as he said it - the precise word matters."
>
> "What questions do we still need to answer that this meeting has not resolved? Note those too - that column is as important as the record of what he said."

Closing

Students finish writing. The teacher speaks in narrator voice.

> *"The Master has offered to make the records available. He has said the building is open to inspection. He has been, throughout, entirely correct in his manner.*

> *"The Team has been shown to a room where they will work tomorrow. On the way, they passed a door at the end of a corridor. It was bolted from the outside."* **Slide 14 - bolted door**

Leave it there.

Teacher Notes

On playing McDougal

The temptation is to make McDougal obviously sinister - to signal to students that he is the villain. Resist this entirely. The more controlled and plausible he is, the harder students have to work to read him, and the more the historical thinking is doing real work. A McDougal who is visibly unpleasant tells students what to think. A McDougal who is entirely correct and professionally managed makes them earn their conclusions.

If students ask him a question that puts him under genuine pressure - something specific about the bone-crushing, or about the women in his care - do not have him react with visible discomfort. Have him pause slightly longer than usual before answering. That pause is enough. Students who are watching carefully will notice it.

On the bolted door

This detail is placed at the end deliberately. It is not explained. It will return. If students ask about it now, the response in twilight voice is: "Yes. We should note that. We'll need to find out what is behind it." Do not resolve it this episode under any circumstances.

On the portrait enactment

The whole-class embodiment works because no individual student is exposed. Everyone is standing together, everyone is the portrait, and the teacher reads the room rather than commenting on individuals. Keep the narration over the portrait calm and observational rather than theatrical. The line about McDougal not having forgotten what it felt like to give orders is doing curriculum work - connecting his military background to his conduct as master - and should be delivered clearly enough that students register it.

On the in-and-out rhythm with TIR

The two or three steps out of role should feel like a director pausing a rehearsal - purposeful, brief, and returning quickly. If students are deeply engaged with the TIR and the pauses feel disruptive, trust that and reduce them. The rhythm is a scaffold for classes who are new to reading TIR behaviour. If your class is reading McDougal well without it, one step out is enough.

On time

The co-construction of the office and the portrait enactment together should take no more than twelve to fifteen minutes. If the office-building discussion runs long, trim it - the essential elements are the desk, the chair, and the portrait. Everything else is texture. Protect the time for the TIR exchange and the notebook writing. The TIR is the heart of this episode and should not be rushed or truncated.

Episode 3: Inside the Building

Curriculum connections

Victorian workhouse design and institutional organisation; the Poor Law system and the principle of less eligibility; spatial reasoning and scale; collaborative decision-making from evidence; formal record-keeping.

Narrative function of this episode

The Team moves inside the building for the first time - not yet into the rooms themselves, but through the logic of the institution. Before they can investigate, they need to understand how this place was designed to work: what each space was for, who used it, and how the arrangement of rooms reflects the values of the system that built it. The floor plan the Team produces this episode is not a finished document. It is a working map that will be added to, revised, and tested against evidence across subsequent episodes. The episode ends with one thing that does not fit - a room the Team cannot account for - and that unresolved detail is what carries the inquiry forward.

Resources

Slides

• Slides 15–17: episode title, workhouse floor plan and the historical Andover plan for comparison.

Printouts

• Room Reference Cards — one set per group of five. See Resource 1, Andover Room Reference Cards, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

Inquiry books

• Inquiry books with notes from episodes 1 and 2.

Classroom resources

• Version A: one large sheet of plain paper per group, tape or glue.

• Version B: one large sheet of graph paper per group, pencils and rulers.

World-building artefact

The floor plan of Andover Union Workhouse

Each group produces a floor plan of the workhouse as they understand it should be organised. This is a working document - it will be referred to, revised, and annotated across subsequent episodes as the Team moves into the rooms themselves and begins to test what they find against what the plan suggests should be there. Groups should write the room name and a brief note of purpose on each room they draw or place. The *Purpose unknown* room should appear on every plan, positioned where the group judges it most likely to be, marked clearly as unaccounted for.

Lesson Plan

Opening

Slide 15 - Episode 3
Students are settled. Inquiry notebooks on the tables. The teacher speaks in narrator voice.

> *"The Master has made the building available for inspection. The Team has one day to move through it - to understand how it is organised, who is where, and whether what they find matches what the official record says should be there."*
>
> Twilight voice:
>
> "Before we go any further, we need a floor plan. Here is the layout of the workhouse." **Slide 16**
>
> "We know something about how workhouses were built - every room had a purpose, and the position of each room tells you something about the values of the people who designed the system."

Introducing the Task

The teacher explains the task in facilitator voice - clear and direct.

> "Working in groups, you'll find you have a set of cards, each showing a room and its purpose. The job is to decide how those rooms fit together - what is next to what, what is near the entrance, what is kept separate from what, and why. Every decision should be a reasoned one. We are not guessing. We are thinking about how this institution was designed to function."

Then, before distributing materials, a brief inductive discussion with the whole class.

> "Let's think about this together first. What do we already know about how workhouses were organised? From the images we looked at, from what we've read - what principles governed the way they were built?"

Take four or five responses. Students may raise the separation of men, women, and children; the principle of less eligibility; the need for supervision; the importance of labour. Build on what they offer.

> "So if we know that men and women were kept strictly separated at all times - what does that tell us about where their sleeping wards should be on the plan? And what does it tell us about where the dining hall should be?"

One more question before the groups begin:

> "The workhouse was also designed so that the master could oversee as much of it as possible. Where would you position his office, if that were your intention?"

This question is doing curriculum work - students are reasoning about institutional power and architecture simultaneously - and it gives them a principle they can apply across the whole plan.

The Task: Two Versions

Here are two possible suggestions for the way you might do this activity. Version B is more demanding on the students and more time consuming.

Version A: Physical arrangement with room cards

Each group receives:

- One set of thirteen room cards
- One large sheet of plain paper to represent the footprint of the building

Groups arrange the cards physically on the paper, moving them until they are satisfied with the layout. They should be encouraged to move cards more than once - the first arrangement is rarely the best one. Once a group is satisfied, they fix the cards in place (tape or glue) and annotate the plan with brief notes on the reasoning behind key decisions: why is the infirmary here? Why is the children's dormitory positioned as it is?

The *Purpose unknown* card is in the envelope with the others. Groups discover it when they reach it. The teacher does not draw attention to it in advance.

Version B: Drawing on graph paper

Each group receives:

- One set of thirteen room cards as reference only - these sit on the table beside the plan
- One large sheet of graph paper
- Pencils and rulers

Groups read each card, decide where that room should be positioned, and draw it onto the graph paper. The graph paper requires groups to make decisions about scale and proportion - a dormitory for forty people is not the same size as the master's office, and that difference has to be represented on the plan. Groups label each room and annotate key decisions.

Version B takes longer and produces a more considered document. It also requires more sustained discussion within the group, because every mark on the paper is a committed decision rather than a provisional placement. If your class is confident with sustained collaborative work and you have the the time, Version B will produce a richer world-building artefact. If time is tight or the class needs a more immediate sense of progress, Version A moves faster and still generates the reasoning this episode requires.

In both versions, the *Purpose unknown* card is encountered during the task, not before it.

Once they've finished, show **- Slide 17** and compare their layouts with the one from the real Andover workhouse.

Twilight Voice During the Task

The teacher circulates between groups. Every exchange is in twilight voice - treating the floor plan as a professional document under construction, not a school activity being monitored.

Some examples for this episode:

> "I'm looking at where you've put the children's dormitory. It's next to the women's ward. Is that deliberate? Think about what that means for the children - and for their mothers."

> "The workroom is a long way from the master's office on your plan. Would McDougal have been comfortable with that arrangement? What does he need to be able to see from where he sits?"
>
> "You've put the infirmary near the entrance. I wonder about that. Who comes through the entrance? Think about what the infirmary is for and who it needs to be kept away from."
>
> "You've found the last card. *Purpose unknown.* Where are you going to put it? And why there?"

That final question - when a group reaches the bolted door card - should be asked quietly, as a genuine question, without emphasis. Do not linger. Move on to the next group. Let the card sit with them.

Back Together

> "Let's look at where different groups have placed certain rooms. Has everyone put the men's and women's wards in the same position relative to each other? What happened when you tried to place them differently?"
>
> "Where did people put the master's office? What reasoning drove that decision?"

Then: "Did everyone find the last card?"

A pause. Let groups who found it respond.

> "Where did you put it on your plan? And what did you do with it?"

Take three or four responses. Do not resolve the question of what is behind the door. Hold it open.

> "We have a room in this building that no one has told us the purpose of. It is bolted from the outside. It is on our plan and we don't know what it is. What do we need to do about that?"

Students will say they need to find out. Leave it there.

Closing

Brief narrator voice.

> *"The floor plans are in the Team's files. The building is now mapped - as far as it can be mapped. Tomorrow the inspection begins in earnest. The Team will move into the rooms themselves.*
>
> *"There is one room on the plan that has no purpose recorded against it. The bolt is on the outside of the door.*
>
> *"No one at the workhouse has mentioned it."*

Teacher Notes

On the room cards and the curriculum work they do

The thirteen cards are not just organisational tools. Each one carries information about the Poor Law system - what the institution was designed to do, who it separated from whom, what the conditions of daily life inside it were. Students encounter this information at the moment they have a reason to

care about it: they need to know what a room is for in order to decide where to put it. Do not pre-teach the content. Let the cards do the work.

On the *Purpose unknown* card

Do not draw attention to it when distributing materials. It should be discovered. Some groups will reach it early; some will leave it until last. The moment of discovery is different in each group, and that variation is useful - when the class comes back together, groups will have had different experiences of finding it and deciding what to do with it. That diversity of response is worth surfacing in the whole-class discussion.

Under no circumstances explain what is behind the door this episode. If students ask directly - in role or out - the twilight voice response is: "That's exactly what we need to find out. Mark it on the plan and note that it requires investigation."

On the difference between the two versions

Version A is faster and more immediately satisfying - groups can see the plan taking shape quickly and adjust their decisions easily. Version B produces a more considered and more durable document, but requires students to commit to decisions before they fully understand their implications, which some groups will find frustrating. That frustration is not a problem - it reflects the genuine difficulty of the task. If you use Version B, reassure groups early that the plan can be revised in subsequent episodes as the Team learns more. The graph paper plan is a working document, not a finished product.

On scale in Version B

If students using graph paper ask how big each room should be, the twilight voice response is: "Think about how many people use it and what they use it for. The dining hall feeds the whole institution. The master's office holds one man and his visitors. Let that guide the size." Do not give specific measurements. The reasoning about scale is the learning.

On time

The task itself - in either version - should occupy the central twenty to twenty-five minutes of the lesson. The whole-class discussion before the task should not run beyond ten minutes. If it does, the task will be rushed, and the task is where the thinking happens. Protect it.

Episode 4: Returning to the Master

Curriculum connections

Formulating and prioritising lines of inquiry; drafting formal questions for a witness; reading behaviour and managing a formal interview; collaborative decision-making; Victorian workhouse administration and record-keeping.

Narrative function of this episode

The Team has seen the building - on paper at least. They know how it is organised, what each space is for, and where the one room that cannot be accounted for sits on the plan. Now they return to McDougal with something they did not have in Episode 2: specific, informed questions. The interview this episode is harder than the first one, because the Team is harder to deflect. The episode closes with the Team taking control of its own inquiry - deciding, for the first time, what it will do next and in what order.

Resources

Slides

• Slides 18–22: episode title, Andover floor plan, McDougal’s portrait, duty rosters and the Team’s lines of investigation.

Printouts

Inquiry books

• Inquiry books and the groups’ floor plans from Episode 3.

Classroom resources

• A chair and folder for the second interview with McDougal.

World-building artefact

The question record in the inquiry notebook

Each inspector's individual question list, followed by the group's agreed priorities, written into the inquiry notebook before the interview begins. This is a professional document - a record of the Team's lines of inquiry going into a formal witness interview. It will sit alongside the meeting notes from Episode 2 as part of the Team's growing formal record.

After the interview, students add a second entry: what McDougal said, what he did not say, and what his answers have opened up or closed down. The before-and-after structure of the notebook entry - questions going in, observations coming out - is itself a model of evidential thinking.

Lesson Plan

Opening

Slide 18 - Episode 4

Students are settled. Floor plans from Episode 3 are on the tables. Inquiry notebooks are open. The teacher speaks in narrator voice.

Slide 19 - Andover floorplan

> *"The Team has spent the morning studying the floor plan of the workhouse. They know now how the building is organised - what each space is for, who uses it, and how the rooms relate to one another."*
>
> *"They are going back to see McDougal."*

Then, in twilight voice:

> "Before we go in, we need to prepare. A formal interview with a witness like McDougal is not a conversation - it is a structured line of inquiry. Every question we ask should have a purpose. We should know, before we ask it, what a useful answer would look like, and what an evasive one would look like. We should know which questions we most need answered, and which ones we can return to if we don't get a satisfactory response the first time."

Individual Question-Drafting

> "Open your inquiry notebooks. Look carefully at the floor plan in front of you and draft the questions you want to put to McDougal today. Not general questions. Specific ones, grounded in what you can see on that plan."

Students work individually. Allow eight to ten minutes. The teacher circulates in twilight voice, treating the notebooks as professional documents.

Some examples of twilight voice during this phase:

> "You've noted the position of the master's office relative to the workroom. What does that proximity allow him to do - and what question does that suggest you should ask him?"
>
> "The children's dormitory is separated from the women's ward. Think about what that means for the children who are in there. Is there a question in that?"
>
> "You've written a question about the *Purpose unknown* room. Good. Think about how you're going to frame it - if you ask him directly what's behind the door, he can deflect. Is there a way of approaching it that makes deflection harder?"
>
> "Think about what McDougal showed us willingly in Episode 2 and what he steered us away from. Are there questions here that follow up on the things he didn't quite answer last time?"

Group Prioritisation

> "Now share what you have with your group. Each person reads out their questions. Then, together, decide: which five questions are the most important ones to put to McDougal today? Not the most interesting - the most important for the inquiry. The ones that, if he doesn't answer them satisfactorily, we will need to note as significant."

Groups discuss and agree their five priority questions.

The teacher circulates, still in twilight voice.

"You've got two questions that are quite similar - both about the food. Could you combine them into one that covers both? Or is there a reason to keep them separate?"

"That question about the bolt - where have you put it in the order? First or last? Think about what it means to lead with it versus what it means to hold it back."

"Five questions. Which one, if he refuses to answer it or gives you something evasive, tells you the most?"

Before the Interview: A Brief Whole-Class Discussion

Bring the class together briefly - five minutes at most.

"What are the questions we're going in with? Let's hear one from each group - the question you've decided is most important."

Take one priority question from each group.

"Several groups have the same question. What does that tell us? And is there anything we have not thought to ask that we should have?"

Then, in twilight voice:

"We go in knowing that McDougal is prepared for this. He has been expecting a second interview. He has had time to think about what he will and will not say. Our job is to listen very carefully - not just to the answers, but to the moments between them - again, pay close attention to his body language."

The Interview

The teacher places McDougal's chair at the front - the same chair as Episode 2. The signal is the same, and students will recognise it.

Slide 20 - Portrait of the Master

"When I sit in this chair I will represent the Master. You have your questions. You know what you are looking for."

The teacher sits. The shift in posture. McDougal looks at the Team for a moment. He has a folder on the desk in front of him - something he has brought to this meeting that he did not have last time.

"I understand you've been studying the building. Good. That's what you're here for. I've brought the duty rosters for the past quarter - I thought they might be useful to you."

He places the folder on the desk and leaves it there. He does not open it. He does not offer it. He simply notes that it exists.

He waits for the first question.

Guidance for the Teacher In Role (TIR) exchange

McDougal in this interview is subtly different from Episode 2. He has had time to prepare. He is slightly more forthcoming on matters that do not threaten him - he volunteers the duty rosters, he

answers questions about the chapel and the infirmary readily, he speaks with apparent openness about the daily routine. This is a controlled performance of cooperation. On the questions that matter - the food, the workroom conditions, the room at the end of the north corridor - he is as managed as before, but the management is more sophisticated. He does not simply redirect to procedure. He acknowledges the question, gives a partial answer, and moves on before the partial nature of the answer has been fully registered.

Suggested responses for the questions most likely to arise:

On the food and the dietary scale: "The rations are set by the Commission. We follow the scale precisely. You're welcome to examine the kitchen accounts - I'll have them made available." He does not say when.

On the workroom and the bone-crushing: "It's hard work. It's meant to be hard work. That's the principle of the institution - the conditions here should not be more comfortable than the conditions of the poorest independent labourer outside. The Commission set that principle, not me."

On whether inmates have complained about conditions: A slight pause - shorter than in Episode 2, more controlled. "Inmates who have concerns may raise them through the proper channels. The matron handles those matters."

On the bolted door at the end of the north corridor: McDougal looks at the Team steadily. "That room is currently not in use. It was used for storage. There is nothing there that is relevant to your inquiry." He does not look at the folder. He does not move.

On the duty rosters he has brought: If students ask to look at them, he slides the folder across the desk immediately. He is entirely cooperative about the rosters. They show nothing unusual. That cooperativeness is itself a signal worth reading. **Slide 21 - Duty Rosters**

On the Board of Guardians and what they have been told: "The board receives a full report at every meeting. The Reverend Dodson has chaired that board for six years. He is a thorough man."

The in-and-out rhythm

This interview runs further before the teacher steps out than in Episode 2. Let the exchange develop. Let students press McDougal on the bolted door if they reach it. Let them notice the folder and decide whether to ask about it.

Step out once, after a significant moment - ideally after McDougal has responded to the question about the bolted door, or after the folder has been examined and found to contain nothing unusual. The step out is brief:

> "Stop there. He said the room is not in use and there is nothing relevant behind that door. He said it steadily, without hesitation. What do you make of that? Is that the behaviour of a man with nothing to hide, or of a man who has prepared very carefully for that question?"

Allow four or five responses. Then back into role.

Step out a second time only if the interview produces a moment that demands it - a question McDougal handles in a way that is particularly significant, or a moment where students need to be helped to notice something they are passing over. Use judgement. If the class is reading him well without the step-out, stay in role and let the interview reach its natural close.

McDougal closes the interview himself. He stands, straightens the folder on the desk, and speaks.

> "I hope that's been helpful. The building is available to you. Whatever you need to see, I'll make sure it's accessible." A brief pause. "Within reason."

He sits again and looks at his desk. The meeting, in his view, is over.

The teacher steps out of role, moves the chair aside, and returns to facilitator voice.

> “Take this opportunity to make notes in your inquiry books - write down any observations, unanswered questions and concerns. All this will be important for our investigations.”
>
> Once the students have finished making their notes, hand out the ‘Duty Roster’ document. Give them time to read it, make comments, and underline or circle anything worth remembering.

Outside the Fiction: The Team Decides

> "Right. We've interviewed him twice now. We've seen the floor plan. We know what this building contains - on paper. What we don't yet know is what it actually contains."

A brief discussion - five minutes at most.

> "What did you make of him today? Was he more cooperative than last time, or did it just look that way?"

Take four or five responses. Do not resolve the question.

> "We have the authority to investigate this building fully. The question is where we go next, and in what order. I have some options for us, we’ll have to decide together."

Display and distribute the ‘The Team's Lines of Investigation’ list. Read it through with the class, explaining briefly what each option would involve, then let them discuss them in groups.

The Team's Lines of Investigation — Choose Your Order - Slide 22

1. Tour the workhouse Walk through the building room by room — the workroom, the sleeping wards, the kitchen, the dining hall, the infirmary, the yard. Observe conditions directly. The floor plan will guide you. Some rooms may look exactly as they should. Others may not.

2. Examine the workhouse log books The master is required by law to keep a record of everything that happens in the establishment — punishments, admissions, deaths, incidents. These records can be tested against one another and against what witnesses tell you. Inconsistencies, gaps, and omissions may be as significant as what is written.

3. Examine the food supply and dietary regulations The Commission sets a dietary scale that every workhouse is required to follow. The kitchen accounts record what food has been purchased and in what quantities. Comparing the two may tell you whether the inmates are receiving what they are legally entitled to.

4. Speak with the inmates The people inside this building are the most direct witnesses to what has been happening here. Speaking with them requires care — they are dependent on the institution, they may fear that speaking plainly will make their situation worse, and their testimony will need to be weighed against everything else the Team finds.

5. Speak with the Board of Guardians The board is responsible for overseeing the master's conduct. The Reverend Dodson chairs it. They have consistently endorsed McDougal's management. What they knew, when they knew it, and what they chose to do with that knowledge is central to the inquiry.

6. Investigate the room at the end of the north corridor The door is bolted from the outside. McDougal has said the room is not in use and contains nothing relevant. The Team has the authority to enter any room in this building.

> "These are the lines of investigation available to us. We can pursue all of them - we will need to before the report is written. The question is, in what order - what have you decided in your groups?"

Hear from each group, then make a decision as a whole class - a show of hands, or a brief group vote, or a discussion that reaches natural consensus. Note the order the class decides on. That order will shape the sequence of episodes that follows.

Close in narrator voice.

> *"The Team has its plan. The inquiry moves forward tomorrow.*

Teacher Notes

On the question-drafting phase

The individual phase before the group discussion is important and should not be shortened to save time. Students who draft questions alone first bring something specific to the group conversation - they are not simply agreeing with whoever speaks first. If a student is stuck during the individual phase, the twilight voice prompt is: "Look at the plan. Find something that surprises you about where a room is, or how big it is, or what it is next to. Start there."

On the folder McDougal brings (see below)

The duty rosters are a deliberate plant. McDougal volunteers them because they are safe - they show nothing unusual. Students who ask to examine them should be allowed to. The folder can be a real prop: a manila folder containing a simple typed or handwritten roster showing names, duties, and hours. It looks thorough. It is thorough. It contains no evidence of wrongdoing. The lesson here is that a prepared man brings the documents that do not incriminate him.

On the bolted door response

McDougal's steadiness when he answers the question about the bolted door is the most significant moment in the interview. It should be delivered without any visible discomfort - no pause, no shift in posture, nothing that signals guilt. That steadiness is what makes it difficult to read. A guilty man who shows it is easy to catch. A man who has prepared his answer and delivers it calmly is much harder. Let students sit with that difficulty.

On the list of next steps

Present the list without steering. Read each option clearly and explain briefly what it would involve in practice - students need enough information to make a genuine decision. If the class is divided, do not resolve it for them. A divided team is historically plausible and educationally rich. Note both preferences and find a way to honour both in the episode sequence that follows.

The six options are designed so that any order is defensible and any order produces different learning. Students who choose to speak with the inmates first will encounter testimony before they have examined the records - which means they will read the testimony differently than students who have seen the dietary accounts first. That difference is worth noting when the time comes.

On time

The individual question-drafting phase and the group prioritisation together should take no more than fifteen minutes. The whole-class discussion before the interview should be five minutes at most. Protect the time for the TIR - the interview is the heart of this episode and should run for at least fifteen minutes. The decision-making at the close needs ten minutes: five for the brief reflection on the interview and five for the list and the vote.

Here are the duty rosters. They are designed to look thorough and unremarkable on first reading - which is exactly what McDougal needs them to be. A careful inspector, however, will find things worth noting.

Notes on examining

What a Careful Inspector Might Notice about the Duty Roster

These are not pointed out to students. They are there in the document, waiting to be found. The twilight voice during the examination can draw attention to them if students are moving past them too quickly, but should never name them as significant outright.

The quota note under inmate working hours. Ten pounds of crushed bone per adult male per day. The roster records this as a standard requirement. Whether that quota is achievable on the rations provided - and what happens to a man who does not meet it - is not addressed anywhere in the document.

The medical officer's visits. Dr Carlisle has attended three times this quarter, each time for a routine inspection, each time signing off without further comment. No visits are recorded in response to illness, injury, or complaint. In an institution housing over a hundred people across the summer and autumn months, no non-routine medical attendance has been recorded at all.

The punishment record is not here. McDougal has noted that it is maintained separately and available on request. He has brought the duty rosters. He has not brought the punishment record. He has not offered it. He has simply noted that it exists.

The master's hours. McDougal records himself as on duty from six in the morning until nine at night, seven days a week. Whether that record is accurate, and what it means for how he conducts himself during those hours, is not addressed in the document.

The note that the dietary scale has been observed. This is McDougal's own statement, in his own hand, in a document he has prepared and chosen to bring to this meeting. It is not corroborated by anything else in the roster. It sits there as assertion rather than evidence.

The Six Investigative Episodes

An Arc Overview for the Teacher

This is a planning sketch, not a set of finished lesson plans. Its purpose is to give you the full shape of the inquiry before the class makes its decision about order, so that you can see how the episodes build on one another, what each one contributes to the Team's growing case, and where the emotional and evidential weight falls across the arc.

Each episode is described in terms of its narrative function, its central activity, its world-building artefact, and the key discovery or unresolved question it leaves behind. The episodes are designed so that any order is defensible - but the sketch notes where certain orderings produce particular effects worth considering.

Episode A: Tour the Workhouse

Narrative function The Team moves through the building for the first time with their own eyes. The floor plan from Episode 3 becomes a navigational tool. What they find in each room is tested against what the plan suggests should be there - and against what McDougal has told them. Some rooms will look exactly as they should. Others will not. The workroom is the room that matters most.

Central activity the class moves through the workhouse room by room, using the floor plan as a guide. Each room is established through narrator voice and a resource - a period image, a brief description, an object. Students observe and record in their inquiry notebooks as they go. The teacher circulates in twilight voice, treating each room as a site of evidence rather than a location to be described.

The workroom is the final room of the tour, and it is held back deliberately. The narrator voice that introduces it is the most carefully written piece of narration in the episode. The bones are there. The smell is there. The state of the inmates is there. Nothing is explained. Students observe and record.

World-building artefact An annotated version of the floor plan from Episode 3 - each room marked with the Team's observations, questions, and initial assessments. The plan is beginning to carry evidence.

Key discovery The workroom. The condition of the inmates. The quota note from the duty rosters - ten pounds per man per day - sits in the Team's notebooks. They have now seen the room where that quota is enforced and the people who must meet it. The question of whether it is possible on the rations provided has not yet been answered. It hangs over everything that follows.

What is left unresolved The bolted door is passed on the tour. McDougal, if he is accompanying the Team, notes that the room is not in use. The Team records it. No one opens it.

Episode B: Examine the Workhouse Log Books

Narrative function The Team sits down with the official record of the institution - the log books, the minute books, the punishment record McDougal did not bring to the interview. This is the episode

where the documentary evidence is tested against everything else the Team has gathered. The dietary register discrepancy planted earlier in the planning - the gap between what the register records and what the kitchen stores show - lands here with full force, because students now have the floor plan, the tour observations, and the duty rosters to read it against.

Central activity The Team examines a set of documents: the punishment record, extracts from the minute books of the Board of Guardians, the dietary register, and a letter from the Poor Law Commission's assistant commissioner acknowledging an earlier complaint about Andover - a complaint that was not acted upon. Students work in their groups, cross-referencing documents, identifying inconsistencies and omissions, and building a written record of what they find.

The documents are carefully constructed. The punishment record is sparse in places where it should not be sparse. The minute books record nothing unusual across nine years of meetings. The assistant commissioner's letter is the most significant document in the set - it establishes that a warning was received in London before Wakley's speech, and that nothing was done. This is the moment the inquiry extends beyond the workhouse itself.

World-building artefact A documentary evidence log - a new section of the inquiry notebook in which the Team records each document examined, what it establishes, what it implies, and what it leaves unexplained. This becomes the evidential spine of the final report.

Key discovery The dietary register discrepancy. The assistant commissioner's letter. The punishment record's silences. Together these establish that the official record of this institution has been managed - not falsified outright, but shaped. What has been left out is as significant as what has been put in.

What is left unresolved The minute books show that the Board of Guardians received a complaint from an inmate's family in the spring of 1844. The complaint is recorded. The response is not. What happened to that complaint, and who decided not to act on it, will need to be addressed when the Team speaks with the board.

Episode C: The Kitchen Note

Narrative function The Team moves from the question opened in the workroom to the food supply itself. Instead of carrying out a full provision calculation, the Team receives a handwritten note from inside the workhouse, examines a selected kitchen ledger extract, and meets Eliza Marsh, a kitchen worker who is willing to speak cautiously about what she has seen.

Central activity The Team reads the kitchen note as a clue that must be tested, then examines the ledger extract for the week 8 meat shortfall and the repeated bread issue pattern. A careful TIR encounter with Eliza Marsh gives the documentary evidence a human source without turning her testimony into proof of the whole matter.

World-building artefact A Food Supply Evidence Note - a three-source record that sets out what the note alleges, what the ledger records, what Eliza Marsh states from direct knowledge, and what remains unproven. This document will be cited in the final report and cross-referenced with the inmate testimony.

Key discovery The discrepancy between what the kitchen records show and what appears to have reached the tables. The ledger records a week 8 meat shortfall and a promise that it would be made good, but no later entry confirms that this happened. Eliza Marsh states that food weighed in the kitchen did not always reach the tables and that the men from the bone room were always hungry.

What is left unresolved The episode does not establish who ordered food to be held back, exactly how much failed to reach the tables, or whether Mrs McDougal acted independently or under the Master's instruction. Those questions will need to be tested against inmate testimony and the Board's oversight.

Episode D: Speak with the Inmates

Narrative function This is the most emotionally demanding episode in the arc, and the most important. The Team has spent several episodes gathering documentary and physical evidence. Now they sit opposite the people whose lives that evidence describes. The testimony of inmates is the most direct evidence available - and the most difficult to gather and to weigh. Fear, dependence, and uncertainty about whether speaking plainly will change anything will all shape what people feel able to say.

Central activity The teacher plays two or three inmates in brief, sequential TIR encounters - each one distinct in age, circumstance, and what they are able or willing to say. The encounters are not interviews in the formal sense. They are conversations conducted carefully, in a space where the Team is aware that every inmate they speak with will return to the building and to McDougal's authority when the Team leaves.

The first encounter is with an older man who has been in the workhouse for three years. He is guarded, careful, and speaks in the kind of language that has learned to stay within safe limits. He does not say anything that directly corroborates the allegations. But what he does not say is as significant as what he does.

The second encounter is with a woman who is more forthcoming - not reckless, but someone who has decided that the Team represents a genuine opportunity and is prepared to take a measured risk. She corroborates the hunger. She does not name McDougal directly. She uses careful language: "we were always hungry", "there was never enough", "some of the women were frightened."

A third encounter, briefer, is with a child - ten or eleven years old, separated from their mother, who answers questions about the daily routine in a way that is factual and matter-of-fact and quietly devastating.

Between each encounter, the teacher steps out of role and brings the class out of the fiction briefly. Not to coach them in reading the witness - they should be doing that themselves by now - but to ask a harder question: "How do we weigh this testimony? What do we know about the conditions under which this person is speaking to us? What does that mean for how we record it?"

World-building artefact Witness testimony records in the inquiry notebook - one entry per encounter, recording what was said, how it was said, the conditions of the testimony, and the Team's assessment of its reliability and significance. These records follow the format established in the documentary evidence log from Episode B.

Key discovery Corroboration of the hunger. The first human confirmation that the letter writer's account is not invention. And something new: the woman's reference to "some of the women were frightened" opens a line of inquiry that the documentary evidence has not yet reached - the allegations about McDougal's conduct toward female inmates that the letter writer refused to put in writing.

What is left unresolved What the women were frightened of. The Team has heard the edge of an allegation without hearing the allegation itself. Whether to pursue it, and how, is a decision the Team will need to make. This unresolved thread connects directly to the interview with the Board of Guardians, where the question of what was known and not acted upon becomes unavoidable.

A note on this episode This is the episode where the emotional weight of the inquiry is most directly present. Handle the child encounter with particular care. The teacher's narrator voice introducing that encounter should be the quietest and most restrained piece of narration in the whole context. Do not reach for pathos. The facts are sufficient.

Episode E: Speak with the Board of Guardians

Narrative function The Team moves from the people with the least power in this situation to the people with the most - or at least the most formal authority. The Board of Guardians has overseen this institution for nine years. The Reverend Dodson has chaired it throughout. The evidence the Team has gathered by this point - the food supply discrepancy, the documentary silences, the inmates' testimony, the assistant commissioner's letter - all points toward a question the board will need to answer: what did you know, and what did you choose to do with what you knew?

Central activity The teacher plays Reverend Dodson - a man who is not McDougal. He is educated, careful, genuinely convinced that he has acted properly, and skilled at the language of institutional self-defence. He did not know about the worst of it, he will say. He trusted the master's reports. He attended every meeting. He acted on everything that was brought to his attention.

The Team's job is to test those claims against the evidence they have already gathered. The complaint recorded in the minute books in spring 1844 - the one with no recorded response - is now in the Team's hands. The assistant commissioner's letter is in the Team's hands. The Food Supply Evidence Note is in the Team's hands. Dodson will need to account for all of it.

Unlike McDougal, Dodson shows some discomfort. Not guilt - discomfort. He is a man beginning to understand that the line between not knowing and not looking is going to be very difficult to hold in front of a parliamentary inquiry.

World-building artefact A second witness testimony record, structured like the inmate records but in a different register - this is a formal interview with a man of authority, and the Team's notes should reflect that. The record should note not only what Dodson said but what the Team believes his answers establish about the board's conduct, and what further questions they have opened.

Key discovery Dodson's account of the 1844 complaint. He received it. He referred it to McDougal for a response. McDougal provided a written rebuttal. The board accepted the rebuttal and took no further action. Dodson presents this as due process. The Team must decide whether it was.

What is left unresolved The question of the assistant commissioner - the figure in London who received an earlier warning and did not act. Dodson knows something about this. He is not forthcoming. The Team has the letter. Whether they choose to press him on it in this interview, or save it for the final report, is a decision they must make.

Episode F: Investigate the Room at the End of the North Corridor

Narrative function This episode can sit anywhere in the sequence - early, late, or in the middle - and its position changes its meaning. If the Team investigates the room before they have gathered much other evidence, what they find is raw and without context. If they investigate it after the tour, the log books, the food accounts, and the inmates' testimony, they bring everything they have learned to the threshold of that door. The second option is significantly more powerful, and worth steering toward if the class's chosen order allows it.

The room behind the bolted door is a punishment cell. It is small, cold, and contains a wooden board that serves as a bed. There is no window. The punishment record - sparse as it is - records solitary confinement as a standard sanction, with no upper limit on duration noted. The room has been used recently. The board is worn.

Central activity The teacher uses the six dimensions of dramatic imagination - darkness and light, sound and silence, movement and stillness - to make the room real through narrator voice before the Team enters it. Students then enter the space - physically, if the classroom layout allows, or imaginatively through the narration - and record what they find. The observation is methodical and professional. The emotional register is held by the narration, not by asking students to perform feeling.

After the observation, the teacher brings the class out of the fiction briefly. "We have now been in this room. McDougal told us there was nothing here relevant to our inquiry. Is that true?"

World-building artefact A site observation record - a formal account of the room's dimensions, contents, condition, and the Team's assessment of its recent use. This is physical evidence, and the record should reflect that: precise, descriptive, and carefully distinguished from interpretation.

Key discovery The room is not storage. It has been used as a punishment cell, recently and repeatedly, in conditions that the Team must now assess against the legal limits on workhouse punishment. Whether what has happened in this room is within the law, and whether McDougal's statement that it contained nothing relevant constitutes a deliberate attempt to mislead the inquiry, are questions the Team will need to address in their final report.

What is left unresolved Who has been in this room, and for how long, and on whose authority, cannot be established from the physical evidence alone. The punishment record's silences are now more significant than they were. This episode, wherever it falls in the sequence, feeds directly into the final report.

Notes on the Arc as a Whole

On ordering

Any order works. But two orderings are worth noting as particularly effective.

If the class chooses to speak with the inmates early - before the documentary evidence - they will encounter testimony before they have the numbers to corroborate it. That makes the testimony harder to assess and the documentary work that follows more urgent. It also means students experience the human reality of the situation before they encounter the institutional language that has managed and concealed it. That sequence has a particular emotional and intellectual shape.

If the class chooses to examine the log books and the food accounts before speaking with anyone, they will arrive at the inmate encounters already knowing what the numbers suggest. The testimony

then corroborates what the documents imply. That sequence builds toward the human encounter rather than beginning with it, and produces a different - perhaps more measured - form of outrage.

Both are historically legitimate. Both serve the inquiry questions. The teacher should note which order the class has chosen and think about what it means for how the final report will be written.

On the bolted door

Episode F works best when it is not the first investigation the class pursues. The room needs context. If students open the door before they have gathered any other evidence, they find a cold room with a wooden board. If they open it after they have heard the inmates' testimony, examined the food accounts, and read the punishment record's silences, they find something that confirms and deepens everything they have already begun to understand. Hold it back if you can.

On the final report

The six investigative episodes are building toward a single written outcome: the Team's formal report to Parliament. That report is the culminating literacy task of the whole context and should draw on every world-building artefact produced across the inquiry - the preliminary record sheet, the floor plan, the documentary evidence log, the Food Supply Evidence Note, the witness testimony records, the site observation record. Plan the report writing as its own episode, after the six investigations are complete, with enough time for students to draft, discuss, and revise. It is not a homework task. It is the work the whole context has been building toward.

Episode A: Tour the Workhouse

Curriculum connections Victorian workhouse conditions and the principle of less eligibility; cross-referencing primary sources against direct observation; inference from physical evidence; spatial reasoning; formal note-making for a parliamentary readership; ethical reasoning about institutional responsibility and the gap between official record and lived reality.

Narrative function of this episode The Team enters the workhouse properly for the first time - not through documents or interviews, but through the building itself. The floor plan built in Episode 3 becomes an active tool: each room visited is tested against what the plan suggests should be there, and against what McDougal has said. Most rooms will confirm the official record. A small number will not. The workroom is the last room visited and is withheld deliberately - the episode builds toward it. By the time the Team reaches the workroom, they have already developed a habit of careful, comparative observation that makes what they find there harder to dismiss.

Resources

Slides

• Slides 31–37: entrance hall, dining hall, sleeping ward, kitchen, yard and workroom.

Printouts

• Room Inspection Record — one copy per student or group.

Inquiry books

• Inquiry books and annotated floor plans from Episode 3.

Classroom resources

• Pencils and clipboards or firm writing surfaces, if students move around the room.

World-building artefact The annotated floor plan from Episode 3, now carrying the Team's direct observations. Each room visited is marked with: what the Team observed, any discrepancy between the plan or the records and what was found, and any question that the room has opened up. By the end of the episode the plan is beginning to carry evidence rather than simply organisation. The workroom section of the plan will be the most heavily annotated.

Students will also add a further entry to their inquiry notebooks: a running record of each room, written up at the end of the tour rather than room by room, capturing what the Team has established, what it has observed that requires explanation, and what questions the workroom has opened up that cannot yet be answered.

A note on the structure of each room

Every room in the tour follows the same sequence, without the sequence ever being named:

First, the narrator voice establishes the room - a short, carefully written description that uses the six dimensions of dramatic imagination (darkness and light, sound and silence, movement and stillness) to make the space physically present. This is scripted in advance and delivered from notes rather than improvised.

Second, the image for that room appears. Students are given ten to fifteen seconds of silence before any question is asked.

Third, the inductive sequence begins: what can you see, what do you notice, what does this room tell us. The facilitator voice runs this phase, pressing for observation before interpretation.

Fourth, the comparison question: the teacher, in twilight voice, invites the Team to test what they are seeing against the floor plan and the duty roster. This is not a closed question. It may produce uncertainty rather than resolution.

Fifth, the team notes what they have found - not yet on the plan (that comes at the end), but in brief spoken form: what do we observe, what do we need to record, what, if anything, does not fit.

Then the group moves on.

The pace should be calm and purposeful rather than rushed. The tour is investigative, not sightseeing. Each room matters because the Team is building a record, not collecting impressions.

Lesson Plan

Re-entering the building

Slide 24 - Floorplan

Students are settled. Floor plans from Episode 3 are on the tables alongside inquiry notebooks. The teacher speaks in narrator voice - measured, unhurried.

> "The Team has been given the morning to move through the building. McDougal has made himself available if required. He has not offered to accompany the inspection. He has said only that staff have been informed and that no area of the workhouse is closed to the Team."

A brief pause.

> "It is early. The inmates have already been at work for two hours."

Then, in twilight voice - the first words of the lesson that belong to both worlds simultaneously:

> **Slide 25 - Entrance Hall**
>
> "We have the floor plan. Each of us has our inquiry notebook. As we move through each room, we are looking for two things: what is here, and whether what is here matches what the records say should be here. If something does not match, we note it. If we are not sure, we note that too. We are not drawing conclusions yet. We are building a record."

Then, the practical instruction that begins the tour:

> "The first room on the plan from the entrance hall is the dining hall. Let's start there."

The dining hall - Slide 26 - Dining Hall

> Narrator voice:

> "The dining hall is a long room. The tables run in two parallel rows - men on one side, women on the other, children on the other side of the door. The inmates eat in silence; the smell of boiled oats in the air."

Silence. Then:

> "What can you see in this room? Describe it - the tables, the arrangement, the space."

Collect three or four observational responses. Then:

"What does the arrangement of this room tell us about the rules of this place? What is being enforced by the way it is set up?"

Then, moving the inductive sequence toward comparison - twilight voice now:

"The duty roster states that meals are taken in silence, with men, women, and children seated separately. Looking at this room - does what we are seeing confirm that arrangement, or does anything not quite fit?"

Students will largely confirm the roster here. That is appropriate. Most rooms on this tour will confirm the record. The value of confirmation is that it makes the later discrepancies more significant, not less.

"Let's note that the dining hall is as the record describes. The separation is enforced. The silence is enforced. What the record does not tell us - and what we cannot determine from this room alone - is whether what is being served here is what the dietary scale says should be served. That's a question for the kitchen. Let’s move onto the sleeping ward."

The sleeping ward Slide 27 - Sleeping Ward

Narrator voice:

"The men's sleeping ward is on the upper floor. The stairs are stone, worn smooth in the centre. The ward itself runs the length of the north wing - a long room with high, small windows. The beds are wooden frames with straw mattresses, each one narrow, arranged in two rows with a passage between them. The blankets are folded. The room is cold."

Silence. Then:

"What is here? Describe what you see."

Collect responses. Then:

"The beds are made. The room is clean. What does that tell us about how this place is run? And is there anything here that you notice is absent - something you might expect to find in a room where people sleep, that is not here?"

Students may note the absence of any personal belongings, the coldness of the space, the narrowness of the beds, the lack of any privacy. All of these are worth surfacing.

Then, twilight voice:

"We are looking at this room at the moment it is empty. The men who sleep here are already in the workroom. What we cannot tell from the room alone is whether the number of beds matches the number of men in the ward. That would be worth checking against the admissions register when we examine the records. Let’s make a note of it. Kitchens next."

The kitchen Slide 28 - Kitchen

Narrator voice:

"The kitchen is at the back of the building, adjacent to the dining hall. It is the warmest room the Team has entered."

Silence. Then:

"What is here? What can we see?"

Collect responses. Then the comparison question - twilight voice:

"The dietary scale for able-bodied adult men, as set by the Poor Law Commission, includes bread, gruel, cooked meat three times a week, potatoes, and soup. We can see bread and dried peas. We cannot see evidence of meat. We cannot weigh what is here against what the roster claims has been provided."

A pause.

"Is that significant, or is it simply that the morning meal is over and the stores have been depleted? What would we need to see, or count, or examine, to be able to say with confidence whether the dietary scale is being met?"

"Is there anything in this kitchen that surprises us, or that does not fit what the records claim?"

Most students will find the kitchen unremarkable. That is correct. The kitchen is clean, the equipment is in order, the food that is visible is consistent with the scale. The problem with the food supply is not visible here. It is in the numbers.

The yard Slide 29

Narrator voice:

"The yard is at the centre of the building. A stone-flagged rectangle, enclosed by the wings of the workhouse on three sides and a high brick wall on the fourth. It is divided down the middle by a high wall. One half for the men. One half for the women. In the middle of the women's side, there is a stone trough, filled with water that has not yet been changed since yesterday."

Silence. Then:

"What do you notice?"

Students may note the division, the high walls, the emptiness, the stagnant water. The last detail is worth holding.

"The water in the trough has not been changed. Is that significant? What would need to be true for it to be significant, and what would need to be true for it to be unremarkable?"

This is a genuine inductive question. Students should sit with uncertainty here. The trough might simply be waiting to be cleaned. It might not.

"Let’s make a note of it. That is all we can do at this point. We note it and we move on."

Then, in twilight voice, the transition that holds the tour's accumulating logic:

"We have been through four rooms. So far, most of what we have seen matches what the records describe. The building looks, in most respects, as a workhouse should look. That is what we need to hold onto."

Narrator voice: **Slide 30 - Infirmary**

"The infirmary is a room near the east end of the building. Four beds - one occupied by a child. A table with a basin on it. A small window. The room is clean, no adults."

The teacher speaks in twilight voice, looking at the floor plan:

"The duty roster records three visits from Dr Carlisle this quarter - each one a routine inspection, each one signed off without further comment. Four beds. An institution housing over a hundred people. No non-routine visits recorded for the entire summer and autumn."

A pause. Not theatrical. Simply the fact, held in the room.

> "Is that consistent with what we would expect to find in a workhouse of this size? What would account for it? And what would it mean if it cannot be accounted for?"

Students may offer several possibilities: the inmates are unusually healthy; the medical visits are recorded elsewhere; the doctor signs the book without examining the patients; illness that should have been recorded has not been. All of these are possibilities. None of them is yet established.

> "Let's make a note and move on."

This moment does two things. It establishes the habit of comparative reading - testing what is present against what the records claim - in a room where the discrepancy is genuinely ambiguous. And it begins to build a pattern that the workroom will complete: the official record of this place and the actual conditions of this place are not quite the same thing. That pattern matters. It is what makes the workroom more than a shocking room. It makes it evidence.

This is held back. Before the narrator voice begins, a word from the teacher in twilight voice - outside the narration, inside the fiction:

> "The workroom is the last room on the plan. The daily quota for each man according to the duty roster is ten pounds of crushed bone per adult male per day. Let's see what that looks like."

A brief pause.

> "Whatever we find in there - we record it. That is what we are here to do."

Slide 31 - The workroom

Then, narrator voice. This is the most carefully written narration in the episode. Deliver it slowly, without performance. Let the details do the work.

> "The workroom is at the far end of the north wing. As the Team approaches the door, there is a smell - faint at first, then stronger. It is not unpleasant in the way that rot or sewage is unpleasant. It is something older. Animal. The smell of bones that have been dead for months and are being broken open again.
>
> "There are long wooden tables running down both sides, and at each table, men are seated with iron mallets and wooden boards. On the table in front of each man, a pile of bones. Some are large - leg bones, hip bones. Some are small. All of them are old. The colour of old bone is not white. It is yellow-grey, sometimes brown, sometimes darker than that.
>
> "The men are working. The sound in the room is rhythmic - mallet on bone, mallet on board, the crack and crumble of old bone breaking down. The dust from the bones is in the air. It settles on the tables, on the men's clothing, on their hands, on their faces.
>
> "The Team stands at the door and looks."

Silence. A full twenty seconds before any question is asked.

Then, very quietly, twilight voice:

> "What do you see?"

Collect responses. Do not rush this phase. Students have been building toward this room for the entire episode and they should be allowed to look at it carefully.

After several responses, move forward:

> "What do you notice about the men? Not what you think it means yet - what do you actually see? Their faces, their hands, their bodies."

Students will likely notice the thinness, the hollowness, the quality of exhaustion in the faces. Hold the observations. Do not interpret them yet.

> "What do we notice about the bones they are working with? What kind of bones are these? Where might they have come from?"

Students who have read the letter carefully will know - they should be able to say it themselves. If they do not, the twilight voice can draw the connection without stating it: "The letter mentioned knackers' yards and slaughterhouses. These are old bones - bones that have been collected after the flesh has already gone. What does that tell us about what these men are working with all day?"

Then, holding the quota against the room:

> "We have the roster. Ten pounds of crushed bone per adult male per day. Look at the men in this room. Look at the food we saw in the kitchen this morning. Hold those two things together. What question does that put into the record?"

Students should be arriving, through their own reasoning, at the question the episode is designed to produce: whether the quota McDougal has set is achievable on the rations being provided, and what happens to a man who does not meet it. 10 pounds is 4.5 kgs, crushed bone is about turning bones into dust that be sold as farm fertilizer.

Do not answer that question. It is not answered this episode. State it clearly enough that it is held, then move on.

> "We note what we have seen. We do not yet have the evidence to say whether this room is a room where men are being systematically starved. What we have is the room, the quota, and the food supply. The connection between those three things is the question we are carrying out of here."
>
> Narrator:
>
> "As they leave. The sound of the mallets continues. This is the worst job in the workhouse. Outside the door the Team sees a knackers' horse drawn trailer arrive with a fresh supply of old bones. It means another day of toil and stink and rotting meat."

Then, in twilight voice, straightforward and professional:

> "We need to get out and write this up while it is fresh."

Writing up: tables task

As the tour progressed, give the students time to record in their inquiry books.

First: annotate the floor plan. For each room visited, mark the Team's observations. A brief note beside each room - what was seen, whether it matches the record, what question, if any, the room has opened up. The workroom should carry the most annotation. The infirmary should carry a question mark and a note about the medical visits.

Second: write the inquiry notebook entry for the tour. This is a formal record, not a personal response. It records what the Team observed in each room, what the comparison with the records produced, and what questions the tour has opened up. The workroom section of the notebook entry should include the quota, the conditions observed, and the question about whether the quota is achievable on the rations provided - written as a question, not a conclusion.

Twilight voice during circulation - scripted examples for this episode

These are examples, not a script. Adapt them to what students are actually writing.

On the floor plan annotation: "You've put a question mark next to the infirmary. Good. What's the question you want to note there? Be specific - the question itself is evidence of what we noticed."

On the workroom notebook entry: "You've written that the men looked hungry. That's an observation, and it's worth keeping. Can you note what you actually saw - what it was about their faces or their bodies that produced that word? A parliamentary report needs to be able to point to something."

On the quota: "You've noted the ten pounds. Now, you've also seen the kitchen. What's the question that sits between those two things? Write it as a question, not as a finding. We don't have the finding yet."

On the infirmary: "Three routine visits, no non-routine visits, the whole quarter. You've noted it. Do we have an explanation for it? If not, what would need to happen before we could have one?"

On anything a student has observed that is genuinely unexpected: "That's interesting. Where does that go on the plan? Is it a discrepancy, or is it something we simply didn't know to expect? There's a difference between those two things."

Back together: what the tour has produced

Twilight voice:

> "Well, there it is. Not exactly a holiday camp. But neither should it be, they are called workhouses for a reason. It looked clean and tidy. Was there anything we saw today that causes you concern?"

Take contributions, working through the rooms in order. Note where students have observed the same thing, and where observations differ. Hold any disagreement: "Two of us noticed different things in that room. What would account for that difference? Is one observation more reliable than the other, or are both worth keeping in the record?"

Then:

> "The workroom. What did we observe, and what question does it put into the record?"

Take three or four contributions. The question the episode has been building toward - whether the quota is achievable on the rations provided, and what the consequences are for men who cannot meet it - should be stated clearly here, by students if possible, by the teacher in twilight voice if needed.

> "That is the question the workroom has opened up. We do not yet have the evidence to answer it. We know the quota. We have seen the food. We have seen the men. I'd like to know what happens if they don't meet the quota."

Then:

> "What do we now need to find out that we did not need to find out before we walked through the building?"

Take contributions. These should include: whether the dietary scale is actually being met (confirmed by the kitchen accounts); what the punishment record contains for men who do not meet the

bone-crushing quota; what the non-routine medical attendance record shows if it exists at all; what is behind the bolted door.

Write the questions up where students can see them. These questions belong to the inquiry now.

Closing

Narrator voice. Quiet and measured.

> "The tour is complete. The floor plans are annotated. The inquiry notebooks carry the record of what we have seen.
>
> "The workroom is in the record. The quota is in the record. The people are in the record.
>
> "Tomorrow we move on to the next item on our list."

Teacher notes

Session design

The touring structure could easily produce a lesson of sequential looking and listening with very little that requires the Team to act. The design addresses this in three ways: the infirmary is introduced as a discrepancy the Team must reason about, not a room they simply observe; the workroom narration is designed to produce a specific question the students must articulate themselves rather than receive; and the tables task that follows the tour is substantial and demands analytical thinking, not description. The tour is the encounter. The writing up is where the thinking is made explicit.

If the tour portion is running long and the tables task is being squeezed, the rooms to abbreviate are the yard and the sleeping ward, not the kitchen and not the infirmary. The infirmary discrepancy is load-bearing for the episode's argument. The workroom cannot be shortened. Protect twenty minutes at tables.

On the workroom narration

Write this out before the lesson and read it, or speak it from close notes, rather than improvising. The specific details - the colour of old bone, the sound of the mallets, the dust - are what make the room present rather than described. Improvised narration at this moment tends to drift toward the general. The particular details are what the Team needs in order to write a specific record.

On the infirmary as a discrepancy

The infirmary moment is designed to do something precise: it introduces the habit of comparative reading - testing what is present against what the records claim - in a room where the discrepancy is ambiguous rather than dramatic. Students who have read the duty roster carefully will already have noted the medical officer's visits. For students who have not, this is the moment to surface it. The twilight voice does not tell students what the discrepancy means. It states the facts - three visits, no non-routine attendance, over a hundred inmates - and asks what would account for it. Hold all the possibilities students offer. Do not close them down.

On the quota question

The question the workroom produces - whether the ten-pound daily quota is achievable on the rations provided - is the hinge on which the inquiry turns. Students should be arriving at it through their own reasoning by the time the group comes back together. If they are not, the twilight voice

during circulation can bring the duty roster quota and the kitchen observation into proximity without stating the connection: "You've seen the quota. You've seen the kitchen. What's the question that sits between those two things?" The connection is theirs to make.

Do not answer the question this episode. It is answered in the logbooks and dietary accounts investigation, wherever that falls in the sequence the students established in Episode 4. The workroom opens the question. It does not close it.

On writing the notebook entry

Some students will want to write their personal response to the workroom. The twilight voice during circulation holds the distinction between personal impression and professional record without suppressing the response that has produced it: "You've written that it made you feel sick. That response is real, and it matters - but a parliamentary report doesn't carry that sentence. What did you actually see that produced that feeling? Start there. The feeling is the signal. What you saw is the record."

That instruction is doing curriculum work - the distinction between emotional response and evidential record, and the relationship between them - from entirely inside the fiction.

Episode B: Examine the Workhouse Log Books

Curriculum connections Victorian workhouse administration and record-keeping; interpreting primary sources; identifying omission, inconsistency, and institutional language; distinguishing evidence from assertion; formal note-making; chronological reasoning; ethical questions about responsibility and oversight.

Narrative function of this episode The Team sits down with the official records of Andover Union Workhouse. Until now, the inquiry has relied on observation, one anonymous letter, the duty roster, and direct encounters with McDougal. This episode asks whether the paperwork tells the same story as the building.

The documents do not reveal everything directly. Their force lies in what they manage, omit, soften, or fail to explain. The Team begins to understand that a record can be accurate and still conceal the truth.

Resources

Slides 34 - 42

• Episode slides and any document-display slides used during the sorting and discussion.

Printouts

• Punishment Book Extracts.

• Board of Guardians Minute Book Extracts.

• Letter from the Assistant Commissioner.

• Medical Officer’s Attendance Record.

• Sorting task materials. See Resource 2, The Sorting Task: Before the Log Is Written, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

Inquiry books

• The Team’s inquiry books and evidence gathered in previous episodes.

Classroom resources

• Large table space or folders for organising and cross-referencing documents.

• Prepare one complete set of the four documents per group. Print them plainly, without decorative formatting, so they resemble institutional working records; slightly aged or cream paper may be used.

Notes on documents

Document 1: Punishment Book Extracts

What careful inspectors might notice: The punishments are recorded but the duration of some is left open. The phrase "until corrected" has no defined end point. A complaint of physical weakness is recorded as idleness and punished with a reduction in food. The "refractory room" has appeared in earlier records without explanation. The general note at the end of the quarter minimises what the entries above it describe.

Document 2: Board of Guardians Minute Book Extracts

What careful inspectors might notice: The complaint from Mrs Carter is recorded; the Master's written reply is not reproduced in full. The Board referred the complaint to the person being complained about. The Board approved dietary accounts without any record of checking them against the dietary scale. By September 1845, with the allegations already in the public domain, the Board's response was to reaffirm confidence rather than to investigate.

Document 3: Letter from the Assistant Commissioner

What careful inspectors might notice: The letter establishes that London knew a complaint had been made. The Assistant Commissioner accepted the Master's explanation without commissioning any independent inquiry. The phrase "usual vigilance" passes responsibility back to the Board. The letter is dated May 1844 - over a year before the public scandal. What happened to that vigilance in the months that followed is not addressed.

Document 4: Medical Officer's Attendance Record

What careful inspectors might notice: Three visits in three months, each recorded as routine. No visit is recorded in response to illness, injury, weakness, or any incident in the punishment book. The September visit took place eleven days after Edward W. had his bread withheld for "complaint of weakness". No connection between the two entries is recorded anywhere.

World-building artefact: the documentary evidence log

Each group completes one log sheet per document examined. The sheet has four columns:

What this document establishes - things that can be stated as fact because the document itself records them.

What this document implies but does not establish - things a careful reader infers, but which would need corroboration before they could be stated as findings.

What this document fails to explain - gaps, absences, imprecisions, unanswered questions that the document opens without resolving.

Question carried forward - the single most important question this document puts into the inquiry file.

A fifth row at the bottom of each sheet, spanning all four columns: *What would we need to see or hear before we could move something from the "implied" column into the "established" column?*

This document joins the preliminary record sheet and the inquiry notebook entries as part of the Team's formal record.

Lesson Plan

Students are settled. Inquiry notebooks from previous episodes are on the tables. The duty roster from Episode 4 is also on each table. The four documents are face down in front of each group - not yet distributed by the teacher.

Slide 34 - Documents

Twilight Voice:

> "The records have arrived. We seem to have everything - The punishment book. The minutes of the Board of Guardians. The medical officer's attendance record. And a copied letter from London.
>
> “McDougal didn’t bring them himself. He has sent them through the porter.”
>
> "Remeber, a document can be neat and still be incomplete. A record can be accurate and still leave out the thing that matters most. We are not looking for a dramatic confession. We are looking for what the records establish, what they manage, and what they fail to explain. So we will need to read them carefully. Make note of anything that looks out of the ordinary or doesn’t add up."
>
> “Let’s get started.”

First reading

The documents are available as Slides 35 - 38

Allow enough time for a careful first read - three to four minutes. Do not interrupt.

After reading: "What kind of records are these? Not what they contain yet - what kind of documents are they? Who made them? Who were they written for? And who is absent from them?"

Take four or five responses. Students will likely note that every document is produced by or on behalf of those with authority - McDougal, the Board, the Commission, the medical officer. No inmate has produced a document. No inmate is named except in the punishment book, and then only as an initial and an age. That absence is the first significant thing to establish.

> "Every document here was written by someone with power over the people this inquiry is concerned with. Keep that in mind as we go on."

Before groups begin writing the documentary evidence log, they complete a brief sorting task. Each group receives a set of twelve statement cards - three per document. Each card contains a single statement drawn from the documents. Students sort them into two piles: *recorded in the document* and *not recorded but implied or absent*.

The sorting task takes five minutes. Its purpose is to make the distinction between recorded and implied concrete and physical before students begin writing. Groups will disagree on some cards - that disagreement is productive and should not be resolved by the teacher.

In twilight voice, if a group is uncertain about a card: "Is there a sentence in the document that says this, or is it something you are reading between the lines? Both matter - but they belong in different columns."

Group task: the documentary evidence log - Slide 39 Document Log

"Let’s work together in groups and examine the documents, while completing the evidence log - one sheet per document. The sorting task has given us a start on what is recorded and what is not. The log asks us to go further: what does the document imply? What does it fail to explain? And what question does it put into the inquiry file?"

Students work in groups, completing the log. The teacher circulates immediately. The twilight voice during this phase is the most important part of the lesson - it is where the analytical thinking either deepens or stays at the surface.

Twilight voice examples for this episode:

"You've put 'Edward W. was punished for idleness' in the established column. Read the entry again. What is the exact offence recorded? 'Complaint of weakness.' Is 'weakness' the same as 'idleness'? Who has decided they are the same? And where does that decision sit in the document?"

"You've noted the phrase 'until corrected'. What would a lawful punishment record need to include that this phrase does not include? Think about duration, authorisation, review. None of those things are here. Note what is absent."

"The complaint was referred to McDougal. You've put that in the established column. Good. Now - what is the implication column asking? Not what happened, but what does referring a complaint to the person being complained about suggest about how this Board understood its own responsibility?"

"You've noted that the assistant commissioner said there was 'no independent corroboration'. What would independent corroboration have required? Someone going into the workhouse without McDougal knowing in advance. Someone speaking to the inmates. Someone checking the food stores against the dietary scale. None of that happened. Where does that go on the log?"

"Look at the medical officer's record alongside the punishment book. The entry for Edward W. is dated 3 September - complaint of weakness, bread withheld. Dr Carlisle visited on 3 September. He recorded 'no matter requiring report'. How do those two entries sit together? Does the log need a question about this?"

"Your 'question carried forward' column - you've written 'why didn't they investigate?' That is the right instinct, but for the parliamentary report we will need to be more precise. What specifically should they have done? Name the action that was not taken."

Back together

Twilight voice:

"What have we learnt from the punishment book? What does it establish - things we can state as fact because the document records them?"

Take three or four contributions. Note them visibly.

"What does it imply but not establish?"

Take contributions. Hold any disagreement between groups.

"What does it fail to explain? What has it left out or failed to mention?"

This column tends to produce the most significant contributions - the absences are often more important than what is present. Students may note: the duration of Samuel B.'s confinement, what "corrected" means, what happened to Edward W. after his food was withheld, whether the medical officer examined any of the men named in the punishment book, what the general note at the end of the quarter is designed to do.

Repeat for each document. Keep the pace moving - the purpose is to surface the pattern across all four documents, not to exhaust every detail of each one.

Then, in twilight voice, drawing the pattern together:

"We now have four documents. Each one has been kept as required. Each one is signed. Each one, on its own, might be explained away. But look at what they show together:

- a complaint referred back to the person being complained about; accounts approved without any record of verification;

- a medical officer who visited an institution housing over a hundred people and found nothing requiring report for an entire quarter;

- a Commissioner in London who accepted reassurance and returned the responsibility to the Board;

- a Board that, when the allegations became public in September 1845, responded by expressing confidence rather than commissioning inquiry.

"The question is no longer only what McDougal did. The question is how many people had the opportunity to look more closely and chose not to."

Hold that sentence. Do not follow it immediately.

Number and description of Inmates - Slide 40

“There is one more document we need to look at today.”

Discuss the document together. Give the students support to make sense of the columns and abbreviations. Notice the number of ‘aged and infirm’ - discuss how this relates to the information from the documents.

The **casual poor** were people admitted temporarily, often for one night, because they had no shelter or immediate support. They might be travelling in search of work, homeless, stranded, or exhausted. They were recorded separately because they were not usually permanent inmates, but they still affected the workhouse’s food, space, supervision and records.

The TIR moment: McDougal's written record

Twilight voice: “I think it is time to have another word with Mr. McDougal."

Slide 41 - portrait of the master

The teacher sits behind the table - slight straightening, arms folded, a controlled and formal stillness. No theatrical signal is needed. The shift in posture is sufficient.

McDougal:

"You wanted to see me?”

McDougal receives questions without showing discomfort - he is not rattled by the Team.

He is steady and procedural. "The punishment book contains what is required to be recorded." "The Board has expressed confidence in the management of this house." "I have followed the regulations of this Commission." He answers the Team's questions without anger, but maybe a hint of frustration.

"The records show what happened. They do not show more than what happened."

Once the exchange is over, the teacher stands up and comes out of role.

"That is his defence. The books are kept. The entries are signed. The question for us is whether a signed record is the same as a sufficient record. And whether 'showing what happened' is the same as 'showing everything the law requires to be shown.'"

"What do we think? Are there any unanswered questions?"

Slide 42 - Docs

Writing task

Students return to their tables and add an entry to their inquiry notebooks. This is a formal record, not a personal response.

In twilight voice, framing the task:

"This entry is not a summary of what the documents said. It is a record of what the Team has established, what remains implied but unproven, and what the inquiry now needs to pursue. Parliament will read this. It needs to be precise."

Students write, using the sentence stems if needed:

The punishment book establishes that... The minute book shows that... The Assistant Commissioner's letter is significant because... What remains unexplained is... The Team therefore needs to...

The teacher circulates. The twilight voice holds the distinction between personal response and professional record throughout:

"You've written 'this is shocking'. That response is real, and it matters - but a parliamentary report doesn't carry that sentence. What is it specifically that produced that response? Name the entry, the date, the phrase. Start there."

"You've used the word 'corrupt'. That is a strong claim. What would the evidence need to show before we could support it? What we can say right now is more limited - and more careful - than that. What is the most precise thing the evidence allows us to say?"

"You've written that the Board knew about the starvation. Is that established? They knew about a complaint alleging insufficiency of food. That is not quite the same thing. The distinction matters for how the report reads."

Closing

Students finish writing. The teacher speaks in narrator voice - slow, measured, no performance.

"The books are closed and placed back in order. The string is tied around them again.

> "The records do not contain a confession. They do not say the inmates were starving. They do not say the Board neglected its duty. They do not say London failed to act.
>
> "But they do contain a complaint. They contain punishments. They contain a room called 'refractory' that appears in the record without explanation. They contain a medical officer who found nothing requiring report on the day a man was punished for being too weak to work. They contain signatures."

Teacher notes

On the sorting task

The sorting cards are designed to make the distinction between recorded and implied physical before it becomes analytical. Students who find the distinction difficult in the abstract can handle it when they are holding a card that either does or does not have a corresponding sentence in the document. Print the cards on card rather than paper if possible - the physical handling matters.

Some cards will produce disagreement within the group. The one most likely to do so is the card about Dr Carlisle being called following illness or injury - some students will argue that a document cannot establish what it does not contain, while others will argue that an absence is itself significant. Both positions are defensible. The teacher's twilight voice response is: "Put it in the column you think is right, and write a note explaining why. In the evidence log, the 'fails to explain' column may be where it belongs."

On the TIR moment and its placement

McDougal's defence is given a voice at the moment students have enough assembled evidence to weigh it. Students who have worked through all four documents and identified the pattern of managed records are in a much stronger position to hear "the records show what happened" and to articulate precisely why that claim is insufficient.

Keep McDougal steady. The temptation is to let him show discomfort when challenged. He should not. A man who has managed his records carefully and managed his Board for nine years is not rattled by a question from the Team. His steadiness is what makes the analytical work harder and more valuable. If the students get frustrated or angry, come out of role and give them support. Remind them it is the Team’s duty to get to the truth, not to make enemies of the Master. Keep cool and demolish his defenses with reason.

Episode C: The Kitchen Note

Curriculum connections Victorian workhouse dietary regulations; food supply and institutional record-keeping; reading informal and formal sources together; distinguishing allegation, testimony, and documentary evidence; careful questioning of a vulnerable witness; formal note-making for a parliamentary readership; using numerical evidence to support a line of inquiry without requiring complex calculation.

Narrative function of this episode The Team has seen the workroom and the physical condition of the men working there. The question opened by the tour still stands: whether the food being provided is sufficient for the labour being required. This episode moves that question forward through three linked sources rather than through a full calculation exercise.

A handwritten note reaches the Team from inside the workhouse. It does not prove anything. It creates a risk, a possibility, and a line of inquiry. It claims that the kitchen accounts are not exactly false, but that they do not tell the whole truth about what reaches the tables.

The Team then examines a short extract from the kitchen ledger and meets a kitchen worker in a cautious, private conversation. The witness is not an inmate, but she is vulnerable. She knows the routines of the kitchen, the weighing of provisions, and what is actually served. She cannot prove everything, and she is careful about what she says.

By the end of the episode, the Team has not proved deliberate starvation. But it has established that there is a serious discrepancy between the official account and what may have happened in practice. The food question is no longer only a matter of figures. It is a matter of witness, record, and risk.

Resources

Slides 44 - 51

• Episode slides used to introduce and examine the food-supply evidence.

Printouts

• The Kitchen Note. Full text below.

• Print the Kitchen Note on a half-sheet or other paper smaller than A4, folded small. It should appear hurried but remain clearly legible.

• Kitchen Account Extract. Full text below.

• Food Supply Evidence Note. Full text below and available as Resource 4, Food Supply Evidence Note, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

• Official Dietary Scale — optional reference copy.

Inquiry books

• Inquiry books and the documentary evidence gathered in earlier episodes.

Lesson Plan

Opening

Students are settled. Inquiry notebooks are open. The annotated floor plan and documentary evidence log from previous episodes are on the tables.

Slide 44 - Note under the door.

Twilight voice:

"We need to continue our investigations, but first we must pay attention to something that has just arrived. A note that was slid under the door this morning."

Hold up the folded note. A brief pause.

"There is no name on it. No seal. No official heading. Only a few lines, handwritten."

The teacher shows the handwritten note on the board - **Slide 45 - Handwritten note**

First reading of the note

Read the note together.

Twilight voice:

"What do you make of this? Should we take an anonymous letter seriously?"

Take responses. Keep students close to the text. Draw out the specific claims:

It is anonymous. It says the accounts are not false - but not the whole truth. It claims that food weighed in the kitchen does not always reach the tables. It mentions bread and meat. It points to the last week of August. It says the shortfall was written down but never made good. It links the food question to the inmates. It warns the Team not to ask openly while McDougal is present.

"What does this note establish?"

Students may initially say it establishes that food is being withheld. Hold the distinction carefully.

"It establishes that someone has made this claim. It does not yet establish that the claim is true. Let's keep this in mind when we look at the kitchen records."

Take responses. Students should suggest the kitchen accounts, something from someone who works in the kitchen, and the dietary scale.

Then, in twilight voice:

"We have to treat this note seriously, but we cannot simply believe it. The writer may be telling the truth. The writer may be mistaken. The writer may know only part of what has happened. Our task is not to decide too quickly. Our task is to test what can be tested."

“Let’s look at the first document, an extract from the Kitchen Accounts.”

Slide 46 - Kitchen accounts

Print as a formal document. One copy per student or per group.

Allow two minutes of quiet reading before any question is asked.

In facilitator voice:

"Let’s take a close look. Make a note of anything that looks interesting."

“Have you spotted anything?”

Take responses. Keep the reading observational at first.

"What happened in week 8?"

Students identify the short delivery of meat - 32 lb received against the 79 lb of the previous week.

"What did the margin note say would happen next?"

Students identify that the shortfall would be made good the following week.

"Look at weeks 9, 10, 11, and 12. Is there any record of that happening?"

Students should see that there is not. The weeks that follow record meat issued at 69, 68, 67, and 68 lb - consistently below the 79 lb received, with no entry acknowledging the week 8 promise.

Then, in twilight voice:

"We can now say something precise. The ledger records a shortfall in week 8. It records a promise that the shortfall would be made good. It does not record that it was. That is not yet proof of wrongdoing. But it is a discrepancy between what the record says will happen and what the record shows subsequently. That discrepancy belongs in the inquiry file."

Then:

"What about the bread entries? Are there any discrepancies there?"

Students should notice that bread issued is repeatedly lower than bread received across all six weeks, without any margin note explaining the difference.

"The bread entries show a repeated pattern: less issued than received, with no explanation recorded. That may have an ordinary explanation - waste, storage, calculation. It may not."

“Let’s make a note of that in our books.”

Deciding what to do next

Twilight voice:

“The note has pointed us to something in the ledger. The ledger has given us a discrepancy. But the person who wrote the note has not given us their name, and the warning was clear: do not ask this openly while the Master is present.

“If we need to hear from this person, we need to find a way of letting them know it may be safe to speak.

“How can we do that without exposing them?”

Discussion.

Possible ideas might include sending a message through the porter, leaving a written reply beneath the same door, asking quietly in the kitchen while McDougal is elsewhere, or using the matron’s absence as a chance to invite someone to speak privately.

Hold the discussion inside the ethics of the inquiry:

“What might put the writer at risk?”

“What would make it safer?”

“Who might see the message?”

“What should we avoid doing?”

“How do we make it clear that the Team is willing to listen, without forcing anyone to come forward?”

Narrator voice:

“By late afternoon, a message is brought quietly to the Team. One of the kitchen workers is willing to speak, but not in the kitchen, and not while Mrs McDougal is nearby.”

Preparing to meet the kitchen worker

"The meeting is arranged in the **small room beside the infirmary - Slide 47**. The porter is told the Team is reviewing accounts."

Twilight voice:

"Before she comes in, there are two things worth establishing. First: what might she risk by speaking to us? She works inside this institution. She is not an inmate, but she is still under authority."

Take three or four responses.

"Second: what kind of question will help us test what she knows - and what kind of question might push her beyond what she is willing or able to say?"

Take responses. Build a short list of question principles:

Ask what she saw herself. Ask when. Ask whether there is a record that would confirm it. Ask what she cannot say.

Twilight voice:

"We are not here to make her accuse someone. We are here to find out what she can state from her own direct knowledge, what she has only heard, and what can be checked against the ledger."

The kitchen worker enters: Eliza Marsh

Narrator voice:

"The door opens. A young woman steps in - **Slide 48** - flour at the cuff, sleeves rolled down. She does not sit until she is asked. When she does, she keeps one hand folded over the other. She looks at the Team carefully before she speaks."

Eliza Marsh is a kitchen assistant, eight months at the workhouse. She is not educated but she is observant. She can read figures well enough to know when weights are short. She has decided to speak, but she will not be reckless.

Teacher brings a chair up to the front and sits on it.

TIR:

"My name is Eliza Marsh. I work in the kitchen. I was told you wanted to ask about the accounts."

She waits.

Guidance for the TIR encounter:

Eliza answers direct questions. She does not volunteer the whole story at once. Her testimony builds through the Team's questions. She stays within what she can state from direct knowledge. She does not accuse McDougal directly.

Responses to likely questions:

On her work in the kitchen: "I help with the bread, the gruel, and the dinner things. Carry, cut, clean, serve when I am told."

On whether the accounts are false: "Not exactly false. That is why I wrote it as I did. The weights may be written truly enough. But what is written as issued is not always what reaches the tables."

On week 8: "The meat was short that week. Everyone in the kitchen knew it. There was meant to be more the following week."

On whether it was made good: "I did not see it made good." If pressed: "I cannot say what was written in the book. I can say what was not put into the pots."

On bread being held back: "Some days the loaves are cut smaller. Some days part is set aside. It is said there must be stores kept against waste."

On who gives the instruction: "Mrs McDougal manages the kitchen. Nothing is done there that the Master would not know of."

If students ask whether McDougal ordered it directly: "I have not heard him give that order in my hearing."

On the inmates: "They are always hungry. They ask for scraps when they pass near the yard door. They should not ask. We should not answer."

On bone fragments: "I have seen a man hide a piece before crushing it. I don't know why, but I can imagine. It's horrible."

If students ask for his name: "No. I will not give a name."

On why she wrote the note: "Someone has to speak up for these poor people, they are starving."

Teacher stands up, coming out of role.

Slide 49 Empty room

> "There's a brave woman."
>
> "Let's make a note of what she told us. What did she state directly, from her own knowledge?"

Take responses.

> "What did she imply but not establish?"

Take responses.

> "What did she refuse to say, or could not safely say?"

Take responses.

> "What from her testimony can be checked against the ledger?"

Students should identify: the week 8 meat shortfall not being made good; the bread being cut smaller or set aside; the food recorded as issued and the food actually served being different things.

Then, in twilight voice:

> "We have to be careful. Eliza Marsh's testimony does not prove the whole matter. It does not prove who ordered food to be held back. It does not prove exactly how much failed to reach the tables. But she works in the kitchens and she's seen the rations given to the inmates."

> “Head back to your tables and fill in the ‘Food Supply Evidence Note’. This is going to be crucial information for our report.”

Slide 50 - ‘Food Supply Evidence Note’

One copy per student.

Support the students as they work.

Twilight voice:

> "The note, the ledger extract, and Eliza Marsh's testimony now need to be brought together. This is a professional evidence note - one that shows what we can state, what remains uncertain, and what the inquiry must now pursue."
>
> "You've written that McDougal starved the inmates. Can we prove that yet? What can we say more precisely from these three sources?"
>
> "You've written that the accounts are false. Eliza was careful about that word. She said not exactly false. Why does that phrase matter for how we record this?"
>
> "You've written that the meat shortfall was not made good. Which entry in the ledger supports that? And which missing entry? Make the evidence specific."
>
> "She would not name the man she saw hiding bone fragments. Why not? What does that tell us about the conditions under which she is speaking? Note it."
>
> "Your finding for the inquiry file needs to be strong but careful. Try beginning: The Team has established that..."
>
> "You've left the cross-reference section blank. Look at the workroom observation in the inquiry file. What does Eliza's account of the men asking for scraps add to what the Team saw in that room?"

Back together: what the three sources establish

Students return to the carpet with their evidence notes.

> Twilight voice:

> "What can we now state as fact?"

Take contributions. Expected findings: the kitchen note was received and makes specific, testable claims; the ledger records a meat shortfall in week 8 and a promise to make it good that the subsequent weeks do not show was kept; bread received exceeded bread issued consistently across six weeks with no recorded explanation; Eliza Marsh stated that what was weighed in the kitchen did not always reach the tables; Eliza Marsh stated that she did not see the week 8 shortfall made good; Eliza Marsh stated that the inmates were always hungry.

> "What remains unproven?"

Take responses: who ordered food to be held back; exactly how much failed to reach the tables; whether Mrs McDougal acted independently or under the Master's instruction; whether the Board of Guardians knew.

Then, in twilight voice:

"This is the shape of the evidence at this point. A note that points to a discrepancy. A ledger that contains that discrepancy. A witness who says the discrepancy mattered in practice. That is not yet the whole case. But it is no longer only a suspicion."

“Right, let’s see what the Master has to say about this.”

Slide 51 - Portrait of the master

The teacher sits at the desk and shifts posture. McDougal, seated, composed, arms folded.

“You wish to see me?”

The Team talks to the Master.

"The accounts are certified. Every entry is signed. Deliveries vary. Waste occurs. Stores are managed across a quarter. That is the ordinary work of running an institution of this size.

"The dietary scale has been observed."

A pause.

"If one of the kitchen staff has been speaking beyond her station, I would expect to be informed."

The teacher stands up, coming out of role.

"That is his defence. The accounts are certified. Variation is ordinary. Stores are managed. And then that final sentence: if one of the kitchen staff has been speaking beyond her station, he expects to be informed.

"What should we do here?"

Take responses. Students should notice that it redirects attention from the food question to the person who spoke. It introduces risk. It suggests that speaking to the Team is treated, in this institution, as an offence requiring report.

"Does that make Eliza's testimony more reliable, less reliable, or simply more difficult to gather? And what does it tell us about the conditions under which every witness in this building is speaking to us?"

Let the students decide what to do and say. Go back into role as the Master to deal with their decisions. The Master will be unhappy, but he will have to accept if they will not disclose her name.

Closing notebook entry

Students write one formal paragraph in their inquiry notebooks before the narration closes the episode.

In twilight voice:

> "Let’s write one more paragraph for the inquiry file. Not a personal response. A professional record of what the three sources together establish, what remains unproven, and what question the Team now needs to pursue."
>
> “You might also want to make a note of our latest conversation with McDougal.”

Sentence stems if needed:

The kitchen note alleged that... The ledger extract records that... Eliza Marsh stated that... Taken together, these sources suggest... However, the Team cannot yet establish... The question now carried forward is...

Closing

Narrator voice. Measured and without performance.

> "The note is placed in the file.
>
> "The ledger extract is placed beside it.
>
> "Eliza Marsh's words are written down.
>
> "The accounts still look orderly. The columns still add up. McDougal's signature is still at the bottom of the page.
>
> "But the question has changed.
>
> "It is no longer only whether food was received into the workhouse.
>
> "It is whether the food recorded in the book reached the inmates."

Teacher notes

On the kitchen note

The note must not give too much away. It points rather than explains. Its key sentence is: *"The accounts are not false, but they do not tell the whole truth."* This preserves the evidential complexity the episode depends on. The problem is not crude falsification. It is the gap between what an official record can truthfully record and what actually happens between the kitchen and the table. Students who read that sentence carefully will understand something important about how institutional deception works.

On Eliza Marsh

Eliza should be played with restraint. She is not making a speech. She is someone who has decided to say enough to guide the inquiry without exposing herself or others further than she has to. The

discipline of the TIR is: she can say what she saw; she can say what she did not see; she cannot prove the whole system.

On McDougal's TIR moment

McDougal does not panic. He does not deny everything. He gives a bureaucratic defence and then, at the end, redirects attention to the person who spoke. That redirection is the most significant thing he says in this exchange, and students should be asked to notice it explicitly. It is not an accident. It is how institutions protect themselves from internal disclosure.

On the evidential discipline

The most important teaching work of this episode is holding the distinction between:

The note alleges. The ledger records. Eliza states. The Team infers. The report may later find.

These are different claims requiring different language in the evidence note and in the final report. Keep returning students to these distinctions during circulation. They prevent the episode from becoming a "we believe the witness" lesson and keep it as a formal inquiry.

On protecting the witness inside the fiction

If students suggest naming Eliza in the published report or confronting McDougal with her account directly, hold that as an ethical question from inside the fiction.

In twilight voice: "If we name her now - while we are still in this building and she is still working in that kitchen - what happens to her? What does the report need to say, and what does it need to protect? How do inspectors balance the duty to report the truth with the responsibility they hold toward the people whose testimony made that report possible?"

This is not a reason to suppress the evidence. It is a reason to think carefully about how it is handled.

Episode D: Speak with the Inmates

Curriculum connections Witness testimony and how to read it; careful questioning; reliability and context of evidence; spoken language and register; inference from what is said and what is withheld; ethical listening; formal note-making for a parliamentary readership; Victorian workhouse life; the experience of children and adults under the Poor Law.

Narrative function of this episode The Team has spent several episodes gathering documentary and physical evidence. This episode is the moment the inquiry moves closest to the people most affected by what that evidence describes. Until now, the inmates have existed in the record as initials, ages, and offences. Now the Team sits opposite them.

The episode is not designed to produce dramatic confession. It is designed to help students understand why testimony from people without power may be guarded, partial, and careful - and why it is still deeply significant. The three encounters are sequential and distinct: a man who has learned to speak within safe limits, a woman who has decided to take a measured risk, and a child who answers questions about daily life in a way that is entirely factual and entirely devastating. Between each encounter, the Team must decide how to weigh what they have heard before they write it into the record.

By the end of the episode, the hunger is corroborated by human testimony for the first time. Something else has also entered the inquiry - a phrase from the woman that opens a line the letter writer refused to put in writing. That line is left open. The Team will have to decide what to do with it.

Resources

Slides 53 - 59

• Episode slides used to establish each witness encounter.

Printouts

• Witness Testimony Record Sheet — one per student for each witness. See Resource 5, Witness Testimony Record Sheet, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

Inquiry books

• The full inquiry file, including the preliminary record, annotated floor plan, documentary evidence log and Food Supply Evidence Note.

World-building artefact Three completed witness testimony record sheets - one per encounter - joined to the inquiry file. These records follow the same analytical structure as the documentary evidence log: what was stated, what was implied, what was withheld, and what question is carried forward. They will be cited directly in the parliamentary report.

Lesson Plan

Opening Slide 53 - Empty room

Students are settled. The inquiry file is on the tables. Inquiry notebooks are open. The teacher speaks in twilight voice.

> "McDougal has made a room available for us. It is near the infirmary - a plain room, a table, a chair, a window set high in the wall.
>
> "McDougal has said we may speak to anyone we like. He said this without hesitation, and then reminded the porter that no inmate is to be kept from work longer than necessary.
>
> "Only three people have agreed to come. The first will be here shortly."

Preparing to question: an ethical discussion

> Twilight voice:

> "Before anyone comes in, there is something we need to establish about how we do this. Speaking with McDougal is one thing. He is an officer of this institution. He has authority, resources, and no reason to fear us. The people we are about to speak with are different. They live in the building we are investigating. When we leave Andover, they remain here. Whatever McDougal does or does not know about what they say to us, they will be under his authority for as long as they are in this house.
>
> "That changes how we ask questions. Not what we need to find out - but how we ask."
>
> "Let's think about what we know about the conditions under which these witnesses are speaking to us. What might make someone in this situation reluctant to say what they actually know or believe? And what might make them more willing to speak?"

Take five or six responses. Students will likely raise: fear of punishment, dependence on the institution for food and shelter, uncertainty about whether speaking will change anything, distrust of official figures, the presence of the porter in the corridor.

> "Given those conditions - what kind of question might help someone feel safe enough to answer? And what kind of question might close them down?"

Ask the students to write their questions in their inquiry books.

Take four or five responses. Students may distinguish between open questions that give the witness room to choose what to say, and closed or leading questions that press for a particular answer. Both matter.

Distribute the witness testimony record sheets - three per student. One for each encounter.

> "We record everything. What was said, how it was said, the conditions of the conversation, and our assessment of what it means. That is what the testimony record is for."

> “The first inmate is Thomas Reed. Let’s write that down.”

The first encounter: Thomas Reed - Slide 54

The teacher pulls up a chair and sits. Thomas is upright, measured, the careful stillness of someone who has learned that the wrong word in the wrong room carries a cost.

> "Thomas Reed. I've been in the House for nearly three years."

He looks at the Team and waits. He does not fill the silence.

Guidance for this TIR encounter:

Thomas is not hostile. He is careful. He has survived three years in this institution by learning to say the minimum required and nothing more. His language is formal in a particular way - not educated, but controlled. He chooses his words. He’s sixty-one. He came in after his employer's farm was sold and the tied cottage he had lived in for twenty years went with it. Before today he has had no contact with anyone from outside the institution, other than the occasional visit from a local clergyman. He had a wife, but she died in childbirth.

Responses to likely questions:

On food: "We get what is given. Same as the book says, I suppose." If pressed on whether it is enough: "A man learns what enough means, in here."

On the work: "Bone-crushing. It is the work assigned. It is hard on the hands. Hard on the chest when the dust gets up."

On the quota: "Ten pounds. That is what is set." He does not say whether it is achievable. He does not say what happens when it is not.

On failing to meet the quota: "A man does not want to fail it." Nothing more.

On the entry in the punishment book about Samuel B., if students raise it: A pause. "I would not know about that specifically." He does not say he does not know. He says he would not know about that specifically.

On whether inmates keep back bone fragments: "I have seen men keep back pieces before crushing them." A pause. "I will not name them." If asked why: "You know why."

On complaints: "A man who has a complaint may raise it. With the matron." He does not say whether the matron addresses it.

On the bolted room: He looks at his hands briefly. "I would not have cause to know about that room." He does not say he has never been in it.

On whether the Team can help: He looks at them steadily. "That is not for me to say."

Thomas does not volunteer information. He answers the question asked and nothing more. Some answers are partial. Some are deflected. Some contain a word - "specifically", "would not", "that room" - that rewards close attention.

Step out after Thomas: Slide 55 Empty room

The teacher stands up.

Twilight voice:

> "What do you make of that?"

Take four or five responses. List them.

> "What did he not say? What questions did you ask that he answered without quite answering?"
>
> “Did he sound guarded to you? Do you think he was holding things back?”

Take responses. Hold any moment where students have read something into a word that Thomas chose carefully - "specifically", "that room", "you know why."

> "How do we record this? He has not corroborated anything directly. Does his testimony have value? What value, and how should we describe its limits?"

Allow a brief discussion. Then:

> "Start the first testimony record while this is fresh. Record what he stated, what he implied, what he withheld, and your assessment of why."

Students write. The teacher circulates in twilight voice.

Twilight voice examples during note-making:

> "You've written that he was evasive. That's a judgement - a useful one. But can you note what specifically he said or didn't say that produced it? The record needs the evidence for the judgement, not just the judgement."
>
> "He said 'you know why' when you asked why he wouldn't name names. What does that phrase establish? And what does it imply? They belong in different columns."
>
> "You've put 'he seemed frightened' in the record. What did you see that suggested that? Try to name it - his hands, his phrasing, the words he chose. The feeling is a signal. The record needs what you observed."
>
> "The phrase 'I would not have cause to know about that room' - not 'I don't know about it'. Is there a difference? Note the exact words. They may matter later."

The second encounter: Sarah Bell - Slide 56

Once again the teacher pulls up a chair and sits. Sarah is controlled, but there is something in her that has chosen to be here and has accepted what that choice might cost. She looks at the Team differently from Thomas Reed - she has decided something before she came into the room.

> "My name is Sarah Bell. I have been here since last winter."

She looks at the Team and waits, but the quality of the waiting is different from Thomas. She is ready to speak. She is deciding what she is ready to say.

Guidance for this TIR encounter:

Sarah has been in the workhouse since last winter, when she could no longer pay the rent on the room she shared with her daughter. Her daughter is in the children's dormitory. Sarah sees her at chapel on Sundays, and sometimes in the yard when the women and children happen to pass at the same time. Sarah has decided that the Team represents a genuine opportunity. She is not reckless - she is measured. She will say what she has decided to say and hold back what she has decided to hold back. Her language is more direct than Thomas's, but still careful.

Responses to likely questions:

On her labours: “I do Oakum picking, picking apart old rope fibres, it’s rough on the hands. Sometimes I work in the laundry. The older women sew and mend.”

On food: "There is never enough. Not for the work they set." If pressed: "We were always hungry. All of us. But the men in the bone room - they were doing heavy work on less than a labouring man outside would need to stand up straight."

On the bone-crushing: "You can hear them coughing after. The dust is on their coats. On their hair. In this weather they bring it into the yard with them."

On the quota: "Ten pounds. I have heard the men say it." If asked what happens when someone cannot meet it: "They are not given less work for being weak."

On the bone fragments: She pauses. "People do what they must, when they are hungry enough."

On complaints: "Complaints go to the matron. Or they are meant to." She does not elaborate unless pressed. If pressed: "Mrs McDougal hears what she chooses to hear."

On whether she has complained: "I have not complained."

On why not: A pause. "Because I have a daughter in this building. She’s 10, I miss her every day. Her name is Ellen. Her husband died in a farm accident. She doesn’t like to talk about it."

On the women in the workhouse: "Most of us are quiet. We have reasons to be quiet." If asked what those reasons are: Another pause. "Some of the women are frightened."

On what they are frightened of: She looks at the Team steadily. "Of being sent for." She does not elaborate. If pressed directly - who sends for them, or what happens when they are sent for - she meets the question with silence, then: "I have said what I can say."

She does not break eye contact when she says this. She is not apologising. She is drawing a line that she has decided on in advance, and she holds it.

Stand up and come out of role.

Slide 57 - Empty chair

> What can we say about that?"

Take responses. List what was stated.

> "What did she say that Thomas did not say?"

Students will note the corroboration of the hunger, the reference to the bone dust and the coughing, the phrase about being sent for.

> "She said 'some of the women are frightened. Of being sent for.' She would not say more than that. What do we do with that?"

Hold this question carefully. Do not press students to speculate about what the women are frightened of. The question is what the Team does with a partial allegation from a single witness.

> "The letter writer - in Episode 1 - said there were things they would not put in writing until they knew the letter had been taken seriously. Is there a connection between what the letter implied and what Sarah has just told us? What would the Team need before we could say that connection is established?"

Take three or four responses. Then:

> "We cannot yet say what the women are frightened of. We can say that a witness has told us some of them are frightened, and that she would not elaborate on why. That goes into the record exactly as it happened. The record does not say more than what occurred."

Students complete the second testimony record. The teacher circulates in twilight voice.

Twilight voice examples during note-making:

> "She corroborated the hunger. How does her testimony compare with what the Food Supply Evidence Note established? They were gathered differently - one through a kitchen note, ledger extract, and kitchen worker testimony; the other through a person living inside the workhouse. Does the combination change how we read either one?"
>
> "You've written 'she was brave.' That may be true. But the record asks about reliability and significance, not character. What makes her testimony significant? And what are its limitations?"
>
> "The phrase 'of being sent for' - note it exactly. Do not add to it or explain it. The record carries what she said. What it means is a question the inquiry has to pursue."
>
> "She said she had not complained because she has a daughter in the building. Note that. It tells us something about the conditions under which every witness in this institution is speaking to us."

The third encounter: Ellen Bell - Slide 58

The teacher pulls up a chair and sits. Ellen puts her hands in her lap. She looks at the Team. She is cooperative, factual, and entirely undemonstrative. She is not distressed in any visible way. She answers questions about her daily life as though describing something ordinary, because to her it has become ordinary.

> "My name is Ellen Bell. My mother is in the women's ward."

She waits.

Guidance for this TIR encounter:

Ellen Bell is ten years old. She has been in the workhouse since February. Her mother is Sarah Bell. Ellen has lived in this institution for nearly a year and has adjusted to its routines.

Responses to likely questions:

On her mother: "She is in the women's ward. I see her at chapel. Sometimes in the yard, if we are passing at the same time."

On whether she can speak to her mother: "We are not supposed to speak in chapel. Sometimes she touches my hand when we pass in the yard."

On sleeping: "I sleep in the children's dormitory with the other children."

On work: “We pick rope when there is rope. If there is not, we mend or sweep. I am quicker at picking than Mary Ann, but not as quick as Jane.”

On meals: "We sit at the children's table. We do not talk at meals."

On the food: "Bread. Gruel. Sometimes soup. Sometimes potatoes."

On whether there is enough: A slight pause - the only one. "I’m hungry. Sometimes I give some of mine to Tom if he is crying. He is five."

On what Tom cries about: "He cries for his mother."

On lessons or schooling: "We have reading on some mornings. And prayers."

On the bone room: "I do not go in there. It is for the men."

On whether she knows what happens in there: "I can smell it sometimes. When the wind is from that direction."

On whether she is frightened: "You have to be quiet. And then nothing happens."

On what happens if you are not quiet: "You get noticed."

She does not say what happens when you are noticed. She does not need to.

The teacher stands coming out of role.

Slide 59 - Empty room

A moment of silence before speaking. In facilitator voice, quietly:

> "What can we say about that?"

Take three or four responses.

> "What did she tell us about the food?"

Take responses.

> "What did she tell us about what happens to children in this institution - without using the word fear, or the word cruelty, or any word that names what we are thinking?"

Hold this question. Allow students to sit with it.

> "Her testimony is plain. It is factual. It is the account of a child who has adjusted to something that should not be adjusted to. What does it mean for the record, and what does it mean for the report?"

Take three or four responses. Then, in twilight voice:

> "We do not improve her testimony. We do not make it more dramatic than it was. We record exactly what she said and exactly how she said it. The plainness is the point. The record has to carry that quality, not substitute something more obviously distressing for it."

Students complete the third testimony record.

Twilight voice examples during note-making:

> "You've written that she 'seemed sad.' Did she seem sad? Read back what she actually said and how she said it. What word describes it more precisely?"
>
> "She said she gives some of her food to a five-year-old who cries. How does that sit alongside the Food Supply Evidence Note? Note the connection. The kitchen evidence suggested that food recorded in the accounts may not have reached the tables. This is what that question looks like in daily life."
>
> "'You get noticed.' She did not say what happens next. Note that she did not. That absence is part of the record."
>
> "Her mother is Sarah Bell. Note that. It connects two testimonies. Does it change how you read either one?"

Once the students have finished, discuss together what the three encounters have produced

> In facilitator voice:

"We've now spoken with three witnesses. Let's establish what has changed in the inquiry. What do we know now that we did not know before we came into this room?"

Take contributions. The expected findings: the hunger is corroborated by direct testimony; the bone-crushing quota is confirmed by someone who has witnessed it; the separation of families is confirmed; a new line of inquiry has been opened by Sarah Bell's testimony; the conditions under which inmates speak have been directly experienced rather than inferred.

"The hunger is now in the record from two sources - the food supply evidence and the testimony. What does having both change?"

Students should articulate that neither source alone is as strong as the combination. The food supply evidence established a discrepancy between the record and what may have reached the tables. The testimony establishes that this was experienced as hunger by the people living it. They corroborate each other across different kinds of evidence.

"Sarah Bell said 'some of the women are frightened. Of being sent for.' She would not say more. The letter writer in Episode 1 said there were things they would not put in writing until they knew the letter had been taken seriously. Are we now at the point where we need to pursue that line of inquiry? And if so - how?"

Hold this question. Do not resolve it. It is a decision the Team will need to make, and it connects forward to the Board of Guardians interview. If students ask how the inquiry would pursue it: "What options does the Team have? Who else might know? And what are the risks - for the women in this building - of pressing too hard on something that witnesses are too frightened to name directly?"

Leave the question open.

Closing

Narrator voice. Slow and without performance.

"The testimony records are placed in the file.

"Thomas Reed has returned to the bone room. The quota is still ten pounds.

"Sarah Bell is back in the women's ward. Ellen is in the children's dormitory.

"For the first time, the voices of the people inside this workhouse are in the inquiry. They are in the record exactly as they were spoken - guarded, careful, partial, and significant.

"There is something in Sarah Bell's testimony that the inquiry has not yet reached. The Team will need to decide what to do about it."

Leave it there.

Teacher notes

On playing the three witnesses

Each witness requires a distinct physical quality - not a performance, but a different quality of presence. Thomas is held, contained, his hands flat on the table. Sarah is upright, decided, looking at the Team directly. Ellen is still, cooperative, unremarkable. None of them should show obvious distress. The emotional weight of the episode comes from what students bring to what they are hearing, not from what the teacher performs.

The most important discipline in all three TIR encounters is restraint. Every line that Thomas or Sarah or Ellen speaks should be the minimum necessary. Never have a witness volunteer more than the question asks for. The incompleteness of each testimony is not a failure of the TIR - it is the point.

On the testimony records

The witness testimony record sheet asks for: what was stated; what was implied; what was withheld or could not be said; an assessment of reliability and the conditions of testimony; and the question carried forward. Students should not be allowed to collapse "stated" and "implied" into a single account of what the witness said. The distinction between what a witness says and what a listener infers is one of the central analytical habits this context is building, and the record sheet enforces it.

On the phrase "of being sent for"

This phrase opens the allegation about McDougal's conduct toward female inmates that the letter writer refused to put in writing. It should not be explained, pursued, or named within this episode. The Team has heard the edge of something. That is enough for now. Students who press - in or out of the fiction - for what the women were frightened of should receive this in twilight voice: "We have heard what Sarah was willing to say. She drew a line. The question is what the inquiry does with that line - and what pursuing it further might mean for the women who are still in this building. That is a decision we need to make carefully."

On the connection to the Board of Guardians

The question left open at the end of this episode - what the women were frightened of, and whether the inquiry pursues it - connects directly to Episode E. The Board received the complaint from Mrs Carter. They referred it to McDougal. Whether they also knew about the conduct toward female inmates, and whether they chose not to investigate it, is a question that will need to be put to Reverend Dodson. Students who have sat with Sarah Bell's testimony and decided they must pursue it will bring a different quality of attention to that interview.

Episode E: Speak with the Board of Guardians

Curriculum connections Authority and accountability under the Victorian Poor Law; formal questioning and witness interview; argument from evidence; institutional responsibility and the language of self-defence; distinguishing ignorance, negligence, and deliberate concealment; formal note-making for a parliamentary readership; preparation for report writing.

Narrative function of this episode The Team moves from the people with the least power in this situation to those with the most formal authority. The Board of Guardians has overseen Andover Union Workhouse for nine years. The Reverend Christopher Dodson has chaired it throughout. The evidence the Team has assembled - the food supply discrepancy, the documentary silences, the inmates' testimony, the assistant commissioner's letter - all points toward a question the Board must now answer: what did you know, and what did you choose to do with what you knew?

This episode turns on a distinction that is central to the inquiry and to the ethical thinking the context has been building toward: the difference between not knowing and not looking. Dodson did not know about the worst of what has been happening at Andover. He will say so, and he may be telling the truth. But the evidence in the Team's file raises a harder question - whether the Board created the conditions in which not knowing was easy, and whether that constitutes a failure of the responsibility they held.

Unlike McDougal, Dodson shows discomfort. Not guilt - discomfort. He is a man who believes he has acted properly, and who is beginning to understand, in the course of this interview, that his belief may not be sufficient.

Resources

Slides 60 - 63

• Episode slides used to prepare for and conduct the interview with Reverend Dodson.

Printouts

• Question Planning Sheet. See Resource 6, Question Planning Sheet, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

• Board of Guardians Interview Record. See Resource 7, Board of Guardians Interview Record, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

Inquiry books

• The complete inquiry file, especially the minute-book extracts, Assistant Commissioner’s letter, Food Supply Evidence Note, witness testimony records and punishment-book extracts.

World-building artefact The Board of Guardians interview record - a witness testimony record completed after the encounter, structured like the records from Episode D but in a different register. This is a formal interview with a man of authority who has been given prior notice of the meeting and has prepared his answers. The record should note what Dodson said, what his answers establish about the Board's conduct, where he was evasive or incomplete, and what questions his answers

have opened or left unresolved. Provided as Resource 7, Board of Guardians Interview Record, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

Lesson Plan

Opening - Slide 61 Meeting Room

"The Board of Guardians has agreed to meet us. The meeting is taking place not in the workhouse but in the committee room at the Union offices - a short walk from Junction Road, on the high street. It is a warmer room than any we have used at the workhouse. There are chairs with cushions on them. There is a fire. The minute book is already open on the table when we arrive."

Slide 62 - Reverend Christopher Dodson

Reverend Dodson will speak on behalf of the Board. He has chaired it for nine years. He is a man in his late fifties, well-dressed, with the manner of someone accustomed to running meetings rather than being questioned in them. He is not McDougal managing from behind procedure. He is a man of standing, used to being listened to, who has had notice of this meeting and has thought carefully about what he will and will not say. He believes he has acted correctly.

He has been informed that the Team wishes to discuss the management of the workhouse and the Board's oversight of it. He has had time to prepare.

Evidence preparation: selecting and sequencing

In facilitator voice:

"Before we begin, we each need to do one thing. Look at the inquiry file and select the three pieces of evidence we most want to put to Dodson in this interview. Not the most dramatic - the most important. The evidence that, if he cannot account for it satisfactorily, tells us something significant about the Board's conduct.

"For each piece of evidence, decide: what question does it generate? And when in the interview do you want to use it - early, to establish what he knows, or later, after we have heard his account? You may wish to work in groups."

Students work with the inquiry file, selecting and noting their three priority pieces of evidence on the question planning sheet. The teacher circulates in twilight voice.

"You've chosen the Food Supply Evidence Note. Good. What specifically does it generate as a question for the Board? Not 'did you know the inmates were underfed' - that is too general and too easy to deny. What does the Board's specific responsibility tell us about what question to ask?"

"You've chosen the Mrs Carter complaint. Before you decide when to use it - think about what Dodson will say if you raise it first. He will give you an explanation. Will that explanation be easier or harder to challenge if you have already put the Food Supply Evidence Note to him?"

"You've chosen Sarah Bell's testimony. That is significant - it is the only evidence in the file that the Board could not have seen before today. What does it add to what the documentary evidence

already shows? And what does it mean to put a living witness's words to a man who holds authority over the institution where that witness lives?"

After the preparation, a brief whole-class moment:

"What evidence shall we put to him? Let's hear one priority piece from each group, and where in the interview they plan to use it."

Take one response per group. Note the evidence and the intended sequence. There will be overlap, and that overlap is useful - the Team shares its most important priorities, even if individual groups have different ordering strategies.

"One thing to hold before we go in. Dodson has chaired this Board for nine years. He has attended every meeting. He has seen every report the Master has submitted. Whatever he did not know, he was in a position to know it. That is not the same as saying he is guilty of anything. But it is the question behind every answer he gives us."

Meeting Reverend Dodson

The teacher places a chair at the front. The teacher stands beside it.

In facilitator voice:

"When I sit in this chair, I will represent Reverend Dodson. You have your questions and you have your evidence. As before, watch carefully - not just what he says, but how he says it, what he acknowledges and what he steps around, and when his manner changes. Pay careful attention to his eyes."

The teacher sits. A different quality of presence from McDougal - warmer, more expansive, the ease of someone used to being the senior figure in any room. Dodson looks at the Team with an expression of courteous attention. He does not wait for them to speak first.

"I am glad you have come. The Board has nothing to conceal and every reason to assist your inquiry. I have the minute book here, should you wish to refer to it. And I have asked our secretary to make available any correspondence you may need."

He settles back slightly in his chair. He is comfortable here.

Guidance for the TIR encounter:

Dodson is not McDougal. Where McDougal managed through procedure, Dodson manages through reasonableness. He is educated, articulate, and genuinely convinced that he has acted correctly. He is not lying in the way that implies conscious dishonesty - he is presenting his account of events in the most favourable light available to him, and that account has a coherence he has had time to construct.

What distinguishes this encounter from the McDougal interviews is that Dodson's composure has a limit. He does not show discomfort at the beginning of the interview. He shows it when the evidence is placed directly in front of him - when a specific document is read back to him, when a specific decision is named and dated. His discomfort is not the discomfort of a man caught lying. It is the

discomfort of a man who is beginning to understand that the line between not knowing and not looking is going to be very difficult to hold.

Responses to likely questions:

On McDougal and the general management of the workhouse: "Master McDougal has run the establishment with firmness and consistency. A workhouse cannot be managed sentimentally. Discipline and order are necessary, and I have always believed that a former military man was well suited to the task."

On how often Board members visited the workhouse: "The Board met regularly - monthly, throughout my chairmanship. We visited the establishment when occasion required it." If pressed on what "occasion required" means: "When matters were brought to the Board's attention that warranted direct inspection." He does not say whether any such matters were brought.

On the dietary accounts: "The accounts were presented to the Board and approved. They balanced." If the Food Supply Evidence Note is put to him - the week 8 meat shortfall, the promise that it would be made good, and the absence of any later entry confirming that it was - he pauses. A slight change in his expression - not distress, but something more attentive. "I was not aware that the account contained an unresolved shortfall. The Board approved what was presented to it." If pressed on whether the Board checked the accounts against the dietary scale or queried the ledger entries before approving them: "We relied on the Master's certification. That is the proper course."

On the Mrs Carter complaint, March 1844: "The complaint was received and recorded. It was referred to the Master for explanation - which is the proper procedure. The Master provided a written response. The Board examined that response and found it satisfactory." If asked whether the Board investigated independently: A pause - the first significant one. "We had no evidence at that stage that independent investigation was necessary." If pressed: "The Master's explanation was detailed and credible. We had no reason to doubt it."

On why the complaint was referred to the person being complained about: "The Master is the officer responsible for the daily running of the establishment. It is appropriate to ask him to account for what happens within it." He says this with conviction. If pressed on whether that process could ever result in an honest investigation: He stops. He looks at the table briefly. "I understand the implication. I can only tell you that we followed the procedure that was available to us."

On the food supply evidence alongside the Carter complaint: If students place both pieces of evidence together - the complaint about insufficient food in March 1844, and the Food Supply Evidence Note showing an unresolved meat shortfall, a repeated bread issue pattern, and Eliza Marsh's testimony - Dodson's discomfort becomes more visible. "I was not in possession of that account from the kitchen at the time. The accounts that were presented to us balanced." A pause. "I cannot speak to evidence that was not before the Board."

On the assistant commissioner's letter of May 1844: This is the most significant moment in the interview. If students produce the letter - reading aloud the phrase "no independent corroboration" and the instruction to exercise "usual vigilance" - Dodson's response is careful. "The Commission was informed and chose not to intervene. I considered that a confirmation that the matter had been properly handled." A beat. "I communicated with Mr Parker myself. He was satisfied with the explanation." If asked what he communicated to Parker: "I forwarded the Master's written response to the Board. The same document we had examined."

If students point out that the Commission accepted the same explanation Dodson had accepted, and that no independent investigation took place at any level: A longer pause. "We were all relying on the Master's account. That is clear." He does not look away. "Whether we should have required more than the Master's account - that is a question I have been asking myself since this matter became public."

On the September 1845 minute expressing full confidence in McDougal: "The Board expressed confidence in the Master's administration at a time when there was significant public pressure on the establishment. It seemed right to show that the Board stood behind the officers of the institution." If asked whether the Board had investigated the public allegations before expressing that confidence: A pause. "We had the Master's assurance." He says this quietly, and he appears to hear it as he says it.

On the allegations about McDougal's conduct toward female inmates: Dodson's expression changes. "I am not aware of any formal complaint on that matter." A beat. "If such allegations exist, they are new to me." If students cite Sarah Bell's testimony: He looks at the Team steadily. "I would be most concerned if that were established. I have no knowledge of it." His manner is now genuinely different - this is territory he was not prepared for.

Step-out moments

The first step out should come after Dodson has given his account of the Carter complaint and the Board's decision to refer it to McDougal. The teacher shifts out of role and speaks in facilitator voice.

> "Stop there. He has described what the Board did - received the complaint, referred it to McDougal, accepted the response. He called it 'the proper procedure.' Is that what the minute book shows?" Allow students to check the minute book extracts.
>
> "The minute book records that the complaint was referred and that the Master's explanation was accepted. It does not record what the explanation contained, or what evidence the Board examined before accepting it. What does that absence tell us? And is Dodson's description of the procedure - 'proper procedure' - a defence, or is it the thing we need to examine?"

Take four or five responses. Then back into role.

The second step out should come after Dodson has responded to the assistant commissioner's letter - ideally after the line "we were all relying on the Master's account." The teacher shifts out of role.

> "He said that. Slowly, and he appeared to hear what he was saying. What has just happened in this interview?" Take three or four responses. "He has given us something. Not an admission - but something. What is it, and where does it go in the record?"

Allow a brief discussion. Then: "One more question before we finish. Think about what the Team most needs before we leave this room. What has not been addressed that has to be put to him?"

Allow groups thirty seconds to consult. Take one or two suggestions. Then back into role for a final exchange - whatever question the class has identified as most important.

The final step out closes the TIR entirely. Dodson has said what he is going to say. He straightens the minute book on the table and speaks.

"I have given you my full account of the Board's conduct. If errors were made, they were not made from cruelty or indifference. They were made because we trusted the officers appointed to their duties and the structures that were meant to support them." A pause. "I hope that is taken into account."

The teacher sets the minute book down and returns to facilitator voice. Moves the chair aside.

Slide 63 Empty boardroom

"Right. We have heard from him. What do we think?"

Brief discussion: what the interview has produced

In facilitator voice:

"What is Dodson's defence? State it as clearly as you can."

Take two or three responses. Press for precision. The defence is: the Board followed proper procedure; it relied on the Master's certification; it acted on what was brought to its attention; it was not in possession of evidence that warranted further investigation.

"What is the weakness in that defence?"

Take responses. Students should be arriving at: the Board created a system in which complaints were investigated by the person being complained about; the Board approved accounts without verifying them; the Board expressed confidence in McDougal publicly at the moment when public pressure required an independent response rather than institutional solidarity.

"He said 'we were all relying on the Master's account.' Is that an explanation, a defence, or something closer to an admission? What would a parliamentary report make of that sentence?"

Hold this question. Do not close it. It is the ethical heart of the episode.

Then, in twilight voice:

"There is one thread we have not fully followed in this interview. The question of the assistant commissioner - what Dodson communicated to London, and what London communicated back. The letter is in the file. Dodson has acknowledged it. He has told us that he forwarded the Master's response to Parker and that Parker was satisfied. What does that mean for where responsibility sits? And is that a question for this room, or for the final report?"

The writing task: Board of Guardians interview record

In twilight voice, moving students to their inquiry books:

"We need to get this down now, while the interview is fresh. The Board interview record is different from the inmate testimony records. Dodson is not a frightened witness speaking under constraint. He is a man who prepared his answers and delivered them with care. The record has to reflect that - and it has to note, precisely, the moments where his careful answers were not quite sufficient."

Students work on the interview record. The teacher circulates.

Twilight voice during note-making:

"You've written that Dodson 'admitted' something. What specifically did he admit? Can you find the exact sentence? There is a difference between an admission and a man hearing his own defence and appearing uncomfortable with it."

"The phrase 'we relied on the Master's certification' appears twice in what Dodson said. Note it twice. Repetition is significant - it may be the phrase his defence is built on, which means it is also the point where the defence is most vulnerable."

"You've written that the Board followed procedure. Is that contested? What the inquiry needs to establish is whether the procedure was adequate - not whether it was followed. Those are different questions. Make sure the record distinguishes them."

"He said he had no knowledge of allegations about the conduct toward female inmates. Note that carefully. What does the record now need to cross-reference? We have Sarah Bell's testimony. We have the letter writer's withholding. What does 'I had no knowledge' mean alongside those two things?"

"The question carried forward - what is the single most important question Dodson's answers have opened that the inquiry still needs to address? Note it precisely. It may be central to the report."

Back together: what the Board interview establishes

Once the students have finished.

In facilitator voice:

"What can we now say about the Board of Guardians? Not what we suspect - what can we establish from the evidence?"

Take contributions. The expected findings:

- the Board received a complaint in 1844 and referred it to the person being complained about;
- the Board approved dietary accounts without verifying them against the dietary scale;
- the Board communicated with the assistant commissioner and accepted reassurance without independent inquiry;
- the Board expressed public confidence in McDougal at the point when independent scrutiny was most required;
- Dodson has stated he was unaware of the allegations about McDougal's conduct toward female inmates.

Then:

"What can we not establish from this interview alone?"

Students should note:

- whether Dodson is telling the truth about his lack of knowledge;
- whether other Board members knew more than Dodson has acknowledged;
- what the assistant commissioner's full role was;

- whether the Board's failure was negligence or something more deliberate.

In twilight voice, drawing the episode's central distinction:

> "There is a difference between not knowing, not asking, not wanting to know, and being responsible for knowing. Dodson's defence is that he did not know. Our inquiry has established that he was in a position to know - or at least to ask. Parliament will want to know whether those two things together constitute a failure of the responsibility he held. We will need to decide what we recommend in our report."

Closing

Narrator voice. Measured and without performance.

> "The minute book is closed. The committee room is tidied. Reverend Dodson has left for his afternoon appointments.
>
> "The interview record is in the file, beside the minute book extracts, beside the assistant commissioner's letter, beside the Food Supply Evidence Note, beside the testimony of Thomas Reed, Sarah Bell and Ellen Bell.
>
> "Dodson said: 'we were all relying on the Master's account.'
>
> "He said it quietly. He appeared to hear it as he said it.
>
> "The Team will need to decide, in the report, what Parliament should make of that sentence."

Teacher notes

On playing Dodson

The most important discipline in this TIR is not making Dodson a villain. He should be plausible, educated, and genuinely convinced that he has acted with proper authority throughout. A Dodson who is visibly guilty or obviously evasive tells students what to think. A Dodson who is reasonable, well-prepared, and articulate - and whose answers are nevertheless insufficient when placed against the evidence - makes the analytical work much harder and much more valuable.

The discomfort he shows is real, not performed. When the Food Supply Evidence Note is placed before him, he is genuinely surprised - the accounts balanced, and no one appears to have asked whether what was recorded in the kitchen actually reached the tables. When the phrase "we were all relying on the Master's account" emerges, he appears to hear it as though for the first time. Both of these moments should be played with restraint: a pause, a slight change in expression, a quieter tone. Nothing larger than that.

On the assistant commissioner thread

If students produce the assistant commissioner's letter during the interview, Dodson's response - that he communicated with Parker, that Parker was satisfied, that this confirmed the matter had been

properly handled - contains something significant: the chain of reliance runs from McDougal to Dodson to Parker and back to Dodson, with no independent verification at any point.

On the question of the female inmates

Dodson's statement that he has no knowledge of allegations about McDougal's conduct toward female inmates should be recorded carefully and without comment in the interview. The record notes that he said it. Whether it is true is a question the report must address. The connection between his statement, Sarah Bell's testimony, and the letter writer's withholding is not made explicit in this episode. Students who see it will carry it forward to the report. Students who do not will need it drawn to their attention in the report-writing episode.

On the central distinction

The distinction between not knowing, not asking, not wanting to know, and being responsible for knowing is the ethical heart of both this episode and the context as a whole. It should be named clearly in the back-together discussion and left unresolved. This is not a question with a clean answer - historians still debate the degree to which the Andover Board of Guardians was negligent as opposed to deliberately obstructive. The report should reflect that genuine difficulty.

Episode F: Investigate the Room at the End of the North Corridor

Curriculum connections Physical evidence and site observation; comparing material conditions against documentary records and witness testimony; formal descriptive writing distinguished from interpretation; institutional punishment under the Victorian Poor Law; evaluating whether a witness has misled an inquiry; reading rules and regulations as evidence of institutional values; ethical judgement about the use of authority.

Narrative function of this episode The bolted door has been on the floor plan since Episode 3. It has appeared in the punishment book. McDougal named it a storeroom and said it contained nothing relevant to the inquiry. The Team has now gathered enough evidence to know that those three things do not fit together.

This episode is the moment the physical reality of what has been happening inside Andover Union Workhouse becomes undeniable. The room behind the door is small, cold, and not a storeroom. It has been used recently, and the evidence of its use is written into the room itself - into the worn surface of the board, the scratch marks on the inside of the door, the absence of anything that belongs in a room used for storage.

The episode is not designed to be dramatic. It is designed to be methodical. The Team enters the room as investigators, records what they find with precision, and then places that record against McDougal's statement. That encounter produces an adjusted statement. The Team then presses further - and McDougal, under sustained questioning, produces two documents he had not offered before: a full punishment record for the first quarter of 1845, and a set of house rules and punishments that he removed from display before the Team arrived.

Those two documents change the inquiry. The punishment record is not sparse in the way the Michaelmas quarter record was sparse. It is detailed, specific, and reveals the frequency and conditions of confinement in the refractory room across a period when no allegation had yet reached Parliament. The sign is evidence of a different kind: not what McDougal recorded, but what he chose to hide.

What cannot be established from the physical evidence and the documents together - who authorised the most severe punishments, whether the Board was ever informed, whether the legal limits on duration were observed - remains open. Those questions feed directly into the final report.

Resources

Slides 64-70 as previously indicated, plus slides for the two new documents.

Printouts:

- Site Observation Record (Resource 8 in Resources for the Andover Workhouse)
- McDougal's earlier statement card: *"That room is currently not in use. It was used for storage. There is nothing there that is relevant to your inquiry."*
- Full Punishment Record: First Quarter 1845 (See Resources for the Andover Workhouse)
- House Rules and Punishments sign (See Resources for the Andover Workhouse)

Inquiry books, punishment book extracts, and the floor plan from Episode 3 should be on tables throughout.

Lesson Plan

Opening

Slide 65 - Bolted door.

Students are settled. The inquiry file is open on the tables. The floor plan is visible.

In twilight voice:

> "It is time to investigate the room at the end of the north corridor. The floor here is stone, like the rest of the building, but colder. The porter will bring the key.
>
> "Before he arrives, it is worth being clear about what we are doing in this room. We are not satisfying curiosity. We are conducting a site observation. Everything we find in there is potential evidence. That means we look carefully, we record precisely, and we do not say more than what we can see.
>
> "What do we already know about this room?"

Take four or five responses. Students should draw on: the floor plan (the room has been marked and unaccounted for since Episode 3); the punishment book entries for Samuel B. and William N.; McDougal's statement in Episode 4; the duty roster's silence on the room; and, if the class has heard them, the inmate testimonies.

> "We have McDougal's statement. Remember what he said about this room."

Slide 66 - display the statement card

> *"That room is currently not in use. It was used for storage. There is nothing there that is relevant to your inquiry."*
>
> "Make a note of these three claims in your inquiry books. They are what we will be testing."

Before the door opens: the narration

The teacher moves to a position suggesting the threshold of the corridor. Narrator voice - written in advance, delivered from notes. Do not improvise. Slowly, without performance.

> "The porter arrives with a ring of keys. He takes a moment to find the right one. He inserts it and turns it, and draws back the bolt with a heavy clunk.
>
> "The door opens inward. There is no sound from inside the room - no movement, nothing. The smell that comes out is cold air and something older, something that has been enclosed for a long time."

Slide 67 - Inside the Room.

> "The room is small. Approximately eight feet by six feet - the size of a large wardrobe, or the space between two rows of desks in a classroom. The walls are plain brick. The ceiling is low. High up on

> the far wall there is a vent - an iron grille, perhaps four inches across - and through it comes the only light the room has. Dim. Grey. Barely light at all.
>
> "Against the near wall is a wooden board. It runs the full width of that wall. It is set low - perhaps eight inches from the ground. Wide enough for one person to lie down on it.
>
> "The surface of the board is worn smooth. Not from being cleaned. From use.
>
> "On the floor beside the board, a tin cup. In the corner, a folded blanket - grey wool, thin, worn at the edges."

A silence. Ten seconds before anything is said.

Then, very quietly:

> "Take a careful look. What do you notice?"

Take five or six observational responses. Press for specificity.

> "What is absent from this room that you would expect to find if it were used for storage?"

Students should notice: no shelving, no boxes, no ledgers, no surplus equipment. The room contains what a room used for confinement would contain and nothing that a storeroom would.

> "What do the objects suggest about how this room has been used? And the marks on the inside of the door - what do you observe? What would you need to know before you could say anything definitive about them?"
>
> "Make a note in your inquiry books."

Comparing with the record

In twilight voice, looking at the punishment book extracts:

> "The punishment book records 'solitary confinement until corrected' for Samuel B. and 'confined in refractory room' for William N. We are standing in the only room in this building that is bolted from the outside.
>
> "What does the room help us understand about those entries? And what does it not tell us?"

Take responses. Students should note: the room establishes that solitary confinement had a designated physical space; the worn board suggests regular use; the conditions are significantly more severe than the punishment book entries describe; the entries record neither duration nor whether the medical officer was informed.

> "The punishment book says 'until corrected.' Standing in this room - what does that phrase mean? Who would decide when correction had been achieved? And how long might that take?"

Hold this. There is no clean answer.

In facilitator voice:

"Now we put the room against McDougal's statement. He made three claims. Let's take them one at a time."

Read or display the statement again. Work through each claim:

"First: 'the room is currently not in use.' What does the room say about that?"

Students should note: the blanket is folded and maintained; the board is worn from use; a bolt that is never drawn does not draw smoothly.

"Second: 'it was used for storage.' What in the room supports that claim? What is absent that would support it?"

Students should note: nothing in the room is consistent with storage.

"Third: 'there is nothing there that is relevant to your inquiry.' Standing here, having seen everything we have seen in this building - is that claim true?"

Take three or four responses. Do not close the question.

"Let's go and speak to the Master."

First exchange with McDougal

Slide 68 - Portrait.

The teacher pulls up a chair and sits. McDougal - upright, controlled, waiting.

"You wish to see me?"

Students question the Master. McDougal's initial responses:

On the room: "The room is a refractory room. Every union workhouse has provision for cases requiring separate confinement. Its use is within the authority of the master under the regulations governing this establishment."

On his earlier claim it was storage: "I said it was used for storage. It has been used for both purposes at different times."

On the claim that it contained nothing relevant: "I said that because I did not consider the routine exercise of disciplinary authority to be a matter requiring your particular attention. It is provided for by the regulations."

The teacher stands and steps out of role. In twilight voice:

"He has adjusted his statement. He is no longer saying the room was only storage. He is saying the confinement was routine and within his authority.

"Is that a satisfactory explanation? What does he still not appear to have told us?"

Take four or five responses. Students should arrive at: he has not addressed the indefinite duration of punishments; he has not addressed the conditions in the room; he has not addressed whether the medical officer was informed; he has changed his account when the evidence contradicted it.

Pressing for the documents: the extension

The teacher steps back into role. McDougal is seated, composed. He believes the matter is now closed.

The teacher steps out briefly, speaking in twilight voice to the class:

> "Do we think McDougal has shown us everything? He brought the duty rosters when we first asked for documents. He did not bring the full punishment record. He has just told us the refractory room was used routinely for confinement. Yet the punishment book extracts we have seen contain only seven entries for the whole of the Michaelmas quarter. Does that seem consistent with a room that has been regularly used?"

Take three or four responses. Students should note the discrepancy between McDougal's claim of routine use and the sparse punishment record the Team has seen.

> "Shall we ask him if there is anything we haven't seen?"

Students should arrive at: the full punishment record, not just the extracted entries; any record of the rules of the workhouse and the punishments attached to them.

Back into role. McDougal receives the question with a pause - the first moment in this exchange where his composure shows a fault line.

On being asked for the full punishment record: "The punishment book for the current quarter has been made available." A beat. "Records for earlier quarters are held on file." He does not offer to produce them. He waits.

If the Team presses: Another pause - longer than any before. Then, carefully: "I can have the record for the first quarter of this year located." He gives no indication of where it is or how quickly it will be found. He does not say why it was not offered at the outset.

The teacher steps out of role. In twilight voice:

> "He is going to produce the first quarter record. He did not offer it. It took sustained questioning to obtain it. Note that. The question of what other records were not offered - and why - belongs in the final report. Should we tell him we want to see it now?"

Back into role. McDougal finally reaches into the bottom drawer of his desk and hands over the punishment book. It is the Full Punishment Record for the First Quarter of 1845. -

The teacher comes out of role and distributes a copy to each group in the class.

In twilight voice:

> "Read this carefully. It is clearly something McDougal did not want us to see."

Take responses. Students should identify:

- multiple entries for confinement in the refractory room across a single quarter;
- specific named individuals confined more than once;
- durations beginning to appear, though some remain imprecise;
- entries that place confinement alongside food reduction in the same punishment;
- a pattern of use that confirms the room was in regular operation long before the public allegations.

> "What does this record do to McDougal's claim that the room's use was routine and within his authority?"

Students should note:

- it confirms routine use, which makes the sparse Michaelmas record look managed by comparison;
- it establishes a pattern across months rather than a handful of incidents;
- it raises more sharply the question of whether the Board of Guardians was informed and whether duration limits were observed.

Then, in twilight voice:

> "There is one more question. McDougal has described the use of this room as ordinary disciplinary practice, provided for by the regulations. He has said he operates within the rules. If that is true, those rules should be posted somewhere in this workhouse. Workhouses were required to display their rules. Where are those rules?"

Back into role. The teacher sits back down as McDougal.

On being asked where the rules and punishments are posted: A longer pause than any previous. "The house rules are maintained in the regulations book." He does not move toward it. He does not offer to show the Team where they are displayed.

If the Team asks directly whether the rules were posted for inmates to see: "Rules are known to the inmates. They are instructed in them on admission."

If the Team asks whether the rules were on display during the Team's visit: Silence. Then: "There may have been some rearrangement of the building in preparation for the inspection."

The teacher steps out of role. In twilight voice:

> "He has just told us something significant. 'Some rearrangement.' What might that mean?"

Take responses.

> "We need to ask him directly."

Back into role. McDougal, under direct questioning, acknowledges that a notice was removed before the Team arrived. He produces it from a cupboard in his office. He says nothing more.

The teacher steps out of role and distributes the House Rules and Punishments sign.

In facilitator voice:

> "He took this down before we arrived. What does it show us that his spoken account of the rules did not show us?"

Take responses. Students should note:

- the sign makes the range and severity of punishments explicit and public, in a way that McDougal's verbal account in earlier episodes did not; the sign's language about the refractory room is more direct than anything the punishment book contains;
- the fact that he removed it before the inspection is itself evidence - it suggests he understood that its content would be significant to the Team's inquiry.

> "And what does removing it before we arrived tell us about his conduct during this inspection?"

Take responses. Hold the significance without overstating it. Then, in twilight voice:

"We now have two documents he did not offer. One shows how the room was used across a quarter in which no parliamentary allegation had been made. The other shows the rules he chose to hide before we walked through that door. Both go into the inquiry file. Both will be cited in the report."

The writing task: site observation record

Slides 69 / 70.

In twilight voice, moving students to tables:

"The site observation record is Section 1 first - the physical description of the room, before any interpretation. When Section 1 is complete, Section 2 - the comparison with the record and with McDougal's statement, now including both documents he produced under questioning.

"This document is physical evidence. Every claim it makes needs to be supportable. We do not say the room was used as a punishment cell. We describe what we found. We note what McDougal said, what the first quarter record shows, and what the removal of the sign suggests. Parliament will draw its own conclusions. Our job is to make sure Parliament has a record it can rely on."

Students work on the site observation record. The teacher circulates.

Twilight voice during note-making:

"Section 1 describes. What can you write that describes the room without using the conclusion as a description? Start with the dimensions, then the contents, then the condition of each object."

"The marks on the inside of the door - describe them without saying who made them or why. Location, depth, pattern. Interpretation belongs in Section 2."

"Section 2 asks you to compare the room with McDougal's three original claims. Take each one separately. Quote the claim. Note what the room shows. Note what that means for the claim's accuracy."

"You've written 'McDougal lied.' Section 2 can note that his statement is contradicted by the physical evidence. Whether that constitutes deliberate deception is a conclusion for the final report. Make the observation precise and let the reader draw the conclusion."

"The first quarter punishment record - what does it add to what Section 2 can say? It was not offered. It had to be pressed for. Note both things: what it contains, and the conditions under which it was produced."

"The sign was removed before the Team arrived. How do you record that precisely? What does it establish, and what does it suggest without fully establishing?"

Back together: what the room and the documents establish

In twilight voice:

"What has the Team established? Not only from the room, but from everything we now have - the room, the first quarter record, and the sign."

Take contributions. Expected findings:

- the room is not a storeroom;
- it has been used regularly for confinement across at least two quarters;

- the first quarter record confirms a pattern of use that the sparse Michaelmas entries concealed;
- the sign establishes that confinement was a formal, named punishment within the institution's own rules;
- McDougal removed the sign before the inspection;
- McDougal did not offer the first quarter record and produced it only under sustained questioning;
- McDougal has given the Team at least two accounts of the room that are inconsistent with the physical evidence and with each other.

> "What cannot be established from what we have?"

Students should note:

- who specifically authorised the most severe or longest confinements;
- whether the Board of Guardians was ever informed;
- whether the legal limits on duration were observed in any specific case;
- why the Michaelmas quarter record is so much sparser than the first quarter record.

In twilight voice:

> "That final question - why the Michaelmas quarter record contains so little compared to the first quarter - is one the parliamentary report will need to address. It may have an ordinary explanation. Or it may not. We cannot say. But we can say that the discrepancy exists, and that the Team noticed it."

Closing

Narrator voice. Quiet and measured.

> "The site observation record is complete. The room at the end of the north corridor has a name in the inquiry file now.
>
> "The first quarter punishment record is in the file. McDougal did not offer it. The Team asked for it, and then asked again.
>
> "The house rules sign is in the file. It was taken down before the Team arrived, and it was put back in their hands under questioning.
>
> "McDougal said there was nothing in that room relevant to the inquiry.
>
> "The inquiry file now contains evidence of what the room was used for, across two separate quarters, in the words of the institution's own records.
>
> "What remains is to turn everything in the file into a report that Parliament can rely on."

Leave it there.

Teacher notes

Obtaining the two documents

There is a discrepancy the students may have already noticed between McDougal's claim that the refractory room was used routinely and the sparse punishment record the Team has seen. Students who have been paying attention will feel the inconsistency before the teacher names it. The step out of role that surfaces it is not a prompt to reach a pre-determined conclusion. It is a genuine question: does this add up?

McDougal's resistance to producing both documents should be real rather than performed. He does not immediately refuse. He delays, deflects, and produces each document only when the Team has pressed specifically and repeatedly. The removal of the sign is his most significant moment: he cannot deny it, and he knows the Team understands what it means. His response - "some rearrangement of the building" - is the language of a man who has run out of defensible positions and knows it. Play it with restraint. A slight pause before the phrase, a slight flatness in the delivery. Nothing more.

On the full punishment record

The record for the first quarter of 1845 shows a pattern of use that the Michaelmas quarter record did not. Students who compare the two should be asking why the later record is so much sparser. The most likely explanation - that McDougal understood a parliamentary inquiry was coming and managed the record accordingly - cannot be stated as a finding without corroboration. But it can be noted as a question the report must acknowledge.

On the sign

The sign is the most powerful document in the episode because it is the one McDougal chose to hide. It does not reveal anything that could not be inferred from the other evidence. What it reveals is McDougal's own understanding of what the evidence meant - he removed it because he knew how it would read. Students who make that connection have understood something important about the relationship between evidence and intention.

On the narration

Write the narration out before the lesson and read it from notes rather than improvising. The specific physical details are what make the room present. Improvised narration at this moment tends toward the general.

On Section 1 of the observation record

Hold the discipline of description before interpretation firmly during circulation. Students who want to move immediately to conclusions are doing the right thinking in the wrong section. The interpretation will be stronger for having been earned through precise description.

What careful inspectors should notice about the Full Punishment Record

George P. appears three times, with escalating punishments. His final confinement at the end of March has no recorded resolution - he is still in the refractory room at the quarter's end, with no return date entered.

Robert D. appears twice. His second confinement specifies no duration and attaches a food reduction that is conditional on meeting the bone quota. Both conditions compound each other.

Henry S., aged 62, is confined for refusing to go to the bone room. He is in the category of aged and infirm. Whether his refusal was a disciplinary matter or a physical incapacity is not addressed in the record.

Ann R. is confined for making a complaint about food quantity. The complaint is dismissed. The confinement is described as "a caution." A complaint about food has been treated as an offence.

The general note states that no individual cases were submitted to the Board of Guardians. The Board's record for this quarter - in the minute book - records nothing relating to punishments.

The first quarter record contains fourteen entries. The Michaelmas quarter record, covering the period in which parliamentary allegations had already been raised, contains six.

On the legal question

The Poor Law regulations permitted solitary confinement with restrictions: duration should be limited, and the Board should be notified. Whether what happened in this room was within those limits cannot be established from the evidence the Team has gathered. The observation record should note the legal framework and note that the evidence does not establish whether it was followed. That uncertainty is itself a finding.

What careful inspectors should notice about the House Rules and Punishments Sign

The sign gives the Master sole authority to determine the duration of confinement in the refractory room. There is no upper limit stated. The phrase "until the Master is satisfied" places no constraint on duration other than the Master's own judgement.

The complaints procedure routes all complaints through the Matron and then to the Master. No inmate may approach the Board of Guardians without the Master's permission. The complaint that was made by Mrs Carter's brother - and which reached Parliament only through Mrs Carter's letter to London - had no formal route through the institution that did not pass through McDougal himself.

The sign was removed before the Team arrived. Its contents are not concealed from the Team by its removal - the rules can be inferred from the punishment records. What its removal establishes is that McDougal understood how the sign would read to an inspection team, and chose not to leave it where it could be found.

Final Episode: The Report to Parliament

Curriculum connections Formal report writing for a specific and consequential readership; selecting, organising, and weighing evidence; constructing reasoned argument supported by cited evidence; distinguishing finding from inference from speculation; acknowledging uncertainty precisely; making recommendations that follow from findings; revising for clarity and precision; ethical judgement about what can and cannot be stated with confidence.

Narrative function of this episode The inquiry is complete. The Team has everything it is going to find. What remains is to turn the inquiry file into a document that Parliament can rely on - one that states findings clearly, names evidence precisely, acknowledges what cannot yet be established, and makes recommendations that follow from the evidence rather than running ahead of it.

This episode is not a writing exercise that happens to be set in a Victorian context. It is the act the entire inquiry has been building toward. The students are not summarising what they have learned. They are producing the document that will determine what happens to Colin McDougal, to the Board of Guardians, to the Poor Law Commission, and to the people who are still living in Andover Union Workhouse while this report is being written.

The report cannot contain everything. It must contain enough. Those two constraints are what the episode is designed to hold in tension.

Resources

Slides

• Episode slides used to introduce the final report and display the model paragraph.

Printouts

• Evidence Sorting Cards — one set per group. See Resource 9, Evidence Sorting Cards, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

• Report Structure Template — one copy per student. See Resource 10, Report Structure Template, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse.

• Model paragraph — displayed for the whole class; full text below.

Inquiry books

• The complete inquiry file containing every artefact produced across the context.

Classroom resources

• Physical folders or a clearly organised shared digital space so students can move quickly between sources.

World-building artefact The formal report to Parliament: *Report of the Inspection Team appointed to examine the Andover Union Workhouse, Hampshire, 1845.* This is the document the whole

context has been building toward. It draws on every artefact in the inquiry file. It is not a display piece. It is the work.

Lesson Plan

Opening - Episode Slide 71

Students are settled. The inquiry book is on the tables. The teacher speaks in narrator voice.

"The Team has returned to London. **Slide 72** The documents have travelled with them in two locked cases. The floor plan is folded inside the larger file. The testimony records are tied together separately. The punishment book extracts, the Food Supply Evidence Note, and the site observation record have been copied.

"The report is due to be placed before Parliament.

"It cannot contain everything.

"It must contain enough."

A pause. Then, in twilight voice:

"This is the point where the inquiry becomes public. What we write now will be read by people who were not in the rooms, did not hear the witnesses, and did not see the workhouse. They did not stand at the door of the bone room. They did not sit opposite Thomas Reed, or Sarah Bell, or Ellen. They did not open the door at the end of the north corridor.

"They will read what we write. And on the basis of what we write, they will decide what happens next.

"That is what a parliamentary report is. It is the evidence made available to people who were not there."

What a parliamentary report is and is not: a brief discussion

In facilitator voice:

"Before we begin sorting the evidence, there is something worth establishing about the kind of document we are producing. What is a parliamentary report not?"

Take three or four responses. Students should identify: it is not a story or a retelling; it is not a personal response; it is not an accusation; it is not a summary of everything that happened.

"And what is it?"

Take responses. Press for precision. A parliamentary report is: a formal account of findings based on evidence; a document addressed to a specific readership with the authority to act; a record that

distinguishes what is established from what is uncertain; a document that makes recommendations and states the grounds for them.

"There are four things a parliamentary report must be able to say, and it must be able to say them differently from one another. The first is: the evidence establishes. The second is: the evidence suggests. The third is: the evidence does not establish. The fourth is: the Team recommends. Those four phrases do different work. If we use them interchangeably, the report fails."

Write the four phrases where students can see them. They should remain visible throughout the lesson. **Slide 73**

"The report also has to acknowledge what it cannot say. A parliamentary report that pretends to more certainty than the evidence supports is not a stronger document. It is a weaker one. Parliament will scrutinise the evidence behind every finding. A finding we cannot defend is worse than no finding at all."

Sorting the evidence

In facilitator voice:

"Before we write, we sort. Look at the evidence cards in front of you. Every card describes something from the inquiry. Your job is to place each card in one of three columns."

Display or write the three headings:

- *Established by evidence*
- *Strongly indicated but not fully established*
- *Still uncertain or contested*

"Work as a group. For every card where you disagree about the column, note the disagreement - do not resolve it. The disagreement is information." **Resource 9, Evidence Sorting Cards, in Resources for the Andover Workhouse**

Distribute the evidence sorting cards. Allow eight to ten minutes. The teacher circulates immediately in twilight voice.

Twilight voice during sorting:

"You've put Sarah Bell's statement in 'established.' What exactly is established? That she made the statement - yes. That what she described happened - not yet. Those are two different claims. Which column does each one belong in?"

"The week 8 meat shortfall belongs in 'established' if the ledger records it. The absence of any later entry showing that it was made good also belongs in the record. The question is what those facts establish, what they imply, and what still needs corroboration."

"The Board receiving the Carter complaint is established by the minute book. The Board understanding the full seriousness of the complaint is a different claim. Where does that second claim sit?"

"You've put the scratch marks on the door in 'uncertain.' What exactly is uncertain? Their presence isn't uncertain - we saw them. What they were made by, and when - that is uncertain. Can you split this card into what is established and what is not?"

"McDougal's statement about the room being used for storage - where do you put that? He made the statement: that is established. That the statement is accurate - that is a different matter. Where does each part belong?"

"The pile marked 'uncertain' is not a pile of failures. A good report is honest about what it cannot establish. That honesty is part of what makes Parliament trust the findings it can establish."

Back together after sorting: surfacing the disagreements

In facilitator voice:

"Where did groups disagree about which column a card belonged in?"

Take contributions. The disagreements that are most worth holding are likely to be:

- Sarah Bell's testimony about the women being frightened. Established that she said it; not established what she feared or whether it occurred.
- The bolted room as a punishment cell. Established that it contains objects consistent with confinement; not established that specific named individuals were confined there against the law.
- Whether the Board's failure was negligence or deliberate concealment. Strongly indicated that oversight was inadequate; not established that concealment was intentional.
- McDougal misleading the inquiry. Established that his statement about the room was inaccurate; not fully established that this was deliberate rather than a misunderstanding about what "relevant" meant.

Hold each disagreement briefly. Do not resolve them. "These disagreements are not problems. They are the places where the report has to be most careful. If we write over the disagreement instead of acknowledging it, Parliament will find us out."

Agreeing the report structure

In facilitator voice:

"The report needs a structure Parliament can follow. Here is the proposed structure. Look at it, and before we begin writing, make sure every group knows which section they are responsible for and what that section has to achieve."

Display or distribute the report structure template (drafted below). Read through the sections with the class - not in detail, but enough that every group understands the purpose of their section and how it connects to the sections on either side of it.

"One thing to note before we begin. The sections are not independent. Finding 1 on food and labour needs to connect to Finding 3 on testimony, because the testimony corroborates the food supply evidence. Finding 2 on punishment needs to connect to Finding 5 on oversight, because the

incomplete records are a failure of oversight as much as a failure of record-keeping. When you are writing your section, think about what it is receiving from the section before it and what it is handing on to the section after."

Modelling the report voice

Display the model paragraph: Slide 74

"The Team finds that serious questions remain over whether food recorded in the kitchen accounts reached the inmates whose labour filled the bone room. This finding is supported by the kitchen note received by the Team, the kitchen account extract showing a week 8 meat shortfall and no later entry confirming that it was made good, and the testimony of Eliza Marsh, who stated that what was weighed in the kitchen did not always reach the tables. The finding is strengthened by later testimony from inmates describing sustained hunger, but the Team cannot yet establish who ordered food to be held back, or precisely how much failed to reach the tables."

In facilitator voice:

"What makes this a report paragraph rather than anything else? What specific choices has it made?"

Take responses. Students should notice: a finding is stated in the first sentence; the evidence is named in the second sentence; the significance is developed in the third; no adjectives of feeling appear; the claims are specific and citable; the tone is formal without being inflated; the paragraph says one thing and says it completely.

"What does this paragraph not say that you might have wanted to put in?"

Students may note: it does not say the men were starving; it does not say McDougal was cruel; it does not say the Board knew. "Those claims may be in other sections - or they may not be supportable. But they are not in this paragraph because this paragraph is doing one specific job. Every paragraph in this report does one specific job. The report fails if a paragraph tries to do more than one."

Then, one more question before writing begins:

"This paragraph says 'the Team finds.' What is the difference between 'the Team finds' and 'the Team believes' or 'the Team suspects'? Why does the choice of that verb matter?"

Hold the answer briefly. The Team finds what the evidence establishes. What the evidence suggests is different. What the Team suspects is not in the report at all.

Writing the report: group drafting

Allocate sections to groups. The suggested allocation below is for a class of thirty working in groups of five, but it can be adjusted. The allocation matters: sections 4 and 5 (testimony from inmates, and oversight by the Board and Commission) are the most demanding to write, because the evidence is most complex and the judgements most difficult. Allocate your most confident writers to those sections, or pair groups so that a stronger group is writing alongside a less confident one.

Group 1: Terms of reference and method of inquiry Group 2: Finding 1 - food and labour Group 3: Finding 2 - punishment and discipline Group 4: Finding 3 - testimony from inmates Group 5: Finding 4 and Finding 5 - conduct of the Master and Matron; oversight by the Board and Commission Group 6: Unresolved matters and recommendations

Each group must produce:

- A clear finding stated in the first sentence of each finding section
- At least two pieces of evidence cited by name
- At least one sentence that acknowledges uncertainty or limitation
- For Group 6, at least four recommendations that follow directly from findings in the report

Students work. The teacher circulates immediately. The twilight voice during writing is the most intensive part of the lesson.

Twilight voice during writing - organised by the specific problems each group is most likely to encounter:

For Group 1 (terms of reference and method):

"The terms of reference section tells Parliament why this inquiry exists and what it was authorised to do. It does not tell Parliament what the inquiry found. Keep those two things separate."

"The method section should list what the Team examined - not what it discovered. Parliament needs to know the basis of the evidence before it can assess the findings. What did the Team examine? Rooms, records, accounts, testimony, interviews. Name them."

"You do not need to describe every episode of the inquiry. You need to describe the categories of evidence gathered and the methods used to gather them. One sentence per category is enough."

For Group 2 (food and labour):

"You've written that the inmates were starving. Can you establish that from the food supply evidence alone? The evidence shows an unresolved meat shortfall, a repeated bread issue pattern, and testimony that food recorded in the kitchen did not always reach the tables. What can you say that the evidence supports?"

"The connection between the food supply evidence and the bone-crushing quota is the most powerful finding in this section. Make sure both pieces of evidence are named and the connection between them is explicit. The report should not leave Parliament to make that connection themselves."

"You've acknowledged that the ledger extract was drawn from McDougal's own kitchen account. That is significant - it strengthens the finding. A man whose own records show an unresolved shortfall and unexplained issue patterns cannot easily dismiss the discrepancy as rumour. Note that."

For Group 3 (punishment and discipline):

"The punishment book and the site observation record need to be read together in this section. What does each one establish on its own? What does the combination establish that neither establishes alone?"

"You've written that McDougal used the punishment room illegally. What would establish that? The legal framework requires duration limits and medical oversight. Does the evidence show those conditions were not met, or only that they are not recorded? That is a different claim. Note the distinction."

"The phrase 'until corrected' is in the punishment book. Quote it exactly. Then note what the legal framework requires punishment records to include, and note that this phrase does not include it. Let Parliament draw the conclusion about what that means."

"McDougal's adjusted statement about the room - note both the original and the adjustment. Note that he gave one account and then changed it when the physical evidence contradicted it. That is a factual observation. What Parliament makes of it is Parliament's judgement."

For Group 4 (testimony from inmates):

"This section is the hardest to write because the evidence is testimony rather than documents, and testimony from people who were speaking under constraint. The section has to acknowledge that constraint as part of the finding, not conceal it."

"Thomas Reed did not state that the food was insufficient. He said 'a man learns what enough means, in here.' That is what the record says he said. The report cannot turn that into a direct statement that he confirmed a measured shortfall. It can note that his manner and phrasing were consistent with the dietary finding, and that he was unwilling to state directly what the record suggested he knew."

"Sarah Bell's testimony requires particular care. She stated that some women were frightened of being sent for. She would not elaborate. The report should note exactly what she said, note that she did not elaborate, and note that this opens a line of inquiry the Team was not able to pursue further within the scope of this investigation. Do not say more than that."

"Ellen testimony is the plainest. Her account of family separation, meal arrangements, and daily routine is consistent with the official record and adds the human detail the official record does not contain. Note what she said, note that it is consistent with other findings, and note what it establishes about the experience of children in this institution."

For Group 5 (conduct of the Master; Board and Commission oversight):

"These are two separate findings. The conduct of the Master and Matron is one finding. The failure of oversight by the Board and Commission is a different finding. They may be connected, but the report is clearer if they are stated separately."

"On McDougal: the evidence establishes specific things. He gave a false account of the bolted room. He adjusted that account when the physical evidence contradicted it. His records show an unresolved food supply discrepancy while certifying that the dietary scale had been observed. His

punishment records are incomplete in specific ways. Name each of these as a specific finding. Do not collapse them into a general accusation of cruelty."

"On the Board: Dodson's phrase 'we were all relying on the Master's account' is in the testimony record. Quote it. Note what it establishes about the chain of reliance that allowed the situation at Andover to continue undetected. Note that this chain ran from McDougal to the Board to the Commission, with no independent verification at any point."

"The distinction between not knowing and not looking needs to be explicit in this section. The Board did not know about the worst of what was happening. The evidence establishes that the Board was in a position to know - that it received a complaint, referred it to the person being complained about, approved accounts without verification, and expressed public confidence in McDougal at the moment independent scrutiny was most required. State those facts. Let Parliament make the judgement about what they add up to."

For Group 6 (unresolved matters and recommendations):

"The unresolved matters section is not a failure of the inquiry. It is an honest account of what the evidence does not establish. Name each unresolved matter precisely: who was confined in the punishment room and for how long; what the women in the workhouse were frightened of; whether the food supply discrepancy was deliberate or the result of inadequate oversight. Note why each matter is unresolved and what further investigation would be required."

"Each recommendation should name the problem it addresses. Not 'things should be better' but 'the Board of Guardians approved dietary accounts without verifying them against the dietary scale. Parliament should require that dietary accounts be verified by an independent officer before approval.' The recommendation follows from the specific finding."

"The recommendation about complaints is important. The evidence shows that complaints at Andover were referred to the person being complained about. Parliament should be told that this is structurally inadequate and that a protected route for inmate complaints should be established. What would that require in practice?"

"The recommendation about the Poor Law Commission's accountability is the most significant recommendation in the report. The evidence shows that the assistant commissioner received a warning and did not act. The Commission should be required to answer to Parliament for that failure. Note that this is a recommendation about the structure of oversight, not only about the individuals involved."

The revision phase

After groups have produced a first draft of their sections - approximately twenty-five minutes into the writing task - the teacher calls a brief pause.

In facilitator voice:

"Put your pens down for a moment. Read back what your group has written. For each paragraph, ask three questions."

Write the three questions where students can see them:

1. Is the finding stated in the first sentence? 2. Is every claim supported by named evidence? 3. Is anything claimed that the evidence does not establish?

"If the answer to question 3 is yes - if there is a claim in your section that the evidence does not fully support - that claim either needs to be moved to 'strongly indicated but not fully established' or removed. A report that overstates is less reliable than a report that is precise."

Allow five minutes for groups to read back and revise before the sections are brought together.

Bringing the sections together

Groups read their sections aloud, in order - terms of reference, method, then findings 1 through 5, then unresolved matters, then recommendations.

After each section, in facilitator voice:

"Is the finding clear? Is the evidence named? Is the judgement fair - does it say what the evidence supports and no more?"

Take two or three specific observations after each section. The teacher notes revision points - not for immediate revision but for students to return to after the lesson if the report is to be completed to a final draft standard.

After all sections have been read, a brief whole-class reflection:

"Does the report, as it stands, tell the truth as far as we have been able to establish it? Is there anything in it that overstates? Is there anything important that is missing?"

Take four or five responses. These may lead to brief revisions within the lesson if time allows, or they may be noted as the revision agenda for a follow-up session.

The final represented moment

The teacher picks up the report - or a folder that represents it - and shifts posture slightly. A senior clerk at the Poor Law Commission, standing with the completed document. Not McDougal. Not Dodson. Someone from London who has read what the Team has produced and who understands what it means for the institution they work for.

"The report will be copied tonight. It will be placed before the Home Secretary in the morning. After that, it will not belong to this room.

"The Commission will be asked to answer for what its officers knew and when. The Board of Guardians will be asked to account for nine years of oversight. McDougal will be asked to appear before a parliamentary committee.

"Before it leaves us, there is one question.

> "Does it tell the truth as far as you have been able to establish it?"

A beat. The teacher sets the report down and returns to twilight voice without announcement.

> "That is the question the Team has to answer before signing. Not whether it is perfect. Not whether it contains everything. Whether it is honest, and whether what it states can be defended."

Signing the report

Each student writes one final sentence in their inquiry notebook - on the page facing the last entry they made during the inquiry. Not a reflection on the context. A professional statement about this specific document.

Two options:

I am prepared to sign this report because...

Before I could sign this report, I would need...

Students choose which sentence to complete. The second option is not a failure - it is an act of professional integrity. A student who identifies something they cannot yet sign off on has understood what the report is for.

Allow three minutes for writing. Do not ask students to share these sentences with the group. They are private professional statements, and the privacy matters.

Closing

Narrator voice. Measured and slow. The final narration of the whole context.

> "The report is signed.
>
> "The ink dries slowly at the bottom of the final page.
>
> "Outside the office, London is already moving: carts in the street, newspapers being folded, messengers carrying sealed packets across the city.
>
> "In Andover, the workhouse bell rings at the usual hour.
>
> "McDougal is in his office. The Board of Guardians will meet next month. The assistant commissioner has not yet been informed that the report exists.
>
> "But now there is a report.

"It was placed before Parliament on the fourteenth of February, 1846. A parliamentary select committee was convened. McDougal was called to give evidence. He resigned before the committee's report was complete. The Poor Law Commission, its credibility destroyed by the inquiry and by the parliamentary hearings that followed, was abolished the following year. In its place, a new body was established - one that answered directly to Parliament, as this Team's report had recommended.

> "The workhouse on Junction Road continued to operate for many years after that. The people who had been inside it during the autumn of 1845 - Thomas Reed, Sarah Bell, Ellen - left no further record that has survived.
>
> "But they are in the report.
>
> "And the report is in Parliament.
>
> "And Parliament acted."

Leave it there.

Teacher notes

On the report as a culminating task

This episode should not be treated as a single lesson if the report is to be completed to a proper standard. Plan for two sessions if possible: the first covering the sorting task, the discussion of report voice, the structure agreement, and the first draft; the second covering revision, the bringing-together, and the signing. A report written in a single hour will almost certainly overstate in some sections and understate in others. The revision phase is where the most important thinking happens, and it needs time.

If the context has been taught over a long period and students have strong recall of every episode, a single extended session may be sufficient. If some time has passed since the earlier investigations, allow students twenty minutes at the start to read back through the inquiry file before the sorting task begins.

On the evidence sorting cards

The cards below cover the main findings of the inquiry. Add or remove cards depending on which episodes the class has completed and in what order. If the class did not complete the tour (Episode A), remove the card about the workroom observation. If the class investigated the bolted room early in the sequence, the card about the room should be placed in the context of what the class knew at that point. The cards are a starting point, not a fixed set.

On the allocation of sections

The allocation above assumes six groups. In a class of different sizes, adjust as follows: terms of reference and method can be merged into a single short section written by the teacher as a model,

freeing one group to take on the most demanding finding section instead. The unresolved matters and recommendations can be split into two separate sections if the class has produced rich evidence across all six investigations. The important thing is that every section is owned by a group that understands its purpose and its relationship to the sections adjacent to it.

On the signing moment

The signing moment is private for a reason. A student who writes "before I could sign this report, I would need to know what happened to the women Sarah Bell described" has understood something important about the limits of the inquiry and the ethical weight of putting their name to a document. That understanding should not be exposed to the group or evaluated by the teacher. It is the student's relationship to the work they have done, and it should stay that way.

Postscript: How This Story Really Ended

The Andover inquiry did not end quietly. **Slide 75**

In 1845, the reports from Andover became a national scandal. Newspapers described men in the workhouse eating gristle and marrow from the bones they had been ordered to crush for fertiliser. The story reached Parliament. What had first appeared to be a local failure inside one workhouse became evidence of something much larger: a system that could hide suffering behind forms, ledgers, regulations, and official confidence.

Colin McDougal, the master of Andover Union Workhouse, was not simply a minor official. He was a former soldier, a Chelsea Pensioner, and a veteran of Waterloo. He had served for many years in the Royal Horse Artillery and had reached the rank of staff sergeant. At Andover, he brought that military authority into the workhouse. His wife served as matron.

The accusations against him were serious. Witnesses alleged that the inmates were underfed, that provisions had been diverted, that sick inmates had not received the extras ordered by the medical officer, and that McDougal had behaved improperly towards female inmates. There were also allegations of drunkenness and intimidation. The local Board of Guardians was slow to act, and the first official inquiries were themselves criticised for being incomplete and badly handled.

Eventually, the Poor Law Commission used its authority to remove McDougal from his post. He lost his position as master of the workhouse.

But the story did not end with him alone.

In 1846, a Parliamentary Select Committee investigated both Andover Union Workhouse and the wider workings of the Poor Law Commission. The committee found serious mismanagement by the Andover guardians and criticised the way the Poor Law Commission had operated. The scandal helped to expose the weakness of a system where local officials could fail to inspect properly, central officials could accept reassurance too easily, and the people living inside the workhouse had little power to make the truth heard.

The consequences reached beyond Andover. In 1847, the Poor Law Commission was abolished and replaced by the Poor Law Board, which was made more directly answerable to government and Parliament.

What happened to McDougal afterwards is harder to trace with certainty. He did not remain in charge at Andover. After his dismissal, he largely disappears from the public record of the scandal. That absence is itself worth noticing. The lives of the inmates were examined in public only because their suffering became impossible to ignore. The life of the master, once removed, became far less visible.

So the ending is not simple. McDougal lost his office, but the deeper question was never only about one man. The Andover scandal showed how cruelty could survive inside an institution when those responsible for oversight chose procedure over attention, order over humanity, and paperwork over the voices of the people inside.