

**THE IRISH MIDDLE-CLASS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY
MANCHESTER**

By

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the presence of a middle class within the Irish migrant community in nineteenth-century Manchester with particular focus on the censuses between 1841 and 1901. The existing story of Irish migration in Manchester implies that there existed a common socio-economic structure across all the Irish migrant community. Whilst this theme dominates the majority of the historiography this thesis examines the middle-class Irish story, which has not been substantially investigated and uncovers a far more nuanced picture than previously acknowledged.

The story of Irish poverty and degradation within the poorest of Manchester's working-class districts has been seen as the dominant factor in shaping and sustaining the image of the Irish migrant as a homogeneous lumpen proletariat. This thesis analyses the key role played by contemporary writers and observers who focused exclusively on the direst aspects of the Irish migrant experience. The study shows that the subsequent historiography of the Irish in Manchester and indeed, Britain as a whole, has until recently been dominated by this paradigm. The thesis shows that this 'poor Paddy' interpretation of the Irish in Manchester was not appropriate for a substantial and recognisable minority of the Irish community.

The nature of the Irish middle-class is placed within the wider context of both the host and migrant communities, and the social stratification therein. The influence of an Irish diasporic elite on the political, commercial and cultural life of the city has previously been neglected and this thesis seeks to rectify this. This research is unique and original and will offer a significant contribution to the historiography by identifying levels of social stratification within the Irish migrant community in nineteenth-century Manchester. Therefore, this thesis adds to the Irish-migrant story in Manchester, an aspect of their experience which until now has not received the academic focus it warrants, and thus the nature of the Irish middle-class is placed within the wider literature on the Irish in Manchester.

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this thesis constitutes my own product, that where the language of others is set forth, quotation marks so indicate, and that appropriate credit is given where I have used the language, ideas, expressions or writings of another.

I declare that the dissertation describes original work that has not previously been presented for the award of any other degree of any institution.

Signed,

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INTRODUCTION

As if a precursor to the moral panic precipitated by the influx of poor Irish immigrants escaping the Great Famine of 1845-52, the 1836 *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* described the Irish as 'a less civilised population spreading themselves, as a kind of substratum, beneath a more civilised community'.¹ The perpetuation of the ideologically, sensationally and politically serviceable images of Irish migrants as poor, disease-ridden drunken degenerates living in filthy conditions of their own making, through uncritical interpretation and empirical imbalance, has led the line between myth and fact to become indistinct. It is this empirical imbalance which this thesis seeks to address through a study of the middle-class Irish in nineteenth-century Manchester, a group relatively neglected in the narrative of the Irish in that city, Britain as a whole and indeed, the wider diaspora.

There is no paucity of contemporary comment regarding the nineteenth-century Irish immigrant presence², but this is a minefield of propaganda and potent stereotypes which construct an overwhelmingly skewed view of the Irish as a lumpen proletariat that should render the historian cautious, since it frequently degenerates into polemic. Though contemporary comment is not as monochromatic as traditional historical interpretation suggests, much of it follows a narrative of either condemnation or defence.³ Thoughtful reflection was exceptional.⁴ The polemically attractive notion of the Irish being marginalized profoundly influences much of the available primary material, and consequently, historical

1 George Cornewall Lewis, *Royal Commission on the Poorer Classes in Ireland, Appendix G; Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* in British Parliamentary Paper, 1836, p. 457. (Referencing throughout this thesis follows the *Irish Historical Studies*, 'Rules For Contributors' (www.irishhistoricalstudies.ie).

2 For example, J. P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (1832, reprinted London 1969); Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism* (London, 1839); Freidrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845, reprinted: Oxford, 1999).

3 Hugh Heinrick, *A Survey of the Irish in England, 1872* (London 1872, reprinted 1989); John Denvir, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1892).

4 Leon Faucher, a French visitor to Manchester, was suprised by the neatness, decency and unexpected progress of a large parade of Irish Catholic children: Leon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (reprinted Manchester 1969), pp 31-32.

interpretation. In particular, the aforementioned 1836 *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*⁵ has been given a primacy that is inappropriate for the century as a whole, and accredited a dubious authority, given the ulterior motives of its authors and contributors.⁶ Three years after its publication, in 1839 Thomas Carlyle wrote that 'in his squalor and unreason, in his falsity and drunken violence' the Irishman constituted 'the readymade nucleus of degradation and disorder'.⁷ This oft-quoted view was synonymous with a good deal of contemporary opinion of the Irish in Victorian Britain throughout much of the nineteenth century. Manchester, 'the city where most of the stereotypes originated or gained credence',⁸ became a byword for slum degeneracy, with Irish communities subjected to what was conventionally presented as a justified native economic, political, cultural, racial, religious and social prejudice. It is the intention of this study to question the legitimacy of these prejudices by testing for the presence and influence of an Irish middle-class in nineteenth-century Manchester. The study will therefore contribute to a greater understanding of the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain by examining this group within the important local and urban context of Manchester. The city provides a potentially rich and revealing site for analysis, since it was viewed as the 'shock city' of the modern industrial age, and as an environment which provided opportunities for diverse commercial, professional and social interaction between the Irish middle-class and modern urban society.

5 Evidence to George Cornwall Lewis: *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, p. xxxiv.

6 Lewis's report drew upon a large body of conflicting evidence regarding the effects of Irish settlement. Parish beadles and social commentators poured scorn on the morals of the Irish and denounced their economic impact upon native labour. Employers and Catholic priests offered a feeble corrective by stressing the willingness of the Irish to do work that other groups refused. British labourers, seldom heard but whose actions could often be felt, concerned themselves less with moral questions than with economic arguments.

7 Quoted in Roger Swift, 'Another Stafford Street Row: Law, Order and the Irish presence in mid-Victorian Wolverhampton.' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London, 1985), p. 179.

8 Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880-1939* (Buckingham, 1993), p. 19; M. A. Busted, R. L. Hodgson and T. F. Kennedy, 'The Myth and Reality of Irish Migrants in Mid-Nineteenth Century Manchester' in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish World Wide* (6 vols, Leicester, 1992), ii, 2.

The Irish in Britain

During the nineteenth century the exodus of Irish men and women from their home country was one of the most significant population movements of the modern period. Emigration has been described by Foster as 'the great fact of Irish social history from the early nineteenth century onwards'.⁹ The popular image of the Great Famine is a collage of 'coffin ships' sailing out on the tide together with grain filled vessels, mass graves and evictions. The perception that the Famine 'caused' emigration is widespread in collective memory both in Ireland and among the Irish overseas, especially in the United States and it is also a defining feature of the Irish 'story' in Britain. In reality traces of Irish emigration to Britain are visible from early modern times.¹⁰ The process quickened in the late eighteenth century and accelerated even further after 1815 and by the 1830s into the 1840s a mass movement spread from the north-east and south-east of Ireland to effect all classes of both Catholics and Protestants throughout all parts of Ireland though not to equal degrees, demonstrating conclusively that movement from the island of Ireland did not originate with the Great Famine.¹¹

Early Irish emigration figures are unreliable, but estimates put the annual rate in the eighteenth century at 2,500. As though a prelude to the Great Famine, a million left in the thirty years from 1815 to 1845.¹² Poor Roman Catholics migrants were the most visible and numerous group from the 1820s, with the result that they dominate the accounts of the Irish in Britain, giving credence to the stereotype of highly fertile 'crowds of miserable Irish'¹³ living in squalid ghettos, where, unwelcome and unwashed, they kept pigs in their houses.

9 R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600 – 1972* (London, 1989), p. 345; Kevin O'Connor, *The Irish in Britain* (Dublin, 1974); E. D. Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North Of England, 1850-1914' in *Northern History*, xii, no.1 (1976), pp 220-241.

10 Enda Delaney, 'The Irish Diaspora' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxxiii (2006), pp35-45.

11 Ibid, p. 41. Cecil J. Houston and W.J. Symth, 'The Irish Diaspora: Emigration to the New World, 1720 – 1920, in Brian Graham and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds), *An Historical Geography of Ireland* (London, 1993), pp343-348.

12 Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History 1607-2007* (London, 2008).

13 Quoted in Roger Swift, 'Thomas Carlyle, "Chartism", and the Irish in Early Victorian England' in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, xxix, no.1 (2001), pp 67-83.

This popular view of Irish migration also reflects the earliest academic works which depict the Irish influx into nineteenth-century Britain as dating from the famine and consisting of a working-class, Catholic inflow from a rural background who lived in the poorest parts of large industrial cities. The demographic correlation of the distressed immigrant Irish with poor housing and insanitary conditions led to assumptions of a causal link between the newly arrived Irish and the polluted environment of the expanding urban landscape. The lifestyle, diet and domestic economy of Irish migrant settlers were held to be directly responsible for overcrowding, fever,¹⁴ misery and low wages. However, this was also the condition of many native urban peoples in Britain. Conditions were bad before the Irish arrived and the state of towns and cities - expanding exponentially in this period - were causing anxiety in the 1820s and 1830s before Irish immigration reached its peak.¹⁵ The nineteenth-century belief that the Irish were harbingers of crime and disorder was not novel and negative stereotypes of the 'brutalised Paddy' can be found entrenched in English popular opinion throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. David Hume's influential *History of England* published in the 1750s, for example, described the Irish from the beginning of time as being 'buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance.'¹⁶

For significant numbers of Irish migrants Britain was a staging post on a journey elsewhere, with North America and especially the United States an increasingly popular destination from the 1840s onwards. Although they had begun to appear in some of the towns and cities of Britain by the late eighteenth century, it was during the first half of the nineteenth century that Irish immigrants became a conspicuous and permanent feature of British urban life, profoundly affecting the society into which they were received.

14 Indeed, the pathologised ethno-biological epithet 'Irish fever' was common.

15 J. A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1963), p. 41.

16 Quoted in Ken Livingstone, *Nothing but the same old story: The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism* (London, 2004), p.36.

The Irish came to Britain in the first part of the nineteenth century for a variety of reasons. Retired or discharged Irish soldiers ('green redcoats') had settled in Britain for a number of years but numbers increased dramatically after the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815.¹⁷ Seasonal workers, or 'spalpeens', had been travelling to England to supplement their income by performing harvesting and other temporary work since the early 1800s. An additional factor was the penetration of the Irish textile market by English goods. The Connacht area, including counties Mayo, Roscommon, Galway, Sligo and Leitrim, produced coarse yarns which were particularly hard hit by England's advances in the industry, leading to the demise of the cotton and linen industries in Ireland, and prompting emigration to England and beyond. Widespread poverty motivated many to leave Ireland to improve their quality of life, poor relief available in England was more generous than at home, returning spalpeens spoke of job availability in England and after 1820 competition amongst steam shipping lines and subsequent cheap passage inspired others.¹⁸ Many spalpeens came from County Mayo and Western Ulster. Their numbers increased in the 1820s and 1830s as 'Steamer packets' became available to transport workers over the Irish Sea. The Irish Midlands railway ran a special fourth-class fare, known as a harvest ticket, to transport men from the outlying counties to Dublin and then on to Liverpool or other West Coast Ports.¹⁹ The number of seasonal workers traveling from Ireland to England was between 60,000 and 100,000 annually between the years of 1840-1860.²⁰ Seasonal work in England allowed families to supplement their income and therefore pay the rent and retain their land back in Ireland. In the early 19th century these temporary workers were a crucial element in the British rural

17 Peter Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922' in *Journal of Social History*, xvii, no. 1 (1983), pp 31- 64.

18 Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in the Victorian City: The Local Dimension* (Dublin, 1999), p. 82.

19 Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922*. (New York, 1999), p. 23.

20 Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, p. 16.

workforce, but their numbers began decline in the 1870s with the agricultural depression and introduction of machines to facilitate harvesting. By the 1880s the harvest migration no longer provided the supplemental income many needed to retain their holdings in Ireland and this added to the pressure to emigrate, especially in Connacht and Western Munster.²¹ According to MacRaild, 'the poorest province, Connacht maintained disproportionately low emigration rates until after the famine.'²²

By 1851, a further one and a half million Irish emigrants had departed with 'pestilence on their backs and famine in their stomachs' and in the following twenty years the average rate of leaving was approximately 100,000.²³ Most of the Irish fleeing the effects of the Great Famine migrated to the United States of America via Liverpool with Britain the second choice often attracting those who could ill afford to travel further in the first instance. The Irish-born population of Britain peaked in 1861 and thereafter fell as recorded in successive census reports (**Table 1**).

Table 1. Irish-born persons in England, Wales and Scotland 1841 – 1901²⁴

Year	England and Wales	%	Scotland	%	Total
1841	289, 404	1.8	126, 321	4.8	415, 725
1851	519, 959	2.9	207, 367	7.2	727, 326
1861	601, 634	3	204, 083	6.7	805, 717
1871	566, 540	2.5	207, 770	6.2	774, 310
1881	562, 374	2.2	208, 745	5.9	781, 119
1891	458, 315	1.6	194, 807	4.8	653, 122
1901	426, 565	1.3	205, 064	4.8	631, 629

These figures exclude the children of Irish migrants born in Britain, since only those born in Ireland were recorded as Irish. Ethnic Irish communities would therefore have been

²¹ MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 37.

²² Ibid., p.16.

²³ Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity: The Irish Famine, 1845-52* (Dublin, 1994), p. 297.

²⁴ 'Census of England and Wales, 1841-1901, Census of Scotland, 1841-1901: Population Tables. Number and Distribution of the People. British Parliamentary Papers' (www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census) (09 Jan.2012).

considerably larger than these statistics show and any figures dealing with the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain must therefore be treated with caution. *The Nation* in 1872 suggested the census figures should be doubled to give the true size of the Irish population in Britain, an assertion which a much later commentator, W. J. Lowe, largely agrees.²⁵ In his study of seven Lancashire towns from the mid-1840s to the 1870s, he proposes a 'Widnes Factor' that can be applied to Irish communities as listed by the census to help estimate their actual sizes. In evolving his 'Widnes Factor', Lowe took all the households with at least one Irish-born person in addition to the household head in a nuclear or extended family. If the household's head was the only person born in Ireland this household was omitted from the calculations, two persons in a household thereafter constituted the minimum Irish presence. For 1861 and 1871, Lowe gives minimum Irish populations in the town of 1,621 and 4,136 – 77% and 80% more than those enumerated as having been born in Ireland. This 'Widnes Factor' may not provide the actual numbers of Irish community members in mid-Victorian Lancashire but it does give a working baseline on which to base a 'systematic and credible estimate' and one which can translate to other Irish studies²⁶, and it is indeed used in this thesis when enumerating the Irish middle-class.

Notwithstanding Lowe's 'Widnes Factor', it would appear that reactions to the Irish were born not of large overall numbers but of a variety of local concerns such as migrant population densities. The highest figures for Irish-born migrants from 1841 to 1901 are in England and Wales, 3% in 1861 and, for Scotland, 7.2% in 1851. It is in their local agglomerations that the Irish achieved their visibility. They were largely to be found in the

25 W.J. Lowe, *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire: The Shaping of a Working-Class Community* (New York, 1999).

26 For example, C. L. Scott, 'Ghettos, Colonies and Communities: Residential Segregation: A Comparative Re-examination of Anglo-Irish Relations in Nineteenth-Century Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle-upon-Tyne' (Ph.D thesis, Durham University, 1999); Alexander Peach, 'Poverty, Religion and Prejudice in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Catholic Irish in Birmingham 1800-c1880' (PhD thesis, De Montfort University, Birmingham, 2000); Peter Jones, 'The Irish in north-east Wales 1851 to 1881' (PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2002).

ports of entry, notably Liverpool and Glasgow; in the industrial towns of South Lancashire, most notably, Manchester, and, those of Scotland; in the Midlands and South Wales; and, of course, in London. During the nineteenth-century Manchester was a major destination for Irish emigrants. In relative terms it was third behind Liverpool and Glasgow and was ranked above London (**Table 2**). The Irish-born population of Manchester peaked in 1861 before declining exponentially thereafter, a trend also found amongst the Irish-born populations of Liverpool, London and Glasgow.²⁷

Table 2. The percentage of Irish-born persons in the four main British cities of settlement²⁸

Year	Liverpool	Manchester	Glasgow	London
1841	17.33%	12.80%	16.17%	3.90%
1851	22.29%	13.10%	18.17%	4.60%
1861	18.91%	15.40%	15.70%	3.81%
1871	15.56%	9.70%	14.32%	2.80%
1881	12.60%	7.00%	13.10%	1.88%
1891	9.10%	5.80%	10.63%	1.60%
1901	6.70%	4.70%	8.87%	0.96%

These four conurbations during the period 1841 to 1861 contained an average of 41% of the total Irish-born settlers in Britain, but, although the largest absolute numbers were in London, the Irish would have made the greatest impression on their local communities in those cities where their relative populations were greater. Moreover, whilst Irish immigration to Britain decreased sharply after 1860 it did not cease altogether. Expanding towns such as Birmingham, Leeds and Preston continued to attract Irish migrants both from the homeland and other British cities.²⁹ One explanation for the decline of the Irish migrant population is

27 David Fitzpatrick, "A peculiar tramping people": The Irish in Britain, 1801-1870' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, (Oxford, 1996), p. 659.

28 'Census of England and Wales, 1841-1901: Population Tables. Number and Distribution of the People.' (www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census) (14 Jan. 2012). The figures for Manchester have been extrapolated from Census Reports of England and Wales 1841-1901 Most studies of the Irish in Manchester incorporate the figures for Manchester and Salford. Salford is excluded from these figures.

29 Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe Since 1850* (Chicago, 2005), p. 30.

the high mortality rates encountered in nineteenth-century Britain. The amount and quality of data on life expectancy in the nineteenth century underwent a stepchange when in 1842 Edwin Chadwick published his *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*. He calculated life expectancies at birth and found wide differences by class and location. Chadwick's observations were confirmed and expanded upon by Dr. George Newman with his comprehensive study of infant mortality from the mid-nineteenth century into the early twentieth-century.³⁰ The conditions of the early industrial cities have been well documented elsewhere³¹ and the rapid growth of population and industry in cities like Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and London stretched the capacity of the traditional city beyond breaking point. Cities were characterized by limited sanitation, overcrowding and pollution. In 1841 the average life expectancy in Manchester was twenty- four years, and thousands from all classes were killed in the cholera outbreaks of 1832, 1848 and 1866.³² Infant mortality was especially high in Manchester. In 1840 57% of infants died before the age of five and it was still high in the 1860s with one in every three children dying before the age of five.³³ Since the majority of Manchester's Irish migrant population lived in the poorest and most overcrowded residential areas they would have been particularly susceptible to these mortality factors

The mass migration of Irish into Britain in the nineteenth century was a significant event not merely as the first mass influx of immigrants in the modern period but in setting templates for immigrant recognition as well as articulations of ethnic, national and religious differences within the British national discourse that are still relevant today. Explanations

30 George Newman, *Infant Mortality, a social problem* (New York, 1907).

31 For example, M. J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995).

32 P. K. Gilbert, *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England* (New York, 2008), p.212.

33 Robert Millward and Frances Bell, *Infant Mortality in Victorian Britain: An Economic and Social Analysis* (Manchester, 1999), p. 41.

dealing with the extent to which Irish immigrants integrated with or chose or were forced to isolate themselves from British society are many. Significant numbers, inspired by the enduring hope of return, held on to memories of old Ireland just across the Irish sea and their subsequent generations often clung to symbols of the family past. Symbols are important to exiles. A parish priest could always command a good attendance at Irish evenings and the familiar and comforting brogue heard in the local pubs and shops maintained a sense of Irish solidarity and social cohesion, both qualities reinforced by hostility from the host community. Conversely, many Irish wanted to shake off their past and enter into British society and to adopt British values and social practices, processes lubricated, as will be demonstrated, by class and religion.

The task of describing the Irish experience in nineteenth-century Britain is challenging because there was no single, uniform Irish experience. Instead there were regional variations and changes over time, not only for the Irish but their British hosts. Social, economic and cultural changes throughout the century had their effect on all, including the Irish immigrants. These changes may have been slow for the Irish but, as will be shown, they were perceptible. Indeed, James Walvin claims that by 1900 the Irish had shaken off their past and adopted British values and social practices, exchanging their rural traditions for an urban culture.³⁴ However, as a counter to this, Kinealy points out that the laws of settlement – not abolished until 1948 and technically permitting removal back to parishes of origin – were 'a constant reminder to Irish immigrants to Britain (that) they were there as guests and not by right'.³⁵ Foster's 'great fact of Irish history' therefore may well state a certainty but it prompts a number of questions which a large body of literature on the origins and nature of the immigrants, motivation in emigrating, the attraction of Great Britain, real or imagined, and the places where they settled, has attempted to answer.

34 James Walvin, *Passage to Britain - Immigrants in British History and Politics* (London, 1984), p. 5.

35 Kinealy, *This Great Calamity*, p.341.

Literature Review

The processes of Irish migration and subsequent settlement have been the subject of much debate among historians, demographers and social scientists. The historiography has focused on a number of broad issues. Firstly, there has been discussion of the reasons behind the Irish leaving Ireland and choosing routes and destinations for settlement. Secondly, a focus on the processes and patterns of Irish settlement, employment and social organization. Finally, there has been sometimes lively debate surrounding the effects of these choices, processes and patterns on both the immigrant and the host society. This literature review engages with these issues and goes on to consider the historiography of the Irish in Manchester, drawing particular attention to the previously relatively neglected area of the Irish middle-class.

David Fitzpatrick argues that after the Act of Union in 1800 the number of Irish in Britain increased particularly during the time of the Great Famine, concluding that people were impelled to emigrate due to the sharp and increasing contrast in economic opportunities between Ireland and Great Britain.³⁶ Dillon too notes that despite a long history of migration to Britain, it was the catastrophic onset of the Famine that exacerbated the situation.³⁷ But Cormac Ó Gráda contends that Ireland in 1841, on the eve of the Great Famine, was a country of contrasts. Much economic and technological progress had been made in the preceding decades. Pre-famine, population growth, the decline of Irish proto-industry, the commercialisation of agriculture leading to farm consolidation and growing dependence on the potato together with enabling factors of increased mobility via the rapid expansion of steam ship transportation and rising literacy in Ireland engendered the growth of an awareness of immigration as a feasible life choice. He further argues that the

36 Fitzpatrick, "A peculiar tramping people": the Irish in Britain, 1801-70', pp 623-660.

37 T. B. A. Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds 1851-1861' in *The Thoresby Miscellany*, xvi (Leeds, 1979), p.1.

continuing industrialisation of the British economy drew in labour throughout the period.³⁸

Graham Davis cites the testimony of an extensive enquiry of 1,500 witnesses conducted in 1835, providing firm evidence of the reasons for pre-famine emigration. When interviewed, local landlords, clergy and magistrates throughout Ireland identified a number of key, explanatory factors. What was pushing the main body of small farmers towards the contemplation of emigration they argued, was the combined impact of high rents and low prices on income levels. The decline in textiles limited the possibilities for diversification, and improvements to farmholdings were not compensated at the expiration of leases when renewal inevitably meant still higher rents. Consequently, emigration was considered as an increasingly viable alternative to be financed by the sale of leases and the farm stock. This is a prime example of the neo-classical theory of migration which attributed population movement primarily to economic factors.³⁹ As Davis states: 'Even before the famine years of 1845-52 emigration became established as a permanent feature of Irish life, with children reared in Ireland but destined to settle abroad.'⁴⁰ A further factor encouraging emigration was a shift in prices in the British market which increasingly preferred pastoral products, thereby favouring less labour intensive agriculture. There were also notable regional variations in population loss, with those western areas where the dependence on the potato in the diet was greatest being the hardest hit, though it is also true that the very poorest and most isolated regions saw the greatest outflow in the 1880s.⁴¹

The notion that the Irish were exiles driven out of Ireland by poverty, hardship and English colonialism is a theme that finds particular resonance with historians recounting the Irish migrant experience in North America. Kirby Miller, in his seminal work, *Emigrants and Exiles:*

38 Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780–1939* (Oxford, 1994), pp 68-70.

39 J. R. Hicks, *The Theory of Wages* (London, 1932); W. A. Lewis, 'Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour' in *The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, iii, (1954), pp 139-191. (Neo-classical migration is discussed later in this introduction).

40 Graham Davis, 'The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914' in Andrew Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora* (Abingdon, 2013), p. 21.

41 Ibid.

Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America,⁴² sourced almost 5,000 letters from Irish migrants and their families in Ireland as a data bank for his argument that Irish people had few options other than departure from their homeland, being swept up by vast impersonal forces and the machinations of the British state. However, MacRaild argues that in Britain, the Irish emigrant critique of British rule was much less highly developed, and notions of exile were relatively hidden by a continued association with Britain and by a retained closeness to Ireland. He concludes that there was virtually no internal narrative among the Irish in Britain of emigration as exile.⁴³ This contention is however, effectively challenged by Busted who cites material from a collection of broadside ballads published in Manchester in the 1860s and 1870s that often had an exile theme.⁴⁴

It is clear that the cause, effect and result of Irish migration in the nineteenth century is a matter of some debate amongst historians and no single narrative of the Irish migrant experience has emerged. However, much of the writing on the topic of Irish immigration has treated emigrant groups as a single homogeneous unit and been blind to gender composition. Consequently, the fate which befell Irish migrant women in nineteenth-century Britain has drawn little analytical attention until recently. This gap was identified by Donald H. Akenson in his important 1993 survey, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, where a pointedly subtitled chapter on Irish women immigrants, labelled them the 'Great Unknown': 'The single most severe limitation on our knowledge of the Irish diaspora is this: we know surprisingly little about Irish women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ...'⁴⁵. In 1995 Patrick O'Sullivan edited a collection titled *Irish Women and Irish Migration*, which examined

42 K. A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York, 1985).

43 For an overview of various strands in the debate see Donald MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750 – 1922* (London, 1999), pp 160-162.

44 Mervyn Busted, 'Songs in a strange land—ambiguities of identity amongst Irish migrants in mid-Victorian Manchester' in *Political Geography*, xvii, no.6 (Aug. 1998), pp 627-635.

45 Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Belfast, 1993), p. 157.

women who left Ireland between the early sixteenth and the late twentieth centuries. O'Sullivan, and most of his contributors, again highlighted the 'extraordinary' paucity of extant research on Irish women immigrants. This was particularly surprising given their numerical equality, and sometimes superiority, in immigrant streams to the major destination countries.⁴⁶ One of the strengths of O'Sullivan's collection, lay in gathering together research on Irish women in the United States, England and Europe, allowing a comparative analysis of their experiences in various parts of the Irish diaspora. In the years since the mid-1990s, when Akenson and O'Sullivan issued their calls for further work on women, there has been much more research into the experiences of Irish female immigrants in various countries⁴⁷, yet gaps in our knowledge remain, for example, the extent and experience of inter-marriage of Irish women with males from the host nation or other ethnic groups or faiths.⁴⁸ To continue this process of historical recovery this thesis seeks to incorporate women into the narrative where sources allow.⁴⁹

The Protestant migrant is also frequently marginalised in the historical narrative. Protestants were a significant element in the eighteenth-century migrant outflow, especially to North America, but have been relatively neglected in studies of nineteenth-century migration. It has been suggested their religion and generally pro-union politics enabled easier integration and rendering them relatively invisible and difficult to isolate for study purposes. Moreover, 'the Protestant exodus simply does not have the shock value of the Catholic emigration of the nineteenth century, especially that of the Famine generation'.⁵⁰ It is argued that there were often strong bonds between Irish Protestant migrants and the

46 Patrick O'Sullivan, 'Introduction', in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Irish Women and Irish Migration* (London, 1995), p. 1.

47 Ibid.

48 Dianne Hall and Elizabeth Malcolm, 'Diaspora Gender and the Irish' in *Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, viii (2008/9), pp 3-29.

49 See chapter three on lodging-house keepers, chapter four on Catholic nuns and chapter five on middle-class women and associational culture.

50 MacRaid, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 10.

Orange Order, and this relationship has been explored in parts of northern and north eastern England in MacRaid's, *Faith, Fraternity and Fighting*.⁵¹ Academic works specific to the Catholic migrant experience continue to dominate⁵² which is unsurprising given their numerical superiority in the Irish diaspora, but this thesis will demonstrate that, despite their relatively small numbers, Protestant Irish were present within the Manchester middle class. There has been long-running debate on how well the immigrant Irish integrated. Gearoid O'Tuathaigh declares that a long distrust between the English and Irish people made this difficult. The Irish were the most considerable ethnic group in mid-nineteenth century Britain, the majority marked out by their class, nationality, religion and 'race' which guaranteed their place as outcasts. But, as O'Tuathaigh points out, not all Irish desired assimilation.⁵³ Lynn Lees whilst acknowledging that the Irish lived close to the English and European migrants in working-class districts, is adamant that Irish migrants preferred to associate with one another and favoured endogamy.⁵⁴ This view was also evident amongst commentators in the early nineteenth century; Cornwall Lewis claimed the Irish formed their own communities and were separated from the host communities by their different habits, religion and language. Since the 'natives' did not want to mix with them, the Irish congregated together in certain streets where they mainly interacted with one another.⁵⁵ This view is endorsed by Pooley, working over a century later. In an analysis of Liverpool in 1871, he suggests the Irish areas conformed most closely to a ghetto model of segregation and that socio-economic factors were particularly important in causing Irish residential segregation,

51 Donald MacRaid, *Faith, Fraternity and Fighting: The Orange Order and Irish Migrants in Northern England, C.1850-1920* (Liverpool, 2005). See also MacRaid, *Culture, Conflict and Migration: The Irish in Victorian Cumbria* (Liverpool, 1998).

52 For example, John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800-1939* (Liverpool, 2007).

53 M. A. G. O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain – Problems of Integration' in Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, p.23.

54 L. H. Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, 1979), pp 63, 153.

55 Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, Appendix G, p. xiv.

although cultural factors could not be ignored and he astutely warned against regarding Irish dominated neighbourhoods as being totally uniform in composition.⁵⁶ W. J. Lowe, however, argues the Irish were not isolated from the rest of the population and cites the interaction of the Irish mill workers with their English counterparts.⁵⁷ Engels, who coined the term 'ghettoisation' in Manchester, maintained that the Irish were a separate community.⁵⁸ The 'Little Ireland' district quickly became, like other stereotypes, a potent symbol, beloved of polemicists, and one so powerful and embedded in popular memory that it may even have affected the Irish self-image. Yet the reality of the ghetto-Irish has been dispelled by Busteed *et al*, which reinforces the reservations of Pooley and Lowe. A spacial analysis of the 'Angel Meadow' district of Manchester in the 1851 census identified a degree of residential segregation in clusters of streets but stressed that separation was not total and non-Irish districts and streets were close by.⁵⁹ A variety of factors have been invoked to explain Irish residential clustering. Fielding suggests that economic circumstances determined where the Irish lived⁶⁰ whilst Lowe⁶¹ and Lees⁶² are like minded in that they argue that family was important to the Irish with people drawn to where they had connections. Clearly, the precise mix and strength of factors varies with time and place.

Given their general lack of capital and urban industrial skills, the Irish clearly tended to cluster in the less skilled sectors of the labour market. Tension occurred when they were competing with native workers, with the perception being that they were desperate enough to accept employment for lower wages which in turn forced the English workers to accept

56 Colin G. Pooley, 'The residential segregation of migrant communities in mid- Victorian Liverpool' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, ii, no.3 (1977), pp 364-382.

57 Lowe, *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire*, p. 113.

58 Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p. 111.

59 M. A. Busteed, R. I. Hodgson and T. F. Kennedy, 'The myth and reality of Irish migrants in mid-Victorian Manchester: a preliminary study', in O'Sullivan *The Irish World-Wide: Irish in the New Communities*, pp 26-51. Chapter two of this thesis expands on this evidence to further dispel this myth.

60 Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p. 27.

61 Lowe, *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire*, p. 15.

62 Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 44.

lower pay and conditions in order to compete. This was certainly the view held by Engels which he expressed forcibly in a chapter in *The Condition of the Working Class* entitled 'Competition':

To this competition of the worker there is but one limit; no worker will work for less than he needs to subsist. If he must starve, he will prefer to starve in idleness rather than toil. True this limit is relative; one needs more than another, one is accustomed to more comfort than another; the Englishman who is still somewhat civilized, needs more than the Irishman who goes in rags, eats potatoes, and sleeps in a pigsty. But that does not hinder the Irishman's competing with the Englishman, and gradually forcing the rate of wages, and with it the Englishman's level of civilization, down to the Irishman's level.⁶³

The contemporary belief that Irish labour lowered real wages was endorsed by twentieth-century authorities on the English labour force, such as Redford, Clapham and Pollard.⁶⁴ MacRaild and Martin also contend that the Irish were 'shunned by native workers who feared for their jobs, reviled for their Catholicism but embraced by employers looking for cheap and flexible manual labour.'⁶⁵ Thompson also asserted that the Irish were 'cheap' to employ.⁶⁶ However, Cornwall Lewis disagreed: 'It rarely happens that when Irish are employed at the same kind of work as the native labourers, either in England or Scotland, there is any difference in the rate of of wages paid to them,'⁶⁷ although he admitted they were paid less when they possessed 'inferior skills' to the local workers.⁶⁸ Davis has suggested that it was not only the occupation but the place of settlement that was vital in determining wages and conditions. Consequently 'a general model that identified Irish migrants as a uniform, unskilled body is limited in terms of reconstructing the experience of the Irish in

⁶³ Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class*, pp 88 -89.

⁶⁴ Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, (London, 1926); J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1930); Sydney Pollard, 'Labour in Great Britain' in Peter Mathias and M. M. Postan (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (8 vols, Cambridge, 1978), vii, 97-179.

⁶⁵ Donald MacRaild and David Martin, *Labour in British Society 1830 – 1914* (Houndsmill, 2000), p. 82.

⁶⁶ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963), p.473.

⁶⁷ Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. ix.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Britain'.⁶⁹ The debate over Irish labour is encapsulated by Hunt, who argues that the Irish did affect wage levels in Britain⁷⁰, and by Williamson who adopts an econometric perspective to argue that they did not.⁷¹ Williamson contends that the level of Irish immigration was 'simply too small to matter much, given the impressive absorptive capacity of the British economy'.⁷² However, MacRaild⁷³ concludes that the context and consequences of emigration are far broader than mere numbers can capture, emphasizing the importance to British industrial development of Irish 'mobile shock troops'. Whilst acknowledging key explanations lie at the macro-economic level, MacRaild states that by the 1830s emigration was more than an economic necessity; it had become a part of the Irish people's culture, the massive 'pull' factor of Britain's Industrial Revolution making this phenomenal movement of people more likely. As the centre of this revolution Manchester was particularly attractive to Irish migrants, providing fertile ground for analysing that cadre of middle-class persons who did not conform to the 'poor Paddy' stereotype.

The disparaging of the Irish poor owed much to the hostile comments of contemporary writers, among whom the most influential were J. P. Kay and Thomas Carlyle.⁷⁴ Kay's 1832 book *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* was a widely read and influential bestseller.⁷⁵ His depiction of 'Little Ireland' in Manchester, became the symbol of the condition of the Irish in Britain during the nineteenth century:

⁶⁹ Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914*, p. 31.

⁷⁰ E. H. Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1973* (Oxford, 1973).

⁷¹ Jeffrey Williamson, 'The Impact of the Irish on British Labour Markets during the Industrial Revolution' in *Journal of Economic History*, xl, no.3 (September 1986), pp 693-721.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 693.

⁷³ MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, pp 40-41.

⁷⁴ Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* Carlyle, *Chartism*.

⁷⁵ Mervyn Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester, c. 1750-1921: Resistance, Adaptation and Identity* (Manchester, 2016), pp 23-31.

... Debased alike by ignorance and pauperism, they have discovered with the savage, what is the minimum of the means of life, upon which existence may be prolonged. The paucity of the amount of means and comforts necessary for the mere support of life, is not known by a more civilized population, and this secret has been taught the labourers of this country by the Irish ⁷⁶

Furthermore, he argued, that they lowered working-class expectations and lifestyle by their example whilst stimulating developers to construct poor quality housing in the expectation that the Irish would gladly rent them. For Kay, much Irish behaviour was attributable to their 'lower state of civilization' as a 'semi-barbarous race' unable to resist 'the satanic attraction of the 'firewater' where '[alcohol] abuse follows close on the heels of the use'.⁷⁷ Four years later, echoes of Kay's views emerged in the aforementioned *The Report of the Royal Commission on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* (1836), to which he gave evidence when the investigators came to Manchester in 1834. The report sought in part to examine the extent to which Irish immigrants exercised a negative influence on the English and Scottish working classes by lowering their wages and debasing their moral character. The architect of the report, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, ultimately endorsed the views of many employers by emphasising the economic value of Irish immigrant labour. One such was John Morley, employer of bricklayers in Manchester who in his evidence to the commission stated, 'I know some Irish mechanics as bricklayers and joiners ... those who have served their time in Ireland are as good as the English. When they have equal advantages, the Irish are as good as the English'.⁷⁸ However, much of the evidence presented by middle-class observers to *The Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* also portrayed the Irish as uniformly poverty-stricken, dirty, unthrifty, dissolute, and criminal. Indeed, Cornwall Lewis acknowledged that in consequence of their social condition, the Irish were extremely unpopular in those towns where they settled and the example they set would influence and

⁷⁶ Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, pp 21-22.

⁷⁷ J. P. Kay, *Four periods of public education as reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (1862, reprinted Brighton, 1973).

⁷⁸ Evidence to George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* in British Parliamentary Papers, 1836, pp 71-72.

corrupt the host population.⁷⁹ Kay and Cornwall Lewis not only provided a forum for deep-rooted anti-Irish antagonisms to surface during the 1830s but also helped to initiate an historiographical tradition which presented an overtly negative image of Irish immigrants as the outcasts of contemporary society.⁸⁰ Kay's lurid descriptions and alarmist opinions were taken up by Freidrich Engels writing over ten years later in his classic study of the poor during the Industrial Revolution, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. He described vividly the polluted air, the groups of ragged and dirty women and children and his impression that the people who inhabited this area were the lowest sphere one can descend to in human existence:

... In a rather deep hole in the curve of the Medlock and surrounded on all four sides by tall factories and high embankments, covered with buildings, stand two groups of about two hundred cottages, built chiefly back to back, in which live about four thousand human beings, most of them Irish. The cottages are old, dirty, and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains ... pavement; masses of refuse, offal, and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions ...⁸¹

Engels' views on the Irish were undoubtedly influenced by the works of Kay and Thomas Carlyle who are both cited in *The Condition of the Working Class*⁸², although, unlike Kay and Carlyle, Engels did not influence the contemporary debate on Irish immigration, since his seminal work was not translated into English until 1886. Carlyle, writing in his long pamphlet *Chartism*, published in 1839 gives, by Engels' own admission, an exaggerated and one-sided condemnation of the Irish national character in a now famous passage:

...The wild Milesian⁸³ features, looking false ingenuity, restlessness, unreason, misery, and mockery, salute you on all highways and byways. The English coachman, as he whirls past, lashes the Milesian with his whip, curses him with his tongue; the Milesian is holding out his hat to beg. He is the sorest evil this country has to strive with. In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back -- for wages

79 *Report on the State of the Irish poor*, p. 457.

80 Donald MacRaidl, 'Irish Immigration and the 'Condition of England' Question: The Roots of an Historiographical Tradition' in *Immigrants and Minorities*, xxiv, no.1 (March 1995), pp 67-85

81 Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, p. 72.

82 Engels on Kay, p. 73, on Caryle, p. 100.

83 Milesian – the name of an ancient family of Celtic kings of Ireland. To some commentators this Milesian association justified a racial Celtic reading of the Famine which was seen as a demonstration of Celtic\Catholic proclivity towards wastefulness, poor foresight and administration. See Liz Curtis, *Nothing But the Same Old Story: Roots of Anti-Irish Racism* (London, 1984), p.10; W.R. Jones, 'England Against the Celtic Fringe: A Study in Cultural Stereotype' in *Journal of World History*, xiii (1971), pp 161-62.

that will purchase him potatoes. He needs only salt for condiment, he lodges to his mind in any pig-hutch or dog-hutch, roosts in outhouses, and wears a suit of tatters, the getting on and off of which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the high tides of the calendar. The Saxon-man, if he cannot work on these terms, finds no work. The uncivilised Irishman, not by his strength, but by the opposite of strength, drives the Saxon native out, takes possession in his room. There abides he, in his squalor and unreason, in his falsity and drunken violence, as the ready-made nucleus of degradation and disorder. Whoever struggles, swimming with difficulty, may now find an example how the human being can exist not swimming, but sunk.... That the condition of the lower multitude of English labourers approximates more and more to that of the Irish, competing with them in all the markets: that whatsoever labour, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price; at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to scarcity of potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior, yet hourly, with the arrival of every new steamboat, sinking nearer to an equality with that.⁸⁴

Mary Poovey examines one of the conditions that made the development of a mass culture in Victorian Britain possible: namely the representation of the population as an aggregate, that is, a social body. Drawing on Kay's work, she postulates the theory of the 'other', highlighting how the Irish working-class migrant was stigmatized as a national 'other' by which Britishness could be measured.⁸⁵ The American historian, L. Perry Curtis Jr., has argued that the anti-Irish prejudices articulated by representatives of the Victorian intelligentsia, were racist because they were based on the assumption that the native Irish were inferior in culture and alien in race to the Anglo-Saxon. Similar views underpinned the frequent and popular simianized representations of the Irish in Victorian cartoons, most notably in *Punch*.⁸⁶ This thesis has been challenged, and refined, particularly, by Sheridan Gilley, who argued that the British stereotype of 'Paddy' is Janus-like, having a benign as well as a menacing face and was as much an Irish creation as a British one. Hence, whilst the Irish were held, on one hand, to be feckless, stupid, violent, unreliable and drunken, they were also perceived, as chaste, hospitable, witty, kindly and generous. It is also possible routine attitudes varied with the general state of Anglo-Irish relations, positive aspects emphasised when all was quiet, but negative views when there were problems, an exemplar being the Famine crisis. Gilley also suggests that there were understandable contemporary

84 Carlyle, *Chartism*, pp 28-31.

85 Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, 1995).

86 L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp 29-57.

social and economic reasons for these fears and prejudices, such as a different language and culture and a fear of competition for jobs with a subsequent lowering of wages, reasons which do not in themselves justify the term 'racial prejudice'.⁸⁷ But not all observers of the Irish migrant community were negative in their commentary, In 1844, Leon Faucher, a French visitor to Manchester, admitted he had observed a parade of Irish Catholic children which surprised him:

I have seen upon a Sunday, from five to six thousand of these children in procession, under the banner of St Patrick, and the partial neatness ... and decency of this juvenile assemblage, is the greatest as well as the most unexpected progress which I am able to record.⁸⁸

There has also been a propensity for Irish migration studies to focus on the working-class majority, despite the fact that in one of the first substantive studies of the Irish in Britain, John Archer Jackson recognized that not all Irish migrants, whether Catholic or Protestant, were poor.⁸⁹ Even some early commentators distinguished skilled and prosperous elements in the Irish inflow. For example, in his series of articles for *The Nation* newspaper in the latter half of 1872, the Irish journalist Hugh Heinrick, pointed to the emergence of a substantial Irish middle-class in London, the presence of skilled workers in the Midlands, and the variable experience of the Irish in South Lancashire, where an Irish middle-class had emerged in Liverpool and Manchester whilst in neighbouring Wigan and St. Helens the Irish were almost wholly labourers of one description or another.⁹⁰ John Denvir, another journalist and Irish Nationalist, pointed to similar contrasts in 1892, noting that in Liverpool:

Irishmen are gradually emerging from the ranks of unskilled labour and becoming more numerous among the artisans, shopkeepers, merchants and professional classes ... Irish intellect and Irish courage has, in thousands of cases, brought our people to their proper place in the social scale.⁹¹

87 Sheridan Gilley, 'English attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780 – 1900 in, Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, 1978), pp 81-110.

88 Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, pp 31-32.

89 J. A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (Keele, 1962), p. 5.

90 Heinrick, *A Survey of the Irish in England, 1872*, p.153.

91 Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, pp 435-437. This sentiment is echoed in John Herson's seminal work: *Divergent Paths: Family Histories of Irish Emigrants in Britain 1820-1920*. His study of Irish-migrant families in nineteenth-century Stafford shows that the horrors of a mass migration are not necessarily a barrier to achieving prosperity and success.

Whilst recognising Denvir's point, more recent analysts have asserted that Irish advancement was painfully slow.⁹² Foster and Cullen⁹³, Belchem⁹⁴, Finnegan⁹⁵ and Jeffes⁹⁶ have published on Irish middle-class elements in London, Liverpool, York and Chester. Foster and Cullen explore the Irish presence in in the realms of literature, theatre, painting and politics in London during the high Victorian period, focusing on exemplary high profile middle-class individuals including the writers Oscar Wilde, W. B. Yeats and G. B. Shaw, theatrical impresarios such as Bram Stoker, portraitists such as Daniel MacLise, politicians like Charles Stewart Parnell and journalists such as T. P. O'Connor. Belchem also identifies the presence of a significant Irish middle class in nineteenth-century Liverpool and thus provides valuable insights into the process by which such a community developed. This is not a quantitative study, but rather identifies those Irish in a community far removed from the London region, who were prominent in both the migrant and host communities and the extent to which they helped create and lead 'associational venture' within the Irish population, whilst acting as role models and as brokers between the Irish migrants and the host society. Finnegan, studying Irish settlement in a medium-sized city, postulates that Irish migrants in York were a transient community and this applied particularly to the middle-class professions such as doctors and lawyers, who would naturally seek career progression by migration to the larger English cities. She does not, however, attempt to quantify the Irish middle classes, nor the part played by this group both within the migrant population and the community as a whole. Jeffes, studying the small Irish community in Victorian Chester, examines the census returns for 1841 and 1851 to quantify the Irish-born residents, classify their social status by occupation and identifies a significant middle-class amongst the Irish-born residents.

92 Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 242; P. J. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism* (Liverpool, 1981).

93 Roy Foster and Fintan Cullen, *Conquering England: Ireland in Victorian London* (London, 2005).

94 Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*.

95 Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: a Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork, 1982).

96 Kristina Jeffes, 'The Irish in Early Victorian Chester' in Roger Swift (ed.), *Victorian Chester: Essays in Social History, 1830-1900* (Liverpool, 1996), pp 85-117.

Her findings are, however, derived from a much smaller population base and would not necessarily reflect the situation in larger industrial cities like Manchester.⁹⁷

The existing literature on Manchester's Irish migrant community varies in its breadth and depth. Early commentators on Manchester focused on the Irish as a problem whilst occasionally implying the presence of a more prosperous element. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there had been dissatisfaction at the presence of Irish vagrants and '... poor Irish Catholics in the city at various times'⁹⁸, and yet the importation of Irish linen yarn by the cotton industry was reflected in the presence of Irish merchants and highly skilled Irish weavers in the city. This labour aristocracy was reinforced from the late 1780s when spinning was widely mechanised, and the resulting production bottleneck led Manchester entrepreneurs to send recruiting agents for hand loom weavers throughout Britain and Ireland. The result was a notable increase of Irish in the city, some of whom were therefore quite skilled and relatively prosperous.⁹⁹

By the early 1820s, Connolly argued, the Irish dominated the Catholic population of the city both in numbers and cultural interests.¹⁰⁰ There is also evidence that in addition to the hand loom weavers there were other Irish who were quite well off and prominent in the life of their community and the city, a situation reflected in aforementioned *The Report of the Royal Commission on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* (1836). In his evidence to the report's commissioners during their visit to Manchester in early 1834, a Catholic priest, the Rev. James Crook of St. Augustine's, Granby Row in Manchester stated: 'There is a

97 Jeffes, *The Irish in Early Victorian Chester*, pp 86-91.

98 Anon., *Manchester vindicated: being a compleat collection of the papers lately published of the town in the Chester Courant* (London, 1749), p. 6.

99 Neil Smith and Mervyn Busted, 'A diasporic elite - the emergence of an Irish middle class in nineteenth-century Manchester' in Ciaran O'Neill (ed.), *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2013), p. 199. For a comparative analysis of the changing middle class in Irish political life and public sphere between the eighteenth and late twentieth century see Fintan Lane (ed.), *Politics, Society and the Middle Class in Modern Ireland* (Basinstoke, 2009).

100 Gerard Connolly, 'Catholicism in Manchester and Salford, 1770 – 1850: the quest for “Le Chretien queuloconque”' (Ph.D thesis, University of Manchester , 1980

a fair proportion of them that have principally risen from the lower to the middle class and have not brought over capital from Ireland.¹⁰¹ Kay and Engels, however, made no reference to these more prosperous elements, perhaps because they did not fit their political and social agendas. Connolly describes this Irish cadre as dominant in the milling industry and there are indications that some were doing well in the textile trades¹⁰², although he is dismissive of the emergence of such people and their significance.¹⁰³ Writing on the Irish migrant experience in Manchester, Heinrick also noted ‘...though the great body of the [Irish] people are labourers and artisans and factory hands, there is a considerable number whose positions would entitle them to aspire to representative [electoral] honours.’¹⁰⁴ Alongside the pride in material achievement, there was a recurring fear that their aspirations to middle-class respectability, as defined by English society, would lead Irish migrants to abandon faith and fatherland. Twenty years later, Denvir was equally gratified by the number of Irish who had 'got on' but he too lamented there were 'many who disclaim both our creed and our nationality'.¹⁰⁵ In Manchester and Salford he discerned signs of partial progress, though he had a curiously narrow definition of the middle class: '...a fair number are in trade...we are well represented in the humbler walks of life, and fairly among the professional classes, but among the middle classes – the traders who possess the solid wealth of the country- we make but a poor figure'.¹⁰⁶

Few historical studies have engaged with the more varied Irish profile in Manchester.

J. M. Werly's work on the Irish in Manchester, published in 1973, covered the classic period of immigration from 1832 to 1849 without questioning any of the established

101 Evidence to Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. 61

102 Ibid., p. 142.

103 The significant contribution of wealthy Irish textile merchants Patrick Lavery, John Casey and Daniel Lee to Manchester's Catholic community is examined later in this thesis.

104 Heinrick, *A survey of the Irish in England*, p.84.

105 Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 392.

106 Ibid., p. 103.

stereotypes.¹⁰⁷ Melanie Tebbutt's thesis did not attempt a general history of the Irish, concentrating rather on the perceived 'image' of the Irish and other minority groups up to the early twentieth century with no sustained analysis of class structure.¹⁰⁸ In his seminal work on Manchester, Alan Kidd identified the Irish as a significant presence during the period of the Industrial Revolution and beyond.¹⁰⁹ Whilst referencing the areas of Irish settlement and Irish labour patterns Kidd does not mention those Irish settlers who did not conform to the 'poor Paddy' stereotype, a notable omission considering how the city was in some ways the classic example of the rise of the middle class to positions of ascendancy in nineteenth-century Britain. Studies by Fielding, and McBride, however touch on the subject of the Irish middle classes in the nineteenth-century city.¹¹⁰ Busteed makes mention of social mobility within the Irish in Manchester and pointed to the prospect of prosperous middle-class elements within it, citing its involvement in local institutions.¹¹¹ This is expanded on by Smith and Busteed who note the presence of an Irish middle-class in textiles, politics, medicine and banking whilst also discussing the role of Irish clerical and lay leadership within the diaspora.¹¹² Busteed has also produced a more recent seminal work on the Irish in Manchester which investigates and analyses the total Irish migrant experience from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries and revisits the concept of the diasporic elite.¹¹³ Whatever the perception of the Irish in Britain, during the nineteenth century they had managed a move from the rural environment to an industrial society. By 1900, they had merged with the majority British population and

107 J. M. Werly, 'The Irish in Manchester, 1832-49' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii (1973), pp 345-58.

108 Melanie Tebbutt, 'The evolution of ethnic stereotypes: an examination of ethnic stereotyping with particular reference to the Irish (and to a lesser extent the Scots) in late nineteenth-century Manchester' (M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1982).

109 Alan Kidd, *Manchester* (3rd., Edinburgh, 2002).

110 Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*; Lawrence McBride, *The Reynolds Letters: An Irish Emigrant Family in Late Victorian Manchester* (Cork, 1999).

111 M. A. Busteed, 'Resistance and Respectability: Dilemmas of Irish Migrant Politics in Victorian Britain' in Swift and Gilley, *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain*, pp 50-62.

112 Smith and Busteed, 'A diasporic elite - the emergence of an Irish middle class in nineteenth-century Manchester', pp 197-208.

113 Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester*. A similar approach adding to the body of work is Patrick Mannion's ambitious study: *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Maine, 1880-1923* (Montreal, 2018).

many had assimilated yet retained their own religion and politics.¹¹⁴ There is a certain ambivalence here. Perhaps David Fitzpatrick expresses it most accurately when he says that in terms of housing, church, politics and crime, the Irish immigrants and their descendants did not appear to be set apart and defensively Irish. They 'now occupied "a curious middle place" in British life'.¹¹⁵ It is the intention of this study to 'unpack' the 'curious' dimension by showing how the Irish middle class in one city evolved, coped and performed.

Theoretical Concepts.

There are number of possible theoretical frameworks which attempt to explain the phenomenon of Irish migration. One argument is that it conforms to the general models of migration which view the movement of people as a consequence of economic growth naturally drawing labour into an area or region to sustain that expansion.¹¹⁶ It is also feasible to interpret Irish migration as a flow of people from the periphery to the economic core zones of Britain, the United States and other diverse places which serves to emphasise the uneven nature of capitalist development in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁷ Therefore, it is not possible to explain Irish migration using one all-encompassing model as is often exemplified by the 'poor Paddy' stereotype.

One of the earliest and most influential writers on modern migration was Ravenstein, who in the 1880s based his 'Laws of Migration' on empirical migration data drawn from census reports; they are concerned with the who, when, and where of migration, not the

114 James Walvin, *Passage to Britain- Immigrants in British History and Politics* (London, 1984). See also Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (London, 1988), pp 20-22.

115 David Fitzpatrick 'A Curious Middle Place: The Irish in Britain, 1871-1921' in Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in Britain, 1871-1921*, op. cit., p. 46, quoting Felix Lavery, *Irish Heroes in War* (London, 1917).p.31.

116 G. J. Borjas, R.B. Freeman, and L.F. Katz. 'How Much Do Immigration and Trade Affect Labor Market Outcomes?' in *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, i (1997), pp 1-90.

117 Proinsias Breathnach, 'Uneven development and capitalist peripheralization: The case of Ireland' in *Antipode*, xx, no.2 (1988), pp 1-20.

why.¹¹⁸

Expanding on Ravenstein's rather limited hypothesis, in early in the 1930s Hicks devised neo-classical theory which attributed population movement primarily to economic factors.¹¹⁹ This approach cited wage differentials, arising from variances in labour supply and demand in home and host countries as all important, though later proponents like Bauer and Zimmerman extended this to include expected earnings and the probability of employment.¹²⁰ The neo-classical migration theories also explain migration as part of economic development. Internal migration occurs as a result of geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour, mostly between the traditional rural agricultural sector and the modern urban manufacturing sector. The basic model that grew out of trade theory, assumes perfect markets and a labour surplus in the traditional agricultural sector that is absorbed by the modern sector.¹²¹ The modern sector grows through capital accumulation and by poaching labour from the traditional sector. Rural workers are attracted by the positive wage differential and migrate to the urban sector, and in these models, migration occurs until wage equalisation has occurred.

Todaro and Harris augmented this model to account for the significant urban unemployment that was found in many less developed countries.¹²² Migration is not completely risk-free, because the migrant does not necessarily find employment upon arrival in the city. Rural-urban migration occurs as long as the expected real income differential is positive. Expected income is a function of the rigid, institutionally determined urban wages

118 E. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration' in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, xlviii, no.2 (June 1885), pp 167-227 and 'The Laws of Migration in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, lii, no. 2 (June 1889), pp214-301.

119 J. R. Hicks, *The Theory of Wages* (Oxford, 1932).

120 T. K. Bauer and K. F. Zimmerman, 'Assessment of possible migration pressure and its labour market impact following EU enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe', a study for the Department of Education and Employment, U.K. in *Institute for the Study of Labour, Research Report*, no.3 (July 1999); Douglas Massey, Joaquim Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino and J. E. Taylor, 'Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal' in *Population and Development Review*, xix, no.3 (1993), pp 431-466.

121 W. A. Lewis, *Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labour* (Manchester, 1954); G. Ranis and J. C. H. Frei, 'A Theory of Economic Development' in *The American Economic Review*, lxxxi, no.4 (1961), pp533-565.

122 J. R. Harris and M. P. Todaro, 'Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis' in *The American Economic Review*, lx (1970), pp 126-142.

and the urban employment rate. Migration costs can be included. The employment rate is based on the probability of being selected from the pool of labour, which increases over time, for example due to the migrants developing network links. Migration thus continues if urban wages or the urban employment rate increases. The authors therefore show that it can be perfectly rational to migrate, despite urban unemployment, due to a positive expected income differential.

The dual labour market theory¹²³ further explains migration as the result of a temporary pull factor, namely strong structural labour demand in developed countries. According to this not purely economic approach, there is economic dualism in the labour market of developed countries, where wages also reflect status and prestige. There is a primary sector providing well-paid jobs and a secondary sector, for unskilled jobs, particularly in manufacturing. The demand for migrant labour stems from several factors. Due to structural inflation, there are constant wage rises in the primary sector. Proportional wage rises in the secondary sector are too expensive; the consequent lower pay makes the secondary sector unattractive to native workers. Migrants are more motivated to work in these low-status jobs, because they do not consider themselves as part of the host destination society. Employment in the secondary sector fluctuates according to the economic cycle, making it unstable and uncertain work, which was unattractive to native workers. Therefore, there is a strong demand for temporary migrant labour that acts as a pull factor to migration.¹²⁴ Certainly, Britain's industrial and urban development created a demand for low-skilled male labour which was frequently met by Irish migrants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But it also meant growth in the lower reaches of the service sector - domestic service, laundries and hotels - which created openings which were accessible to Irish migrant women.

123 M. J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge, 1979).

124 Harris and Todaro, 'Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis'.

Complementary to the dual labour market theory is Hoffmann-Novotny's theory of social systems¹²⁵ According to this theory, migration is a result of resolving structural tensions (power questions) and anominal tensions (prestige questions). Migrants hope to achieve their desired status in the destination country, but often tensions are transformed instead of reduced. Migration thus depends on the global distributions of the different systems (for the different countries) along 'status lines'. A migrant coming from a country with a low rank, for example, is unlikely to achieve a high internal rank at the destination. 'Undercasting' of migrants takes place: migrants take on the lowest position in society, whereas lower stratum natives experience upward mobility, at least in terms of power/ income. This theory does not exclude economic push factors for migration, but instead places them in a wider context of other societal push factors and also considers what happens to migrants at their destination. The 'poor Paddy' stereotype of the Irish migrant in nineteenth-century Britain undoubtedly conforms to the 'undercasting' model of this theory, Ireland being seen as a country with a low rank in a classic statement of contemporary stereotyping. Clifford Lloyd, a Magistrate during the 1880s, illustrated this widespread typecasting when he described the Irish thus: 'the Irish are disloyal by tradition, impulsive, reckless, ignorant, emotional, priest-ridden, and willing to become slaves of the first newcomer who knows how to master them'¹²⁶

By comparison, the world systems theory takes a historical structural approach and stresses the role of disruptions and dislocations in peripheral parts of the world as a result of colonialism and the capitalist expansion of neoclassical governments and multinationals.¹²⁷ It thus takes account of structural factors that other theories neglect.

125 H. J. Hoffmann-Nowotny, *A Sociological Approach Toward a General Theory of Migration* (New York, 1981).

126 Dennis Grube, *At the Margins of Victorian Britain: Politics, Immorality and Britishness in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2013), p. 20.

127 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-system* (New York, 1974).

Capitalist expansion had profound consequences for migration, as not only the capitalist mode of production but also the culture and stronger transportation, communication and military links that enabled penetration of peripheries. Land consolidation, new capitalist farming methods and manufacturing plants can uproot a population, fracturing social networks, weakening attachments to land and making them more prone to migration. A strong immigrant labour demand in global cities acts as a pull force to migration. According to this theory, migration follows the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy, but more individual motivations are not considered. It has been argued recent examples of this theory are provided by globalisation in general and the transition of Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of Communism in particular.¹²⁸ However, this also might be viewed as particularly relevant to Ireland in the immediate post-Famine era, when the tendency for subsistence plots and labour-intensive arable farming to give way to large-scale grazing was accelerated, creating a surplus population.

Another macro-level model attempting to account for rural-urban migration in less developed countries is Mabogunje's migration as a system model, in which migration is portrayed as a dynamic spatial process.¹²⁹ Aggregate migration flows and interactions are modelled by starting with a pool of rural potential migrants that is affected by various factors in the decision to migrate. The rural control sub-system controls outflows such as family, community or social demands, the urban control sub-system controls inflows, the major factor being employment opportunities; feedback is channelled back to potential migrants and the background environment such as social and economic conditions, government policies, transport and communications infrastructure, also affect migration flows. These factors may be applied to the analysis of Irish migration both in the pre-and the post-famine

128 D. A. Arcarazo and Anja Wiesbrock, *Global Migration: Old Assumptions, New Dynamics* (Santa Barbara, 2015), p. 64.

129 A. L. Mabogunje, 'Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration' in *Geographical Analysis* ii, (1970), pp 1-18.

periods with the migrant letter one effective feedback mechanism.¹³⁰ Zelinsky's hypothesis of mobility transition, however, argues that migration is part of the economic and social changes inherent in the modernisation process.¹³¹ This fits in with the wider range of functionalist theories of social change and development, which try to link theories to past empirical trends. Patterns and rates of migration can be closely linked to the stage of modernisation, such as, industrialisation and demographic factors (for example, high birth rates) and sees the preference for more personal freedom is cast as part of the modernisation process. Zelinsky's theories are broadly relevant when looking at migration patterns during Britain's Industrial Revolution and may be especially relevant to female migrants.¹³² Lee however, was the first to formulate migration in a push-pull framework on an individual level, looking at both the supply and demand of migration.¹³³ Positive and negative factors at the origin and destination, push and pull migrants towards migration or not, are modified by intervening factors like migration laws, and affected by how the migrant on a personal level perceives these factors. These factors have been especially influential in Irish migrant history.¹³⁴

The more traditional migration approaches focus either on aggregate migration movements or individuals making migration decisions. They therefore assume that individuals independently decide to migrate. Some of the literature includes a seemingly wider decision-making framework, for example Harbison's work emphasises family structure and strategy.¹³⁵ However, the migration decision is still not seen as a strategic family

130 Angela McCarthy, 'Personal Letters and the Organisation of Irish Migration to and from New Zealand, 1848-1925' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiii, no.131 (May 2003), pp 297-319, provides an in-depth examination of this phenomenon.

131 Wilbur Zelinsky, 'The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition' in *Geographical Review*, lxi, no.2 (1971), pp 219-249.

132 Pauline Jackson, 'Women in Nineteenth Century Irish Migration' in *The International Migration Review*, xviii, no.4 (1984), pp 1004-1020.

133 E. F. Lee, 'A Theory of Migration' in *Demography*, iii, no.1 (1966), pp 47-57.

134 McCarthy, 'Personal Letters and the Organisation of Irish Migration'.

135 S. F. Harbison, 'Family Structure and Family Strategy in Migration Decision Making' in G. F. De Jong and R. W. Gardner (eds), *Migration Decision Making* (New York, 1981), pp 225-251.

decision: context can influence the individual migrant's decision, for example, through the demographic structure, since the desire to migrate declines later in the life cycle. Yet, family structure can influence the migration decisions of women in particular. As Morokvasic points out, with echoes of Zeilinsky, women migrate not only because of economic motives, but also in response to social expectations that they will marry, low rights and lack of protection against domestic violence.¹³⁶ Sandell and Mincer, on the other hand, view migration as a family decision.¹³⁷ The family as a whole migrates if their net gain is positive. If only one partner finds a [better] job at the destination, the family only migrates if the gains of one family member internalise the losses of the other family members. The family migration decision is thus in essence an aggregation of individual migration utilities plus the expectation of eventual shared family benefit from the migration experience of one member.¹³⁸ This applied to Irish migration in the pre-famine period but also for the post-famine movement. The role of social linkages and especially migrant networks are crucial for understanding the patterns and volume of the migration. After a pioneer period, where migrants face many difficulties, the access of others to the destination country is easier, as they are better informed through the pioneer migrants. New channels of communication are established and communities of migrants are created in a receiving country.¹³⁹ New migrants will receive help from the pioneer migrants ranging from remission of cash back home, receipt of letters describing the benefits of migration, assistance in finding a job and accommodation, on arrival thus making migration increasingly cost and risk free. Empirical

136 Mirjana Morokvasic 'Birds of Passage are also Women' in *International Migration Review*, xxviii, no.2 (1984), pp 886-907.

137 S. H. Sandell, 'Women and the Economics of Family Migration' in *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, lix, no.4 (1977), pp 406-414; Jacob Mincer, 'Family Migration Decisions' in *Journal of Political Economy*, lxxxvi, no.5 (1978), pp 749-773.

138 Bigsten also considers migration a household decision in which a family allocates labour to the urban or rural sector depending on the marginal products of combined wages: Arne Bigsten, 'A Note on the Modelling of Circular Smallholder Migration' in *Economics Letters*, xxviii (1988), pp 87-91.

139 J. M. Goss and B. R. Lindquist, 'Conceptualizing International Labour Migration: A Structuration Perspective' in *International Migration Review*, xxix, no.2 (1995), pp 317-351.

applications of the benefit of such networks can be found in every migration study. The migrant Irish, as will be seen in this study, interacted with a multiplicity of networks formed around common ethnic, political, social and religious interests and aspirations.¹⁴⁰

Migrant networks also perpetuate themselves due to factors such as path dependency, but are also affected by external factors like labour market changes.¹⁴¹ The institutional part of a network refers to the rules and norms governing the network that reduce the transaction and migration costs such as children sending home remittances to their parents, whereas the organisational aspects refer to the practical help given to pioneers within the network. Networks however are not necessarily the most efficient solution since a chance event happening to a pioneer can shape the entire network. Networks can therefore be both beneficial and a threat to a potential migrant, in that networks that are more integrated in the society of the host country can give more accurate information about job prospects to future migrants than those existing on the periphery.

As Massey *et al* point out, the network theory approach is less concerned with determining contributing factors than with identifying those that perpetuate migration.¹⁴² Examining personal relationships between migrants and non-migrants from sociological and anthropological perspectives, its proponents suggest that as migrants' support networks develop, they become broader, aiding the continuation of migration even when forces such as wage differentials or recruitment policies cease to feature. Diaspora networks thus help to maintain a culture of migration in the home country and influence migrants in their choice

140 Enda Delaney and Donald MacRaild (eds), *Irish migration, networks and ethnic identities since 1750* (London, 2007).

141 C. Z. Guilmoto and F. E. Sandron, 'The Internal Dynamics of Migration Networks in Developing Countries' in *Population: An English Selection*, xiii, no. 2 (2001), pp 135-164.

142 Massey *et al*, 'Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal.'

of destination.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Faist maintains that they impact on patterns of migrant settlement, producing areas of higher concentration or 'migration regimes' rather than even distribution across an entire country.¹⁴⁴ A culture of emigration in Ireland that emerged in the early nineteenth century was reinforced in the post-famine period and perpetuated so that between the early 1920s and the end of the twentieth century, two million people left the island of Ireland.¹⁴⁵ A classic example of network theory, chain migration proved an important factor in Irish migration patterns, particularly amongst women, with the advice and financial assistance of earlier migrants frequently determining who followed them and when. Furthermore, the influence of migrants' networks was clearly exhibited in variations in the studies mentioned earlier of the concentration of Irish settlement in Britain, not merely regionally but in certain towns, and even districts within those towns, which was another long-lived feature of Irish migrant residency.

Comparing and contrasting migration theories makes it clear that they are not necessarily conflicting, but complementary. Individual decisions are made in specific social contexts that feed back into the economic and social structural environment and affect future migration choices. It is also clear that most migrants do not take the decision to migrate in a social vacuum and that social factors, above all family context, are likely to have an impact, suggesting that the migration decision should be considered on a household level. Indeed, the migration decision entails weighing up the economic, social, personal and group costs versus the benefits of migration. Income differences and poverty undoubtedly push and pull potential migrants. Risks and dysfunctional credit markets in the home country could also be reasons for migration. Questions of power and prestige can also influence decision making, as well as other personal goals or values. Furthermore, personal and household

143 Christian Dustmann and Albrecht Glitz, *Immigration, Jobs and Wages: Theory, Evidence and Opinion* (London, 2005).

144 Thomas Faist, *The Volumes and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* (Oxford, 2000).

145 Enda Delaney, *Irish emigration since 1921* (Dublin, 2002).

characteristics such as marital status and education level, are significant in explaining the selectivity of migrants. Migration is more likely to take place in a context of perceived relative deprivation, that is, in a community with higher levels of inequality or if migrant networks are available to the potential migrant. The demand for labour and migration laws are also crucial in influencing the decision to migrate, but especially the destination of migrants.

Finally, migration has many effects that in turn also influence the decision-making process of future migrants. Migration affects economic development in the origin and destination country and therefore changes potential pull and push factors. For example, high migration flows, might make labour scarce in the origin community and therefore improve the job prospects of people left behind who are less likely to migrate, as the benefits of migration are lower. Cumulative and circular migration refers to the fact that once migration is in place, it sustains itself which is very evident in the Irish migrant model. It has been shown that migrant institutions, social capital and networks that develop over time as more people migrate, reduce the costs and ease of migration for future migrants especially by sending remittances home that might finance the migration costs of future migrants.¹⁴⁶

In short, some theorists concentrate on circumstances within the home society whilst others focus on conditions in the host society. Some stress the plight of the individual and others highlight the wider social structures within which they exist and operate. Such a fragmented approach - where independent theories are embraced by different disciplines or schools of research - has been rightly criticised as, 'a string of separate, generally unconnected theories, models or frameworks, rather than a cumulative sequence of

146 Hein De Haas, 'Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective' in *International Migration Review*, xxxiv, no.1 (Mar. 2010), pp 227-264.

contributions that build upon previous blocks.¹⁴⁷ In advancing perspectives which appear to be 'competing and mutually exclusive', the formulation of a unifying theoretical model has been rendered unfeasible.¹⁴⁸ Migration theories have failed to explain changes in migration patterns, or to adequately describe migration process over an extended time- frame.¹⁴⁹ These problems are particularly relevant within the context of Irish migration which witnessed changes in destination as well as in the number and gender distribution of migrants over its long history. The sheer longevity of Irish migration mitigates against the 'simple patterns or relationships' promoted by a single-strand theory approach, demanding instead a more open multidisciplinary engagement with its complex issues.¹⁵⁰

Irish immigration into Britain can be succinctly analysed by using a system of contextualisation that splits the factors into three broad groups - push, pull and enabling factors. Pull factors in nineteenth-century Britain included the long standing tradition of economic attraction presented by work opportunities that were to expand along with the nineteenth-century economy, the inducement of pioneering emigrants sending remittances for friends and families as well as having established a foothold in the new communities. Push factors such as population increase in Ireland, changes in the economy, political factors, crop failures and the land tenure system, all affected decisions to leave. The enabling factors consisted of economic means, educational factors, awareness of migration as a viable alternative to life in Ireland, the closeness of Britain as a destination, the lack of a political border and the availability of cheap, safe transport and knowledge of routes and destinations. All these factors helped to facilitate the mass Irish exodus of the nineteenth century and will be explored in this thesis relating to the Irish in Manchester.

147 Joachim Arango, 'Explaining migration: a critical view' in *International Social Science Journal*, lii (2000), p 283.

148 Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz and Josh De Wind (eds), 'Introduction to Part I: Theories and Concepts of International Migration', *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience* (New York, 1999), p 13-14.

149 Delaney, 'The Irish Diaspora'.

150 Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007* (Basingstoke and New York, 2008), p. 9.

Britain itself was in flux, its towns expanding and its countryside changing rapidly; with different regions and localities offering different opportunities. Furthermore, it must always be borne in mind that the Irish were not a homogeneous group, but differed in social class, religion, occupations, culture and their motivations for migrating. Social stratification within the Irish migrant community was certainly present, a fact that was obscured to a sceptical and belligerent host community all too ready to focus on the more obvious extremes of poverty and disease associated with the Irish.

Social stratification has been an object of analysis by a considerable number of theorists. However, the way of organisation of people in socio-economic strata is not yet determined from a single point of view.¹⁵¹ Numerous theories¹⁵² exist that divide society into different classes though the works of Karl Marx and Max Weber are considered fundamental.¹⁵³ The concept of social class was first introduced by Plato in his magnum opus *The Republic*.¹⁵⁴ He divided society into three classes: philosophers, warriors, producers (merchants, craftsmen).¹⁵⁵ This theory has been supported by Aristotle.¹⁵⁶ These theories are similar in a number of aspects but Aristotle was more focused on the importance of the middle class.¹⁵⁷ In the Age of Enlightenment, philosophers such as Locke, Rousseau, and Montesquieu also concentrated on the concept of social stratification.¹⁵⁸ From their observations, it was concluded, that the main features of

151 Pierre Bourdieu, 'What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups' in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, xxxii, no.1 (1987), pp 1-17.

152 For an outline of these theories see David B. Grusky, 'Theories of Stratification and Inequality' in George Ritzer and J. Michael Ryan (ed.), *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Sociology* (Oxford, 2011), pp 622–624.

153 Isador Wallimann, N. C. Tatsisand and G. V. Zito, 'On Max Weber's definition of power' in *Journal of Sociology*, xii, no.3 (1977), pp 231-235.

154 Talcott Parsons, 'Equality and inequality in modern society, or social stratification revisited' in *Sociological Inquiry*, xl, no.2 (1970), pp 13-72.

155 Patrick Cody, 'Why are there Warriors in Plato's Republic?' in *History of Political Thought*, xxii, no.3 (2001), pp 377- 399.

156 H. G. Gadamer and P. C. Smith, *The Idea of the Good in Platonic-Aristotelian Philosophy* (Yale, 1988).

157 Ezekiel Adamovsky, 'Aristotle, Diderot, liberalism and the idea of "middle class": A comparison of two contexts of emergence of a metaphorical formation' in *History of Political Thought*, xxvi, no.2 (2005), pp 303-333.

158 I. M. Zeitlin, *Ideology and the development of sociological theory* (New Jersey, 1968); Hermann Strässer, *The Normative Structure of Sociology: Conservative and Emancipatory Themes in Social Thought* (London, 1976).

differentiation of society are the size and shape of income.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, three classes can be defined: land owners that receive rent; owners of capital that make a profit; workers that receive wages.¹⁶⁰

Stratification theories continued to be developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by French sociologists such as Emmanuel Sieyès, Henri de Saint-Simon, and Auguste Comte. They considered such antagonistic social groups as rich and poor, working class and elites, owners, non-owners, and assessed the influence of industrialisation on stratification.¹⁶¹ Marx's and Weber's theories of stratification were introduced with the publications of *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels in 1848¹⁶² and *Economy and Society* by Weber in 1922.¹⁶³ Marx further developed his theory in *Capital*, published in 1867.¹⁶⁴ These theories are fundamental to much further development of the views on stratification.¹⁶⁵ Although the theories are frequently contradictory, they may be viewed as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Both highlighted property as a criterion of class differentiation. According to Marx and Weber, society is primarily divided on those who possess the property, and those who do not. However, Marx and Weber had different views on the determination of social classes and the complexity of stratification.

Marx and Engels defined social classes as economically determined and genetically conflicting groups, where the presence or absence of property served as the basis of the separation into these groups.¹⁶⁶ The concept of private property was closely connected to the exploitation of labour, in that a class that possesses the private property controls and

159 D. W. Bromley, 'Constitutional political economy: property claims in a dynamic world' in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, xv, no.4 (1997), pp 43-54.

160 Ibid.

161 R. A. Nisbet, *The Sociological Tradition* (New Jersey, 1993).

162 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London, 1848), p.24.

163 Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (London, 1922).

164 Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production* (3 vols, London, 1867-1887), i, 928.

165 Wallimann *et al*, 'On Max Weber's definition of power'.

166 Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, p. 24.

determines social relations.¹⁶⁷ It also owns and controls the means of production (capital, factories, raw materials).¹⁶⁸ Due to the economic power of the ruling class, it carries the fate of those who are working for it, and the members of this class occupy the highest social status.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the feudal lord and serf in feudalism, bourgeois and proletarian in capitalism may serve as representatives of antagonistic classes that inevitably emerge in any society with a hierarchical structure. Weber, by contrast, focused on the more sophisticated inequalities that appear in capitalist markets and did not consider the organisation of the economy as the basis of stratification.¹⁷⁰ His theory is multidimensional in that class relations intersect with other bases of association, notably status and party.¹⁷¹ The concept of party refers to political power - the ability of a particular stratum to influence the society, whereas status is understood as an affiliation of an individual to the particular strata.¹⁷² Weber considered these components of inequality interrelated yet independent in essential respects and did not consider classes in terms of strict categorisation.¹⁷³ He applied the principle of continuum that is located within the boundaries of the highest to lowest in order to regulate classes.¹⁷⁴

Marx and Weber dedicated a considerable attention to the historical aspects of inequality yet did not always concur.¹⁷⁵ One of the key differences is that Marx's theory captures the class antagonism that is typical for the capitalist economy in the mid- nineteenth century, as the theory was introduced during this period of time. On the contrary, Weber's theory describes the highly developed capitalism of the twentieth century. However, in this sense their theories are complementary: they reveal the features of the capitalist system

167 Marx, *Capital*, p. 168.

168 Ibid.

169 Ibid., p. 169.

170 E. O. Wright, *Class Structure and Income Determination* (New York, 1979), p. 10.

171 Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, 1978), pp 302- 307.

172 C. E. Hurst, *Social inequality: Forms, Causes, and Consequences* (Boston, 1998), pp 182, 184.

173 Weber, *Economy and Society*, pp 302-307.

174 John Marconis and Ken Plummer, *Sociology: A Global Introduction* (5th ed., Harlow, 2012), p.270.

175 Some of these differences are discussed in chapter one of this thesis.

during the different stages of its development, providing a consistent description of capitalism's history. The theories of Marx and Weber thus offer convincing explanations of social stratification in the time periods that they describe.

The aforementioned studies by Foster and Cullen¹⁷⁶, Belchem¹⁷⁷, Finnegan¹⁷⁸ and Jeffes¹⁷⁹ of the Irish middle-class in nineteenth-century Britain have not used a theoretical basis for the social stratification of the Irish but rather use a generic classification as proposed by Armstrong.¹⁸⁰ This social classification system is based upon nineteenth-century knowledge of the occupational census, which was the major source of occupational information. Occupational designations do not 'map' straightforwardly onto neat social classes; nor do they fall simply into separate sectors of the economy. Generic or generalising concepts in social and economic history have validity for their capacity to make a general summary with the prime focus being upon the nature of work, as defined by type of product or service involved, and are not concerned with the complexity and fluidity of the class system produced within an advanced capitalist society. Social classification in this thesis however is based on Marx's theory as it is most relevant to societies of the mid to late- nineteenth century with the expansion of the industrial middle-class, the burgeoning *petit bourgeoisie* and the associated class antagonism.

Sources and Methods

This study deals fundamentally with the relation between perception and reality within a period of economic, social and political upheaval that characterized the nineteenth century.

The work introduces the notions of class, ethnic and religious prejudices to help explain

176 Foster and Cullen, *Conquering England: Ireland in Victorian London*.

177 Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*.

178 Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875*.

179 Jeffes, 'The Irish in Early Victorian Chester'.

180 W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp 191–310.

the reactions, perceptions and discourses surrounding a subaltern group in a religiously and nationalistically orientated society. It tells the untold stories of the Irish middle-class in nineteenth-century Manchester, however, unlike the majority Irish who were conceptualised by negative stereotyping without recourse to rebuttal, the middle-class Irish did have a voice through their engagement in the cultural, civic and commercial life of the city and within the associational life of their own community. This well-educated Irish middle-class generated material for research in the form of letters, memoirs and associational records (although less so for females of Irish descent) which are absent for the working classes.

This study focuses on the period 1841-1901, to allow the settlement and social mobility of Manchester's Irish middle-class to be assessed by making use of the decennial census returns to quantify the numbers of Irish migrants residing in Manchester who might be categorised as middle class.¹⁸¹ The census returns also provided valuable data to be used in dispelling the myth of the exclusively Irish ghetto and indeed the existence of such a ghetto, and in tabulating the districts of residence of the Irish middle-class. Several issues were encountered during the process of gathering this data, the major problem being that the original census returns for 1851 suffered extensive water damage during the second world war blitz, making most of the enumerators sheets illegible. Efforts at restoring the sheets have focused on name and date of birth with the majority excluding occupation or profession, making data extrapolation invalid and so the census returns for 1851 are excluded from this research. A further issue was the illegibility of some of the original census enumerators sheets. Researchers at *Ancestry* have attempted to overcome this by transcribing the original written material onto the website's databank. However, some of the rewritten data contained transcription errors particularly relating to place of birth.

¹⁸¹ Copies of the census enumerators sheets from which the majority of research data has been extrapolated were accessed online via ancestry.co.uk.

As this information was crucial for the *raison d'être* of this thesis, the transcribed data was rejected in favour of the original handwritten material from the enumerators' sheets. Familiarisation with the enumerators writing style minimised legibility issues and optimised the collection of relevant data. In gathering this data, the enumerators would often use generic terms when recording occupation. Thus, in terms of social class, one named occupational label may be assigned to people with a range of differing personal circumstances in terms of wealth and social status. A 'weaver', for example, might be anything from a great master weaver, employing many outworkers, to a very poor journeyman, scraping a living by working for others. Therefore, it is erroneous to assume that a person's social class can be derived from his or her occupational designation alone and for the purpose of this study additional considerations such as employment of others, place of residence and retention of servants have been factored in when categorising social class.

The use of published texts by scholars in the fields of British social history, Irish history, urban history, ethnicity, and sociology is complimented by government reports, papers and contemporary accounts in newspapers, journals, personal letters and other primary sources. Local newspapers, in particular, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Courier* provide an invaluable insight into attitudes towards the Irish communities in Manchester during the nineteenth century.¹⁸² The *Manchester Guardian*, for instance, went through a sea-change in attitudes to the Irish during the period under study. From its foundation in 1821 it was the mouthpiece of enlightened liberal opinion in the city. As such it adopted a notably patronizing attitude towards Roman Catholicism, regarding it as an arcane peasant institution which would fade before the inevitable progress of enlightened thought. Consequently, coverage of Irish affairs varied in tone from supercilious amusement to

¹⁸² For a comprehensive analysis of newspaper attitudes to the Irish in general see Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798–1882* (Wisconsin, 2004).

outraged indignation. In an article published in 1847, it poured scorn on the Irish Catholic priesthood:

Admitting that the professional education, and the general culture of the Irish catholic priests are exceedingly defective, and little fitted to give them noble intellectual aspirations. ... their heart is chilled by the habitual feeling of an isolation all the more painful that they dare not confess it; and in the immense majority of priests, the feeling of isolation will cause sometimes hypocrisy, sometimes a descent into coarse and sensual vices ... Here, then, wherever there is a group of squalid peasants large enough to form a religious assembly, you have a man armed, not only with the oppressions that have been heaped on his country, not only with the contempt and persecution that have been the uniform doom of his religion for ages, but with the personal bitterness of the social outcast.¹⁸³

This article is even more poignant taking into that account it was published during the period of the Great Famine. However, under the editorship of C.P. Scott, which began in 1872, the tone gradually changed. The paper became a pillar of the Liberal Party and in particular of W. E. Gladstone and his Irish policies of land reform, Anglican disestablishment and, from 1886 onwards, Home Rule. As a result, a distinct shift of emphasis emerges in its coverage of Irish affairs, particularly nationalist politics. An example of this sea-change can be seen in the paper's treatment of the Manchester Martyrs commemoration processions. The first procession in 1867 was described under the headline 'The Fenians. Sympathy with Brett's murderers'¹⁸⁴, and had been treated at some length but with barely controlled impatience. By the early twentieth century, and especially during the period 1910-14 when Asquith's Liberal governments depended on the Irish Nationalist Party support for their Commons majority, the language used was much more sympathetic. Sergeant Brett was referred to as having been 'killed' rather than 'murdered' and in its report of 1909 the paper referred to the three dead Fenians as '... the unfortunate men'.¹⁸⁵

No such sympathy characterized coverage by the *Manchester Courier*. From its launch

183 *Manchester Guardian*, 3 Feb. 1847.

184 *Ibid.*, 2 Dec. 1867. Police Sergeant Brett had been killed in the successful rescue of the two Fenian leaders from a police van.

185 *Ibid.*, 22 Nov. 1909.

in 1825 to its demise in 1915, it was pro-Tory, church and crown in politics, consistently anti-Catholic and usually anti-Irish. Its contempt for Daniel O'Connell and blatant disregard for the plight of the Irish peasants during the Famine is illustrated in an article published in January 1847:

... The reckless and profligate and lazy inhabitants of that priest-ridden and deluded country were experiencing the effects of a famine, a famine which the beggarman O'Connell had helped to promote by his monster meetings and incessant agitation, until the necessary culture of the soil had been neglected for the purpose of his foul-mouthed and seditious harangues ...¹⁸⁶

Its indignation at the Fenian rescue and the killing of Sergeant Brett knew no bounds and barely softened with the passage of time. Forty-six years after the incident it was referring to the 'murder' of Brett in its report of the 1911 commemoration.¹⁸⁷

Much use has also been made of the Salford diocesan magazine *The Harvest* whose logo included the words 'An Organ of Catholic Works'.¹⁸⁸ The strong religious identity enshrined in *The Harvest* meant that readers bought a magazine that confirmed their pre-existing opinions and prejudices rather than engaging in reasoned debate *vis a vis* the Protestant denominations. Indeed, the primary purpose of the publication was to prevent 'leakage' of the Catholic 'faithful' to Protestant churches who actively proselytised amongst Manchester's poor working-class communities, where so many Irish Catholic migrants resided. Nevertheless, *The Harvest* proved to be an invaluable research tool especially in providing material for some of the personal narratives presented in this study. An analysis of Manchester police recruitment and retention records allowed extrapolation of biographical data on Irish-born police officers. The records date from 1868 onwards, meaning part of the earlier study period for this thesis is excluded from the analysis.

¹⁸⁶ *Manchester Courier*, 6 Jan. 1847.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 22 Nov 1911.

¹⁸⁸ *The Harvest* acted as a mouthpiece for a number of Catholic organisations active in Manchester, which are discussed in chapter four of this thesis.

However, as the available data gives a complete month by month, year on year account, it provides a detailed record of recruitment, retention, promotion and physical attributes of Irish-born Manchester police officers. Additional primary material, much in the form of personal letters and transcribed accounts from three of the major repositories of the Catholic Church, the Diocese of Salford Archive and the Archive of the former Catholic seminary at Urshaw, Co. Durham plus material from the Archives of the Order of Presentation Sisters has been utilised to present a narrative of the Irish-born clergy in Manchester. Caution in interpreting such material is however required as it presents a one-sided account of views and events and no documentation was found to counter such personal views or explication of events.

The Manchester Archives and Local Studies collection retains nineteenth-century membership records of certain clubs and societies, as well as minutes of School Boards and Police Watch Committees. Membership records and personal information held by several major clubs, societies and institutions active in nineteenth-century Manchester, including, for example, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, the Portico Library and The Manchester Medical Society have been analysed, proving invaluable in ascertaining Irish middle-class involvement in the associational culture and social capital of the city.

Irish migrants have previously been characterised as mainly Catholic and working-class but this work produces fresh evidence of a cadre of middle-class Irish in nineteenth century Manchester demonstrating that Irish migrants were a mix of classes, and identities, possessing differing skills, loyalties and resources. The focus of research within Irish migration studies has been until recently centred upon the most visible immigrant and during the most dramatic period of immigration. The poor, male, Catholic, immigrants have drawn

researchers to them, the period between 1830 and 1870 receiving the majority share of published research somewhat to the detriment of other periods and alternative migrant experiences, an anomaly that this study will redress.

The thesis has been divided into five chapters. This introductory chapter has given an overview of the Irish in Britain, a literature review, theoretical concepts of migration and social stratification, and an outline of sources and methods. Chapter one investigates who the middle classes were and how they were defined, expanding on the Marxist theory proffered in this introduction and gives a comparative analysis of middle-class numbers in England and Wales. Much emphasis is laid on the census as a source and as such a detailed history of the British census also forms part of this analysis.

Manchester was not exclusively the 'Cottonopolis' commonly imagined but was a broadly based industrial and commercial powerhouse which is assessed in chapter two. This chapter also presents a brief history of the Irish in Manchester, their numbers and spatial distribution and uses the enumerators' census return sheets from 1841 to 1901 to identify and quantify the Irish middle-class.

The entrepreneurial endeavours of middle-class women is an oft-neglected area of study. Chapter three thus undertakes a rigorous analysis of the census enumerators sheets to produce an in-depth study of Irish lodging house-keepers, many of them female, who provided accommodation for the Irish and the many other workers and migrants who were attracted by the employment opportunities that nineteenth-century Manchester offered. The influx of mainly poor, Irish migrants into the city caused something of a moral panic and consequently policing of the working-class districts in which they settled was seen as a priority by governing authorities.¹⁸⁹ Research in police recruitment and retention records reveal

189 Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villain's: The Irish, Crime and Disorder in Victorian Britain' in *Albion*, xxix, no. 3 (Autumn, 1997), pp 399-421; Roger Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain', in Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1939*, pp 163-183.

that significant numbers of Irish migrants joined the police force whilst still residing amongst their fellow Irish.

Chapter four analyses the role that the Catholic Church and anti-Catholicism played in the lives of the Irish Catholic immigrant in nineteenth-century Manchester and investigates one of the most controversial areas of debate in the Irish Catholic narrative - the role played by the Irish Roman Catholic clergy within both the migrant and the host communities. Popular native English perception was that the Irish priest was ill-educated, uncouth and ultra-nationalistic in his tendencies, and this chapter concludes that much of the common perception was mistaken. The chapter also analyses the role of Irish religious teaching orders within Manchester and investigates the somewhat fractious relationship between the Presentation Sisters and one of the most popular and controversial Irish-born Catholic priests of the period.

The final chapter investigates the pivotal role associational culture played in the lives of the emerging middle-class elites of the Irish migrant community. The important contribution the Irish middle-class made to the city in such areas as politics and administration, textiles, engineering, medicine and science is analysed to challenge Tebbut's contention that the Irish middle class worked with and interacted with members of their own migrant community and so were largely invisible to wider society.¹⁹⁰

In the period under consideration Manchester graduated from the role of 'shock city' to become one of the key urban centres of late Victorian Britain and this chapter also establishes the sometimes key roles played by significantly-placed Irish in the ongoing modernisation of Manchester in the later decades of the period as the city's traditional textile and engineering industries became increasingly sophisticated and its government and

¹⁹⁰ Tebbut, 'The Evolution of Ethnic Stereotypes'.

administration became based less on patronage and much more on efficiency in a locality that was one of the most dynamic major urban centres of modern industrial Britain. The chapter therefore counters Tebbutt's suggestion of Irish middle-class invisibility in nineteenth-century Manchester.

It is the purpose of this thesis to look beyond and within the standard periodisation as well as the stereotypes and representations of the poor Catholic Irish to explore some of the assumptions and stereotypes that have accreted to them as a discursively constructed group and provide new insights into their lives based on fresh empirical evidence which will establish the presence of a significant often upwardly mobile and widely respected Irish middle-class in nineteenth-century Manchester. The thesis thus engages with a major area of historical debate in nineteenth-century Britain: the perception of the Irish migrant as a homogeneous lumpen proletariat devoid of the social stratification evident in wider society at the time.

CHAPTER 1. THE USE OF THE CENSUS IN THE EVALUATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Introduction

The image of the nineteenth century as a period of great opportunity for men of energy and skill is one that has been long established.¹ Historians have argued that an industrious middle-class made great fortunes in the early days of the industrial revolution converting economic success into political power in the 1832 Reform Act and that power was then used to ensure that policy reflected middle-class interests.² Such arguments present the middle class as a coherent body mobilizing their economic and political power to forge society in their image. Challenging landed privilege and aristocratic corruption, this industrial and urban middle class can be seen as striving to establish a society based on merit rather than on circumstances of birth. Through education reform,³ schemes of civic improvement and the growth of the market, the Victorian middle class saw themselves as facilitating equality of opportunity by enabling the working classes to realize their abilities.

The Victorian middle-class is largely associated with the growth of cities and the expansion of the economy which meant occupational categorisation became inextricably linked to socio-economic status. Due to its pre-eminence as the 'shock city' of the industrial revolution, this was particularly true of nineteenth-century Manchester. Contemporaries used the occupational information recorded in the census returns to describe the social structure of the nation and the communities of which it was composed, and historians have attempted to reconstruct these past communities in the same way, using aggregated

1 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: from 1750 to the present day* (London, 1968), p. 119

2 For example, David Nicholls, 'The English Middle Class and the Ideological Significance of Radicalism, 1760-1886' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxiv, no.4 (Oct. 1985), pp 415-433; Terry Trainor, *Victorian London Slums Seven Dails* (London, 2012).

3 For example, the 1870 Education Act stands as the very first piece of legislation to deal specifically with the provision of education in Britain establishing a system of 'school boards' to build and manage schools in areas where they were needed. In 1880 a further Education Act finally made school attendance compulsory between the ages of five and ten.

information on occupation to make inferences about the social status of the population.⁴ Almost all local and national studies of the economy have used the occupational data provided in the census reports to assist in descriptions of the economy and society.⁵ These records are the single most important primary source for the historical study of mass migration patterns' and here they fulfil two important criteria: there is a consistent effort to achieve comprehensive coverage of the entire population, occupation and place of birth, and also, the census is the most comprehensive source for data on the type of employment indicating numbers in the industrial, commercial and professional sectors. In fact, because there are no continuous sources for the usual economic indicators – income and production – as Lee notes, the occupational data provided in the census provides, 'the best single indicator of structural change in the British economy and its components regions'.⁶ Wollard's more recent work on *The classification of occupations in the 1881 census of England and Wales* reinforces Lee's assertion.⁷

The census data on the occupations of the population therefore provides an insight into the class structure of nineteenth-century Britain. Although not the only pointer to a person's social class - and certainly not the only indicator of the altogether more nebulous concept of social status⁸- a person's occupation clearly impinges directly on his (or, for census-users, more problematically, her) position in the economy, society and culture of their community. For the purpose of this thesis, the occupational status of Irish-born migrants, residing in the

4 For example: Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people of London* (2nd ed. 9 vols, 1892-1897), B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study in Town Life* (London, 1901), Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (London, 1903).

5 Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billinge (eds), *Period and Place, Research Methods in Historical Geography* (Cambridge, 1982); E. H. Hunt, 'Industrialisation and regional inequality: wages in Britain, 1760-1914' in *The Journal of Economic History*, lvi, no.4 (1986), pp 936-966; Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000); Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, *Cambridge Economic History of Britain* (Cambridge, 2004); John Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain* (2 vols, Cambridge, 2009). This data is held in the National Archives database and is accessed online: 'Census of England and Wales'(<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>).

6 Clive Lee, *British regional statistics, 1841-1971* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 3.

7 Matthew Wollard, *The classification of occupations in the 1881 census of England and Wales* (Essex, 1999)

8 The keeping of servants as an indicator of socio-economic status is discussed later in this chapter.

City of Manchester during the Victorian period will be extracted from the census enumerators sheets and analysed in order to determine the size and distribution of the middle-class within the Irish community.

Historical Importance of the Census

The census, the procedure of systematically acquiring and recording information about the members of a given population, has a long history going back to Egypt in the second millennium BC. The term was originally used for efforts to count national population and housing. In seventeenth-century England, Sir William Petty called for the establishment of a general register of vital events to collate parish registers, and thus reveal the numbers married, the age structure of the population, the occupational and religious distribution, and the wealth of any area.⁹ In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European states and their colonies used censuses to take stock of their military resources in an age of continual wars.¹⁰ The association between warfare and census-taking has led post-modernists to see the development of the latter in terms of new forms of 'governmentality' associated with the need to foster 'biopower'. In a situation of constant warfare, states came to see their subjects as 'population' that needed to be fostered and expanded in the interests of military survival.¹¹ Certainly, Britain had a strategic interest in maintaining a supply of able-bodied men for military service, particularly in the Royal Navy, as it was sea power which maintained British global military dominance but there were additional reasons behind the drive for a more accurate population count.

In mid-eighteenth-century England the debate over population related to its size, more

9 Edward Higgs, *Life, death and statistics: civil registration, censuses and the work of the General Register Office, 1837–1952* (Hatfield, 2004), p. 28.

10 D. V. Glass, *The development of population statistics* (Farnborough, 1978), pp 12-13.

11 Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault effect: Studies in Governmentality* (London, 1991), pp 87–104; Michel Foucault, 'The subject and power', in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (eds), *Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics, with an afterward by Michel Foucault* (Brighton, 1982), pp 208–26.

specifically, whether or not it had increased since the Glorious Revolution of 1688. In 1753 a bill 'for taking and registering an annual account of the total number of people, and the total number of marriages, births and burials; and also the total number of poor receiving alms in every parish, and extra-parochial place, in Great Britain', was introduced into Parliament.¹² This was also linked to the population debate because the aim of the bill was to establish whether there had been a 'progressive increase or diminution' of the population. Glass, drawing upon *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1753, argues that the bill's supporters hoped that these measures would allow the calculation of the maximum size of any army which could be raised in times of need; provide evidence as to the desirability of emigration to the colonies; and show the burden of the Poor Law on the country.¹³ This may be true but the bill itself reveals other concerns, which link the 1753 proposals more closely with later nineteenth-century developments. Firstly, the bill argued that the registration of vital events was necessary since, 'great inconveniences have arisen from the present defective manner in which parochial registers are formed, and the loose and uncertain method in which they are kept and preserved; whereby the evidence of descent is frequently lost and rendered precarious...'¹⁴ The need to underpin rights to title to property via recording lines of descent was also the main reason for the establishment of the system of civil registration administered by the General Register Office under the 1836 Registration Act.¹⁵ Similarly, the bill also envisaged the data collected on population and vital events as being used to create a national system of Bills of Mortality.¹⁶ These were the weekly mortality statistics in London,

12 D. V. Glass, *Numbering the people. The eighteenth-century population controversy and the development of census and vital statistics in Britain* (London, 1973), p. 1.

13 Glass, *The development of population statistics*, p.19.

14 Glass, *Numbering the people*, pp 1-2.

15 Higgs, *Life, death and statistics*, chapter one.

16 Glass, *Numbering the people*, p. 11.

designed to monitor burials from 1592 to 1595 and then continuously from 1603 and Buck has linked the call for a national bill to political calculations respecting the insurance of lives.¹⁷ Data on population, births and deaths was required to draw up life tables, and so relieve poverty through the creation of actuarially sound insurance and friendly societies. This was also a factor underlying nineteenth-century censuses under John Rickman, and of the early statistical work of the General Register Office.¹⁸

The opponents of the 1753 bill argued that the proposed enumeration would be impractical, costly, and might be used as the basis of new taxation and conscription. Given the eighteenth-century perception of a standing army as the first step to the establishment of an absolute monarchy, the violence of the opposition to the bill is perhaps understandable. Memories of the attempt by James II to establish such a government through an army loyal to the Crown, and to reintroduce Roman Catholicism, were still very much alive. Nevertheless, the bill passed through all its stages in the Commons and received its second reading in the Lords. It was, however, referred to a Committee of the Whole House, and before this could meet the parliamentary session ended and the bill lapsed as did another bill proposing 'Proper Registers of Births, Deaths and Marriages' presented in 1758.¹⁹

The late eighteenth century saw increasing discussion about the question of population and its effects on society. The economist Thomas Malthus took an extreme viewpoint, arguing that Britain had a falling populace and population growth would outstrip food supplies and lead to starvation and famine.²⁰ The civil servant and statistician John Rickman,

17 Peter Buck, 'People who counted: Political arithmetic in the eighteenth century', *Isis*, lxxiii, no.266 (1982), pp28-45.

18 Edward Higgs, *Making sense of the census: The manuscript returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901* (London, 1989), pp 4-7; Higgs, *Life, death and statistics*, chapters two and three.

19 Glass, *Numbering the people.*, pp 17-21, Glass, *The development of population statistics*, pp 27-32; Andrea Rusnock, *Vital accounts: quantifying health and population in eighteenth-century England and France* (Cambridge, 2002), pp 183-8.

20 Thomas Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population* (London, 1798).

and politicians such as Charles Abbot and William Wilberforce, opposed these fatalistic views.²¹ Rickman suggested the introduction of a population census would provide the Government with information on social patterns, and be a useful aid to military recruitment in the continuing war with France. Much of this debate revolved around population estimates based upon taxation records and the ecclesiastical registers of baptisms, marriages and burials.²² Church parish registers provided much information on baptisms, burials and marriages, but their records covered only those in established churches, leaving large sections of the population unrecorded, including Dissenters, Roman Catholics and Jews.

It is in this context that the work of Rickman, the organiser of the first four censuses of 1801-1831, must be seen.²³ By the time of Rickman's memorandum on 'a general enumeration of the people of the British Empire' in 1796²⁴ there was an evolving consensus that the population was probably growing but frustration at the lack of reliable detail. A population bill was introduced on 19 November 1800 and was quickly passed without opposition, receiving Royal Assent on 31 December and the resultant census was conducted on the 10 March 1801. Rickman was in charge of the census taking process and the preparation of the abstracts and reports and the organisation devised by him, under the act, was essentially that which operated in the first four censuses from 1801-31. These were not the comprehensive exercise the census gradually became because of the limited range of data collected.²⁵ Those appointed locally to make calculations for each parish or district were generally members of the clergy or overseers of the Poor Law and for this purpose, were

21 Bruce K Newbold, *Population Geography, Tools and Issues* (Maryland, 2010).

22 Glass, *The development of population statistics*, pp 11-89.

23 For further insight see Rickman's twelve reasons – set out in 1798 and repeated in Parliamentary debates – for conducting a census of Great Britain, cited in Angela Dale and Catherine Marsh, *The 1991 Census User's guide* (London, 1993), pp 11-13.

24 Glass, *Numbering the people*, pp 17-21.

25 'Census History' (www.ons.gov.uk) (3 Sept. 2013).

termed 'enumerators'. In Scotland, local schoolteachers were often employed to carry out the task.²⁶ All local census returns had to be made on prescribed forms which were attached to the schedule of the Census Act. Information was collected by the enumerator's personal enquiry; no forms being issued to the householders themselves. These forms merely asked for broad statistical outlines of each district, namely: the totals (by parish) of occupied and unoccupied houses, and the number of families, men and women in each district. Occupations were placed in broad categories; ages were put into five-year and ten-year bands and no one was listed at an individual level. The returns were made on the prescribed schedule issued by and returned to Clerks of the Peace or Town Clerks who passed them on to the Home Department. Based on parish register returns, population trends were estimated for the intercensal periods and summarized for Hundreds and counties in tables published in a volume of *Parish Register Abstracts* (PRAs). There has been considerable debate on the value of Rickman's parish register abstracts as the basis for analysis of population trends; the general consensus being that the problems involved in using this data are so great that little reliance can be placed on estimates based on them.²⁷ Most of the criticisms have focused on the limitations of the parochial record of vital events and only indirectly on the comprehensiveness of the survey. The latter can also influence the accuracy of the PRA record, particularly if the parishes making returns vary from one census to another, thus affecting the comparability of the tabulations and the interpretation of trends based on them.

The Victorian obsession with the collection of social data is reflected in the

²⁶ For discussion of this see Christine Jones, *'The fitness of the person employed': Comments in the Scottish enumerators' books* (Essex, 2009).

²⁷ Reference to Rickman's data can be found in D. V. Glass, 'Population movements 1700 – 1850' in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (eds), *Population in History* (London, 1965), pp 221-46 and J. D. Chambers, *Population, economy and society in pre-industrial Britain* (Oxford, 1972), pp 64-6 and pp 112-14.

development of what Higgs terms the 'mature' Victorian censuses from 1841 onwards.²⁸ These attempts to survey the population of Britain, to record every individual resident within the nation's borders, to register their age, birthplace and occupation, and their relationships to each other, are a prime example of the Victorian perception of the need to collect and aggregate social facts, as the basis of policy towards the newly emerging and fast growing industrial cities. Other evidence of this can be found in the development of the statistical movement and it was in the industrial metropolis of Manchester that the first statistical society (Manchester Statistical Society) was formed in 1833. Many of those prominent in the statistical societies, such as William Farr²⁹, were also instrumental in the story of the British census.

The Establishment of the Registrar General's Office and the Census of 1841

The beginning of the Victorian era marked the establishment of permanent government machinery for both the recording of vital statistics and the organisation and taking of the census. The General Register Office (GRO) was set up under the auspices of the 1836 Act for Registering Births, Marriages and Deaths in England as a central location for the registration of births, deaths and marriages in England and Wales. The administrative pattern of the new civil registration system, operational from 1837, grew out of the framework of Poor Law Unions set up under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The 624 Poor Law Unions were adopted as registration districts for the 1841 census, and within these 2,190 registrar's sub-districts were created. For the purpose of the census, the registrars were instructed to divide their sub-districts into enumeration districts, numbering over 30,000 in 1841. Poor Law officials still carried out the census enumeration, although other civilians

²⁸ Edward Higgs, *A clearer sense of the census. The Victorian Censuses and Historical Research* (London, 1996), p.111.

²⁹ In 1837 Farr secured the post of first compiler of scientific abstracts (i.e. a statistician) in the GRO.

(males between the ages of 18 and 65) were also employed.³⁰

In 1840, responsibility for taking the census in England and Wales changed hands. Rickman, who had administered the first four censuses until 1831 and who planned the 1841 census over the previous five years, died in 1840. The 1841 census then came under the auspices of the new General Register Office, with overall responsibility for the census falling to the first Registrar General, Thomas Henry Lister. Under this new regime, the 1841 census marked a clear transitional stage between the early censuses and those more modern-day equivalents held from 1851 onwards. Although retaining some of the omissions of earlier censuses (ages were still not listed precisely and relationships of household occupants were excluded), the names of individuals were first recorded in the 1841 census. Each household was required to complete a form known as a census schedule, giving the address of the household, street name, house number or house name, the name of each household member, the age of each person in that household, the sex of each person, the occupation of each person and an indication of whether or not that person had been born in that county.³¹

The 1841 census thus marked a significant transitional stage, both in the range of information collected and, in the procedures, devised the enumeration and processing of the results. The census of 1841 witnessed the first use in Britain of a self-administered household schedule, requesting information by name and characteristics of every individual in each household. Enumerators distributed the household schedules and collected them the day after census day. Enumerators no longer simply counted heads. In fact, their responsibilities increased as they now gave help to householders in completing the census schedule, in particular to those householders who were illiterate. Indeed, illiteracy posed a

³⁰ Richard Lawton (ed.), *The Census and Social Structure*, (Abingdon, 1978), p.15.

³¹ Ibid.

major problem for mid-nineteenth century enumerators. In 1852, the *Eleventh Annual Report of the Registrar General* (for England and Wales) recorded that between 1839-1841 one third of all bridegrooms and almost one half of all brides were unable to sign their marriage registers and were forced to make a mark on the official record.³²

The Censuses of 1851-1901

Following the 1841 census there was a steady growth in the amount of information collected in the returns. Introduced in 1841, subsequent nineteenth-century censuses began to ask further questions about the nature of households and the types of persons within them as the functions and concerns of national and local government expanded. The following information can be obtained from the 1851-1901 censuses: full name; exact age; relationship to head of household; sex; condition as to marriage; occupation; parish and county of birth (if known); whether blind, imbecile, lunatic or deaf and dumb; employment status.³³

The census of 1851 was the first to include questions on the relationship of individuals within each household, details of precise age and actual place of birth rather than the generalised 'country of birth'.³⁴ However, the range of questions included in the census was always governed by considerations of simplicity, clarity and expense. This made the process of tabulation and interpretation of census information by government authorities easier. As the census became more familiar and the possible use of census data widened, by 1891,

32 W. A. Armstrong, 'The Census Enumerators' Books: A Commentary' in Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, pp 34 -5.

33 The 1851-1901 censuses were taken on 30 March 1851, 7 April 1861, 2 April 1871, 4 April 1881, 5 April 1891 and 31 March 1901.

34 This is important for migration studies. However, throughout the period of this study many enumerators sheets continued to state just the country of birth as well as 'around' or 'about' for date of birth. This may have been for reasons of expediency on the part of the enumerators or perhaps lack of exact knowledge by the returnee.

fresh questions were added such as whether employer, employee or 'own account' (that is, self-employed). This addition has proved useful in this thesis for facilitating easier allocation to social class. In summary, there were three distinct stages in each census: distribution and collection of the householders' schedules; transcription into the enumerators books; preparation and publication of the printed abstracts or reports.

Before 1920 the collection of information from the general population required a separate act of parliament before taking the census. The census itself would be taken the following year.³⁵ The enumerators would be recruited between these periods and would distribute the schedules to each household a week prior to collection of the completed forms. The instructions given to the householders who were given the schedules were printed on the reverse of the form. The forms were all collected in one day, and, the enumerators were required to fill in any incomplete schedules after verbal enquiry, as well as correct any 'manifestly false particulars'. Enumerators then had six days to enter the details on the schedules into their enumeration books, 'in strict conformity with the rules given therein'.³⁶ These schedules, after having been examined by registrars and countersigned by the superintendent registrars, were returned to the census commissioners in London. At the census office, over one hundred million separate facts were reduced into tabular statements, a process which took upwards of sixty clerks working twelve hour days, three months to complete.³⁷ These were then published in the form of abstracts and reports.

Despite such fine-tuning, the nineteenth-century census has its faults. While this census information is a unique and useful tool for the study of nineteenth-century history,

35 Michael Drake, 'The Census, 1801-1891' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Essays in the use of quantitative methods* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 29.

36 Mills and Schurer, 'The Enumeration Process', pp 16-26.

37 Higgs, *A clearer sense of the census*, pp 158-9.

the material is the end product of a long chain of data collection and collation. Each stage of the process of information delivery from householder to nineteenth-century data transcriber, and all stages in between, could be subject to error, omission and misinterpretation. Yet, the census enumerators' books remain the only complete analysis of the population at that time and are particularly useful in identifying trends, shifts and aggregate numbers. In several respects, censuses are of above average quality as historical evidence, since they are universal, comprehensive, in standard format, with a stated purpose overseen by specifically selected individuals themselves under supervision. Together with other contemporary material such as registers of birth, marriages and deaths, poor law records, reports of Royal Commissions and government inquiries, they can provide an overview of social and the economic structure at a given time. Censuses can also be used on different levels and spatial scales, from individual family history, to local, regional and national studies of spatial distribution, migration patterns, occupational statistics and social structure (which in this thesis relates to Irish- born middle-class migration). However, there are, as with all sources, certain weaknesses that need to be identified and taken into consideration in any study.

Each individual piece of information in every census went through many different stages where errors could creep into the process of transcription. At the stage of filling out the census schedule each form passed through several pairs of hands. One or more members of a household may have completed the census. Perhaps a third party (for example, a neighbour and/or the enumerator) would have been asked to help answer certain questions or maybe even fill in the census schedule on a householder's behalf. For personal reasons, an individual might have wanted to hide or enhance certain aspects of their life (for example, a person might not be truthful about their age, profession or occupation,

country of birth or mental condition of family members).³⁸

The original householder schedules used in these censuses have been destroyed either deliberately to release storage space or during the second world war, bombing, and only the enumerators' books and printed abstracts and reports that are available to the historical researcher. Consequently, errors in census material can only be identified in two of the three stages of the census, though many such errors would originate in the first stage of the process.³⁹ In general, errors in census data may be divided into two categories: errors of coverage, that is under or (much less commonly) over enumeration or errors of content, that is, mistakes in reporting or recording or in further processing of the data.⁴⁰ Failure to list everyone within enumerated dwellings could also occur because all or some of the occupants could be missing on the day/date of the census. Furthermore, inadvertent or deliberate omission of some household members by the respondent filling in the census form may occur. Transient persons present at the household on the day of the census would be counted which again would distort the census statistics.

The direct procedure of checking for omission used in the early- to mid-twentieth century was to compare the census results with other independent data such as civil registers, electoral rolls and tax records. Another method was to promptly follow up the main enquiry with a sample census, under more rigorously controlled conditions. A third approach involved comparing census results with population estimates generally based on the previous census, making due allowance for births, deaths, and migration.⁴¹ On the basis of this method Benjamin suggests that the more modern British censuses are only very slightly defective in overall numbers: by one part in a thousand in 1921; one-half a part per thousand

38 See Mills and Schurer, 'The enumeration process', p. 18.

39 Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses', p. 76.

40 For detailed analysis see Bernard Benjamin, *Demographic Analysis* (London, 1960), pp 2-14, 50.

41 Armstrong, 'The Census Enumerator's Books', pp 34-39.

in 1931 and three per thousand in 1951.⁴² Deficiencies are liable to be most marked in respect of infants and very young children. By comparing the results of the enumerations of 1921, 1931 and 1951 with the register of births, it has been shown that deficiencies in the totals recorded for the first two years of life were 46,000, 33,000 and 23,000 (2.9%, 2.8% and 1.2% respectively).⁴³

In the nineteenth century there were no such follow-up sample censuses and since other independent sources needed for checking, such as registration particulars and migration statistics, are also of doubtful reliability, the actual level of omission must remain a matter for speculation. A number of academic works have highlighted improbable irregularities in age distribution which suggest omission,⁴⁴ but the only serious attempt to calculate levels of omission is that of Glass who factored in the under registration of births with estimates of the child population from the relevant statistics of births and deaths and then compared them to the appropriate census statistics, concluding that birth registration was totally comprehensive by 1881. Glass's finding may be due to the fact that by 1874 it was the responsibility of the parent to register a birth, and failure to do so was subject to a forty-shilling penalty. Once registration was complete, an accurate ratio of the estimated population aged 0-4 years to the enumerated population could be calculated. Then, by backward extrapolation, Glass estimated child (aged 0 to four years) populations for 1871, 1861 and 1851 with the actual enumerated populations. Omissions in the 0-4 years of age group were shown to be 4.5% in 1851, 3.2% in 1861 and 2.5% in 1871. Glass's estimates are the best available but no research has yet shown the dispersion of local omission rates around these national means.⁴⁵ Glass's work acts as a useful reminder that all of the data

42 Benjamin, *Demographic Analysis*, p. 50.

43 Ibid.

44 For example, J. T. Krause, 'Changes in English fertility and mortality, 1780 – 1850' in *Economic History Review*, ii, no.11 (1958-9), pp 52-70.

45 D. V. Glass, 'A note on the under-registration of births in Britain, in the nineteenth century' in *Population Studies*, v, (1951-52), pp 70-88.

for the period under consideration must be treated with a degree of reserve, despite the increasingly energetic efforts to ensure accuracy.

The area where most errors occur in the census returns is the recording of a person's age. In the early census people often had only a rough idea of their date of birth. Children's ages may have been increased so that they could leave school early and find employment⁴⁶, whilst older people may have increased their age to get access to better rates of poor relief. There was also a belief that some women lied about their age to appear younger. Studies by Tillot and Anderson using the census enumerators' books for 1851 and 1861 for Hathersage in Derbyshire and Braithwell in Yorkshire, for instance, indicate that the percentage of cases with a ten-year age gap was 60.6% and 67.5% respectively. Larger errors of plus or minus two years of age showed a percentage of 11.4 and 10.1 respectively.⁴⁷

In the study of migration patterns, a person's place or country of birth is of paramount importance but the information is not always accurate. Anderson provides an indication of the level of reliability for a study in Preston by using a test again based on the principle of consistency. Of the 475 persons traced in two successive censuses, a minimum of 14% had a discrepancy between the two years (1851-1861). Some of these were of no great significance, 'but in half of these cases migrants became non-migrants and *vice versa*'.⁴⁸ A lack of geographical knowledge could prevent people from recording the correct answer and some people simply entered the first place they could remember living, rather than where they were born. Migrants might also conceal their country of birth in order to avoid perceived or actual prejudice. In the case of Irish migrants living in Manchester this fear was well

46 Despite successive factory acts from 1833 onwards, unscrupulous employers would still employ under-aged children.

47 P. M. Tillot and Michael Anderson, 'The study of family structure' in Wrigley, *Nineteenth Century Essays*, pp44-75.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

founded, with contemporary commentators⁴⁹ and newspapers such as the *Manchester Courier*, fuelling prejudice through anti-Irish writings and cartoons. Furthermore, under the English poor law, relief could only be claimed by a person having acquired the legal status of 'settlement'. The principal way of getting settlement was by living in the parish for a certain period of time. The majority of Irish migrants did not have settlement and on claiming relief were in danger of being forcibly removed back to Ireland.⁵⁰

Using the occupational field of the census can be an additional problematic area. For example, the term 'dealer' is commonly listed under profession or occupation and unless the information can be cross-referenced in a trade directory there is no way of discerning if the person was a humble match dealer or a more prosperous warehouse dealer, and although the location of an individual's home address may be a good indicator, this is not always the case.⁵¹

The early censuses asked only for occupation under broad categories. There was limited detail in responses to the occupation census question until the Census Report for 1831 grouped workers into seven broad categories.⁵² The number of workers [male only] over the age of twenty was recorded for seven economic categories: agriculture; manufacture; retail trade or handicraft; capitalists, bankers, merchants and professionals; miners, fishermen, non-agricultural labourers and those not included in the previous categories, such as retired or disabled; and finally servants. The number of male servants

⁴⁹ See Kay, *The moral and physical condition of the working classes employed in the cotton manufacture in Manchester*, p. 34, Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 72.

⁵⁰ During the famine crisis, these laws were used to try to reduce the burden of Irish claimants for relief. See Frank Neal, 'The English Poor Law, The Irish Migrants and The Laws of Settlement and Removal, 1819-1879' in D. G. Boyce and Roger Swift (eds.), *Problems and Perspectives in Irish History since 1800* (Dublin, 2004), pp 95-106.

⁵¹ J.M. Bellamy, 'Occupational Statistics in the Nineteenth Century Censuses' in Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, pp 165-174.

⁵² The correlation between occupation and class is discussed later in this chapter.

under twenty and the number of female servants were also given in this category.⁵³

Increased interest in occupational structure in the census in part reflected a desire to amass data on Britain's economic structure and the relative size of occupational groupings. In the census schedules from 1841 to 1881 a householder was asked for the specific 'rank, profession or occupation' of every individual in the household. From 1891 this was reduced to the more straightforward 'profession or occupation'. Changes to the abstracted census occupational headings over time revealed shifts in the importance of employment types. For example, clerks were recorded as working in their field of occupation, rather than as clerical workers, thus, clerks employed by railways were recorded as railway workers until the census of 1881, when they were recorded as clerks working in the tertiary sector of industry resulting in a rise from 91,000 in 1871 to 181,500 in 1881.⁵⁴

In 1886, the social investigator, Charles Booth, revised the census occupational categorisations. This decision was linked to Booth's attempts to link occupation and family size with poverty as part of his multi-volume survey of *Life and Labour of the people in London*.⁵⁵ Motivated by the shifting occupational categorisations in the published Census Reports, Booth presented a paper entitled 'Occupations of the people of the United Kingdom, 1801-81', before the London Statistical Society in 1886. Here Booth claimed to have devised a more consistent occupational time series for all the censuses since 1801. Booth objected to the fact that some trades that were recorded independently as occupations in earlier Census Reports were swallowed up under other occupational groupings for later censuses. He also noted that large groups of females, such as wives and

53 For detailed discussion on the categorisation of occupations see: Banks, 'The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century England as Seen Through the Census' in Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, pp 179-223.

54 Ibid.

55 Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (9 vols, London, 1892-1897).

adult females in the households of male farmers, were not treated alike in any two censuses, which resulted in the shift of 350,000 women from one occupational category to another from one census to the next. Booth thus replaced the seven occupational categories used in the aggregate Census Reports since 1831 with eleven new categories: agriculture and breeding; fishing; mining and quarrying; building and contracting; manufacture; transport; dealing; industrial service; public service and professional; domestic service; others (property owning; independent; indefinite). Booth designed these broad categorisations for use with printed occupational census abstracts.

Armstrong revised Booth's categorisations in the 1970s.⁵⁶ His occupational categorisation combined agriculture and fishing and dropped the 'others' category from Booth's scheme to leave nine major occupational groupings in order to simplify the categories. While approving much of Booth's work on industrial classification of occupations, he pointed out that Booth only worked with abstracted census tables, so his occupational categorisations were based on the official Census Office occupational descriptions, not the many thousands of jobs amalgamated under these broader headings.

The Classification of Occupations

From the first census in 1801, there were efforts to classify the population on the basis of occupation. The first census required the enumerators to divide the population into three groups: those engaged in agriculture, those engaged in manufacturing or handicrafts, and those engaged in all other occupations. This system was modified and used again in 1811, 1821 and 1831, and further changes were introduced in 1841 when the census began collecting and summarising information about occupations. Many thousands of local terms were subsumed into broader categories and the household schedules were used as the basis of classification for the first time.

⁵⁶ Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, *Nineteenth Century Essays*, pp191-310.

In 1851, and with modifications in subsequent censuses down to 1911, a more ambitious scheme of classifying the population was attempted. The occupied population was divided into seventeen occupational classes (**Table 1:1**).

Table 1:1. Classification of occupations - General Register Office 1851 Schema⁵⁷

Class I	Persons engaged in the general or local government of the country.
Class II	Persons engaged in defence of the country.
Class III	Persons engaged in the learned professions (and their subordinates), either filling public offices, or in private practice.
Class IV	Persons engaged in literature, the fine arts, or the sciences
Class V	Persons engaged in the domestic offices, or duties of wives, mistresses of families, children, relatives.
Class VI	Persons engaged in entertaining, clothing, and performing personal offices for man.
Class VII	Persons who buy, or sell, keep, let, or lend money, houses, or goods of various kinds
Class VIII	Persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, or goods and messages.
Class IX	Persons possessing or working the land, and in growing grain, fruits, grasses, animals and other products.
Class X	Persons engaged about animals.
Class XI	Persons employed in art or mechanic productions, in which matters of various kinds are employed in combination.
Class XII	Persons working or dealing in animal matters.
Class XIII	Persons working or dealing in matters derived from the vegetable kingdom.
Class XIV	Persons working or dealing in minerals.
Class XV	Labourers and others – branch of labour undefined.
Class XVI	Persons of rank or property not returned under any office or occupation.
Class XVII	Persons supported by the community, and of no specified occupation.

At each subsequent census some changes were made to this system of classifying occupations. The number of occupational classes, now generally termed occupational orders, was increased to 18 in 1871 and to 24 in 1881. It is particularly important to note that, from 1881, pains were taken to separate clerks from the industry in which they were employed: those in clerical occupations were assigned to a separate category. The principle of classification, as Armstrong explained, remained essentially the same: to classify the population by occupational group, and not by social class.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ David Englander and Rosemary O'Day, *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain 1840-1914* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 89.

⁵⁸ Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, *Nineteenth Century Essays*, p. 194.

Defining the Middle Class

Definition of the 'middle class' has been hotly debated.⁵⁹ George Kitson Clark

rightly counselled caution when he pointed out that:

Of course, the general expression 'middle-class' remains useful, as a name for a large section of society [but] it is necessary to remember that a belief in the importance and significance of the middle-class in the nineteenth century derives from contemporary opinion They [the 'analysts'] do not always say clearly whom they have in mind, and since the possible variants are so great a modern writer should follow them with great caution⁶⁰

The middle classes can be distinguished from the aristocracy and gentry not so much by their income as by the necessity of earning a living, and the working classes not by their higher income but by their property, however small, represented by stock in trade, tools or by their educational investment in skills or expertise. Yet, Clark argues, the divide that was emerging was not the Marxist division between aristocracy and bourgeoisie but 'a cultural one, between the patrician landowner, banker, lawyer, clergyman or merchant on the one hand and the plebeian tradesman and manufacturer on the other.'⁶¹ However, the growth of the bourgeoisie and rapid expansion of the industrial proletariat brought about class antagonism consistent with Marxist theory. There may have been considerable room for consensus between capital and labour in attacking the political monopoly of the aristocracy, an agreement that was frequently reinforced by shared local, political and religious loyalty. The alliance between capital and labour was, however, often paralleled by fears of bourgeois dominance and by suspicion of 'betrayal' which can best be seen in the agitation between

⁵⁹ Numerous academic works have been published in an attempt to answer this question. For example: Greg Anderson, *Victorian Clerks* (Manchester, 1976); J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth Century England* (London, 1986); Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914* (London, 1977); Geoffrey Crossick and H. G. Haupt, *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1984); Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1999) and Kidd and Nicholls (eds), *The Making of the British Middle Class?: Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity Since the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1999); Lawrence James, *The Middle Class: A History* (London, 2006); T. J. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North-East 1832-1874* (Brighton, 1975); Thad Logan, *The Victorian parlour: a cultural study* (Cambridge, 2001); G.R. Searle, *Entrepreneurial Politics in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1993) and *Morality and the Market in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1998); J. R. Vincent, *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge, 1968); Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain c.1780-1840*, (Cambridge, 1995).

⁶⁰ George Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (Abingdon, 1965), p. 96.

⁶¹ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 71.

1830 and 1832 that led to the Reform Act.⁶² Those sections of the working class that had supported reform got little or nothing. This led to a powerful sense of betrayal that fed into the demands of the Chartists for universal suffrage (albeit male). Paradoxically it was often the aristocracy, hoping to head off even more radical changes, that provided legislative support for the working classes against opposition from manufacturers and industrialists. Earl Gray, for example, argued that the aristocracy would best be served by a cautiously constructive reform program.⁶³

The middle classes of the mid-nineteenth century were an extremely heterogeneous body embracing at the top end bankers and large industrialists with incomes from investment and profits of over £1,000 per year, professionals such as doctors, solicitors and engineers who might earn as much as £500 per annum and at the other end small shopkeepers and clerks for example, with annual earnings of under £50.⁶⁴ Consequently, the middle classes can be divided into three groupings. The upper middle-class itself was divided into two distinct fairly groups: the financiers and merchants of London and the manufacturers of the North and Midlands. The former were generally wealthier, of higher social status and closer to the landed elites than the industrialists.⁶⁵ London bankers and City merchants were among the wealthiest people in the country. Most of the largest fortunes, such as those of the Rothschilds, Morrisons, Barings or Sassoons, came from commerce or finance and not from manufacturing and industry.⁶⁶ The latter were dominated by the provincial elites, those men and families controlling the growing industrial complex. Factory owners were usually

62 Asa Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities (1830-2)' in *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, xx, no.3 (1952), pp 293-317.

63 John A. Phillips, and Charles Wetherell. 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the political modernization of England' in *American Historical Review*, c, no.2 (1995), pp 411-436.

64 H. M. Boot, 'Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760-1850' in *The Economic History Review*, lii, no.4 (Nov. 1999), pp 638-688.

65 Stena Nenadic, 'Businessmen, the urban middle classes, and the 'dominance' of manufacturers in nineteenth century Britain' in *Economic History Review*, xlv (1991), pp. 66-85.

66 On banking and the middle-class see Youssef Cassis, 'Bankers and English Society in the late nineteenth century' in *Economic History Review*, xxxviii (1985), pp 210-229 and *City Bankers, 1890-1914* (Cambridge, 1994).

wealthy but not immensely so.⁶⁷ By 1880, and perhaps earlier, Britain was as much the 'Clearing House of the World' as the 'Workshop of the World'.

Middle-class occupations grew from 4% of the working population in 1841 to 7% by the end of the century.⁶⁸ Structural changes towards a larger service sector in the late-Victorian economy resulted in a growth in the number of clerical and administrative employees. Aware of their 'caste', they maintained an important distinction between themselves as salaried or fee-earning employees and wage-earning manual workers.

Dorothy Marshalls thus argued that:

Some of these employments were lucrative, some poorly paid, but the men who engaged in them were united in the conviction that they were socially superior to the manual worker, however skilled. The struggling clerk, who earned less than the expert fine cotton spinner, underlined his superiority by his dress, his speech and his manners. These, and not his income, were what distinguished him from the working-class.⁶⁹

Little had changed when E.M. Forster wrote in 1910 of the fictitious clerk Leonard Bast:

The boy, Leonard Bast, stood at the extreme verge of gentility. He was not in the abyss, but he could see people whom he had known had dropped in and counted no more. ... he would have died sooner than confess any inferiority to rich ...⁷⁰

While sharing the aspirations and values of the class above them, the lower middle-class was under constant pressure to differentiate itself from the working-classes whose way of life they mostly abhorred. An unresolved tension existed between the need to maintain the symbols of status and the constraints of economic reality.⁷¹ There was an obsession with

67 J. A. Banks, 'The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century England as Seen Through the Census', in Ricard Lawton (ed.), *The Census and Social Structure* (London, 1978), pp 179-223; Francois Crouzet, *The First Industrialists: The Problem of Origins* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 99-115; Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 50-89.

68 Geoffrey Crossick, 'The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain: a discussion' in Crossick, *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, pp. 11-60; Michael Savage, 'Career mobility and class formation: British banking workers and the lower middle classes', in Andrew Miles and David Vincent (eds), *Building European society: occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester, 1993), pp 196-216. Middle-class percentages are for England and Wales extrapolated from Banks' tables: J. A. Banks, 'The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century England as Seen Through the Census', in Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, pp 179-223.

69 Dorothy Marshall, *Industrial England 1776-1851* (London, 1973), p. 96.

70 E. M. Forster, *Howards End* (London, 1910), p. 42.

71 J. A. Hammerton, 'The English weakness? Gender, satire and "moral manliness" in the lower middle class, 1870- 1920', in Kidd and Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, civic culture, and consumerism*, pp 164-182 and 'Pooterism or partnership?: marriage and masculine identity in the lower middle class, 1870-1920' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxviii (1999), pp 291-321.

religious certainty, moral zeal and purity and overall respectability but above all keeping up appearances at all costs throughout the middle- classes.⁷² But this was not the only or perhaps the most abiding character trait of the middle-classes: 'A person of the middle-class appreciates the value of the position he occupies; and he will not marry, if marriage will so impoverish him as to render it necessary to resign his social position'.⁷³ The middle class was not therefore a homogeneous group: differences in wealth, occupation, religion and geographical location were marked. Although there were some individuals who accumulated spectacular wealth in the nineteenth century through entrepreneurial activity, there were many more businessmen who struggled to make a living and many who worked for wages as public servants, managers or clerks. The economic boundary of the 'middle-class' was not clear. Some members of the middle-class used their wealth to buy land and stately homes. At the same time, many members of the skilled working class could earn as much if not more than some members of the lower middle class.⁷⁴ This highlights why income alone cannot delineate class.

Sociologists and historians have disagreed about social structure. Marx believed that a person's class was defined by his or her relationship to the means of production; in other words, that class was determined by occupation.⁷⁵ On the other hand, Weber preferred the concept of status, which was more complex than Marx's concept of class in that it took account of a myriad of other circumstances such as a person's education, speech, leisure habits and domestic circumstances, as well as occupation.⁷⁶ The information available from

72 Peter Bailey, 'White collars, grey lives?: the lower middle class revisited' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxviii (1999), pp 273-290.

73 Henry Fawcett, *The Economic Position of the British Labourer*, (London, 1865), p. 44.

74 Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth – Century Britain* (2nd ed., Abingdon, 2017), p. 137.

75 Stuart Easterling, 'Marx's theory of economic crisis' in *International Socialist Review*, no.32 (November–December 2003), pp 41-76.

76 H. H. Bruun, *Science, values, and politics in Max Weber's methodology* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 298.

the Victorian census is not confined to a person's occupation, and other factors such as residential placement and the keeping of domestic servants need to be taken in to account to achieve a balanced perspective on the issue of social status. Most recently Trainor has adopted a broad definition of middle class: 'all employers, all non-manual employees and all (apart from the landed aristocracy and gentry) people supported by independent income'.⁷⁷ Yet, he recognises, this group 'encompassed very considerable contrasts in resources',⁷⁸ and many historians⁷⁹ have further subdivided the middle class for the purposes of analysis. Hobsbawm, in *Industry and Empire*, on Victorian Britain, identified two middle classes: the 'lower middle class', including shopkeepers, small employers, innkeepers, minor tradesmen and so on, and the 'genuine middle class', consisting of legal and medical professionals, large industrial capitalists such as shipowners and mine owners, and those in lucrative commercial occupations, especially merchants and bankers.⁸⁰

The middle class, then, could comprise wealthy families and individuals with independent incomes from investments, all those in the professions, including school teachers, and those 'non-manual' employees whose earnings may not have been much higher than those of the skilled working class, but whose employment placed them in the lower middle class. The large expansion of clerical employment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made the middle classes, thus defined, much larger. It is the aim

77 Richard Trainor, 'The Middle Class.' in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1840-1950* (3 vols, Cambridge, 2000), iii p. 694.

78 Ibid.

79 James Lawrence, *The middle class: a history* (London, 2006) is a detailed study; Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class. The Political Representation of Class in Britain c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995), analyses the emergence of middle-class consciousness; Geoffrey Crossick, and H. G. Hauge, *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1984), contains some useful comments on the 'shopocracy'; J. R. Vincent, *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge, 1968), is a valuable examination of a major source of middle-class political strength and much else; Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914* (London, 1977); Gregory Anderson, *Victorian Clerks* (Manchester, 1976), deals with one occupational group; See also, Geoffrey Searle, *Entrepreneurial Politics in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1993) and *Morality and the Market in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1998).

80 Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London, 1999), pp 154-7. Hobsbawm's definitions broadly align with Marxist terminology, that is, petit bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie.

of this study to capture this diversity of the middle classes.

Although a Marxist definition of middle class is employed in this thesis a blended approach is adopted to engage not only with occupation and class but also social status. The term 'middle class' is used by Marxists, in two different ways: firstly, in the historical sense, the French word 'bourgeoisie' the possessing class which is differentiated from the so-called aristocracy. Secondly, when speaking of modern capitalist society, with the meaning of 'petit bourgeoisie'. The petit bourgeoisie stands between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. As a worker, the petit bourgeois has interests in common with the proletariat; as owner of means of production, however, he has interests in common with the bourgeoisie. In other words, the petit bourgeoisie has an allegiance towards both of the two decisive classes in capitalist society. According to Marx, this divided allegiance in modern capitalist society applies also to a section of employed persons; those who are involved in superintendence and the lower levels of management, for example, foremen, charge-hands or departmental managers.⁸¹ These employees have a supervisory function, intended to ensure that the workers produce a maximum of surplus value for the employer. On the one hand, such persons are themselves exploited workers, with interests in common with the proletariat (from which they largely spring); however, their position as agents of the management in supervising the efficient exploitation of their fellow employees gives them interests in common with the bourgeoisie. This divided allegiance, which corresponds to that of the petit bourgeoisie proper, leads Marxist-Leninists to place such employees (and their dependents) in the petit bourgeoisie. For the same reason, Marxist-Leninists also place persons in the middle and lower ranks of the coercive forces of the capitalist state, the army and police (and their dependents) in the petit bourgeoisie. This is the basis for social classification used in this study of the Irish middle class in nineteenth-century Manchester

⁸¹ Marx, *Capital* i, p. 332.

The Victorian Middle-Class

Social historians of Britain⁸², whose interests for a long time were centred upon the experiences of the working classes, have in more recent years addressed increasing attention to the middle classes, and to social elites more generally. In this context the nineteenth century offered unprecedented opportunities of material gain, social mobility and, ultimately, political and cultural leadership. To those small numbers of merchants, trading and professional people who, since medieval times, had constituted a group distinct both from 'landed society' above and the 'labouring poor' below them, industrialization added important and vital new elements – capitalist manufacturers employing workers to spin and weave cotton, mine coal and build ships, and new professions, brought about by the need for bankers and brokers, shippers and insurers, engineers and designers. Added to these, the phenomenally rapid growth of the urban population called for more architects, surveyors, master builders, doctors and dentists, more teachers, clerks and shopkeepers than ever before. From this diversity the tiers of the 'middle classes' emerged: upper middle class, middle class and lower middle class. Nowhere was this diversity within the middle class more evident than in mid-nineteenth century Manchester, a theme that is explored in this thesis.

The occupational structure of Victorian towns and cities is therefore one pathway to identifying the middle class and assessing its character, although as noted, there are difficulties in using the published census reports for this purpose. However, although a person's occupation was clearly the earliest indication of social status it was not the only feature of a person's lifestyle that might be taken as a determinant of class. The employment of domestic servants was a key indicator of the prosperity of a mid-nineteenth-century household. For many observers, it was the most important: when Seebohm Rowntree

82 Such as: John Benson, *The Working Class in Britain 1850-1939* (London, 2003); Eric Hopkins, *A Social History of the English Working Classes, 1815-1945* (London, 1979); Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class*.

carried out his seminal social survey of York in 1899, he excluded from investigation those households who kept servants, as these were assumed to be middle class and not likely to be suffering from poverty.⁸³ Similarly, Charles Booth, investigating social conditions in East London in 1887, distinguished the 'lower middle class' from the 'upper middle class', and defined the latter as 'the "servant keeping" class'.⁸⁴ Paradoxically, therefore, areas in which a large proportion of the population are enumerated as domestic servants are likely to have been the most 'well-off' areas in the nineteenth century. Historians of the Victorian period saw the keeping of servants as an important indicator of middle-class self-identity. As Hobsbawm writes:

The widest definition of the middle class or those who aspired to imitate them was that of keeping domestic servants. Their numbers, it is true, increased very substantially from 900,000 in 1851 to 1.4 million in 1871 ... But in 1871 there were only about 90,000 female cooks and not many more housemaids, which gives a more precise - though narrow - measure of the real size of the middle class; and as a gauge of the even more affluent, 16,000 private coachmen. Who were the rest of the servant-keepers? Perhaps mainly the aspiring members of the 'lower middle class', striving for status and respectability ...⁸⁵

Many members of this 'lower middle class' would have kept one or at the most two servants, key indicators of their social aspirations and self-image. So important was this aspect of middle-class life that some historians argue that social classification systems should incorporate the presence of co-residential servants as a central definition of 'middle class'.⁸⁶ In addition, many other households would have obtained their daily 'help' from outside the home: most notably from charwomen who resided at their own homes. Secord notes that many of the better-off artisans employing such help, would not be categorised

83 Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of TownLife* (London,1901).

84 Booth, *Life and Labour*.

85 Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, p. 157.

86 Mills and Schürer, *Employment and Occupations*, p. 157.

as middle-class.⁸⁷ 'Servant-keeping' was so prevalent in the Victorian period that, with the exception of agricultural labour, domestic servants were the single most recorded occupational group in the Victorian censuses. In London in 1851, 184,786 women and girls were enumerated in the census as domestic servants, some 15% of the entire female population of the city.⁸⁸ Indeed, in this study of the Irish middle class in Manchester, servant-keeping is shown to be prevalent with many of the upper middle-class households employing multiple servants, the majority of them female.

Historians have also begun to recognise the regional differences within Britain, and to emphasise the role of the middle classes in urban governance, focusing on the distinctive provincial identities that emerged in the Victorian period.⁸⁹ There was clearly considerable variation in the size and composition of the middle class in different towns. For example, in some trading centres a relatively high proportion of the population would have worked in commercial occupations, whereas in university cities professional or scientific people may be disproportionately represented, while in some towns, persons in general or local government, might be found in considerable numbers. In towns that were primarily industrial, there may appear from the census to be a relatively small middle class. By comparison large conurbations would exhibit a diversity of such middle-class occupations and the associated social classification. Such economic and financial divergences were compounded by differences of religion, background and politics. However, the views of this emerging middle class converged in a basic outlook that emphasized competition, thrift, prudence, self-reliance and personal achievement as opposed to privilege and inheritance. The moral terms of this outlook enabled the middle class to accommodate diversity. Being middle class was

87 Ann Secord, 'Corresponding Interests: Artisans and Gentleman in Victorian Britain' in *The British Journal for the History of Science*, xxvi, no.4 (1994), pp 383-408.

88 G. S. Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society*. (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 41.

89 Kidd and Nicholls (eds), *The Making of the British Middle Class?* and Kidd and Nicholls, (eds), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1999).

defined by taking responsibility for self, family and the community but the precise terms of this were open to individual interpretation.⁹⁰

The success of the middle classes in the Victorian period can be seen in their ability to universalize a set of principles based on individuality and progress. In moving from a society based on rank and privilege to one based on free exchange, the very idea that an individual, through hard work, thrift and self-reliance, could achieve social and economic success provided an equalising principle. Thus, the idea of social mobility was, and still is, central to legitimizing the idea of a market economy. The working class could and did enter the ranks of the lower middle class through small capital accumulation and the ownership of a small business, but such concerns were often in a very precarious market position.⁹¹ They often yielded modest incomes for hard work. With little access to credit, they were not well equipped to withstand competition or slack periods of trade. The white-collar salaried professions, such as public administration and banking, did however, provide the potential for mobility. In many such professions, promotion up the ranks was structured into the job. But even here personal contact was also a crucial element in filling posts. White-collar workers were largely recruited from within the ranks of the middle-classes. Clerk positions would more generally provide opportunities for the working class to move into the ranks of the middle class. However, many of these posts were very poorly paid and of quite uncertain status.

Social class was one of the most persistent obsessions of Victorian analysts. Himmelfarb notes that Victorians 'spoke of class with a candor and clarity that may come as a shock to some latter-day historians'.⁹² As Keating explains: 'Of all the social problems faced by the Victorians, this perception, that society was becoming rapidly divided into

90 Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, p. 111. An interesting comparison to the British experience is that of nineteenth-century Germany. See: Jurgen Kocka, *Industrial Culture and Bourgeois Society: Business, Labour, Bureaucracy in Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1999).

91 Crossick, (ed) *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, p. 76.

92 Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Boston, 1987), p. 50.

classes of people separate from and hostile to each other, was felt to be the most fundamental'.⁹³ The Victorians were coping with a rapid process of industrialisation and urbanisation and, at times, migration, which altered people's experiences of work and domestic life, and new classes and status groups were forming and re-forming.

Table 2:1. The numbers of middle-class persons residing in England and Wales, 1841 to 1901 compared with the population as a whole.⁹⁴

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Population of England and Wales	15,914,148	17,927,609	20,066,224	22,712,266	25,974,439	29,002,525	32,527,843
Middle-class by occupation. As percentage.	765, 994 (4.81%)	919, 983 (5.13%)	1,106, 070 (5.51%)	1,331, 212 (5.86%)	1,603,929 (6.17%)	1,880, 177 (6.48%)	2, 297, 055 (7.06%)
Social class I	65, 436	81, 795	102, 243	127, 804	159, 756	197, 282	246, 837
Social class II	543, 860	639, 835	752, 748	885, 586	1, 041, 866	1, 173, 442	1,390, 272
Social class III	156, 698	198, 353	251, 079	317, 822	402, 307	509, 453	659, 946

Working Women in the Victorian Middle-Class

One major criticism of the census is the under recording of female work, particularly working-class women's work,⁹⁵ though historians have increasingly questioned the supposedly economic inactivity of middle-class women.⁹⁶ Despite the fact that Victorian middle-class women were supposed to aspire to idleness, a growing number of women were becoming employed in the nineteenth century for personal economic reasons. Few single

93 Peter Keating, *Into Unknown England 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (Manchester, 1976), p. 10.

94 Population totals are taken from website: GenDocs Genealogical Services, 'Population of England and Wales 1570-1931' (www.homepage.nflworld.com/hitch/gendocs/pop.html) (13 July 2015). Middle-class totals and social class figures are extrapolated from Bank's tables: Banks, *The Social Structure of Nineteenth Century England as seen through the Census*, pp 203-223.

95 Margaret Hewitt, *Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry* (London, 1958), Edward Higgs, 'Women, occupations and work in the nineteenth century censuses' in *History Workshop Journal*, no.23 (1987), pp 59-80 and Elizabeth Roberts, *Woman's work, 1840-1940* (London, 1988).

96 Such as, Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (London, 2003); Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angels: Middle-class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (New York, 1995); Phillipa Levine, *Victorian Feminism 1850-1900*, (Florida, 1994), p. 87, p. 91.

or widowed women were in a position to be ladies of leisure.⁹⁷ Although lower middle-class, they still strived for employment above that of the labouring classes.

Female employment in the 1850s-1870s reached a peak not surpassed until after World War II.⁹⁸ Domestic service of all kinds was the single largest employer of women, whilst textile and clothing occupations were a close second. Women were also employed in a variety of petty trades - metalwares, pottery, confectionery, brewing and other provisioning, seamstressing, laundry work, cleaning and retailing. A large number of spinsters in Victorian society found work as governesses, or in trades deemed 'suitable for women' such as millinery and inn-keeping, grocery, and other victualling. Both widows and spinsters were also prominent in property ownership. These trends are identifiable in nineteenth-century Manchester with the burgeoning middle class providing domestic service opportunities for increasing numbers of women and a large proportion of jobs in the textile industry occupied by females. Also, as the number of schools increased, substantial numbers of women were attracted by the respectability afforded in teaching.⁹⁹

Though many lower middle-class women joined the labour force out of necessity, there is evidence of changing attitudes amongst women about their place in society. In 1872 a weekly London newspaper, *The Ladies*, offered fashion advice alongside demands for female rights.¹⁰⁰ Obviously the paper catered to upper-class women (who could pay the sixpenny cost) but implicitly offered other middle-class women a guide as well. Although the paper was only published for nine months, it revealed middle/upper-class women's views on their own value in the labour market. Middle and upper-class women were challenging, often inadvertently, rigid Victorian gender roles through participation in the labour market as

97 Patricia Hudson and W.R. Lee, 'Women's work and the family economy in historical perspective' in Hudson and Lee (eds), *Women's work and the family economy in historical perspective* (Manchester, 1990), pp 2-48.

98 Ibid.

99 'Census of England and Wales. Manchester Enumeration Districts, 1841, 1861-1901' (www.ancestry.co.uk)

100 Angela Larsen, *Victorian Women in the Work Force* (Oxford, 1999), p.28.

business and property owners, and tradespeople. Not all Victorian women were enchanted by the idea of the lady at leisure and all of the trappings that came with Victorian 'proper' society. Many women had a wider awareness and felt a greater potential than the Victorian middle-class stereotype afforded them, as *The Ladies* identified:

The rampant vice in English society - all men know it, and women too, and both know the others know it - is neither fastness, immodesty, or impropriety of any kind: it is pretence. This it is that makes our society for the most part parvenu society, --burthensome, troublesome, tedious ...¹⁰¹

A diversity of middle-class women's experiences in the Victorian period is now emerging but is not often captured in the census, which remains a static snapshot of society at one moment in time.

Conclusion

The census of population is a key source for any study of nineteenth-century Britain. In association with parish registers and from 1837, the civil registers recording births, deaths and marriages, population numbers and trends, the essential dynamic basis of population analysis may be studied. Though the earlier censuses of 1801-31 are largely simple population enumerations, they also include information on the number of houses and families and some rather rudimentary data on social structure. They were concerned with matters of economic and military objectives, that is, the size of the workforce in industry and farming (relating to industrial output and the need to plan food production), the size of militia required relative to an area's population (for reasons of civil control), conscript availability, numbers of seaman available to maintain Britain's naval superiority and the population size versus mortality for life insurance purposes.

The first census to be carried out under the office of the Registrar General in 1841, had

101 Veronica Cope, *The Ladies* (Basinstoke, 2009), p.37

a considerable range of information on the age and sex structure of the population, on birthplaces (affording some insight into the very important question of migration and settlement patterns), on occupations (and hence on the distribution and structure of economic activity directly relating back to social class) and on housing. The subject matter of the census schedules remained essentially the same between 1851 and 1901. However, the turmoil of change in mid-Victorian times involved growth and redistribution of population, especially between country and town, unprecedented geographical, occupational and social mobility, vast problems of housing and health, particularly in the large towns and industrial districts. There was widespread interest and concern over such matters in parliament, in local government and among the various statistical, medical, charitable and social organisations concerned with aspects of population, which resulted in numerous commissions, reports and pamphlets relating to material gathered from the censuses and other sources. The nineteenth century censuses are, therefore, not simply enumerations, but are basic documents for analysing a great variety of demographic, social and economic questions and this information within these, together with material from a variety of other sources, that helps to redress the balance with reference to the middle class in the Irish migrant narrative in nineteenth-century Manchester.

CHAPTER 2. IRISH SETTLEMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANCHESTER

Introduction

Manchester has long-standing military and commercial links with Ireland.¹ There are traces of an Irish-born element in the city's population as early as the 1740s, but it was during the closing decades of the eighteenth century that the rate of Irish immigration to the city began to accelerate.² The motives for this migration were overwhelmingly economic, and Irish numbers increased dramatically from the early decades of the nineteenth century, closely allied with Manchester's expansion as an industrial and commercial metropolis.

The period beginning in the 1830s through to the late 1870s was one of far reaching political, cultural and structural change in Great Britain. Whilst the overall trend was for rapid economic growth, there were periodic slumps and times of great distress, especially in urban working-class areas. The major urban centres such as London, Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham, expanded in terms of population and area, local and national administration came under severe strain, both immigration and emigration reached unprecedented levels, and political turbulence at home and abroad provoked radical rethinking in British government and administration³. The influx of mostly low-class, Catholic, Irish migrants, many politicised by their experiences in Ireland, competing for employment, housing and poor relief, led to more assaults – real and imagined – upon the social, religious and political hegemony as far as the host nation was concerned. The threat of a politicised, anti-imperialist, working-class,

1 W. R. Childs, 'Irish Merchants and Seamen in Late Medieval England' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii, no.125 (May 2000), pp 22-43.

2 M. A. Busteed, 'Irish migrant settlement in early nineteenth century Manchester' in *The Manchester Genealogist*, xxxii, no.1, (1996), pp 16-28.

3 Support for parliamentary reform reached unprecedented heights. 'Political unions' were formed in most large towns to press for radical change. The Anti-Corn Law League successfully challenged governments right to set tariffs. The French revolution of 1848 ended the monarchy and the 'Irish problem' was a perennial worry, exacerbated by The GreatFamine.

Catholic group at the centre of the English working class, was an internal and external challenge to British imperialism and the Protestant ascendancy. To help muster the native working class into supporting British nationalism rather than class-based identities cutting across national lines, the patriot-bourgeois class, whether consciously or otherwise, recognised the need to define a British political and ideological identity. The Irish – and in working-class terms especially the poor Catholic Irish – provided the necessary internal and external poles of opposition to the formation of the British ideal type.⁴ The Irish had the misfortune to be perfectly placed historically, economically, ideologically, politically, spiritually, ethnically, and morally to be demonised as the antithesis of 'the free born Englishman', the great 'other'.

The Irish were to be found throughout Britain, and involved in all strata of the economy, but with notable concentrations in certain regions and employment groups. The largest numbers of Irish-born were found in London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow but other cities including Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, Middlesbrough and Preston attracted large numbers.⁵ The total of Irish-born in Britain peaked in 1861 at 805,717 or 3.5% of the population.⁶ By comparison, at the peak of Irish migration to the United States, Australia and Canada the totals were 6.4% in 1861, 7.2% in 1891 and 24% in 1867 respectively.⁷ In Britain their most visible element, the poor working-class Irish, settled in distinctive urban areas known locally by a variety of terms such as 'the Irish Quarter', 'Irish Town' or 'Little Ireland' where they were observable by the 'primary definers' establishment. These were commentators, analysts and opinion formers who were respectable, respected, had primary access to the great and good as well as the rest of the population via the media

4 Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (New York, 1969), pp 10-19.

5 Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London, 1989), p.67.

6 'Census of England and Wales, 1871, Census of Scotland, 1871: Population Tables. Number and Distributon of the People. British Parliamentary Papers' (www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census) (09 Jan. 2012).

7 P. J. Blessing, 'Irish' in Stephan Thernstrom (ed.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic groups* (Boston, 1980), p. 506; Andrew Wells and Theresa Martinez (eds), *Australia's Diverse Peoples: A Reference Sourcebook* (Melbourne, 2004), p. 300; P. R. Magocsi, *Encyclopaedia of Canada's people* (Ontario, 1999), p.734.

and membership of government agencies, committees and the production and dissemination of published works. The reactions of numerous commissions on the conditions of the large towns and local commentators' observations were parts of a wider surveillance of the working classes who were perceived as a threat to the nation and society.⁸ Analysts and observers such as James Philips Kay and Thomas Carlyle held within their power the gift of shaping public opinion in the sense of formulating and promulgating explanations, assumptions, meanings, stereotypes and prejudices. Instrumental in setting the tone for the hegemonic representation and diffusing of the Irish 'ghetto' stereotype was Kay's 1832 pamphlet *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*. Kay's tone was highly emotive and the implicit causal linkage between urban squalor and a subordinate stratum of humanity appealed to the contemporary paranoia surrounding the 'Condition of England' question which was a reflection of the political, moral and economic stresses engendered within the success of the imperial, political, urban and economic revolutions of Victorian Britain. However, another notably influential public commentator Thomas Carlyle, who first used the term 'The Condition of England Question' in his pamphlet *Chartism*, set the Irish case against what he saw as the more general breakdown of moral and political order in modern Europe and the increasingly sharp and unstable polarisation of the wealthy and the desperately impoverished. Simultaneously, he treated the English 'condition' as a distinctive manifestation of a malaise that afflicted all European societies.⁹

The resources of Kay and others, mediated by the events and exigencies of the times, became the inheritance of contemporary scholars who focused on the worst cases of urban

⁸ Indeed, the masses were considered by some to be a 'race apart' from the 'decent' (i.e. middle-class) Englishman. See Philip Mason, *Prospero's Magic: Some Thoughts on Class and Race* (Oxford, 1962), p. 2.

⁹ See Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* (London, 1833); Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History* (3 vols, London, 1837).

deprivation, the most dramatic incidents and worst forms of hostility exhibited in the nineteenth century. This unwittingly gave credence to a distorted perception and indeed lent substance to traditional anti-Irish prejudice.¹⁰ Within this context of class anxiety and prejudice, much of the work regarding the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain is with the lower classes. Without detailed work upon Irish integration into the British class structure, a full picture of Anglo-Irish integration and relations in the Victorian period remains blurred. This thesis offers new evidence to counter the discursive 'common sense' notion of uniform Irish poverty in nineteenth-century Britain. The analysis of evidence relating to Manchester will show that the Irish experience in nineteenth-century Britain was rather more varied than much of the extant literature and the common stereotype would suggest.

Manchester: The First Industrial City

The history of Manchester encompasses its change from a minor Lancastrian township, into the pre-eminent industrial metropolis of the United Kingdom and the world. The city began expanding rapidly at the beginning of the nineteenth century as part of a process of unplanned urbanization brought on by a boom in textile manufacture. Yet Manchester's trade and population expanded steadily in the eighteenth century, based on dominance of the 'putting out' trade and its workshops and bleach works. The 1801 census clearly demonstrated the quickening of economic activity and the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the size and geography of the population and economic activity, particularly in the growth of the cities of the north and north-west. From a position as the fifth most populous city in England in the mid-eighteenth century, Manchester rose to become the dominant city in the north-west by the early-nineteenth century but by 1861 had then again been

10 See for instance; M.A.G. O' Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth-century Britain: Problems of Integration' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xxxi (1981), pp 149-173; C. G. Pooley, 'Segregation or Integration? The Residential Experience of the Irish in Mid-Victorian Britain' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain 1815-1939*, (London, 1989), p. 41; Donald Macraill, 'Irish Immigration and "The Condition of England" Question: The Roots of a Historiographical Tradition' in *Immigrants and Minorities*, xiv, no.1 (1995), pp67-85.

overtaken by Liverpool (**Table 1:2**).

Table 1:2. Ranking of Towns and Cities in England by population 1750-1861.¹¹

Rank (1750)	Town	Population
1	London	675,000
2	Bristol	45,000
3	Birmingham	24,000
4	Liverpool	22,000
5	Manchester	18,000
6	Leeds	16,000
7	Sheffield	12,000

Rank (1801)	Town	Population
1	London	959,000
2	Manchester	90,000
3	Liverpool	80,000
4	Birmingham	74,000
5	Bristol	64,000
6	Leeds	53,000
11	Sheffield	331,000

Rank (1861)	Town	Population
1	London	2,804,000
2	Liverpool	443,900
3	Manchester	338,300
4	Birmingham	296,000
5	Leeds	207,200
6	Sheffield	185,200
7	Bristol	154,100

The population of Manchester grew rapidly as people migrated from the surrounding countryside, and from other parts of the United Kingdom, seeking new opportunities. The result was exponential population growth during the early nineteenth century - while

¹¹ B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750-2000* (Basingstoke, 2003).

London's population doubled, Manchester's trebled. In 1750 the population of Manchester was estimated at c18,000, by 1801 the census returns gave a total of 90,000 and by 1861 it had reached 338,300. This transition reflects dual influences on the population – the 'push' caused by shrinking economic opportunities in rural areas and the 'pull' of new urban opportunities.¹² The increasing size of Manchester's urban population led to growing problems of accommodation and living conditions the migrants crammed into the available living space.

The cotton industry above all came to dominate England's early pioneering path to industrialisation, and Manchester became the centre and the symbol of the entire process, renowned worldwide and visited by inquiring observers from abroad including the two astute observers from France, namely politician and economist, Leon Faucher and his compatriot, historian and social observer Alexis de Tocqueville.¹³

This focus on Manchester lay in the unprecedented combination of steam-driven factory-based manufacturing along with rapid population growth. Visiting in 1835, de Tocqueville, found Manchester, then a city of c.150,000 people¹⁴, growing 'at a prodigious rate'. 'Thirty or forty factories rise on the tops of the hills', he wrote, 'Their six stories tower up; their huge enclosures give notice from afar of the centralisation of industry'. Further, he noted the grim reality of this urban industrialisation:

... The footsteps of a busy crowd, the crunching wheels of machinery, the shriek of steam from boilers, the regular beat of the looms, the heavy rumble of carts, those are the noises from which you can never escape in the sombre half-light of these streets. Crowds are ever hurrying this way and that in the Manchester streets, but their footsteps are brisk, their looks preoccupied, and their appearance sombre and harsh. From this foul drain the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilise the whole world. From this filthy sewer pure gold flows. Here humanity attains its most complete development and its most brutish; here civilization works its miracles, and civilized man is turned back almost into a savage ...¹⁵

By the time of de Tocqueville's visit, Manchester had obtained pre-eminence as the 'shock

12 Julie Jefferies, *The UK population: Past, present and future*, (Leicester, 2005), p. 4.

13 Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland (1835)* (reprinted New Haven, 1958).

14 The National Census of 1831 shows the population of Manchester to be 142,000.

15 de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, pp 105-6.

city' of the industrial revolution.¹⁶

Traditionally, industrial textile manufacture began in 1363 with the arrival of Flemish weavers. By the reign of Elizabeth I, wool and linen production was important, followed by manufacture of fustians, a mix of linen and cotton. But it was with the manufacture of pure cottons in the mid-18th century that Manchester became significant. Prior to this period, goods had mainly been manufactured in urban workshops and homes, the stage of proto-industrialisation. In the centuries preceding the industrial revolution, the household became an important unit for producing goods (mostly textiles) by this process. As demand for goods, and particularly for cloth goods grew, mechanisation of the production process became pivotal to fulfilling the need for increased supply. In proto-industrialisation, merchants lent - or 'put out' - raw textile fibres and, sometimes, simple equipment to rural households. The families then used their time, when not working the land, to spin, weave, and prepare finished cloth, which the entrepreneurial merchant periodically collected. After paying the rural workers/cottage labourers a minimal fee, the merchants sold the products on the local, national, or international, markets.

Proto-industrialisation had one significant disadvantage, however. When demand rose, as it did in the eighteenth century, it proved inefficient. The merchant-capitalists found it difficult to induce the cottage labourers to increase their output. This bottleneck eventually led to the factory system, in which wage earning employees were concentrated in one place working regular shift patterns under the supervision of a manager, and where water and subsequently steam power could easily be provided to propel the machinery which replaced hand spinning and weaving. This machinery appeared in a sequence of changes provoked by efforts to overcome successive bottlenecks. Kay invented the Flying Shuttle in 1733, between 1760 and 1790, Hargreaves developed the Spinning Jenny, Arkwright, the Water

¹⁶ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 15.

Frame and Crompton, the Spinning Mule. Meanwhile turnpike roads were improving communications, cheap coal arrived with the Bridgewater Canal in 1761 and the first steam mill fired up in 1783 in Manchester. Raw cotton was being imported at a rate of 1000 tonnes a year by 1751, 45.2 thousand tonnes by 1816 replacing wool as the most important fabric.¹⁷ Cotton was cheaper - especially after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, which mechanically combed the seeds from the fibre - and lighter, and therefore could be sold in Britain's warm-weather colonies. From 1780 to 1860, the price of cotton fell eightfold.¹⁸ This new form of concentrated production could produce goods in greater numbers, faster and with greater efficiency.

In the earliest stages the myriad of small valleys in the Pennine Hills to the north and east of the Manchester, combined with the damp climate, proved ideal for the construction of water-powered cotton mills which mechanized the spinning and weaving of cloth. Indeed, it was the importation of cotton, which began towards the end of the eighteenth century, that revolutionised the textile industry in the area. Raw cotton, mostly from the southern states of the United States of America, was imported through the port of Liverpool, which was connected with Manchester by the Mersey and Irwell Navigation, the two rivers having been made navigable from the 1720s onwards.

Manchester now developed as the chief production, marketplace and distribution centre for the products of this growing textile industry. Richard Arkwright is credited as the first to erect a cotton mill in the town. A self-made man, he was a leading entrepreneur of the Industrial Revolution, making his fortune after inventing a mechanised spinning frame for cotton.¹⁹ Arkwright's achievement was to combine power, machinery, semi-skilled labour, and a new raw material (cotton) to create, more than a century before Henry Ford, a form

17 Benjamin Love, 'Cotton Manufacture, Its Rise, Progress, Increase, Extents and Exports ...' in *Manchester As It Is* (Manchester, 1842), pp 29-67.

18 Deirdre McCloskey, 'The Industrial Revolution, 1780-1860: A Survey' in Joel Mokyr (ed.), *The Economics of the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1985), p. 9.

19 R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune* (Manchester, 1989), p. 87.

of mass production. His mechanical abilities and, above all, his genius for organisation made him the creator of the modern factory system in the city. He adapted a Watt Steam Engine to directly operate the machinery. In 1783 he built his first mill in Shude Hill, Manchester, the first to use steam power.²⁰

Eric Hobsbawn remarked 'whoever says industrial revolution says cotton' and it could be added whoever says cotton at this juncture had Manchester in mind.²¹ From the late eighteenth century, the machine manufacture of cotton made the Manchester region (south-east Lancashire and parts of northern Cheshire) an unparalleled and for some time unique centre of sustained economic growth. Not only was cotton central to British industrialization, but by the 1790s, 70% of the British cotton industry was concentrated in the cotton districts of Lancashire and Cheshire and by 1835 the figure had risen to 90%.²²

The city was dubbed 'Cottonopolis', in 1826 its economic significance was such that it acquired a branch of the Bank of England and by 1835 it was without challenge the first and greatest industrial city in the world.²³ In 1844 Benjamin Disraeli stated that 'What art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern ... Rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens.'²⁴ On the basis of its economic significance, the city gave its name to a school of thought which was to have implications far beyond commercial life - the 'Manchester School' promoting free trade and *laissez-faire*. Arising from this accelerating momentum, the Anti-Corn Law League was founded in Manchester in 1838, led by Richard Cobden and John Bright. The Corn Laws, import tariffs designed to protect corn prices against competition from less expensive foreign imports between 1815 and 1846, enhanced the profits and political power associated with land ownership.²⁵ The aim of the League was

20 Ibid.

21 Hobsbawn, *Industry and Empire*, p.34.

22 Kidd, p. 13.

23 Peter Hall, 'The first industrial city: 1760–1830' in *Cities in Civilization* (London, 1998), p. 41.

24 Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby or The New Generation* (London, 1845).

25 Marx, *Capital*, iii, p. 6.

the abolition of the corn laws, and after an unprecedented nationwide campaign this was achieved in 1846. The original argument behind the campaign had been that lowering food prices would not merely benefit the workforce but would allow a reduction in wages and thereby make British industry more competitive. Subsequently, the argument was extended to challenge protectionism as a whole and establish a free- trade economy. Significantly, Manchester took as its symbol the Free Trade Hall, built in 1856. Until the early twentieth century free trade was the economic orthodoxy of British economic policy.

After the first cotton mill in Manchester was established by Arkwright in 1783, their numbers multiplied rapidly to reach twenty-six by 1802 and sixty-six by 1821, while cotton manufacturing firms who produced finished goods increased from ninety in 1815 to one hundred and twenty-eight by 1841.²⁶ But it would be erroneous to assume that all these were large-scale enterprises, that the cotton trade could be simply be equated with manufacturing, or, indeed, that the majority of Manchester wage-earners were employed in cotton mills. From the 1970s onwards research on factory size and employment patterns has modified the traditional picture. According to Gatrell, small and middling firms actually held up well in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, partly because the advantages of scale were far from unequivocal.²⁷ On the other hand, Lloyd-Jones and Le Roux argue that between 1815 and 1841 small and large firms (in terms of the labour force), lost ground to medium sized ones.²⁸ Perhaps the most pertinent point to emerge from the debate is the agreement of the participants that too much attention has been paid to the giant firms. While Cobden wrote of, 'the huge factories of the cotton district, with three thousand hands under one

26 W. H. Chaloner, 'The birth of modern Manchester' in *British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Manchester, 1962), p. 133; Francois Vigier, *Change and Apathy: Liverpool and Manchester during the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp 127-129; Roger Lloyd-Jones and A. A. Le Roux, 'The size of firms in the cotton industry: Manchester, 1815-1841' in *Economic History Review*, xxxiii, no.2, (1980), p. 75.

27 V. A. C. Gatrell, 'Labour, power, and the size of firms in Lancashire cotton in the second quarter of the nineteenth century' in *Economic History Review*, xxx, no.2, (1977) especially pp 95, 105, 107-8, 125.

28 Lloyd-Jones and Le Roux 'Size of firms', especially pp 74-5.

capitalist', or de Tocqueville of 'workmen ... counted by the thousand, two or three thousand in the factories'²⁹, it is apparent that enterprises on this scale were a rarity. Gatrell identifies only three firms with over 1,000 employees in 1833 (McConnel and Co., Birley & Kirk and Thomas Houldsworth) and puts the average size at 260 in 1841; while Lloyd-Jones and Le Roux give a median figure of 174 employees, with 29 per cent of firms employing 100 people or fewer.³⁰

It should be borne in mind that Manchester and its environs accounted for only 22 % of the total population of Lancashire and 17.3% of its cotton workers³¹ Moreover, the city's fame as 'Cottonopolis' downplayed the reality of its quite varied economic structure and its role as a regional service centre. This was well understood by contemporaries such as Faucher, who likened Manchester to a 'diligent spider' in the centre of Lancashire's industrial web; more recent researchers are apt to stress that its role was that of a 'commercial hub', or, 'not a capital of industry so much as an emporium of commerce ... a Shanghai of the north'.³² Indeed, Lloyd-Jones and Lewis suggest that in 1815 it was primarily a warehouse town, in that the aggregate of rateable values at warehouses at that date was approximately six times as great as cotton spinning factories.³³ Nor was the increase in these warehouses simply a reflection of a shift from primary (or manufacturing) to service (or secondary) industries as suggested by some analysts, such as Roland Smith, who surmised that by the 1820s Manchester was moving from being a manufacturing to a commercial centre.³⁴ In fact, warehouses were numerous even before the first factory was set up. Manchester merchants

29 Passages quoted in Gatrell, 'Labour, power', p. 125.

30 Gatrell, 'Labour, power', pp 100; 125, Lloyd-Jones and Le Roux, 'Size of firms', pp 74-75.

31 See the table given in R. K. Fleischman, *Conditions of life among the cotton workers of South-eastern Lancashire, 1780-1850* (London, 1985), p. 29.

32 Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, p. 15; J. K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1538-1939* (Manchester, 1987), p. 112; D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815 to 1896* (Oxford, 1979), p. 64.

33 Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Age of the Factory*, pp 30-32.

34 Roland Smith, 'Manchester as a centre for the manufacture and merchanting of cotton goods, 1820-30', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, iv, no.1 (1953-54), pp 61-65; and see Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Age of the Factory*, pp 105-6.

had long employed domestic workers over a wide area in the 'putting out' system, and the advantages of a warehouse, as a place where goods could be stored safely and displayed to potential customers, was even more apparent, some manufacturers even taking a saleroom exclusively and others sharing.³⁵ For 1815, Lloyd-Jones and Lewis discern no fewer than 1,577 warehouse units in the Manchester rate books and although a temporary hiatus was visible over the next ten years, this was followed by evidence of convergence of the activities of the factory and warehouse into one business unit.³⁶

The conclusion to be drawn from these various works, clarifying what might be meant by the term 'Cottonopolis', is that it is important not to overstate the extent to which cotton manufacturing was a source of employment in Manchester. Even in 1815, when the industry probably accounted for its highest share (proportionally) of all employment in Lancashire, the estimated number of cotton workers in Manchester represented no more than approximately 12% of the total population (men, women and children).³⁷ Sharpless has likewise shown that in 1861 the proportion of the city's industrial workforce engaged in textile production was decidedly lower than in a number of neighbouring towns instancing Oldham, Rochdale, Preston, Bolton, Stockport, Blackburn, Bury, Burnley and Ashton-under-Lyne.³⁸ From these observations it follows that Manchester had a far more complex and diverse economic structure and occupational pattern than is sometimes assumed. 'The erection and keeping up of the various and complicated machinery which is constantly at work is itself a source of great business in and around Manchester', remarked Charles Hulbert in

35 M. M. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780-1815* (Manchester, 1967), pp 145, 173-5.

36 36 Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Age of the Factory*, pp 34, 115, 120-4.

37 Farnie, *Cotton Industry*, p 24, puts the number of cotton employees as a proportion of Lancashire's population at 37% in 1811, falling to 16 % by 1871. The figures given for Manchester are from Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Age of the Factory*, p 37.

38 J. B. Sharpless, 'Intercity development and dependency: Liverpool and Manchester' in John Wirth and Robert Jones (eds.), *Manchester and Sao Paulo: Problems of rapid urban growth* (Stamford, 1978), p. 142.

1825.³⁹ By that date Manchester could boast a string of iron foundries and general engineering works, often growing from the need to manufacture and repair textile machinery. These were situated mostly along the banks of the Ashton and Rochdale canals. They included those of Peel & Williams, Ebenezer Smith, Fairbairn, Hewes & Wren and the Ormrods, and employed many artisans with 'craftsmanly skills'.⁴⁰ Moreover, the need to process and finish cloth stimulated the growth of chemical enterprises such as the integrated dyeing and printing works established by Thomas Hoyle at Mayfield (Ardwick) in the 1790s.⁴¹ Likewise, the warehouses dealing in cotton goods offered relatively secure, if far from opulent, employment for growing numbers of clerks and warehousemen.⁴² Nor did the occupational complexity of the city end with activities such as these. Research on the 1841 census reveals there were more shoemakers and carpenters in Manchester than male cotton spinners or hand-loom weavers, which is perhaps less surprising when one considers that there were some 57,000 houses to be maintained and nearly 800 under construction (to say nothing of business property) and 600-700,000 feet to be shod.⁴³ Most members of the middle class employed at least one servant, and the 1851 census shows that nearly 16,000 women worked as domestic servants in Manchester and Salford alone.⁴⁴ In addition, coal was mined in many parts of the area. The Duke of Bridgewater's mines at Worsley are well known on account of their significance to the early development of canals. The Duke's Cut often referred to as the Bridgewater Canal, named after its owner, Francis Egerton the third Duke of Bridgewater, was opened in 1761, linking Manchester to the coal mines at Worsley. Coal was needed in large quantities to fuel the steam-powered boilers in mills and factories

39 Quoted in Roger Scola and Pauline Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1780* (Manchester, 1992), p. 22.

40 Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Age of the Factory*, pp 155-6, 159; See also Albert Musson and Eric Robinson, *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1969), p. 454; Raphael Samuel, 'The workshop of the world: steam power and hand technology in mid-Victorian Britain' in *History Workshop*, xxii, no.3, (1977), p.19.

41 Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Age of the Factory*, p. 158.

42 On clerks, see Gregory Anderson, *Victorian Clerks* (Manchester 1976).

43 J. K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester, 1987), p. 148.

44 *Ibid.*

whilst the canal enabled coal, other raw materials and finished goods to be transported efficiently and cheaply to the rapidly expanding urban markets. In its heyday in the late eighteenth century the Bridgewater canal carried more than three million tonnes of traffic.⁴⁵ The region produced manufactured goods in addition to cotton and machinery and these included chemicals, silk, paper, rope, iron, bricks, clothing and glass. By 1851 the transformation of Manchester into an industrial metropolis was complete and in 1853 city status was granted. The growth of the city was matched by expansion of its transport links. One of the world's first public omnibus services began in 1824 running between Manchester and Salford. In 1830, Manchester was again at the forefront of transport technology with the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, arguably the world's first steam passenger railway. This provided faster transport of raw materials and finished goods and later passengers between the port of Liverpool and mills of Manchester. By 1838, Manchester was connected by rail with Birmingham and London, and by 1841 with Hull.⁴⁶ Manchester had grown from the 'boom town' of the 1790s with the advent of factories and the demand for warehouse space which had transformed quiet residential streets into a busy commercial quarter, to the massive urban sprawl of 1840s.

The city's development was inextricably entwined with the rise and fall of the nation's fortunes and, to no small extent, those of the expanding British Empire. Manchester was at the cutting edge of the changes - technological, social, economic and political - that transformed Britain and its Empire. In transport terms alone, Manchester led the way with the first real canal, the first real railway and the first public bus services. Its local government institutions were slow to develop but, once in place, they set a pace for municipal enterprise that was not challenged until the rise of Chamberlain's Birmingham in the second half of the

45 C. J. Wood, *The Dukes Cut: The Bridgewater Canal* (Abingdon, 2009), pp 4,5. With the advent of the railway in the nineteenth century, the Bridgewater Canal faced stiff competition from the Liverpool and Manchester Railway and gradually its commercial popularity, along with that of other British canal networks dwindled.

46 H. P. White (ed.), *Companion to British Railway History: From 1603 to the 1990s* (Oxford, 1999).

century. The social and economic problems that grew up with Manchester's new order became matters of national concern. The political issues that stirred the city - from the Anti-Corn Law League to Irish republicanism and the Suffragettes - became driving forces for national reform. Disraeli had coined the term 'the Manchester School' to describe the middle-class radicals who were the prime movers of the Anti-Corn Law League, and the free trade economic philosophy which evolved there. The city's most famous newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian* had the attention of the nation's decision-makers many decades before it formally became a national newspaper.

Manchester's new social environment also had its problems, because industrialisation had created new groups of rich and poor and the relationship between them was far from easy. Canon Parkinson, Fellow of the Collegiate Church there, commented in his diary of 1833, on the 'separation between the classes' in Manchester and on their 'ignorance of each other's habits and condition.' He observed that 'There is no town in the world where the distance between the rich and the poor is so great, or the barrier between them so difficult to cross.'⁴⁷ This divide was further exacerbated by the influx of mainly poor Irish migrants into the city.

The Irish in Manchester

Manchester, as a growing industrial city, was increasingly attractive to an Irish population which was growing rapidly from the late-eighteenth century onwards and bearing down heavily on the indigenous resource base. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there had been dissatisfaction at the presence of Irish vagrants and '... poor Irish Catholics

⁴⁷ (www.stbees.org.uk/history/theo_college/parkinson_diary.html) (13 Feb 2015).

in the city at various times',⁴⁸ and yet the importation of Irish linen yarn by the cotton industry for the production of fustian had led to the presence of Irish merchants and highly skilled Irish weavers in the city. Estimates placed the total of Irish in Manchester as 5,000 in 1787, between 10,000 and 15,000 in 1804, and from 26,000 to 46,000 in the early 1830s.⁴⁹ In 1834, Peter Ewart, a Manchester cotton manufacturer, told the inquiry into the Irish Poor that 'about thirty five years ago there was a great influx of Irish to supply the extraordinary demand which existed at the time for hand loom weavers; that was the first great immigration of Irish into Manchester. A good many also came about the same time on account of the (1798) rebellion'.⁵⁰ The result was a notable increase of Irish in the city. This was further boosted by the advent of peace after the French wars in 1815, when Ireland's population continued to grow and bear down on the resource base, making migration to the fast growing industrial cities of Britain an increasingly attractive option and travel links across the Irish sea became cheaper, safer and more regular.⁵¹ By the early 1820s the Irish dominated the Catholic population of the city both in numbers and cultural interests.⁵²

There is also evidence that in addition to the hand-loom weavers there were other Irish who were to become quite prosperous and prominent in the life of their community and the city. Connolly, describes them as dominant in the milling industry and there are indications that some were doing well in the textile trades.⁵³ Contemporary local publications illustrate the presence of such an elite. John Casey, an Irish born textile merchant and manufacturer

48 Anon, *Manchester vindicated*, p. 6.

49 M. A. Busteed and R. I. Hodgson, 'Coping with urbanization: the Irish in early Manchester' in S. J. Neary, M. S. Symes and F. E. Brown (eds), *The urban experience: A people-environment perspective* (London, 1994), pp 41-76.

50 British Parliamentary Papers on the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland, *Appendix G, The State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, Royal Commission (1836), xxxiv, 42-83.

51 Frank Neal, 'Liverpool, the Irish steamship companies and the famine Irish' in *Immigrants and Minorities*, v, no. 1, (March 1986), pp 82-111.

52 Connolly, 'Catholicism in Manchester and Salford.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

who died in 1792, left £840 in his will '... to assist the poor Catholics in Manchester ...' ⁵⁴and his Casey Charity remained active until 1848. Mr. Patrick Lavery, an Irish silk merchant with premises in Angel Street, Manchester, aware that it was 'by the work of young girls he made his money', bequeathed £2000 to provide an educational establishment for Catholic girls in Manchester. He approached the Presentation Order of Religious Sisters based in Ireland, with a request to establish a convent in Manchester with the aim of educating girls. The money was bequeathed in 1821 eventually leading to the building of the Livesey Street Convent which was opened in 1836.⁵⁵ The steady growth in Catholic churches – seven by 1847 – and the associated infrastructure of presbyteries, parochial halls and schools also suggests considerable surplus capital in a Catholic population now overwhelmingly Irish. St. Edward's church built in the middle-class suburb of Rusholme but also serving the strongly Irish Hulme district on the south western side of the city was largely financed by the O'Connor brothers, Irish-born merchants and warehouse owners.⁵⁶

It is clear that from the earliest times the Irish population was producing lay leadership. Connolly⁵⁷ argues that by the early nineteenth century the Manchester Irish had developed '... an authentic voice of their own, with their own leaders, and ... no regard for the traditional niceties of the wealthy English Catholic laity...'. Amongst the emerging elite, certain families of Irish background constantly recur. Examples include the prosperous O'Connor brothers, noted earlier, the Mallons, a family of Irish linen merchants and the Lees, prominent in the calico trade and civic life over several generations. Over the years Daniel Lee used his wealth for the benefit of the Roman Catholic church and gave £1,000 towards the building of Salford

54 Mervyn Busted, 'Irish migrant settlement in nineteenth century Manchester' in *The Manchester Genealogist*, xxxii, no.1 (1996), p. 26. £840 would be worth £65,000 in today's terms. 'Currency Converter' (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk) (09 July 2015).

55 Anon., *Souvenir of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the Presentation Sisters in England* (Manchester, 1987). £2,000 equivalent to £115,000 in today's terms.

56 'Daniel Moncrieff O'Connor' in *The Harvest*, xxiv, no.285 (June 1911), p. 129.

57 Connolly, 'Catholicism in Manchester and Salford', pp 107-258.

Cathedral, acknowledged by the dedication of the chantry chapel in his name.⁵⁸ he also gave a number of private donations to help fund the establishment of Catholic churches and schools together with other acts of general benevolence.⁵⁹ There was then, a pre-Famine Irish middle class emerging in Manchester but it was to be effectively overwhelmed by the influx of poor Irish fleeing the Famine.

The Irish Presence: Numbers and Spatial Distribution

The 1841 census recorded 30,304 Irish-born in the city, about 12.8% of the total population. The largest influx of Irish into Manchester, and indeed Britain as a whole, came in the years immediately after 1845 when, for several successive years, potato blight destroyed a significant proportion of the basic foodstuff of the Irish peasantry especially in the western regions of the Island.⁶⁰ Approximately one million people fleeing disease and starvation emigrated from Ireland between 1845 and 1851, most to North America but a significant number to Great Britain.⁶¹ By 1851 the number of Irish-born in Manchester had risen to 39,743 or 13.1 % of the population or approximately one in eight, though research suggests that if children born outside Ireland to two Irish parents were added, then the number of Irish would be increased by about 17%, to give 46,499, or approximately one in six of the total population.⁶²

The evolution of the Irish total in Manchester followed the general pattern for England and Wales, reaching a peak in 1851 and thereafter declining to 20,070 or 4.7 per cent in 1901, though by then there were second and subsequent generations (**Table 2:2**).

58 Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1984), p. 71.

59 *The Manchester Courier*, 24 Mar. 1877. Catholic philanthropists such as Lee are discussed in chapter four.

60 Busted and Hodgson, *Coping with urbanization: the Irish in early Manchester*.

61 M. E. Daly, *The Famine in Ireland* (Dundalk, 1986), p.15.

62 Busted *et al*, *The myth and reality of Irish migrants in mid-nineteenth century Manchester*.

Table 2:2. Irish-born persons in England, Wales and Manchester 1841 – 1901⁶³

Year	England and Wales	%	Manchester	%
1841	289, 404	1.8	30, 304	12.8
1851	519, 959	2.9	39, 743	13.1
1861	601, 634	3	38, 055	11.3
1871	566, 540	2.5	34, 006	9.7
1881	562, 374	2.2	25, 442	7
1891	458, 315	1.6	23, 180	5.8
1901	426, 565	1.3	20, 070	4.7

From 1845 to 1852 the influx of refugees from the famine transformed the socio-economic structure of the Irish population in Manchester. Though there were some Irish in every part of the city, there was a strong tendency to concentrate in working class residential areas, and within these to cluster in distinct neighbourhoods a pattern also seen in other areas of large Irish settlement.⁶⁴ The largest was the long established Angel Meadow area and nearby Ancoats on the north side and Hulme on the south western side of the city.⁶⁵ This pattern, plus the earlier publicity for the much smaller and short lived 'Little Ireland' situated in Chorlton-on-Medlock⁶⁶, reinforced the stereotypical image of the Manchester Irish as a unskilled proletarian inflow. While 'Little Ireland' was physically decimated in the 1860s with railway construction and industrial expansion, Engels observes:

The bourgeoisie pointed with pride to the happy and final abolition of Little Ireland as a great triumph ... Little Ireland had not been abolished at all, but had simply been shifted from the south side of Oxford Road to the north side and it still continued to flourish.⁶⁷

While Davis acknowledges that the traditional historiographical portrayal of the ghettoized Irish is a myth for Britain as a whole, he insists that it was valid in nineteenth-century

⁶³ Census of England and Wales, 1841 – 1901. These figures are specific to Manchester. Other published data usually combine totals for Manchester and Salford.

⁶⁴ Scott, 'Ghettos, Colonies and Communities: Residential Segregation', pp 248-267.

⁶⁵ M. A. Busteed, 'The Irish in nineteenth century Manchester' in *Irish Studies Review*, xviii, (Spring 1997), pp 8-13.

⁶⁶ Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, pp 21-22; Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class*, p.72.

⁶⁷ Cited in Steven Marcus, *Engels, Manchester and the Working Class* (New Jersey, 2015), pp 195-197.

Manchester,⁶⁸ where the image originated.⁶⁹ Werly, who like Davis draws heavily on Kay, Engels and *The Report on the State of the Irish Poor, 1836*, regards the Manchester Irish as concentrated in two 'clearly delineated ghettos'⁷⁰ and Ryan's biography of Manchester presumed that they lived in 'distinctly marked' colonies.⁷¹ Connolly elaborates:

Gathering in five or so districts, the two-best known and the more ghetto-like of which, Irish Town and Little Ireland, resembled wholly-owned Irish fiefdoms, the Manchester Irish from the outset led a life removed from the generality of local society, the object of some curiosity and of more than their fair share of gratuitous hostility.⁷²

However, Scott debunked the 'myth of ghettoization' concluding:

Thus, the concept of ghettoization is wholly inappropriate for Manchester by the 1880s. The Irish did, however, remain overwhelmingly in the working class districts, but Kay's image of them colonizing areas to the exclusion of natives was never valid and increasingly Irish were to be found in every district of the town.⁷³

Examination of the available census returns concur with these findings showing there was no area, either sub-district or enumeration district, which could be described as an 'Irish ghetto' though there were dense clusters of Irish in numbers large enough to be highly visible, the findings cast further doubt on the widely-held perception of Manchester's ghetto Irish'.⁷⁴ This conclusion has relevance to the context of this thesis in that it illustrates the point that the lower middle-class Irish such as shopkeepers, traders and publicans were not merely servicing the needs of their fellow Irish but also the members of the host community who lived alongside them. A quantitative analysis of those Irish residing in Manchester who, according to the General Registrar's Office schema might be categorized as middle-class, challenges the perception of a homogenous Manchester Irish population.

68 Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815–1914*, p. 56.

69 Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Class Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester; Report on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain ; Report from the Committee of the Bill to regulate the labour of children, 1831-2*, xv, 312.

70 Werly, *Irish in Manchester*', pp. 345-347, 358.

71 Rachel Ryan, *Manchester – A Biography* (London, 1937), p.28.

72 Connolly, *Irish and Catholic: Myth or Reality?*, p. 236.

73 Scott, 'Ghettos, Colonies and Communities'

74 'Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861-1901' (www.ancestry.co.uk). In contrast, a partial analysis of areas of identifiable Eastern European Jewish settlement in and around the slum district of Market Street showed several streets wholly occupied by Jewish migrants. (Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861).

Identification and Quantification of the Irish Middle-Class in Manchester

Information obtained from the census schedules⁷⁵ to determine the social class of the Irish migrant population of Manchester for the census years 1841, 1861 to 1901⁷⁶ demonstrates the distribution of the Irish middle classes throughout the registration districts of the city (**Table 3.2**).

Table 3.2. The spatial distribution of the Irish-born middle-class persons among the various sub-districts of the Manchester registration district between the years 1841, 1861 to 1901⁷⁷

Sub-district	1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancoats	82	179	67	75	74	143
Ardwick	18	54	60	59	117	128
Cheetham	15	82	126	123	136	66
Chorlton-on-Medlock	66	231	200	197	271	318
Deansgate	50	172	53	57	59	68
Didsbury	23	2	7	10	8	8
Hulme	74	219	270	277	295	281
London Road	57	113	85	93	97	99
Market Street	171	169	145	137	143	129
Rusholme	2	16	11	13	12	14
St. Georges	350	430	392	387	401	370
Total	908	1667	1416	1428	1613	1624

Using data on the middle classes for England and Wales as a whole, a direct comparison with the Irish middle classes in Manchester can be made (**Table 4:2**).

⁷⁵ Accessible through Ancestry.co.uk, a web-based genealogical research service

⁷⁶ As previously explained the census returns for 1851 were partially destroyed and no suitable data was available for analysis. This was unfortunate as this period corresponds with the end of the Famine in Ireland and would have been a useful indicator of the evolution of the Irish middle class presence in Manchester.

⁷⁷ 'Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861-1901' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (17 Dec. 2012-14 Sept.2015).

Table 4:2. The percentage of middle-class persons residing in England and Wales, 1841, 1861 to 1901 compared with the population as a whole versus Irish middle-class persons residing in Manchester compared with Irish migrant population as a whole in the city.⁷⁸

	1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Percentage middle-class England and Wales compared with total population.	4.81%	5.51%	5.86%	6.17%	6.48%	7.06%
Percentage middle-class in Irish population of Manchester	3.00%	4.40%	4.16%	5.61%	6.95%	8.09%

Limited studies of the Irish middle class in London and Liverpool have been published. Lees gives a figure of four percent for the Irish middle-class in London in 1851 when compared with the total Irish population in the city.⁷⁹ This correlates well with figures given in **Table 4:2.** Belchem uses an occupational analysis of the Irish in Liverpool, published by Hugh Heinrick in 1871, to illustrate the presence of a professional middle-class amongst the Liverpool Irish.⁸⁰ This extrapolates to five percent of the total and again correlates well with figures given in this thesis. Studies of the Irish migrant experience in American cities such as New York, Boston and Chicago show the emergence of an Irish middle-class which developed along similar lines to Britain. However, due to the large concentration of Irish in these cities they were able to gain significant influence in politics and the trade unions which coupled with the expansion of the Catholic church and its network of schools and colleges facilitated a burgeoning of the Irish middle class.⁸¹

The percentage of middle-class Irish in Manchester increased steadily throughout the century so that by 1901 the figures compared with 1841 had more than doubled from 3%

78 Percentages from England and Wales extrapolated from J. A. Banks, 'The Social Structure of Nineteenth Century England as seen through the Census, Appendix V and IV' in Richard Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure* (London, 1978), pp 201-223. (Banks includes England and Wales); Percentages for the Irish are extrapolated from *Census of England and Wales 1841-1901*.

79 Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London*, pp 97 and 98.

80 Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, p. 39 and 40.

81 See L. J. McCaffery, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America* (3rd ed., Washington, 1997); L. L. Taylor (ed.), *Cultural Diversity in the United States* (Westport, 1997); T. J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928* (Indiana, 2001); Marion McCahey and J. J. Lee (eds), *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States* (New York, 2006).

to 8.09%. Indeed, by 1891 the Irish in Manchester exceeded the middle classes in England and Wales in relative terms. Several reasons may help to explain this occurrence. Initially, Manchester's expansion drew in large numbers of unskilled Irish migrants such as labourers, factory workers and domestic servants, especially during the famine years of 1845-52, a fact that was borne out by analysis of census returns. But in time this unskilled base required the service of shopkeepers, small businesses such as dealers many of whom sold second-hand goods including furniture and clothing, manufacturer's such as tailors and dressmakers, and publicans. This fact is illustrated by the large numbers of such occupations categorised in in the censuses' socio-economic class II (**Table 6:2**).

A further explanation for rising social mobility over this period is the dramatic increase in the overall level of public investment in human capital in the form of schooling boosted by a series of education acts beginning in 1870. This corresponded with a growing network of Catholic church schools which provided education for some of the most deprived children in Manchester, many of whom were from an Irish Catholic background. This facilitated the movement of some of those from a working-class background to at least move into the ranks of the lower middle-class and those with exceptional academic abilities to aspire to the ranks of the higher status professions. In general, however, studies have indicated that movement between social classes in nineteenth-century Britain was slow if not stagnant.⁸²

Over the first half of the nineteenth century the population of Manchester and its outlying areas increased from 88,000 to more than 400,000.⁸³ To the town's physical expansion no single factor made nearly so great a contribution as the multiplication of a prosperous middle class with a taste for country air. By 1850 the built-up area covered about seven square miles.

⁸² For example, John Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1987); Andrew Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society? Social mobility and equality of opportunity, 1839-1914' in Andrew Miles and David Vincent (eds), *Building European Society: Occupational Change and Social Mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester, 1993), pp 18-39; Andrew Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England* (New York, 1999).

⁸³ E. A. Wrigley, 'Population of Britain in the Nineteenth Century' in *Economic History Review*, lxiii (1992), pp 285- 307.

Of this over one half was occupied by prosperous suburbs and only one-fifth by artisan housing.⁸⁴ Clearly, a small proportion of the population was responsible for the greater part of urban expansion. As early as 1844 a French visitor noticed that the town was one of 'shopkeepers and operatives' while the merchants and manufacturers had retreated to 'detached villas in the country or at least on its fringe.'⁸⁵

In his study of Manchester during a period of rapid industrialisation Engels produced a spatial model of the town from the perspective of social class and residential segregation. First, he discerned a commercial centre about half a mile square, comprising offices and warehouses, practically without permanent residents but intersected by main thoroughfares occupied by shops of 'dazzling splendour'; next, a primarily working-class area, surrounding the commercial centre in a belt approximately one and a half miles wide; third, a middle-class area of regularly laid out streets in Chorlton and Cheetham Hill; and finally, an upper middle-class area 'in the remoter parts of Chorlton and Ardwick or on the breezy heights of Cheetham Hill ... where they live in villa-like houses surrounded by gardens'.⁸⁶ Omnibuses, running every fifteen or thirty minutes, connected these outlying suburbs to the commercial centre by the shortest possible routes, and although they necessarily ran through the working-class districts the passengers were likely totally oblivious of them since the slum areas were fronted and concealed by respectable shops along the main roads which 'serve the purpose of hiding from the eyes of wealthy gentlemen and ladies with strong stomachs and weak nerves the misery and squalor that form the competing counterpart, the indivisible complement, of their riches and luxury'.⁸⁷ Engels' model was predicated on the possibility of identifying clearly the members of defined social classes. Census analysis reveals eleven enumeration sub-districts were found to house Irish-born migrants of middle-class status.

84 H. B. Rodgers, 'The Suburban Growth of Victorian Manchester' in *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, lviii (1961-1962), pp 5-24.

85 Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, p. 26.

86 Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class*, p.55.

87 Ibid.

The census data demonstrates that while the Irish-born middle classes were to be found in each of the sub-districts (**Figure 1:3**), the largest numbers were to be found in the areas of greatest Irish migrant settlement, that is, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Hulme and St. George's (Manchester central). The sub-district of St. George's contained the area known as 'Newtown' or 'Irish Town' and housed the largest numbers of middle-class Irish-born migrants ranging from 38 % of the total in 1841 down to 23% in 1901.

Figure 1:3. Manchester circa 1851 incorporating the enumeration sub-districts



Analysis reveals there were Irish shopkeepers, lodging housekeepers, publicans, dealers, policemen and clerks throughout these enumeration districts. Alongside this

typical petit bourgeoisie there were also members of higher status professions including doctors, dentists, scientists and engineers together with the entrepreneurs such as merchants and dealers.⁸⁸

Classification by social class basically involves using the occupational census data to assign households to specific social strata or classes according to the occupation of the head of household. The difficulty that arises in assigning individuals to the appropriate occupational grouping was acknowledged by the General Register Office (GRO) in the report of the 1881 census - 'The most laborious, the most costly, and, after all, perhaps the least satisfactory part of the Census, is that which is concerned with the occupations of the people.'⁸⁹ The most frequently used schema is that drawn up by the GRO as used in the 1951 census. This is the framework used by Armstrong in his classification of occupations in the 1841 and 1851 census and is used in this study to assign the Irish middle classes into their appropriate socio-economic group.⁹⁰ However, under Armstrong's system, each occupation is coded according to the Registrar General's classification, with several modifications made to minimize anachronisms.⁹¹ The most important of Armstrong's modifications is that, regardless of job title, all employers of twenty-five persons or more are included in social class I and all individuals employing at least one person other than a family member are included in social class II. This is the schema used in this thesis and correlates well with similar studies by analysts such as Morris and Wollard.⁹² By the use of occupational dictionaries, each occupation can be assigned into social class I, II or III

⁸⁸ In chapter five of this thesis personal narratives will be used to illustrate this point.

⁸⁹ British Parliamentary Papers '1881 Census of England and Wales, iv ', *General report and tables*, 1883 lxxx,25.

⁹⁰ W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupations' in Wrigley, *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data*, p. 203.

⁹¹ For example, under the original GRO schema a self-employed tailor working by himself and residing in one of the more modest areas of Manchester would be categorised in the same grouping as an Irish-born steam locomotive manufacturer, Charles P. Stewart, who employed over 1,500 workers and resided in the exclusive Victoria Park area of Manchester.

⁹² For example, R. J. Morris, 'Occupational Coding: Principles and Examples' in *Historical Social Research*, xv (1990), pp 3-29; Matthew Wollard, *The Classification of Occupations in the 1881 Census of England and Wales* (Colchester, 1999).

(upper-middle class, middle class, lower-middle class).⁹³

Table 5:2. Numbers of Irish-born in Social Class I residing in Manchester, 1841, 1861-1901

Occupation	1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Accountant	2	3	8	5	11	7
Architect						2
Army Officer	1	3	7	5	2	1
Engineer	14	15	7	11	13	21
Factory Owner		1	1			
Manager	5	16	9	13	17	22
Insurance Inspector	1		1	2		1
Medical and Dental Practitioner	8	21	13	19	29	35
Ministers of Religion	25	27	30	30	30	30
Professor	2	11	4			
Solicitor		3	3	5	7	2
Surveyor	2		2		3	
Total	60	100	85	91	112	121

Table 6:2. Social Class II

Occupation	1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Agent	50	72	89	81	76	74
Auctioneer	4	1	2	5	7	9
Bookkeeper	27	31	15	21	17	19
Broker	10	58	37	25	17	19
Building Contractor		22	14	15	19	18
Draftsman		4	1	2	3	
Journalist	1		4	3	5	
Landed Proprietor		12	11	13	9	7
Librarian	1	2		3	5	
Lodging House Keeper	38	187	157	135	121	75
Manufacturer	7	71	65	79	142	189
Medical Nurse		4	6	11	13	17
Merchants and Dealers	260	430	314	257	325	300
Optician		4	1		3	
Police Inspector	6	2	5	3	1	
Police Superintendent			2			
Photographer		4	1	2	3	5
Publican	10	58	42	65	73	84
Salesman	13	36	68	71	75	80
Shopkeeper	157	191	155	157	171	169
Teacher	28	64	36	53	71	72
Total	612	1253	1025	1001	1156	1138

⁹³ Bank's has tabulated these dictionaries see *The Social Structure of Nineteenth Century England as seen through the Census, Appendix V and IV*, pp201-223.

Table 7:2. Social Class III

Occupation	1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Army Sergeant		4	8	5	7	
Artist	8	5	9	7	5	1
Chemist	8	9	7	9	5	3
Clerk	44	98	126	157	187	207
Commercial Traveller	37	67	75	59	36	24
Foreman and Overlooker	22	56	19	27	31	33
Musicians	20	19	15	13	7	2
Police Officer	97	56	47	59	67	95
Total	236	314	306	336	345	365

Table 8:2. A comparison of the social classes by percentages (Middle-class England and Wales versus middle-class Irish in Manchester) ⁹⁴

	1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Social-class I as % of England and Wales	8.54%	9.24%	9.60%	9.96%	10.50%	10.74%
Social-class I as % of Manchester Irish	6.60%	6.00%	6.00%	6.37%	6.94%	7.45%
Social-class II as % of England and Wales	71.00%	68.00%	66.52%	65.00%	62.41%	60.52%
Social-class II as % of Manchester Irish	67.32%	75.20%	72.38%	71.77%	71.68 %	71.00%
Social-class III as % of England and Wales	20.46%	22.76%	23.88%	25.04%	27.09%	28.74%
Social-class III as % of Manchester Irish	26.08%	18.80%	21.62%	21.86%	21.38%	21.55%

Due to the anachronisms of the classification system, a person's occupational classification is not always a true reflection of their socio-economic status. Although a person's occupation is a good general guide to their social status, and clearly the best indication easily available to most historians, it was not the only feature of a person's lifestyle that might be taken as a determinant of class. One method of assessing their true standing is to look at their place of residence. The census of 1841 reveals a number of Irish-born members of the social elite residing in a suburb of Manchester of which Engels made a particular note:

⁹⁴ Percentage figures for England and Wales extrapolated from Banks, *The Social Structure of Nineteenth Century England* (includes Wales).

... The villas of the upper classes are surrounded by gardens on the breezy heights of Cheetham Hill ... The upper classes enjoy healthy country air and live in luxurious and comfortable dwellings which are linked to the centre of Manchester by omnibuses which run every fifteen or thirty minutes.⁹⁵

The suburb of Cheetham Hill standing two and a half miles to the north-west of the centre of Manchester was composed of three districts: Broughton, Cheetham and Crumpsall. It was a district where a large number of rich Jewish merchants, particularly those in the textile trade resided, travelling by carriage to their warehouse and factories.⁹⁶ As late as 1850 there were tea gardens in Cheetwood Village, part of Cheetham Hill, where the air was 'sweet with the perfume of roses, pinks, carnations, mignonette...in midsummer the smell of new mown hay...in the orchards, currant and gooseberry trees...pear and apple trees...' This was in stark contrast to the nearby industrial district of Ancoats, 'where the black smoke was so thick that the sun never shone through properly, and the stench from the low lying river site of Chorlton Mills or the dye works of Harpurhey'.⁹⁷

The occupational status of Irish-born residents of Cheetham Hill, shown in the census returns for 1841, is typical of the upper middle-classes residing in the villas of the time (**Table 9:2**).

95 Engels, *The condition of the working class in England*, p.55.

96 Bill Williams, *The making of Manchester Jewry 1740–1875* (Manchester, 1976), p. 83.

97 GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, *History of Cheetham Hill in Manchester and Lancashire*, (<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/20823>) (14th April 2014).

Table 9:2. Occupation of Irish-born persons residing in Cheetham Hill in 1841⁹⁸.

Occupation	Number
Merchant	8
Surgeon	2
Independent means	2
Professor	1
Tailor	2
Manufacturer	5
Architect	1
General Dealer	1
Chemist	1
Independent Minister	1

Historians of the Victorian period have seen the keeping of servants as an important indicator of middle-class self-identity and of the prosperity of a mid-nineteenth century household indeed for many contemporary observers, it was the most important.⁹⁹ As Hobsbawm writes, 'The widest definition of the middle class or those who aspired to imitate them was that of keeping domestic servants.'¹⁰⁰ Hobsbawm's contention is valid for a proportion of the middle class although analysis of census returns for this thesis shows that a number of the Irish-born categorised as social class I or II by occupation did not keep servants. In this case the domestic work would probably be carried out by wives or daughters.

Examination of the census returns shows that the prosperous Irish-born residents of Cheetham Hill did indeed fulfil this key indicator of prosperity, since the majority of these Irish-born residents employing more than one servant, with one of those listed as a merchant employing five, which included a butler and a housekeeper. It is interesting to note that in all cases the servants employed were English born, in contrast to other residencies where the

98 'Census of England and Wales 1841' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (12 July 2014). The relatively small numbers of this Irish diasporic elite is highlighted by the fact that the 1841 census shows at least 76 Jews engaged in the cotton trade in Manchester, residing in and around the upper-middle class enclave of Cheetham Hill. (Census of England and Wales 1841). This figure may be higher as some Jews chose to anglicize their names.

99 Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*.

100 Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London,1999), p.157.

majority of domestic servants were Irish-born.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Mona Hearn's work on domestic servants in Dublin indicates that a high status was attached to employing English servants¹⁰² and this seems to have transferred to the Irish middle class in Manchester.

The burgeoning economic success of Manchester meant that by the late 1830s and early 1840s suburban expansion was moving rapidly to the south of the town centre. The rich merchants and professionals working in Manchester were looking for the exclusivity indicative of their status. In 1837, the development of a gated community (**Figure 2:2.**) two miles south of the city, provided the haven that only the very wealthy could afford. Victoria Park was named in honour of the Princess Victoria, and between 1837 and 1845 thirty-five villas and mansions had been built within an ornamental park (**Figure 3:2**). By 1885 the number of residencies had increased to one hundred and three.¹⁰³

Figure 2:2. The entrance to Victoria Park¹⁰⁴



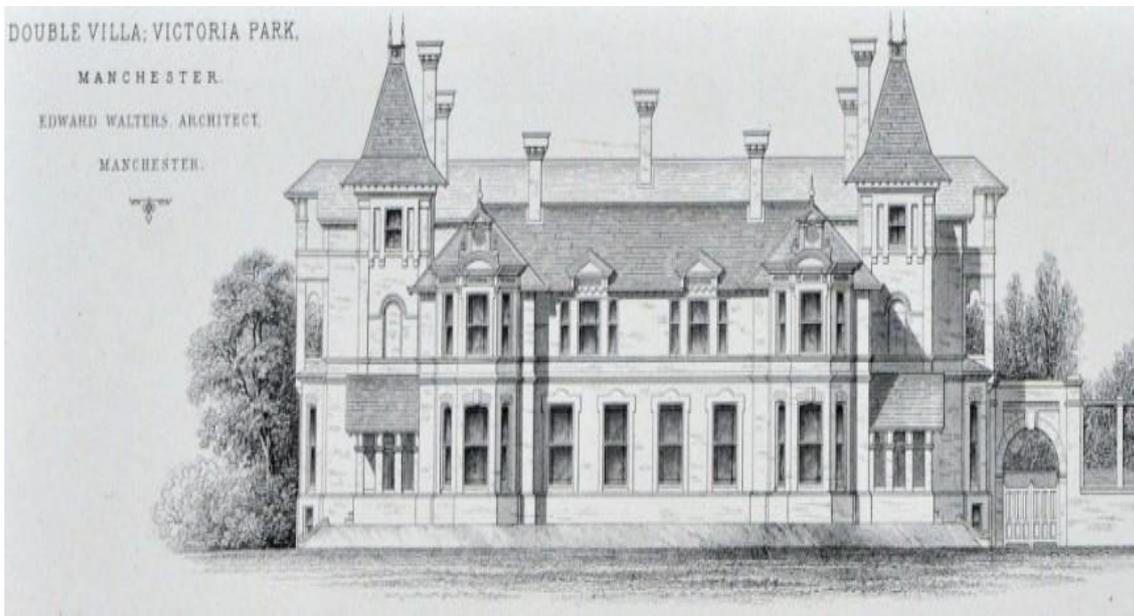
101 Census of England and Wales 1841.

102 Mona Hearn, *Below Stairs: Domestic Service Remembered in Dublin and Beyond, 1880-1922* (Dublin, 1999).

103 Maurice Spiers, *Victoria Park Manchester: A Nineteenth-Century Suburb in its Social and Administrative Context* (Manchester, 1976), p. 12.

104 'The Entrance to Victoria Park' (www.rusholmearchive.org/victoria) (9 July 2013).

Figure 3:2. A typical villa in Victoria Park¹⁰⁵



In 1841 there was only one Irish resident in this exclusive development, but by 1901 this number had increased to thirteen,¹⁰⁶ a clear indication of a growing Irish upper-middle class presence in late nineteenth-century Manchester.

Conclusion

Manchester in the nineteenth century was the industrial and commercial powerhouse of Britain. As such it attracted migrants not only from the local area, but from all regions of the United Kingdom, eager to take advantage of the diversity of opportunities its diverse economy offered. Large numbers of Irish migrants settled in both in the pre- and post-Famine periods, many forming their own distinct neighbourhoods and communities although, countering much of the historical narrative, there were never any exclusively Irish districts. Within these communities the census evidence shows there was a middle-class element servicing the needs of their fellow migrants and the wider host population.

¹⁰⁵ 'A Typical Villa in Victoria Park', Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ '1841, 1861-1891 Census of England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (12 July 2014).

Furthermore, there was also an upper middle-class element within the Irish migrant community in nineteenth-century Manchester. The prosperous suburb of Cheetham Hill, of which Engels made particular reference, had a notable Irish presence during the period immediately preceding the publication of *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. The presence of Irish-born residents in Victoria Park, the most prestigious and exclusive of Manchester's suburbs, indicates that this diasporic elite grew in numbers as the nineteenth century went on and its presence in specific occupations will be examined to explain their social advance.

CHAPTER 3. SETTLEMENT AND CONTROL

Introduction

Two groups of Irish-born middle-class migrants typical of the petit bourgeoisie and who were categorised in social classes II and III respectively were employed in occupations that bore direct significance to the experience of the wider Irish community in nineteenth-century Manchester: the lodging-house keeper and the police officer. The arrival of tens of thousands of Irish migrants into nineteenth-century Manchester presented two major problems for a town that had witnessed unprecedented expansion as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Firstly, the problem of accommodating these new arrivals, whose cultural traditions and demeanour often made them alien even amongst Manchester's expanding and diverse population. Certain areas of nineteenth-century Manchester had gained notoriety as Irish slum districts by the 1840s.¹ Within these districts, numerous lodging-houses appeared, to accommodate the influx of Irish migrants, who, lacking primary social relationships with previous migrants who might have arranged initial accommodation and employment, required some form of cheap accommodation on arrival in the city.² The overwhelming majority of such establishments were run by Irish-born females and this provides a lens through which to explore an often overlooked aspect of the Irish migrant experience. Some of these women clearly showed entrepreneurial spirit by touting for business at railway stations from which the Irish migrants disembarked upon their arrival in Manchester. A contemporary song illustrates this:

Slap Up Lodgings:
When I first came to town, and at the railway landed,
By a fat old dame a card I was handed,
Says she, I'd have you know, my name is Mrs. Podgings,
I live down this row, and let out slap up lodgings.³

1 Chapter two of this thesis.

2 Chain migration was an important factor in the relocation of migrants but would not be applicable in every case.

3 Mervyn Busteed and Roy Hodgson, 'Angel Meadow: A Study of Irish Settlement in Mid-Nineteenth Century Manchester' in *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, ii, no1 (1993), p. 20.

It was certainly advantageous for the Irish migrants to cluster within these districts, as it provided them with a base from which to begin accessing community networks; this in turn helped them achieve settlement in terms of more fixed employment opportunities and accommodation.

Such residential clustering was also of advantage to the authorities as it helped to identify and monitor 'poor Paddy' who, in the common-held perception, brought disease and criminal tendencies wherever they went. However, any attempt by outsiders, but especially representatives of officialdom and above all police officers, to intervene and control criminal behaviour was often met by fierce, and in many instances, violent resistance by the Irish migrants.⁴ One solution to this problem was to recruit police officers from within the Irish community in order to provide a degree of self-regulation.⁵ Indeed, anecdotal evidence in the Greater Manchester Police archives suggests a unique method of recruiting amongst the Irish migrants. When the police were called out to settle altercations outside the public houses within the Irish districts, it was common for an officer to suggest to the most accomplished fighter that he might like to join the police as he was guaranteed a 'good scrape' on a Saturday night and would get paid for it.⁶

Irish Lodging-House Keepers

One of the most significant lower middle-class occupations for women in nineteenth-century Manchester was that of the lodging-house keeper.⁷ Amongst contemporary commentators many of the city's lodging-houses had a fearful reputation for insanitary conditions and overcrowding. However, although the overwhelming majority of lodging-

4 Busteed and Hodgson, *Angel Meadow*.

5 Clive Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (New York, 2014), p.199.

6 Interview with Duncan Brody, Greater Manchester Police archivist, 13 January 2016.

7 Indeed, in numerical terms the census data shows that it was the most significant occupation for women. '1841, 1861 – 1901 Census of England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (27 January 2016). The term petit bourgeois (lower middle class) is applicable to both those running the more reputable lodging house and the common type as they are small business owners, who may employ others, but typically work alongside their employees.

houses were of the 'common' variety they were not all disreputable. As the *Manchester Guardian* explained in the first of a series of articles entitled 'In the Slums', published in 1870:

... a lodging-house plays a very important function in the life of thousands in Manchester. It is the home of many an industrious artisan, as well as the lair of the thief and den of the prostitute; and the law of natural selection seems to develop itself even among common-lodging houses. Indeed they resolve themselves into particular lodging-houses, each quarter having its own class of lodgers; and though we have found here and there, the exception of a well-ordered and carefully-tended house, a house where a decent man may remain one night, and where a woman is not necessarily lost to all shame if she enters, yet, these alas! Are painfully exceptional and the enormous preponderance of evil is most remarkable.⁸

Irish-run lodging houses were found throughout the city, with unsurprisingly notable concentrations in the poorer districts which housed the largest numbers of Irish migrants⁹. They played a pivotal role in the genesis of Manchester's Irish community. Lodgers were almost invariably from an un-skilled or semi-skilled background although a small lower middle-class element was to be found in some of these establishments. Not all Irish lodging-house keepers were running 'common' lodging-house houses as demonstrated by the more obvious middle-class elements residing in them as the century progressed.¹⁰

The Manchester case study is best viewed against the background of the heavy pressure on accommodation which resulted from the changes in the size and geography of population generated by industrial and urban development. During the early-Victorian period, the social problems associated with urban working-class housing, notably in terms of overcrowding, poor living conditions, lack of sanitation and fresh water, and the consequent ill-health of the inhabitants, were exacerbated by both natural population growth and by increased migration to urban areas. Many urban dwellers were transitory either by nature of their occupation or because they were in search of employment, and the growth of common lodging-houses was largely a response to a need for temporary accommodation for this increasingly peripatetic and predominantly working-class population. Called

⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Feb. 1870.

⁹ '1841, 1861 – 1901 Census of England and Wales'.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

'common' lodging houses to distinguish them from middle-class boarding or lodging houses, such establishments were marked out by their low fees, limited accommodation and a no questions asked policy on background, character or occupation. A contemporary definition of the common lodging-house was 'that class of lodging-house in which persons of the poorer class are received for short periods and, though strangers to one another, are allowed to inhabit one common room'.¹¹ This co-habitation of strangers, and even the sexes, was particularly shocking to Victorian commentators:

In such places the married and single often repose together and the beds are so arranged, that in some instances there is not room for a person to walk between them. I have seen seven persons in the same bed.¹²

In the eyes of many contemporary observers, common lodging-house keepers were as disreputable as their clients: 'rapacious, mean and often dishonest'¹³, 'men and women of the lowest grade whose ideas of morality and conduct are exceedingly elastic'.¹⁴ Many proprietors were said to make exorbitant profits and to cheat their lodgers whenever possible.¹⁵ Others were 'fences' or receivers of stolen goods, mainly provisions, which they sold to lodgers.¹⁶ Some actively encouraged the criminal activities of their clients, for it was in their interest to see that they had the means to pay the rent. Others ran gangs of professional beggars, taking cuts in their 'earnings' but many more were simply trying to earn a living.¹⁷ As Samuel observed, common lodging-houses became the night-time haven of the 'wandering tribes', or at least of the better-off portion among them, including hawkers and travelling labourers, and there were few towns without a street or two largely given over to them. They offered cheap overnight accommodation for prices which ranged, at mid-

11 John Harrison, *Lessons on Sanitation* (London, 1906) quoted in B. S. Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House in Victorian England* (Leicester, 2001), p. 5.

12 Edwin Chadwick, *Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population* (London, 1842), p. 414.

13 Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and The London Poor*, (4 vols, London, 1864) iv, 223–4.

14 R. A. Valpy, 'Common Lodging-houses', in Charles Booth (ed.), *Life and Labour of the People in London* (9 vols, London, 1892), i, 210.

15 Mayhew, *London Labour*, i, 254.

16 *Ibid*, i, 255–6.

17 Lionel Rose, *'Rogues and Vagabonds': Vagrant Underworld in Britain 1815–1985* (London, 1988), p. 53.

century, from a penny to threepence per night.¹⁸

Lodging houses were present in late-eighteenth-century Manchester but were situated at the outskirts of the town and were notorious for their lack of cleanliness and propensity for the spread of disease. John Aiken, a physician with a practice in Manchester, observed in 1795:

The horror of those houses cannot easily be described; a lodger fresh from the country often lies down in a bed, filled with infection by its last tenant, or from which a corpse of the victim to fever, has only been removed a few hours before ...¹⁹

Lodgers may have formed a significant component of eighteenth-century society, but taking into account inter-urban trends and increased immigration, as well as changes in employment brought about by the shift from an agrarian to an industrial society, it was the nineteenth century that witnessed a momentous expansion in the provision of lodging accommodation. By the early-nineteenth century common lodging-houses were well-established institutions in English towns and cities. In the 1840s their numbers multiplied rapidly in response to a rising demand for cheap, usually temporary, accommodation from an increasingly mobile population.²⁰ Increasing numbers of people were travelling the country in search of work as a result of urban industrialisation, improvements in transport systems, rising Irish immigration, the agricultural depression in the early 1800s, and a proliferation of construction projects, particularly on canals, railways and house building which attracted itinerant navvies. For many such migrants, the common lodging-house was the only alternative to the casual ward of the workhouse (a short-term shelter usually for a single night and a meal in return for work) when they arrived in a new town.

The issue of lodging houses and the problems they raised in terms of overcrowding, crime and vice, was a grave concern for social reformers in the nineteenth century. Lodging-

18 Raphael Samuel, 'Comers and Goers' in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (2 vols, London, 1973), i, 127-128.

19 E. R. Pike, *Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (London, 1966), p. 309.

20 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*, p. 14; M. A. Glazier, 'Common Lodging Houses in Chester, 1841-71' in Swift, *Victorian Chester*, p. 53; W. A. Armstrong, *Stability and Change in an English County Town* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 99.

houses frequented by the Irish had a particularly bad reputation: many immigrants brought alcohol with them and sold it, without licence, in the house.²¹ Children, it was claimed, were paid by keepers to entice people off the streets to buy illicit alcohol after the pubs closed.²² The problem of prostitution was an important one for Victorian society²³ but the almost universal assertion by contemporary writers that prostitutes were closely associated with common lodging-houses has been challenged.²⁴ Several likely instances were found in Manchester's St George's censuses for 1861: for example, a dwelling with a forty-year-old unmarried woman as head and four other single women aged twenty-five and under, with the residents occupation listed 'independent means'. It seems probable that the term 'lodging-house' was often employed as a synonym for brothel.²⁵ Hence, whilst areas within St. George's parish such as Angel Meadow were certainly one of the centres of prostitution in nineteenth-century Manchester²⁶, there is no direct evidence that prostitutes stayed or worked in the parish's common lodging-houses.

The pervasive fear amongst the middle classes was that common lodging-houses provided an opportunity for the work-shy — the undeserving poor — to mix with and to contaminate, morally, physically and politically, the respectable, job-seeking working classes.²⁷ They also represented the antithesis of the Victorian view of family and 'home':

21 *Report of the Select Committee on Public Houses, Parliamentary Papers* (1852–3), xxxvi, 397, S.3826; *Report on the State of the Irish Poor* (1836), Appendix I, xl–xli, both quoted in Roger Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in Britain, 1815–1939*, p. 168.

22 Fiona Rule, *The Worst Street in London* (London, 2008), p. 51, 56.

23 See for example Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (Cambridge, 1979).

24 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*, p.68.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

26 David Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community, and Police in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, 2015), p. 164.

27 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*, p. 7.

squalid, raucous and lacking in privacy.²⁸ By the 1830s common-lodging houses were considered to pose such a serious social problem that reformers sought to regulate them.²⁹ As early as 1795 Dr John Ferriar had advocated the licensing of lodging-houses in order to control outbreaks of disease. The issuing of licences should, he asserted, be dependent on keepers limiting numbers of lodgers, whitewashing premises twice a year and, as soon as any infection appeared, removing unaffected lodgers to another house and later thoroughly cleaning the bedding and clothes of patients.³⁰ It was not until over half a century later, however, that common lodging-houses became the first working-class dwellings to be subject to legislative control when the 1848 Nuisance Removal and Diseases Prevention Act empowered local authorities to demand that they be adequately cleaned.³¹ This was the first of many acts aimed at the regulation of common lodging-houses; one of the earliest and most interventionist pieces of such legislation was the Common Lodging Houses Act of 1851 which aimed to control the physical and moral living conditions of the mobile lower classes, particularly in large cities. Specially appointed agents of the Metropolitan Police (and soon afterwards their provincial counterparts) were given the right of entry and search at any time of day or night to check the numbers of people sleeping in a house, extent of the mixing of the sexes and the sanitary state of the building.³² Subsequent legislation empowered local authorities to make by-laws governing lodging houses, and the acts also made it a requirement for local authorities to keep a register of owners of lodging houses. They also required lodging-house proprietors to notify the local authority if any cases of contagious or infectious diseases occurred.³³ The Common Lodging-House Act of 1853 aimed to improve

28 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*, p.80.

29 Ibid., p. 14.

30 John Ferriar, *Medical Histories and Reflections* (3 vols, 1810), i, 184-185, 187-188, quoted in Chadwick, *Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population*, p. 24.

31 John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815 – 1985* (London, 1986), p. 62.

32 Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (London, 1995), p. 157.

33 Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 112.

further the standard of accommodation available to those seeking temporary lodgings in cities.³⁴ However, a major difficulty in its administration was how to define, and therefore to control, lodging-house accommodation which ranged from 'filthy, overcrowded thieves' dens' and 'two-penny brothels' at the bottom end of the scale to reasonably comfortable middle-class run boarding-houses for artisans, commercial travellers, clerks and students at the top.³⁵ Consequently, despite such accommodation being under the control of the local authority, and to be routinely inspected, the regulations were not always enforced with vigour.³⁶

The conditions and dubious moral standing of Manchester's lodging-houses regularly drew the attention of the local press. The *Manchester Courier* of 1847 called for reform along the lines of those carried out in London:

He (Mr. Dunn) was also exerting him in getting lodging-houses established on a cheap and healthy scale. Public lodging-houses seem to be answering exceedingly well in St. Giles, and he was convinced that such establishments were calculated to do a great good, and he hoped before long to see them on an extensive scale in Manchester. ... Without sanitary reform, a moral and religious instruction would avail but little and he always found filth and immorality linked together, and to be fully carried out there ought to be a universal sanitary league established, which would be a neutral ground where all grades of religious and political feelings could join in a grand harmony in doing a great good.³⁷

By 1851 lodging houses had become a familiar feature of the urban landscape and Armstrong has suggested that twenty one percent of the contemporary population could be defined as 'lodgers' in one form or another.³⁸ Nationally, the number of common lodging-houses reached a peak in the 1860s (also when the numbers of seasonal Irish migrant labourers peaked) after which the numbers began to decline as migration rates fell and settlement became more permanent³⁹; those run by Irish-born migrants in Manchester followed the same pattern, reaching a maximum of 187 in 1861 (**Table 1:3**).

34 Enid Gaudie, *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing 1780–1918* (London, 1974), p. 245.

35 Burnett, *Social History of Housing*, p. 63.

36 Valpy, *Common Lodging-houses*, p. 3.

37 *Manchester Courier*, 1 Dec. 1847.

38 W.A. Armstrong, 'Mid-nineteenth century York' in Peter Lasset and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1977), pp 207, 214.

39 Trinder, *Market Town Lodging House*, pp 26-27.

Table 1:3. Irish-born Lodging-House Keepers in Manchester 1841, 1861-1901⁴⁰

1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
38	187	157	106	98	75

The expansion of Manchester's industrial and business core led to significant changes in the social geography of the central areas of the city. The middle classes gradually abandoned the districts of Deansgate, Market Street and London Road, and the census data from 1841 to 1861 reflects this sharp decline in the more prosperous city dwellers, with Market Street losing three percent of its population whilst Deansgate and London Road lost over 10% each.⁴¹ Moreover, as the middle classes gradually moved out of the city centre to take up residence in the rapidly expanding suburbs, so there was a corresponding increase in the number of lodging houses opening for business as these large homes became available for multi-occupation.⁴² A wide variety of types of building served as lodging-houses. Unfortunately little physical evidence of them remains, but maps and a few surviving photographs suggest that some were three storey Georgian- style houses such as were to be found in Deansgate, whilst others were more modest two-storey dwellings of the type found in Long Millgate, close to the city centre (**Figure1:3**).

40 'Census of England and Wales' 1841, 1861-1891.

41 Ibid., 1841 – 1861.

42 Ibid.

Figure 1:3. 141 Long Millgate, Manchester, circa 1891⁴³



Manchester had a large transient population in need of such cheap accommodation and lodging-houses undoubtedly serviced that need. Inevitably local observers were shocked by much of the accommodation investigated. Engels observed the growth of the common lodging house in Manchester. Commenting in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, he wrote:

Common lodging houses too, are very numerous; Dr. Kay gives their number in 1831 at 267 in Manchester proper, and they must have increased greatly since then. Each of these receives between twenty and thirty guests, so that they shelter all told, nightly, from five to seven thousand human beings. The character of these houses and their guests is the same as in other cities. Five to seven beds lie on the floor – without bedsteads, and on these sleep, mixed indiscriminately, as many persons as apply. What physical and moral atmosphere reigns in these holes I need not state.⁴⁴

Given their significance in the city's migrant inflow, it is hardly surprising that the Irish were a major element in the Manchester lodging-house population.⁴⁵ Consequently, as a notoriously transient minority, they became associated in the public mind both with the

43 'Common lodging-house in Long Millgate' (manchesterarchiveplus.wordpress.com) (30 January 2016).

44 Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class*, p. 65.

45 Although no statistics have been accrued for this it became obvious during the course of data gathering from: 'Census Enumerators Sheets for Manchester 1841' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (25 January 2015).

growth of common lodging houses and the poor conditions which they often exhibited (Figure 2:3).

Figure 2:3. Interior of a common lodging-house in Ancoats, Manchester, circa 1891⁴⁶



Anderson has suggested that by 1861 almost one-third of Irish-born males residing in England and Wales aged between twenty and forty-four lived as lodgers, and that the Irish comprised a substantial portion of both lodging-house keepers and lodgers, many of whom lived in extended family or kinship groups, particularly upon their arrival from Ireland.⁴⁷ Moreover, the apparent tolerance by the Irish of poor living conditions and their perceived influence in the lowering of standards of the working class served to influence, in turn, the kind of accommodation with which they were provided as well as the attitudes of local authorities towards such accommodation.⁴⁸ Indeed, Irish lodging houses were regarded as dens of drunkenness and disorder during the early-Victorian period and were closely monitored by borough police forces but they often lacked any reforming impetus.⁴⁹

46 'Interior of a common lodging-house found in Ancoats, Manchester' (manchesterarchiveplus.wordpress.com) (30 January 2016).

47 Michael Anderson, 'The Social Impact of Demographic Change' in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 – 1950* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1990), ii, 64.

48 Ibid.

49 Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain', p. 168.

However, Manchester's lodging houses were not the only form of accommodation occupied by Irish immigrants. Lodgers were a common feature in many houses not necessarily designated solely as lodging houses, and as both population and immigration rose, and immigrants included not only single men and women but whole family groups, excessive overcrowding in many smaller households, including Irish households, was to become relatively widespread. When combined with the development of working-class courts during the 1830s, the consequent number of working-class men and women who obtained accommodation as lodgers undoubtedly exacerbated urban congestion and conditions.⁵⁰

The 1841 Census reveals a comparatively small number of lodging houses in Manchester run by Irish-born migrants. Overall these returns show that the great majority of lodging-house keepers were women, and although marital status is not given, the majority were aged between forty and sixty-five years, and many had children, either as dependents or engaged in a variety of occupations. This was a common profile and underscores the benefits of home work for women with children. These lodging houses were scattered throughout the city, but the overwhelming majority (twenty-three out of thirty-eight) were situated in the St. George's district which housed the largest percentage of Irish migrants concentrated in the neighbourhood widely known variously as Angel Meadow, New Town or 'Irish Town'. However, an examination of the residents of the St. George's district in 1841, shows that there are several houses not registered as lodging houses in which large numbers of Irish were living, with a high proportion of mixed family groups and single lodgers. A husband and wife plus their children would share their house with another family or several male and/or female lodgers, often from the same part of Ireland. In these cases, the wife of the household head was described as a 'Housekeeper' and are categorized as

⁵⁰ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 39.

lodging-house keepers. The residents of these lodging houses were invariably in unskilled occupations, a large number being factory workers, hawkers and labourers. A number of Irish-born lodgers stated their occupation as agricultural labourers. This does not necessarily mean that they were employed as agricultural labourers: as Kingsman has observed, it is also possible, particularly in the post-Famine period, that the Irish may have given a previous occupation rather than be registered as paupers, given the particular implications of removal and settlement for those with less than five years residence in the parish.⁵¹ Certainly the distance from these districts to rural areas would bear out this argument.

Due to the extensive damage of the 1851 Census returns for Manchester it is not possible to give accurate figures for the numbers of Irish-born migrants who listed their occupation as 'Lodging-house keeper'. However, given the post-Famine increase in Manchester's Irish migrant community there would be a corresponding growth in the number of common lodging houses providing cheap accommodation for the large influx of poor and destitute Irish. Furthermore, police returns for 1850 estimate the number of 'low', that is, common lodging houses, as greater than two hundred, situated in the poorest parts of the borough, which inevitably housed the largest numbers of Irish.⁵²

Data on the characteristics of lodgers residing in Irish-run lodging-houses situated in the St. George's district of Manchester can be garnered from the 1861 census. The numbers of lodgers in the parish's common lodging-houses were unsurprisingly high: the mean occupancy rate being eleven, compared to Trinder's figure of eight point nine for Midlands market-town lodging-houses.⁵³ Adding other people — family and servants of the

51 The laws of settlement and removal following the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, were widely applied by the authorities in an attempt to reduce to numbers of Irish paupers in mainland Britain. For a review of these laws as applied to Irish migrants see: Frank Neal, 'The English Poor Law, The Irish Migrant and The Laws of Removal and Settlement, 1819-1879' in D. G. Boyce and Roger Swift, (eds), *Problems and Perspectives in Irish History Since 1800*, (Dublin, 2004), pp 95 – 106.

52 Jules Ginstwick, *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales 1849-1851* (8 vols, London, 1983), i, 27.

53 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*, p. 15.

lodging-house keeper — indicates even greater overcrowding. As might be expected, the majority of lodgers were Irish, with some of the lodging houses being exclusively occupied by the Irish (19 out of 71).⁵⁴ A large proportion of the lodgers in the district were young men, reflecting the fact that they tended to travel more than older men, and more than women.⁵⁵ Men between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four comprised 32% of all lodgers in 1861. Women comprised 42% of lodgers in St. Georges' in 1861, compared with 28% for Midlands common lodging-houses in the same year.⁵⁶ This high figure for Manchester reflected an influx of women attracted to the city by the growing demand for females as factory operatives, especially in the numerous branches of the textile industry, or as shop assistants and domestic servants, fuelled again by the rapid growth of the industrial and commercial sectors and the expansion of the middle-class suburbs. The numbers of children under the age of fifteen in 1861 were surprisingly high at 12%. Burnett has suggested that the problem was that while a single man 'on tramp' might not take too much harm from one or two nights residence in common lodging houses, they also sometimes accommodated whole families who could not find anything better for a week, a month, or even a quarter.⁵⁷

As an industrial city, a social and market centre, Manchester attracted a large number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers seeking jobs and cheap accommodation. This was reflected in the wide variety of occupational groupings among lodging-house residents. The most numerically significant were labourers, factory operatives and hawkers. General dealers, commercial travellers, travellers in smallwares, fish sellers and musicians were another notable feature of St. George's common lodging-houses recorded in the 1861

54 Analysis of census returns for the parish of St. George's in 1861 (www.ancestry.co.uk) (25 January 2015).

55 Anderson, 'The Social Implications of Demographic Change'.

56 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*, p. 44.

57 Burnett, *A Social History of Housing*, pp 62-63.

census.⁵⁸ However, these Irish-run lodging-houses also accommodated some skilled workers - cabinet makers, marble polishers, tailors, shoemakers, masons and carpenters. Women residing in the lodging houses were in domestic service as servants, charwomen or laundresses with some in skilled occupations such as needlewomen, seamstresses or dressmakers. Such occupations were common among working women in the nineteenth century, particularly in Manchester where the burgeoning middle class and better off artisans made use of such services.

The setting-up of a common lodging-house required a little capital but could bring in extra income, particularly in a household where there was a married man whose wife could manage the lodgings whilst he continued with his trade. Consequently, in the Irish-run lodging houses within St. George's parish only 11% of heads of households were recorded as 'lodging-house keepers' in the census returns of 1861. The remainder worked overwhelmingly in industrial and, to a lesser extent, commercial occupations. Only 7% of male keepers in St. Georges' were single, whereas much higher proportions of female keepers were single (14%) or widowed (64%). Keeping lodgings (both common and of the more respectable kind) was a good way for a single woman to support herself, and, nationally, many independent women used this as their main source of income.⁵⁹ Indeed, the analysis of the census returns for the period 1871 to 1901 indicates that women were managing the more respectable type of lodgings which would equate to a boarding house or bed and breakfast residence. This is evident by the type of occupant residing in these properties. The employment status of the resident lodgers indicates a more middle-class clientele, including clerks, salesmen, schoolteachers and medical students.⁶⁰

58 Census of England and Wales 1861. These occupations fall into socio-economic group III – lower middle class, according to the tables of occupations in Banks, 'The social structure of nineteenth century England as seen through the census', in Lawton, *The census and social structure*, pp 203-223.

59 Alison Kay, *The Foundations of Female Entrepreneurship. Enterprise, Home and Household in London, c.1800- 1870* (London, 2009), p. 133.

60 'Census of England and Wales 1871- 1901' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (25 January 2015).

By 1890 Manchester City Council had a system of licensing regulated by the police⁶¹ and in 1900 the City Watch Committee reported that, as a result of the enforcement of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1885, the city's licensed lodging-houses were clean, well-kept and not overcrowded and their proprietors caused no trouble. However, a report published in 1888 in *The Harvest*, the magazine of the Salford Catholic Protection and Rescue Society which incorporated Manchester within the diocesan boundaries, describes conditions that had persisted throughout the era of the common-lodginghouse:

... But the straw is thick with dirt, and the room is warm and close with foul air. There is no draught from that chimney blocked up with rags and decaying straw. —Three children are lying on a mattress; their covering, an old ulster; a woman helplessly drunk lies sprawling across their necks. 'Lift the brute up, or she will smother them.' Now to the attic. The lowest roofed room in the house. The roof slants. The window is of a depth of two feet. Whom have we here? In one corner there is a girl of 17 sleeping heavily, and at her feet a little one of three years. No mattress. A litter of straw covered with a few day-clothes. The straw is deep, and the sleepers burrow well within its yielding meshes. In another corner, so huddled together that it needs careful scrutiny to count them, lie three more children. One has a petticoat on; another but his poor and tattered shirt; and the youngest has rolled herself between the two to get what warmth she can from their contact.⁶²

However, a more thoughtful description of the conditions endured by Manchester's poor was offered by the Reverend Mercer in his 1890s article *Conditions of Life in Angel Meadow*:

Do the slums make the dwellers in them, or to the the dwellers in them make the slums? The truth, as usual, would seem to lie halfway between these extreme views ... a vast amount of preventable misery and degradation, and its conditions are due, not to the characters and habits of the (area) alone, but obvious defects in social machinery.⁶³

The city's licensing systems favoured the development of smaller, more respectable houses and discouraged lodging-houses of the 'common' type, strengthening a trend towards closure of many and improved conditions in those that remained. This played a part in the decline of common lodging-houses which began in the 1870s and continued until only seventeen remained in St. George's by 1901. By the turn of the century some towns and

61 Arthur Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester* (Manchester, 1940), p. 411.

62 Austin Oates, 'Scenes of Lodging Life. By an Eyewitness in *The Harvest*, ii, no. 13 (Manchester, 1888), pp 2-16.

63 J. E. Mercer, 'Conditions of Life in Angel Meadow' in *Transactions of The Manchester Statistical Society*, (1896-97), pp 167-170.

cities had eliminated them completely.⁶⁴ Furthermore, post-famine Irish immigrants, who had crowded into common lodging-houses in the 1850s, gradually dispersed into the wider Irish communities, and the subsequent decrease in Irish migration saw the demographics of the Irish-run lodging-houses change with locals as well as with increasing numbers of travellers and short distance migrants accommodated. By 1901 40% of the lodgers in St. George's were born in Manchester or the surrounding towns.⁶⁵ Throughout the nineteenth century lodging-houses played important economic and social roles relating to the supply of industrial and commercial labour, to patterns of long-distance and short-distance migration, and to the treatment of the poor. Undoubtedly, the Irish-born lodging-house keepers provided an essential service even though notable numbers the lodging-houses would probably conform to the *Manchester Guardian's* description of 1870.⁶⁶ There is a further significance in the role of lodging house keeper as most were women, this was one of only a handful of outlets for Irish female entrepreneurship and therefore a rare opportunity for women to have a degree of financial independence and security. The Irish-run lodging houses played a pivotal role in the settlement of the Irish migrant community in nineteenth-century Manchester and are an example of middle-class Irish serving the community.⁶⁷ However, it can be seen that there was a level of suspicion and mistrust amongst the authorities with regards to these establishments and the wider Irish community which required a system of monitoring and control facilitated by the Borough of Manchester Police force, who counted a surprisingly high number of Irish-born recruits within their ranks.

64 Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging-House*, pp 26-27.

65 Census of England and Wales, 1901.

66 *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Feb. 1870.

67 A common trait in cities like New York for example. Joseph F. Clarke, *A Boarding House at 38 Mulberry Street* (New York, 2014) describes the experience of an Irish migrant couple running such an establishment in mid-nineteenth century New York city.

The Establishment of the Borough of Manchester Police Force

The townships of Manchester, Ardwick, Beswick, Cheetham, Chorlton-on-Medlock and Hulme merged to create the Borough of Manchester in 1838. Policing up to then had been handled by each individual township. A 1792 Manchester and Salford Police Act was intended to set up a police force for the city, but it was never effectively implemented. By 1800, with a population nearing 100,000, the city continued to be administered under the old medieval system with a Borough Reeve (chief city official) in charge of law and order. Despite the growing population, maintaining the law fell to a handful of men: a deputy constable, four beables and, when required, 200 special constables. All were paid for out of the Poor Rate. Their role in combating crime and disorder was mainly limited to patrolling the streets armed with swords and pistols.⁶⁸

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 enabled many towns to incorporate and in so doing they were then obliged to establish a police force under the authority of their new Council.⁶⁹ In January 1839 the Manchester Borough Watch Committee was formed consisting of 22 members of the Council who were to oversee the inception and the initial running of the local police force. The force commenced duties in July 1839 when it comprised a Head Constable, five Superintendents, twenty Inspectors and 295 Constables. One hundred and forty seven of the newly appointed constables were originally employed as nightwatchman in the township of Manchester.⁷⁰ Of these 147, five were Irish-born and they are also recorded in the census returns for 1841 residing in the sub-districts of Ancoats, Hulme, and St. George's, each of which was an area of high Irish settlement.⁷¹

68 'Policing Manchester in the Early Nineteenth Century' (manchesterarchiveplus.wordpress.com) (10 December 2015).

69 Philip Rawlings, *Crime and Power: A History of Criminal Justice 1688 – 1988* (London, 1999), p. 78.

70 'Manchester Borough Police Force' (www.manchesterfamilyhistoryresearch.co.uk) (10 December 2015).

71 Census of England and Wales 1841.

Although the Manchester force was launched in 1839, there was a local dispute over the legality of the Manchester Charter of Incorporation. This meant that from 1839, the force was run by central government under the command of Commissioner Sir Charles Shaw. In 1842 the force finally came under local control, with Edward Willis appointed the first Chief Constable of what was then known as the Manchester Borough Police.⁷² The transition of power and authority that followed the establishment of the municipal borough in 1838 was at a time of significant national and local social unrest. The Plug Riots in 1842 and Chartist movements in the 1840s caused considerable problems for the new Corporation's authority.⁷³ Furthermore, the new municipal borough was the catalyst of three years of internal political turmoil where the new middle-class Liberals fought the Tory old guard and Police Commissioners for the control of the town and its policing.⁷⁴

The formation of this new police force was part of the transition during the nineteenth century to the modern approach to criminality and criminal justice. There were four main concerns: the stabilization of the urban working class, the changing relationship between the working class and crime, the urban changes which weakened the traditional structures for dealing with crime, the development of the new police and criminal justice agencies to cope with these developments. From the late-eighteenth century onwards there was a widespread fear within the established authorities that the new urban working class constituted a potentially rebellious mob, for which they reserved the term the 'dangerous classes'. This fear was a diffuse anxiety centred around political disorder, lack of the correct habits of restraint and obedience, and criminality in the more precise modern sense, against the background of ongoing fears of revolution, as in France in 1789 and 1830. These anxieties merged into a general fear of disorder. As Gattrell states:

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Kidd, *Manchester*, pp 54, 95-96.

⁷⁴ E. C. Midwinter, *Victorian Social Reform* (London, 1968), pp 14-18.

...it was not only the motley, vast and hitherto little regarded populace of paupers and pimps, vagrants and sharp practisers, pickpockets and beggars, unemployed and derelict, thieves and robbers, who were now transformed into that collectively which Frenchmen in the 1840's were to term the 'dangerous classes'. The whole world of the poor tended to be accommodated within a system of criminal labelling not only to express the social fear of the respectable, but also to justify a broader strategy of control to cope with that fear.⁷⁵

In the fight against crime was not yet clearly distinguished from the generalized disciplining of the lower orders.

This widespread apprehension was articulated by Patrick Colquhoun, a Scottish merchant, statistician, magistrate, and founder in 1798 of the first regular preventative police force in England, the Thames River Police and it led to the view that the general disciplining of the working classes was the main future task of the ruling class.⁷⁶ In 1844 the Tory publication, *Blackwood's Magazine* warned that 'the restraints of character, relationship and vicinity are... lost in the crowd... Multitudes remove responsibility without weakening passion'.⁷⁷ It was a warning verging on a moral panic provoked by the perceived lack of restraint, and the unruly passions of the urban masses which manifested themselves in criminality and a more widespread disorderliness in the early years of the nineteenth century. English reformers such as Jeremy Bentham and Edwin Chadwick saw the main problem as finding the means of regulating the tumultuous and unstable life of the growing city populations. More specifically there was the problem of how to ensure an orderly and stable working class that would develop habits of regular work. The debate was couched in terms such as 'regulation' 'inspection' and 'general prevention' [of disorder].⁷⁸ To these general anxieties were added, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, some specific

75 Victor Gatrell, 'The decline of theft and violence in Victorian and Edwardian England' in Victor Gatrell (ed.), *Crime and the Law* (London, 1980), p. 270.

76 Gregory J. Durston, 'Criminal and Constable: The Impact of Policing Reform on Crime in Nineteenth Century London' (Ph.D thesis, London School of Economics, 2000), p.13-26.

77 Archibald Alison, 'Causes of the Increase of Crime' in *Blackwood's Magazine*, lvi, no. 345 (Edinburgh, 1844), pp 1-14.

78 Francis Fukuyama, *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to Globalization* (New York, 2014), p. 125.

concerns and fears. Sporadic food riots had broken out during the recent wars with France. The end of the wars heightened the sense of panic in the ruling classes after 1815 as large numbers of impoverished demobbed soldiers joined the ranks of the poor. Meanwhile, crime as a reaction against technological change and the down trends in the economic cycle found expression in the Luddite struggles which began in 1811 against the impoverishment of the weavers in the North; in addition 'Bread or Blood' riots named after placards carried by the protesters, erupted in 1816 in rural areas, when low paid agricultural workers protested against the high cost of basic foodstuffs such as bread and cereal.

During this period demands for political reform were also finding fresh momentum. In 1799-1800 the Combination Acts, prohibiting the formation of trade unions, had been passed. The period immediately following the Napoleonic wars saw occasional riots in favour of extended male suffrage. The Peterloo Massacre took place in 1819. In 1820 the Cato Street conspirators, named after the street near Edgware Road, London, where they last met, threatened to assassinate the cabinet in protest against the harshness of the Combination acts. Also, in that year there were riots in Glasgow and throughout Yorkshire, by weavers hit by the new technology of the industrial revolution. The result was something approaching a moral panic in the ruling class about working-class insurrection. Troops were moved into many northern urban areas, while the size of the yeomanry, the part-time militia made up largely of the lower middle classes, doubled. As Silver argues, particularly after the Peterloo massacre, when individual members of the yeomanry had been both prosecuted and, in some cases, tracked down and attacked, the ruling classes saw the need for a more permanent body of full-time officers who could be relied upon to respond flexibly to the

demands of urban public order.⁷⁹

Previously the military had been called to assist only if the civil powers proved unequal to the situation. Should a disturbance get out of hand the local magistrate, the Justice of the Peace, would literally 'read the riot act', and if the crowds did not disperse the army would be called in. In Manchester, the district of Hulme was identified as an appropriate location for stationing both soldiers and cavalry troops. This was a working-class district located close to the city centre with a large Irish migrant populace and there were significant numbers of Irish-born troops residing in the Hulme barracks with a notable number of both non-commissioned and commissioned officers in their ranks from the 1840s.⁸⁰

The belief now grew that there was a need for a more disciplined force, neither part-time nor military, directly under the control of the local magistrates, to deal with public disorder. As far as the commercial middle classes were concerned, while rising crime and disorder were still to be attributed, as in the eighteenth century, to the moral fecklessness of the masses, there was a greater willingness to critique the old criminal justice system as inefficient both as regards crime control and the more general tasks of public order and regulation of the urban working class.

The main theme underlining the work of the 'New Police' was 'crime prevention' by the moralization of the working class. The police targeted ale houses (pubs) and the streets where legislation such as the 1824 Vagrancy Act enabled constables to arrest individuals not for crime committed but for refusing to move on and instead 'loitering with intent', thereby putting the burden of proof on the defendant rather than the police. The police focused not on those who had actually committed crimes but on the poor as a whole who were seen as

79 Alan Silver, 'The Demand for Order in Civil Society' in David Bordua (ed.), *The Police: Six Sociological Essays* (New York, 1967), pp 1-24.

80 Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861-1901.

a 'criminal class'. The Police, as Rawlings notes:

... focused attention on the streets and therefore, on the labouring people who lived, worked and played there... The police could show through the arrest statistics that certain people were dangerous, but, because those arrests depended mainly on subjective assessments by officers of what constituted suspicious behaviour, the size and nature of the problem was largely determined by the police themselves.⁸¹

Rawlings also underlines the difference between the New Police and the older forces which had been modernized in the late eighteenth century by Fielding⁸² and others:

... while the new police emphasized crime prevention, this was not in terms of deterring potential criminals by the certainty of detection, which had been at the core of John Fielding's work, rather they looked to the moralization of the poor and the continual harassment of those identified as the least moral sections of the poor-the 'trained and hardened profligates', the vagrants and the drunks.⁸³

As the idea of the new police spread to the provinces, they were increasingly given wider functions, understandable only in terms of these very general notions of regulation and inspection. Thus the acts of 1839 and 1842 which enabled extension of the police role and functions in the counties, included such matters as collection of rates, road surveying, weights and measures inspection, dealing with vagrants under the Poor Law legislation as legitimate police functions.⁸⁴

Crime and Policing during Manchester's Industrial Revolution

People living in the rapidly growing urban industrial centres of the nineteenth century experienced a period of change that was revolutionary in pace and scale. The transfer from medieval to modern, agricultural to industrial, rural to urban, transformed their lives in many different ways. As Briggs argues, Manchester was the home of economic and political ideas, of technological change and great social problems.⁸⁵ A social consequence of change of such magnitude was the alienation and deprivation of large sections of the working class, whose

81 Philip Rawlings, *Crime and Power: A History of Criminal Justice 1688-1998*, (London, 1988), p. 77.

82 John Fielding along with his brother Henry, formed the first professional police force, the Bow Street Runners.

83 Rawlings, p. 77.

84 M. E. Cain, *Society and the Policeman's Role* (London, 1973), p. 15.

85 Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 135.

anger and frustration were manifest in violent acts of criminal damage and public demonstrations. Beneath this layer of the working class there existed a criminal class, so ruthless in its own pursuit of wealth that men of commerce and trade became fearful of visiting this 'most dangerous place' where criminality reigned.⁸⁶

From its earliest development as an industrial powerhouse, Manchester was characterized by the residential separation of its classes and its notorious slum districts. Already by the mid-century the rate of population growth of the centre of the town had sharply declined, and the pressure was on suburban development, especially towards the south.⁸⁷ The poorest sections of the population were to be found in the slum districts of Manchester, such as Ancoats, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Hulme and Newtown. The police were resented by the poorer sections of the working class precisely because of their moralisation strategy. As Benson points out:

The streets provided the largest and most accessible forum for the communal life of the poor. It was in the streets that members of the community came together to talk and play, to work and shop, and to observe (and sometimes resist) the incursions of intruders such as school board visitors, rent collectors and police officers... for most of the nineteenth century the poor were intensely hostile to the police, and...this hostility resulted in large measure from resentment at what was regarded as unwarranted, extraneous interference in the life of the community.⁸⁸

The police established their authority and presence in the working-class communities not just to deal with crime but for wider task of surveillance and disciplining of working-class daily life. Police were part of what Storch termed 'the bureaucracy of official morality' keeping an eye on the streets, pubs, music halls and other venues where the 'dangerous classes' might gather. They were an agent of the Victorian middle classes and their fear of working-class exuberance as examples of the behaviour of these dangerous classes who needed to be habituated to an ordered and disciplined working life:

86 Eric Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783 – 1870* (London, 2001), p. 163.

87 Rodgers, 'The Suburban Growth of Victorian Manchester', pp 1-12.

88 John Benson, *The Working Class in Britain, 1850 – 1939* (London, 1989), p. 132.

The imposition of the police brought the arm of municipal and state authority directly to bear upon key institutions of daily life in working class neighbourhoods, touching off a running battle with local custom and popular culture which lasted at least until the end of the century the monitoring and control of the streets, pubs, racecourses, wakes, and popular fetes was a daily function of the 'new police' ... (and must be viewed as) a direct complement to the attempts of urban middle- class elites to mold a labouring class amenable to new disciplines of both work and leisure.⁸⁹

The police acted:

...through the pressure of a constant surveillance of all the key institutions of working-class neighbourhood and recreational life.... It was precisely the pressure of an unceasing surveillance...(in which).... the impression of being watched or hounded was not directly dependent on the presence of a constable on every street corner at all times ... (but rather) the knowledge that the police were always near at hand and likely to appear at any time.⁹⁰

It is therefore not surprising that the majority of police stations were located in working- class districts. The Manchester Borough Watch Committee charged with overseeing the formation of the new police force, inherited six stations or 'lock-ups' from the old watch and ward system, when Manchester was protected by 261 beadles and watchmen. A further five buildings were acquired in strategic locations in order to further police those areas identified as being most in need of control. They were located in or near to the poorest of the working- class districts mentioned above, namely Ancoats, Angel Meadow, Chorlton- on-Medlock, Deansgate, Hulme and Newtown.⁹¹ These were also areas with high densities of Irish migrants and all the associated problems discussed by Dr. Kay.⁹²

The apparent increase of crime in early nineteenth-century towns was squarely blamed on Irish immigration.⁹³ Subsequently Engels wrote that Ireland provided England with 'pimps, thieves, swindlers, beggars and other rabble'.⁹⁴ While the educated classes mused over the relationship between Irish criminality and national and religious determinants⁹⁵, the perception of congenital Irish criminality was reinforced by the fashion for Irish crimes to be

89 R. D. Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850 – 1880' in *Journal of Social History*, ix, no. 4 (1976), pp 481 – 509.

90 Ibid.

91 'Police Estate' (www.victorianpolicestations.org) (16 December 2015).

92 Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, pp 21-22.

93 W.L Clay, 'The Prison Chaplain' in A. J. Kidd and K. W. Roberts (eds.), *City, Class and Culture* (Manchester, 1992), p. 31.

94 Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels, *On Britain* (Moscow, 1962), p. 95.

95 David Bogue, 'The Irish in England' in *Dublin Review*, xli (1856), p. 500.

reported sensationally in the local press. In 1854 the *Manchester Guardian* said of the Irish immigrant: 'His notion of the best means of integrating himself with his adopted country is to be ready to brawl with, kick, punch, and pistol her citizens on the slightest provocation'.⁹⁶

When the model of the 'criminal class' was formulated in the 1860s it was identified specifically with the Irish⁹⁷, thus making them particularly susceptible to policing strategy. The Irish were seen by many Victorians as the 'social, economic, political and religious outcasts of Victorian urban society'⁹⁸ and it is clear that the popular link between Irish immigration and crime was a component in the formation of this negative Irish stereotype. Moreover it is apparent that these stereotypes had some basis in reality, as judicial statistics for England and Wales from 1861-1901 indicate that the Irish were on average five times as likely to be committed to prison than their English contemporaries though, as Swift notes, this could indicate prejudicial policing and judicial decisions.⁹⁹ Whether it be as drunken vagrants, Fenian monsters or as primitive Celts, throughout the nineteenth century the Irish and crime were inescapably linked in both popular minds and to some extent also in reality.

Irish crime tended not to be of a 'serious' nature, but rather to consist of generally sporadic, individual offences, associated with poverty. Moreover, at the height of the Famine immigration, there is evidence of the Irish committing crimes in order to get shelter. Indeed, by November 1848 the Vagrancy Law could no longer be applied as the prisons were

96 *Manchester Guardian*, 5 Aug. 1854.

97 *Chief Constables Reports* (Manchester), 1868, 1869; *Watch Committee Minutes*, ii, (Manchester), 6 May 1852, p. 289 (https://www.manchester.gov.uk/download/.../id/.../local_government_records) (16 Dec 2016); Alfred Aspland, *Criminal Manchester* (Manchester, 1868), pp. 5-10, 27-32; Kidd and Roberts, *City, Class and Culture*, p. 37.

98 C. G. Pooley, 'Segregation or integration? The residential experience of the Irish in mid-Victorian Britain' in Swift and Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain 1815-1939*, pp 60.

99 Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villains? The Irish, Crime, and Disorder in Victorian England' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal concerned with British studies*, xxix, no. 3 (1997), p. 404.

full.¹⁰⁰ 'The English gaols are excellent winter quarters for starving Irish paupers', wrote Edward Rushton, affording 'the wretched and unfortunate Irish better food, shelter and raiment, and more cleanliness than it is to be feared many of them ever experienced elsewhere.'¹⁰¹

Among the many migrant groups congregating in the poorer districts, Manchester's Irish community found themselves disproportionately represented in the police and court records of the nineteenth century.¹⁰² According to Lowe's calculations, during the mid-nineteenth century the Irish generally represented 25-30% of the annual prosecutions in Manchester, 30% in 1861, 22% in 1871, 18% in 1881, and in 1891 13%.¹⁰³ The Irish contribution to crime appears even more disproportionate when it is considered that crime figures represent only the Irish-born. Juvenile crime among the Irish-by-descent (encouraged by the lack of juvenile employment and progression from begging) was also a great problem in Manchester: 70% of juvenile offenders in the pre-Famine era were reported to be the offspring of Irish parents.¹⁰⁴

Police archives record the high number of Irish convicted for drunkenness involved in criminality. The majority of criminal offences committed by the Irish were relatively minor in nature, consisting mainly of criminal damage and assault but in many cases there is a close association with drunkenness.¹⁰⁵ In mid-nineteenth century Manchester, the Irish generally comprised 25-37% of arrests for drunk and disorderly and rates were still at 16% in 1891.¹⁰⁶ Statistics from Manchester indicate that 60% of the Irish arrested in the town were drunk,

100 Frank Neal, 'Lancashire, the famine Irish and the poor laws: A study in crisis management' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxii (1995), pp 26-48.

101 Edward Rushton, *Report on Irish immigration*, H045/2674, 21 April 1849.

102 Eric Hewitt, *Capital of Discontent: Protest and Crime in Manchester's Industrial Revolution* (London, 2014), p. 16.

103 W. J. Lowe, *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire: The Shaping of a Working-class Community* (New York, 1989), p. 38.

104 *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, pp. 19, 20; Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England 1800-1850* (Manchester, 1926), p. 130.

105 Hewitt, *Capital of Discontent*, p. 16.

106 Lowe, *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire*, p. 128.

irrelevant of whether arrested for being drunk and disorderly.¹⁰⁷ The Irish were also over-represented in committals to gaol, and even in 1900 the diocesan census revealed a third of the inmates of Strangeways to be Irish.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, records show that a disproportionate number of convicts hanged for murder were of Irish origin, and for most of them drink was a factor in their behaviour.¹⁰⁹ Alcohol and public brawling were symptomatic of an impoverished community under severe stress and it is quite likely that this negative statistical evidence is heavily skewed against the Irish given the propensity of the authorities to police Irish neighbourhoods more vigorously in the expectation they were more troublesome. However in contrast to the negative statistical evidence for Irish criminal behaviour, it is also evident a significant number of Irish-born migrants who resided in the working-class districts of Manchester with large Irish communities, were recruited to the police.¹¹⁰ The place of origin of these recruits is in keeping with that of the general pattern of Irish migration.¹¹¹ The western seaboard counties of Kerry, Clare, Galway and Mayo along with county Roscommon lost the highest numbers to emigration in this period and these counties provided the highest numbers of Irish-born recruits to the Manchester police force.¹¹²

Irish recruitment and the Borough of Manchester Police Force

The role of constable in the newly formed police force was an attractive proposition for an unskilled man in the 1840s. The job was secure, and uniform and boots were provided free. As noted earlier, civil unrest had brought about military intervention and the masses

107 Ibid.

108 Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880-1939* (Buckingham, 1993), p. 32.

109 David Jones, 'Crime and Police in Nineteenth Century Manchester' in *Crime, Protest, Community, and Police in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Manchester, 1982), pp 180-204.

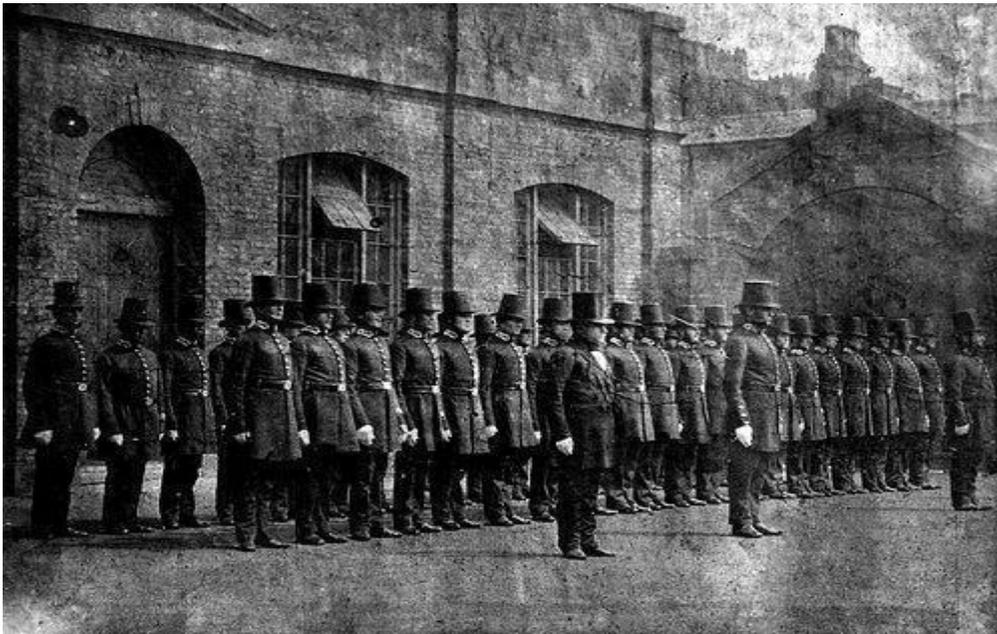
110 Evidence taken from Manchester Police Records of Service, 1858-1901, Greater Manchester Police Archive (GMPA) (pre 1858 records have not survived) and Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861-1901.

111 Clive Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (Abingdon, 1996), p. 199.

112 MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, pp 28-29. Manchester Police Records of Service, 1858-1901 and Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861-1901.

had a deep mistrust of the civil authorities and their agents, the yeoman militia and army, therefore early police officers wore top hats or 'stovepipes' and frock coats to allay public fears that the new forces were part of the military (**Figure 3:3**).

Figure 3:3. Manchester City Police 'peelers' parade in the yard of the city's Albert Street Police Station in the 1850s.¹¹³



The rate of pay of seventeen shillings a week was lower than a skilled worker employed in cotton manufacture, who might earn up to twenty-five per week, or an artisan who could earn up to 58 shillings per week.¹¹⁴ However, increased experience brought increased pay and there was prospect of promotion. The job was superannuated with a guaranteed pension after twenty-five years' service.¹¹⁵ Contributions to the Police Pension Scheme would be refunded to those resigning before the minimum qualifying period for pension payments.¹¹⁶ Even short-term employment with the Manchester Police was advantageous

113 'Manchester Borough Police' (www.manchesterfamilyhistoryresearch.co.uk) (10 December 2015).

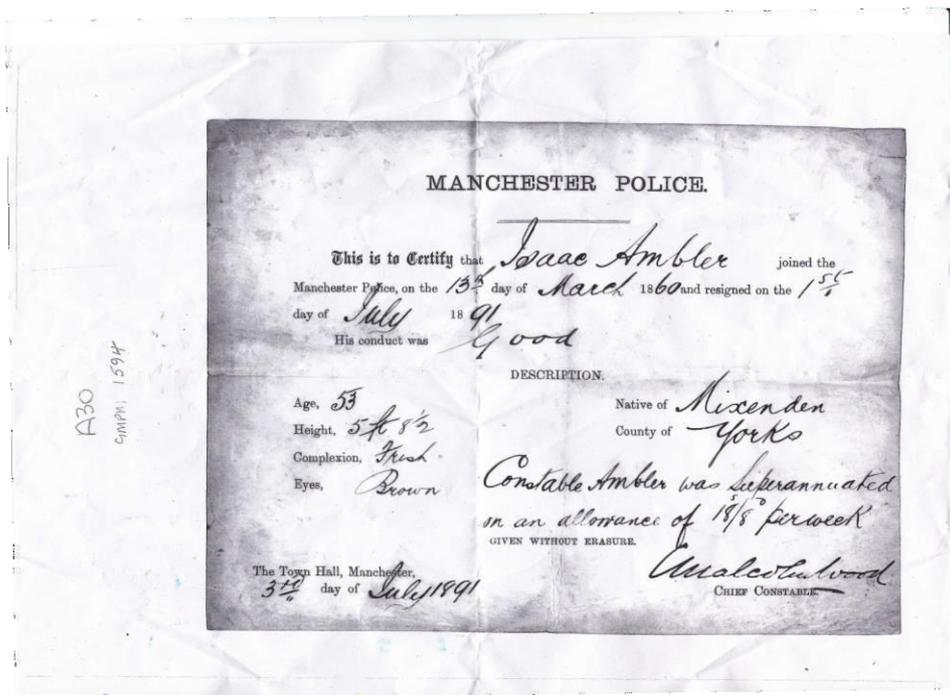
114 David Chadwick, 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford, and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839-59' in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, xxxiii, no.1 (March 1860), pp 1-36.

115 *Report of the Select Committee on Police Superannuation Funds*, British Parliamentary Papers, xiii, (1875), p.589.

116 Ibid.

as after completing two years satisfactory service the resigning officer would receive a 'Certificate of Commendation', which acted as a first-class reference for future employment¹¹⁷ (Figure 4:3).

Figure 4:3. An example of the Manchester Police Certificate of Commendation



In contrast to the majority of British employers in the nineteenth century who tended to follow labour policies relying on the mechanism of the labour market, the police adopted a systematic long-term strategy. The recruitment of workers and conditions of service were regulated by standardized bureaucratic principles rather than by market forces. Selection was determined by merit and examinations. Training and promotion were internal and relatively structured. A system of economic compensation was built up over the years. The necessity to guarantee continuity of service prompted the police to provide their employees with a regular income. Steady income, though always low for those at the bottom of the hierarchy, was granted irrespective of effort or performance. Slack periods of job scarcity did not undermine the policy of secure employment. Experience and promotion entailed a rising

117 GMPA/A30/1594.

rate of pay. Moreover, while most employers in Britain focused on wages as the sole means of payment for work hours, the police, alongside other bureaucratic paternalists, devised a set of incentives based on both monetary and non-material rewards. Apart from steady pay, police officers enjoyed continuity of earnings in times of distress, such as sickness, accident, retirement or death. If the policeman fell sick, he was given free medical care, some sick pay and occasionally sick leave. For injuries received in the actual performance of duty, a lump sum or even a pension for life may have been granted. Working-class women would regard a policeman as a 'good catch' as they were tall, imposing, well-paid with a regular income. Widows and children of policemen killed while on duty often received special allowances. Funeral expenses of officers were also covered.¹¹⁸

On the formation of the new Borough of Manchester police force a standard for constables was set which would prevail throughout the century. Constables had to be under 35 years old, 5 feet 8 inches tall, of stout bodily appearance, literate, numerate and in good health. Although these requisites were relaxed slightly for those previously employed as watchmen, for new recruits it was made clear the requisite 'of good character and efficiency should in no account be dispensed with'.¹¹⁹ In the majority of Irish-born recruits the minimum height requirement was exceeded and many were taller than their English counterparts, findings corroborated by research in contemporary British military records. Studies of the height of over 6,000 sailors in service 1853-54, including 700 Irish show that the Irish were taller¹²⁰ and work on recruits to the British Army gave similar results.¹²¹ Moreover, studies of the mean heights of nine European populations during the nineteenth century, show that

118 *Report of the Select Committee on Police Superannuation Funds*, British Parliamentary Papers, xv, (1877), p. 189.

119 'Manchester Watch Committee Minutes, 1839', Manchester Archives and Local Studies (MALS), GB127. Council Minutes/Watch Committee.

120 Cormac O'Grada, *Ireland Before and After the Famine: Explorations in Economic History, 1800-1925* (Manchester, 1993), p. 19.

121 *Ibid*, p. 20.

only the Norwegians were taller than the Irish.¹²² It has been suggested that the credit for this must largely go to the Irish peasant diet where the potato with its supplements of small portions of vegetable and bacon, constituted the nutritious though monotonous diet of so many of the Irish poor.¹²³

Table 2:3. Irish-born Police Officers residing in Manchester 1841, 1861-1901¹²⁴

1841	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
97	56	47	56	85	95

Findings based on the service records of recruits from the period 1858 - 1901 show unequivocally that the Irish-born policeman was likely to come from the lower echelons of the social and occupational scale¹²⁵ but police service would place them in the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie. The Manchester police were 25% Irish in 1845 and 10% in 1865. But of the 275 Irish recruited between 1858 and 1869, 54% were Protestant, a notably high figure taking into consideration their much smaller numbers relative to the Irish Catholic population.¹²⁶ To compare another major destination for Irish emigrants: by 1855 of 1,149 officers in the New York Police Force (NYPD), 305 or 26% were Irish-born Catholics. By the 1860s over half the city's law enforcement officers were of Irish Catholic descent and by 1900 five out of every six NYPD officers were Irish American.¹²⁷

Evidence related to the Manchester police in that period makes it clear that the police labour force was drawn principally from the ranks of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. An examination of the prior occupations of Irish policemen reveals that the lower the occupational grade of the recruit, the greater his inclination to remain in the force with about

122 Ibid. p. 21.

123 E. I. Hogan, *The Irish People, Their Height, Form and Strength* (Dublin, 1899), p. 64.

124 Census of England and Wales 1841, 1861-1901.

125 *Manchester Police Records*.

126 S. J. Davies, 'Classes and Police in Manchester, 1829-1880' in Kidd and Roberts, *City, Class and Culture*, pp. 34, 38.

127 G. W. Potter, *To the Golden Door: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America* (New York, 1960), p. 530.

15% of the recruits from unskilled and semi-skilled workers (social classes IV and V) serving two years or less and around 32% reaching the 25-year mark, which allowed officers to retire with a pension. Skilled recruits, white-collar workers and small retailers (social class III) showed a greater propensity to serve for a shorter time. Over 17% of those belonging to this grade served two years or less, while 27% completed a full term of service (25 years). A large proportion of Irish recruits (30%) had previous public-service experience in the Army or Navy, and other provincial police forces including several from the Royal Irish Constabulary. Surprisingly, these recruits showed a tendency to leave the police force early, completing between two and four years' service, perhaps having taken the only job open to them with their previous experience and leaving when they had received their certificate of commendation which would provide them with the opportunity to move into new careers. The Irish police officers showed an impressive tendency to achieve upward mobility, 28% percent rose to the rank of sergeant or above.

It may at first seem strange that Irish-born migrants would see a career in the Manchester Police as an attractive proposition. Anti-Police riots occurred in Ancoats in May 1843¹²⁸ and in Little Ireland in August 1845¹²⁹ though these were not simply Irish riots against the police. As elsewhere they were working-class reactions against what was seen as increasingly intensive inroads into working-class pastimes such as singing and dancing in public, fist fights, card games and dog fighting. When A. B. Reach toured Manchester with a police guide he remarked on how the Irish shied away from this man.¹³⁰ But, the advantages of continuity of work and regular wages would be major recruiting factor for the Irish migrants, many of whom were unskilled, and even a short-term engagement would ensure a certificate of commendation which virtually guaranteed further employment. The fact

128 *Manchester Guardian*, 24 May 1843.

129 *Ibid.*, 20 Aug. 1845.

130 A. B. Reach, *Manchester and the textile districts in 1849* (Helinshore, reprinted 1972), p. 53.

that the overwhelming majority of police officers continued to reside in the Irish districts of Manchester indicates a level of acceptance among their fellow countrymen that ensured that significant numbers of Irishmen continued to join the police and thus the ranks of the middle class throughout the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

Both the lodging-house keeper and the policeman held a significant position within the Irish migrant community in nineteenth-century Manchester. The notable presence of the Irish amongst lodging-house keepers shows them demonstrating a degree of entrepreneurship and initiative with the great majority female, employed in one of very few middle-class occupations open to women. For the new arrivals in Manchester, who had no relatives or friends to fall back on the lodging-house keeper was often the first point of contact within the community. Hence the Irish lodging-house keepers are responding to a sudden expansion of the service sector, servicing a section of the population which many established local providers would not consider worth bothering with and indeed, according to folklore, often shunned by displaying 'No Irish need apply' notices at their premises. They offered cheap, though often extremely substandard dwellings, at times with dubious activities taking place within. Nevertheless, they provided essential shelter for the poor Irish migrants many of whom were near destitution. They also provided a base from which the new arrivals might seek work and were a part of the wider community which can be seen as a key link in a community support network. Although of low reputation in the early and middle part of the century, their status increased towards the end of the century with monitoring and regulation, which subsequently attracted a more respectable clientele.

The Irish also responded to another opportunity in the launch of the new police force in Manchester. The Irish-born policeman may appear something of a counter intuitive enigma within the Irish migrant community in view of the hostile attitudes of some in the host community. Notwithstanding the disproportionate numbers of Protestant police officers in the Borough of Manchester Police Force, there is still a surprisingly high number of officers from within the Irish Roman Catholic community considering the open hostility that community often expressed towards the police. The pay and conditions were an obvious attraction, with entry in response to bureaucratic criteria of physical fitness, regardless of ethnicity and/or religion and factors such as capital, professional qualifications or personal connections irrelevant, but perhaps there was a more altruistic motive present, at least for some of these recruits. It may be living and working amongst their fellow migrants engendered a more sympathetic and culturally sensitive approach which enabled more effective policing. Whatever the reasons, the Borough of Manchester Police Force, certainly sustained within its ranks a good number of Irish-born officers, many of whom had long and progressive careers. Therefore, two groups within the Irish migrant community who are typical of the petit bourgeoisie, Irish-born lodging-house keepers and policemen, were able to take advantage of the opportunity for social mobility afforded by Manchester's rapid expansion during the Industrial Revolution.

CHAPTER 4. MINISTERING TO THE IRISH DIASPORA IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANCHESTER

Introduction

Like most cities in Britain, Manchester in the nineteenth century was a focal point of religious tensions and fierce debate on the role of the church and the clergy in a modern state that was characterised by *laissez-faire* socio-economic policies and scientific rationalism.¹ Manchester's economic variety was mirrored in its religious, political and social diversity. The array of manufacturing commercial and financial services, the opportunities presented for social advancement migrants including the Irish, meant that the city's traditional historical image as one of a proletariat of factory workers is misleading.² The city's political life had also diversified since the dominance of the remains of the Anti-Corn Law faction of liberalism in the early 1850s, to a more finely balanced rivalry between a multifaceted, yet often divided, liberalism and a confident and populist conservatism which secured four out of the nine parliamentary seats contested between 1868 and 1880. The city council, however, remained ruled by the Liberal party throughout the remainder of the century if with a sometimes-thin majority.³

This increasingly diverse economic base plus the growing demand for services and goods was matched by the development of a more heterogeneous religious landscape. There had long been a Protestant nonconformist element, but this was reinforced by the burgeoning Methodist movement, the less numerous but highly visible and active Unitarians and above all by the large and growing Irish, Catholic community. Their progress was aided

1 E. F. Paul, 'Laissez Faire in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Fact or Myth' in *Literature of Liberty*, iii, no.4 (Arlington, 1980), pp 5-38.

2 Briggs' 1963 essay was instrumental in dispelling this myth. See Briggs, *Victorian Cities*.

3 Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 158; P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, (Cambridge, 1971), p. 28. The notion of Liberal domination is critically examined by J. R. Moore in *The Transformation of Urban Liberalism: Party Politics and Urban Governance in Late Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 2006).

by the dense associational culture which both the Nonconformists and immigrant groups were instrumental in developing.⁴ This culmination of the Nonconformist presence, strong associational culture, diverse economic opportunities and inclusive civic culture made Manchester a particularly fruitful site for Catholics to advance economically and socially. This contrasts with Liverpool where the intense ultra-Protestant ethos of the ruling group in the city blocked Catholic Irish civic progress and stimulated a more introverted and intense associational culture.⁵

The Religious Context of Nineteenth-Century Manchester

Belchem has argued that disturbance and direct action were endemic in the street culture of Victorian Liverpool, to an extent unseen in Manchester.⁶ Several factors gave Liverpool a keener ethnic and religious divides in Liverpool. The anti-Catholicism inherent in traditional English and British identity was further stimulated by the strong presence of both Irish nationalism, a notable Irish Protestant element and the Orange Order, which developed a strong base amongst native Liverpool citizens. One result was the development of marked Irish residential segregation within the city and the growth of a robust sense of ethno-sectarian identity. To some extent these reactions are perceptible in Manchester, but the fact that the Irish Catholic influx was on a much smaller scale than in Liverpool and the political culture more liberal and open meant that conflict, whilst not entirely absent, was less intense.

The underlying tensions between various political and religious factions in Britain was

4 Alan J. Kidd, 'Introduction: The Middle Class in Nineteenth-Century Manchester', in Kidd and Roberts, *City, Class and Culture*, p. 10.

5 Belchem, *Irish, Catholic & Scouse*.

6 Ibid, p.186; for further discussion of sectarianism in Liverpool, see Frank Neal, *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience, 1819-1914* (Manchester, 1988) and P. J. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939* (Liverpool, 1981).

exacerbated by the influx of mainly poor Irish migrants fleeing the effects of the Great Famine. From the 1830s onwards, the Catholic Church was increasingly perceived in some Anglican circles as an expanding moral and spiritual threat because of the poverty of its Catholic Irish adherents, and the attendant fear of 'contamination' which was seen as a threat to the Protestant ethos. Connolly further suggests that a moderate revival of Manchester Catholicism before 1840, based upon increasingly regular and structured religious devotion and assimilation into society of English Catholics, was disturbed by the arrival of Irish migrants whose patterns of religious devotion were alien to the host communities including Manchester Catholics themselves, creating religious and ethnic problems within Catholic ranks.⁷

Events such as Catholic emancipation in 1829, the growth of the Anglo-Catholic movement the Church of England, the government grant to the Irish Catholic Maynooth seminary in 1845, the re-establishment of the English Catholic hierarchy by Pope Pius IX in 1850 led to local agitation against the 'Papal aggression', while the presence of a growing, increasingly confident and visible Catholic cohort all combined to create considerable alarm in Protestant circles.⁸ In order to counter this perceived threat a new generation of ostensibly non-denominational but avowedly proselytizing Protestant charitable organizations emerged, such as the Manchester and Salford Town Mission (led mainly by evangelical Congregationalists), the Manchester and District Provident Society, and the Manchester Domestic Mission Society (mainly Unitarian). Their concern to attend to the spiritual as well as the material wants of the poor gave rise to fears of 'souperism'— attempting to 'poach' Catholics through charitable acts, together with objections to the all- pervasive atmosphere of 'institutional Protestantism'⁹. However, in reality Parsons suggests that due to the robust

7 Connolly, 'Catholicism in Manchester and Salford, 1770-1850'.

8 C.S. Ford, *Pastors and Polemicists* (Manchester, 2002), p. 54.

9 People who converted for food were known as soupers, a derogatory epithet that continued to be applied and featured in the press well into the 1870s. In the words of their peers: they 'took the soup'.

response of the Catholic church, which became equally militant and adopted Catholic versions of pastoral activities and agencies characteristic of evangelical Protestantism, meant that very few Irish Catholics converted.¹⁰

A number of these town missionaries and Protestant ministers were Irish born although the census enumerators tended to categorise Protestant clergy under the heading of 'Minister of Religion' rather than specify the particular denomination. As a result, it is only possible to identify the occasional Anglican or Nonconformist minister from the returns. Roman Catholic priests were uniquely categorised in the same returns, perhaps as a way of monitoring their numbers which may be an indication of the underlying current of mistrust of Catholicism endemic amongst parts of the British establishment. These distinctions allow numerical comparisons (**Table 1:4**).

Table 1:4. Irish-born ministers of religion in Manchester 1841-1901¹¹

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Roman Catholic	3 (12%)	7	9 (33%)	11 (37%)	14 (47%)	16 (53%)	17 (57%)
Protestant Ministers	6 (24%)	n/a	5 (18%)	12 (40%)	9 (30%)	8 (27%)	10 (33%)
Town Missionaries	16 (64%)	n/a	13(49%)	7 (23%)	7 (23%)	6 (20%)	3 (10%)

In Manchester, town or city missionaries were invariably Nonconformist coming from the Congregationalist or Unitarian faith tradition.¹² Some of the former were militant evangelical Protestants who saw the isolated and un-assimilated Irish communities as fertile ground for converts and this is reflected in the numbers of Irish-born town missionaries working in Manchester to 1861. Although not Evangelicals, Unitarians had a strong missionary tradition through the auspices of the Lancashire and Cheshire Unitarian Missionary Society, who

10 Gerald Parsons, 'Victorian Roman Catholicism: Emancipation, Expansion and Achievement' in Gerald Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain: Traditions* (Manchester, 1988), pp 146-183.

11 As previously stated, no data is available for 1851 due to destruction of most of the information contained in the census enumerators books. The figures for Irish Catholic priests serving in Manchester are extrapolated from Robert Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests in the Diocese of Salford* (Manchester, 1984), compiled from the Salford Diocesan Archives. No similar records are available for Anglicans and Nonconformists. Data sourced from the Census Enumerators Sheets for Manchester 1841 - 1901 (www.ancestry.co.uk) (21 February 2016).

12 D. G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, 1992), p. 128.

visited the poor in Manchester, 'to talk with them not about disputed theology, but about their condition and habits - about the advantages of temperance, sobriety and attendance at a place of worship'.¹³ The numbers of Irish-born Protestant ministers serving in Manchester peaked at 40% in 1871, surpassing town missionaries whose numbers declined dramatically likely as a result of outreach work by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches which negated the threat of 'souperism' from the Nonconformists.

Biographical details of Irish-born Anglican and Non-Conformist ministers are virtually non-existent but using the census returns it is possible to deduce the socio-economic standing of two of these ministers based on their residency. Edward Nolan was born in Ireland in 1811. The census of 1841 shows him residing in the prestigious Cheetham Hill district with his fifteen-year-old sister and two female servants, where he is listed as an Independent Minister without a specific denomination being stated. At that time there were two Non-Conformist chapels in the Cheetham Hill area which were likely to employ Nolan, the Methodist Wesleyan Chapel founded in 1815 and the Congregational Church founded in 1838. Robert Boyd is listed in the 1891 census as living in the exclusive Victoria Park development in Rusholme. He was 66 years old at the time, a retired Church of Ireland minister, living with his wife and three servants, one of whom is listed as a housekeeper. The residencies of these two Protestant clergymen indicate that they had substantial financial means at their disposal.

As well as the Protestant charitable organisations, explicitly anti-Catholic organizations such as the Protestant Reformation Society, founded in 1827 and the Manchester and Salford Protestant Operative Association, founded in 1839 by the vehemently anti-Catholic Rev. Hugh Stowell, minister of Christ Church, Salford from 1831, appeared with the sole

13 H. B. Clarke, 'Christian Unitarians and the Mission to the Poor' in *The Christian Pioneer*, v (1831), p. 245.

function of opposing what they saw as Roman Catholic religious and political advancement.¹⁴ Paz implies that these organisations, which pre-dated the Famine influx of Irish migrants, were reacting to the perceived threat of Roman Catholicism *per se*¹⁵ in contrast, for example, to the Know-Nothing party in the United States which flourished in the early 1850s, and which was an outgrowth of the combination of strong anti-immigrant and especially anti-Roman Catholic sentiment that began to manifest itself during the 1840s.¹⁶

However, the anti-Catholic tirades of Stowell did not go unchallenged. The Catholics had a more than worthy adversary to Stowell in William Francis Cleary, an Irishman trained as a schoolmaster, and a notable Catholic apologist who came to prominence in Liverpool during the mid-1830s.¹⁷ He moved to Manchester in the 1840s and actively challenged the Protestant Operatives. Cleary sought to counter his opponents head on, attending lectures by anti-Catholic speakers such as Samuel Condell and meeting them face to face in heated debates. As reported by the *Manchester Illuminator*, he often triumphed although considerable caution must be exercised when reading these reports verbatim as Cleary himself was editor.¹⁸ Founded by Cleary in 1848, in addition to reporting on meetings and his personal confrontations, the periodical sought to clarify and defend Church doctrine emphasising the authority of the Roman Church and its claim to Apostolic Tradition, a key concern for Anglican and Nonconformist critics. He was also a staunch defender of Irish Catholicism, countering English claims of Irish degradation under popery, by pointing out the degradation of England:

14 Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 116.

15 Ibid., p. 116.

16 R.P. Carlisle, *Manifest Destiny and the Expansion of America* (Oxford, 2007), p. 158.

17 William Francis Cleary, 'A Letter on the Facility with which a Person, seriously disposed, may ascertain whether he is a member of the True Church or not' (Liverpool, 1836), cited in Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 91.

18 William Francis Cleary (ed.), *The Manchester Illuminator, and General Catholic Record* (Manchester, from 5 December 1849 to June 29, 1850 inclusively, reprinted Boston, 2012).

Yes, the land is covered with Bibles and Parsons – with Churches and Glebe-houses, and yet the Heathen world does not present such a picture to the human mind as does the moral aspect of this country. Bible Societies – and the most atrocious murders; Missionary Societies – and infanticides; New Churches – and places of evil resort; the exercise of private judgement – and the withdrawal of youth from parental restraint, stand in juxtaposition, and reside side by side in the same ratio.¹⁹

Cleary was vitriolic in his denunciation of the anti-Catholic orators such as Stowell in the Manchester region and Hugh McNeile of Liverpool. Invectives such as 'bigots ... the rottenness of the cause ... miserable and wretched sophistry ... the theological quack-doctors Stowell and McNeile' characterised the reporting of Protestant Operative meetings.²⁰

The *Manchester Illuminator* ceased publication in the mid-1850s when Cleary himself faded from the Manchester scene. It may be no coincidence that this was at a time when, as Busted points out, sectarian feeling in the city was diminishing.²¹ During his time in Manchester, Cleary's very public defence of Catholicism seemed to strengthen the resolve of the faithful. Protestant town missionaries in the Irish districts reported that although most of their audience listened politely (though some would not listen at all), there were those who would staunchly defend their faith.²² Such defenders of the faith like Cleary demonstrate that there were Catholic Irishmen in Manchester with the intellect, confidence and abilities to galvanise the Catholic faithful and more than hold their own against anti-Catholic polemicists. There was, however, a revival in anti-Catholic sentiment in Britain following the Manchester Martyrs incident in 1867, which was seized upon by the anti-Catholic lecturer William Murphy in particular whose itinerary within the Manchester area, as elsewhere, provoked anti-Irish Catholic riots.²³ That year he attempted to speak at a meeting room close to St. Wilfrid's Catholic church in the Hulme district of Manchester, he was arrested and left

19 *Manchester Illuminator*, 22 Oct. 1849.

20 *Ibid.*, 15 Dec. 1849.

21 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester circa 1750 – 1921*, p. 93.

22 Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 92.

23 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p.94.

the city without lecturing.²⁴ As the ramifications from the 'Fenian Scare' diminished, and with the death of Murphy in 1872, the hostile, public sectarian disputations in Manchester as in most of Britain declined, though they lingered long in Belfast, Clydeside and Merseyside.²⁵ Despite internal differences, Manchester was a stronghold of Nonconformist influence, both social and intellectual.²⁶ Yet, despite the strength of Nonconformity, and its notable imprint on local politics and civic activity, it did not dominate local religious life.²⁷ Both Catholicism and Anglicanism were strong in Manchester, and both built upon their advantages and consolidated both their identities and their numerical strength by 1900.²⁸ The first indications of an increase in the city's Catholic inhabitants was due to population expansion during the Industrial Revolution which first drew in significant numbers of native Catholics and subsequently, substantial numbers of Irish immigrants.²⁹ The increase in Catholic numbers necessitated an expansion of Catholic missions.³⁰ This led to a corresponding increase in Irish-born Catholic priests serving in Manchester, so that from 1881 Irish-born Catholic priests comprised an increasing majority among the ministers of religion (47%). In 1891 and 1901, Irish-born Catholic priests formed 53% and 57% respectively (**Table 1:4**).

24 Ibid., p. 94.

25 Ibid., p. 95. For a study of the transnational aspect of Irish sectarianism see William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1920* (Montreal, 2013).

26 Simon Gunn, 'The Ministry, the Middle Class and the 'Civilising Mission' in Manchester, 1850-80', *Social History*, xxi, no.1 (1996), pp 26-27.

27 E. A. Rose, 'Church and Chapel in Manchester 1847-1914', in Chris Ford, Michael Powell and Terry J. Wyke (eds.), *The Church in Cottonopolis: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Diocese of Manchester* (Manchester, 1997).

28 Stephen Cunniffe, 'Religion and Empire in Manchester, 1876-99, With Particular Reference to the Catholic Church' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2011), pp 60-69.

29 Stephen Fielding, 'The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford: Aspects of Their Religious and Political History, 1890-1939' (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1988), p. 27.

30 Until 1908 England was regarded and administered by Rome as a missionary territory. It was after 1918 that parishes were created.

The pre-famine growth of Catholicism in Manchester

In the eighteenth century, Manchester and surrounding townships had a small native recusant Catholic population. Of local significance in Manchester were the de Trafford family who owned considerable estates in Cheshire and traced their Catholic faith back to 1632 when Cecil Trafford converted to Catholicism thus facing persecution which included confiscation of part of his estates.³¹ As Fielding notes, although Lancashire had a considerable indigenous Catholic population it was mainly found on the county's western coastal plain rather than along its eastern Pennine boundary. Unlike towns such as Preston and Wigan, Manchester's indigenous Catholic tradition effectively ended with the Reformation.³² In 1690 a mere two Catholics lived in the town. In 1700 thirteen Catholic families were recorded in the town and surrounding sixty square miles. By 1744 it was estimated that seventeen individuals resided there. Thereafter, the town experienced a steady, if modest, growth in Catholic numbers with 287 listed in 1767 and an estimate of 1400 by 1787.³³ Before 1774 Catholics were served by itinerant priests who on occasion administered the sacraments in the privacy of family chapels, private houses or disused buildings, the church being dependent on the good auspices of lay people for the maintenance and propagation of the faith. As the Catholic population grew there was a move to more regular church services. By 1793 an estimated 5000 Catholics resided in Manchester.³⁴ This necessitated an expansion of Catholic missions, with leadership of the Catholic community now gradually shifting to the clergy where previously prominent lay people had ensured its maintained presence.

By the end of the eighteenth century the township of Manchester had two Catholic

31 Dennis Sewell, *Catholics: Britain's Largest Minority* (London, 2001), p. 110.

32 Fielding, *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford*, p. 27.

33 For an in-depth analysis of the Catholic Church in Manchester see Busteed's chapter 'The Catholic Church' in *The Irish in Manchester*, pp 75-118.

34 *Ibid*, p. 77.

Churches. The first purpose-built place of worship for Manchester's Catholics was Rook Street chapel. In 1774, a small house/chapel was erected, which stood at the northern end of what is now Fountain Street and West Mosley Street. Its frontage was of plain brick in the style of a private house to divert attention from its true purpose, reflecting the cautious approach of the emerging Church which sought to avoid a confrontational display of faith. The chapel was dedicated to St. Chad, serving the scattered Catholic population of Manchester, Salford, Bolton, Rochdale, Trafford, Stockport, Glossop and Macclesfield. It was thus the Catholic Mother church of Manchester.

St. Mary's, sometimes referred to as 'The Hidden Gem', was built in 1794 to relieve the pressure on Rook Street chapel brought about by the increase in Catholic numbers enhanced by Irish migrant workers, many of whom had responded to Manchester's need for skilled weavers. Indeed, so notable was the impact of the Irish numbers on Catholic worship by the end of the eighteenth century, that a contemporary doggerel reflects their increasing presence:

The same year the Catholics deemed it quite meet
to build a chapel in Mulberry Street,
For the trade of the town, and hands wanted for weaving,
and bread to be found there, poor Irishmen craving,
Brought an influx of Catholic weavers to town,
And filled Rook Street chapel to near breaking down.³⁵

St. Mary's was built in Mulberry Street on a site crowded with poor-quality housing, on land which had been open meadow and grazing pasture.³⁶ Its facade was clearly ecclesiastical and a presbytery was attached, reflecting the growing confidence of Manchester's Catholics. The pressure of numbers necessitated further church building which placed a strain on both financial and clerical resources. These new church buildings were financed through loans, repayment coming from the contributions of its mainly poor, working-class inhabitants, and

35 Busted and Hodgson, 'Angel Meadow: A Study of the Geography of Irish Settlement in Mid-Nineteenth Century Manchester', p. 7.

36 Peter Marshall, 'History of St. Mary's Mulberry Street, Manchester, in *Recusant History*, xxvii (2004), p.33.

monetary gifts from a few relatively prosperous middle-class lay persons including some of Irish background.³⁷

By the Emancipation Act of 1829 Catholics were on their way to recovering most of the rights enjoyed by their fellow citizens.³⁸ By the late 1830s the English Roman Catholic church was renewed and vigorous with a new generation of ultramontane clergy led by the Vicars Apostolic increasingly energetic and visible in their ministry.³⁹ The most striking evidence of this new found confidence being the increase in the number of Catholic places of worship in the 1830s and 1840s. Larger and more ornate, they were churches in the modern, recognisable form rather than the smaller and more discreet chapels of earlier times.⁴⁰ In addition, Catholic special interest groups were formed to promote education and welfare, and above all to stem 'leakage' of adherents through apathy or Protestant evangelism.⁴¹

By 1840 the English Roman Catholic church had experienced what St. John Henry Newman in an address delivered to the First Provincial Council of Westminster in 1852, termed a 'second spring' or spiritual awakening.⁴² The increase in Catholic numbers brought about by Irish migration had certainly stimulated this awakening in Manchester and other urban centres and Catholic numbers continued to grow throughout the century. However, by 1840 there were still only four Catholic churches in Manchester: St. Chad's (founded in 1774), St. Mary's (1794), St. Augustine's (1820) and St. Patrick's (1832), serving the needs of approximately 39,000 Catholics.⁴³ In particular, St. Patrick's, Livesey Street, reflected the

37 Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 109.

38 The slow and as yet incomplete removal of anti-Catholic penal legislation began with the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791, permitting Catholic priests to operate in the realm, registration of Catholic Chapels and licensing of Catholic teachers to teach in Catholic Schools. The next major change came in 1829 when Catholic Emancipation removed many civil disabilities from Catholics.

39 Ultramontane clergy submitted totally to supreme papal authority in matters of faith and discipline. An apostolic vicariate is a form of territorial jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church established in a missionary region or country where a diocese has not yet been established.

40 Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p.84.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 84, 85.

42 Paul Halsall, 'John Henry Newman (1801-1890): The Second Spring' in *Modern History Sourcebook* (New York, 1998), pp 7-27.

43 *Report on the State of the Irish Poor* (1836), pp 43, 63.

Irish influx as it was built in the heart of 'Irish Town' in the St. George's district, the naming of the church reflecting the preponderance of Irish adherents. St. Chad's and St. Mary's were located close to the town centre, serving the needs of a fast-growing Irish working-class population. St. Augustine's was located in the then middle-class suburb of Chorlton-on-Medlock, serving the needs of more prosperous Catholics, although the progressive settlement of Irish migrants into the district meant the congregation became more ethnically diverse.

Irish migration clearly had a huge impact on the Catholic church in Manchester. In some parts of Lancashire (Preston and Wigan for example) there was an indigenous Roman Catholic population that was not altogether swamped by Irish migration, but this was much less true of Manchester. Yet Connolly estimates that by the 1820s the Irish accounted for the majority of Manchester's Catholics.⁴⁴ In the mid-1830s it was estimated approximately 85% of Manchester's Catholic population were Irish-born or born to two Irish parents.⁴⁵ Manchester's Irish-born population continued to grow in the 1840s and 1850s, peaking in 1861 before declining thereafter.⁴⁶

This increase in the Catholic population of Manchester was not matched by a corresponding increase in church attendance. In fact, non-attendance at mass increased from around 50% in the 1780s to approximately 80% in the 1820s.⁴⁷ One priest with his church in the heart of Manchester's 'Irish Town' found that his main problem was to fill the new church of St. Patrick's. In 1833, Father Daniel Hearne conducted an independent census of Irish Town and registered only 11,009 baptized Catholics out of an Irish population of 20,000, and of these only 'a few hundred' attended Mass.⁴⁸ This was not due to a lack of reverence for the Church but rather a reflection of the devotional practices prevalent in

44 Connolly, *Catholicism in Manchester and Salford*, p.149.

45 *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, pp 61,63.

46 See Table 2:3. Irish-born persons in England, Wales and Manchester 1841 – 1901, p.96.

47 Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 89.

48 *Manchester Guardian* 17 June 1846; *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. 43 and p.62.

Ireland before what is sometimes termed the 'devotional revolution'.⁴⁹ The Catholic church in most dioceses in Ireland early in the nineteenth century was in a dis-organised and weakened state following the penal laws of the eighteenth century. Priests were scarce, church buildings poor or non-existent, clerical discipline was lax and diocesan structures were in disarray, with the result that day to day pastoral functions of the church were performed sporadically or not at all, and the concept of regular church attendance was unfamiliar to the early Irish migrants in Manchester. Nonetheless, despite their reluctance to attend mass regularly, the Irish still identified strongly and publicly with their religion and were often willing to contribute financially to the maintenance of the local church and building of new ones. They valued the service the church provided in terms of schools, clubs and friendly societies and although they did not hold the English priests in quite the same reverence as their Irish counterparts there was often a deep respect for them.⁵⁰ The Church as a whole in Manchester gradually recovered some of these non-attenders through programmes of social action and evangelism which sought both to counter apathy and the threat of Protestant conversion, so that by the 1860s non-attendance had declined to around 30 to 40%.⁵¹

The numbers of Irish Catholics arriving in Manchester who became regular mass attenders, overwhelmed the native, relatively small, Catholic congregations. Mostly impoverished, the Irish migrants brought with them a new language, culture, political

49 A movement largely instigated in the 1850s by Archbishop Paul Cullen of Armagh and later Dublin, who ensured the appointment of reform-minded bishops, promoted parish missions (in Protestant terms 'revival' meetings) and introduced a variety of new devotional practices from the Continent. There is, however, widespread agreement that the so-called 'devotional revolution' was already underway before the famine – for discussion see Davis Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 89-90.

50 W. J. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church 1846-71: The Social Dimension' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xx (1976), pp 142-143, 147-153; Werly, 'The Irish in Manchester: 1832-49', pp 350-51.

51 Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 89.

outlook, and way of worship completely alien to Manchester's English Catholics. Since the English Catholics were increasingly marginalised this caused strained relations with the Irish newcomers, whose restlessness during the services could test the patience of the administering priest and other worshippers.⁵² These differences in class were reflected in the choice of places of worship. The English, being in most cases higher on the social and economic spectrum, tended to worship at St. Augustine's on Granby Row (then a middle-class enclave),⁵³ whilst the Irish were predominant at St. Mary's in Mulberry Street, St. Patrick's in Livesey Street and St. Wilfrid's in Hulme.⁵⁴ The significance of the Irish congregation worshipping at St. Mary's was, for example, acknowledged with the image of St. Patrick holding a shamrock amongst the other statues above the high altar.

The Irish predominance was by far the most significant fact for the Church in Manchester but reciprocally the Church played a key role in sustaining Irish communal life. Aside from spiritual comfort, the church provided facilities for parish-based education, social, sporting and even political activities. It became a recognisable landmark of cultural identity, and a source of leadership and facilities, even for the significant numbers who were only nominal in their observance or had lapsed entirely.

52 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 77.

53 However, by the 1840s St. Augustine's was serving around 10,000 Catholics, most of them Irish. See Charles A. Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic past* (Manchester, 1950).

54 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p.79.

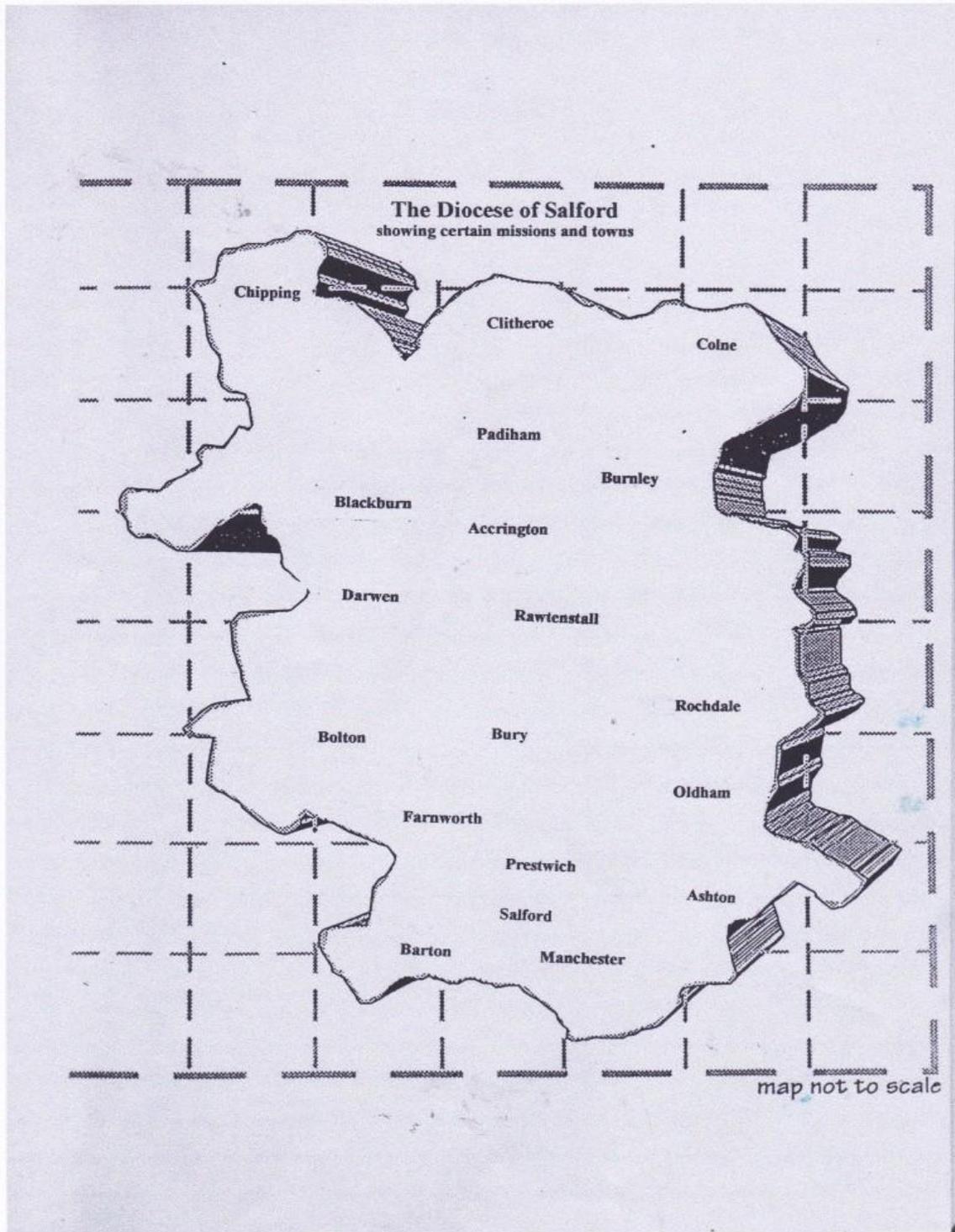
Catholic Consolidation and Expansion from 1845

By 1846 there were thirteen priests and six parishes in Manchester, namely St. Chad's⁵⁵, and St. Patrick's which served Angel Meadow – 'Irish Town' - St. Anne's which served Ancoats, St. Augustine's and St. Wilfred's which served Little Ireland and nearby Hulme, and St. Mary's, off Deansgate in the city centre. The restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850 further increased the self-confidence of Manchester's Catholics. The church of St. John the Evangelist in Salford was designated a cathedral and William Turner was inaugurated as the first Roman Catholic bishop of Salford in 1851. The location, outside the boundaries of Manchester, and the choice of diocesan title, were chosen to avoid antagonising Anglican sensitivities. When the Anglican Diocese of Manchester was commissioned in 1847, the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, St. Denys and St. George was redesignated a cathedral. Rather than court controversy by opening a second cathedral in Manchester when the fear of 'Papal aggression', fuelled by the restoration of the hierarchy, was rampant, the Roman Catholic Church exerted a measure of diplomacy.

The Diocese of Salford encompassed virtually all of east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire, with Manchester lying in its south and the Colne valley in its north. The diocese also included Ashton, Blackburn, Burnley, Bolton, Rochdale and other cotton spinning and weaving towns which lay to the city's north-east and south-west (**Figure 1:4**).

55 St. Chad's 'the Rook Street chapel' was completely destroyed by fire in 1846 and a new parish of St. Chad's was then founded away from the city in Cheetham Hill, on land that allowed the church to display a grandeur that reflected the expansion and vigour of the Catholic Church:- Philip Hughes, *An Historical Record of St Chad's Parish (Mother Parish of Manchester)* (Manchester, 1949).

Figure 1:4. The Diocese of Salford in the Nineteenth Century⁵⁶



56 'The Diocese of Salford' (www.salforddiocese.net/#!history-of-salford-diocese/c20ug) (25 Sept 2016).

The 1851 religious census⁵⁷ revealed that in the diocese there were 32 churches and chapels served by 37 priests, with 33,029 Catholics attending Mass on 30th March 1851. Those Irish by birth in the diocese numbered 79,635 out of a total population of 1,180,834, or 6.7%.⁵⁸ By 1873, there were 98 secular priests, with twenty regulars (mainly Benedictines and Franciscans) and twenty Jesuits at Stonyhurst, collectively a total of 138 priests; 79 public churches or chapels were served, together with nineteen other chapels, mainly in religious houses.⁵⁹ By 1878 there were ninety-three public churches and thirty-three private chapels. 148 secular priests worked in the diocese with another four unattached, together with forty-four regular clergy, comprising a total of 196 priests. These served a Catholic population of 210,012,⁶⁰ the second largest concentration of Catholics in the country, after Liverpool.⁶¹ Manchester was the largest city in the diocese. The number of Catholic churches increased steadily in the from 1840 onwards so that by 1876 there were fifteen churches serving the needs of the Catholic population of Manchester (**Figure 2:4**).⁶²

57 Popularly called the *1851 Religious Census*, this demographic census was actually a census of 'accommodation and attendance at worship'. For detailed background see David Thompson, 'The Religious Census of 1851' in Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, pp 241-263.

58 *The Catholic Directory* (1851).

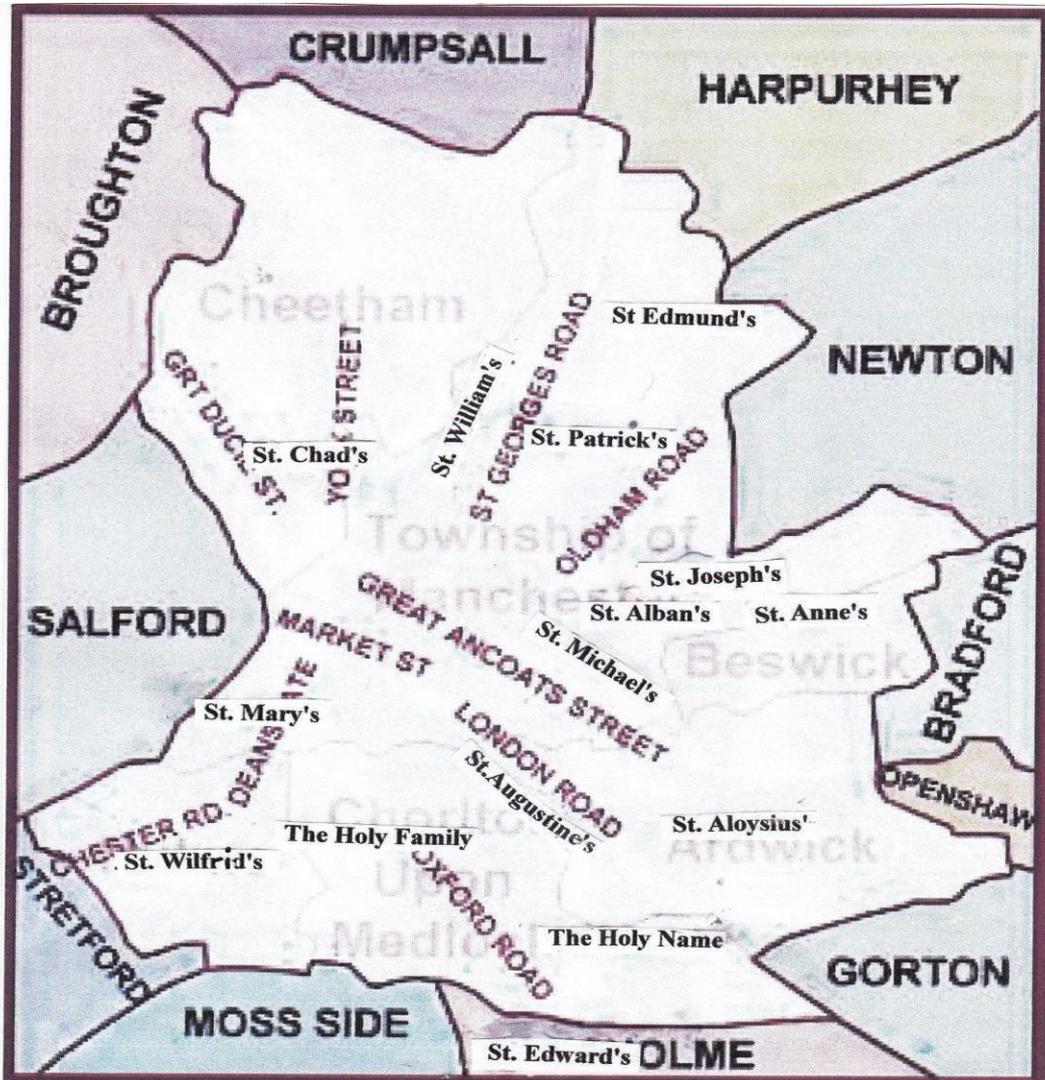
59 *The Catholic Directory* (1873), p. 199.

60 *Diocesan Almanac* (1878), p. 41.

61 Liverpool's population of 'Irish and Catholics', in contemporary sources, was estimated at around 200,000 by 1900, see Belchem, *Irish, Catholic & Scouse*, p.1.

62 'Historical information about churches' (www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/LAN/Manchester/Churches) (24 February 2016).

Figure 2:4. Location of Catholic Churches in Nineteenth-Century Manchester



The largest and grandest of the Catholic churches in Manchester was opened in 1871. The mission church of The Holy Name of Jesus was commissioned in 1867 to serve the growing populations of Longsight and Chorlton-on-Medlock. It was served by English Jesuits throughout the nineteenth century.⁶³ When the Jesuits first essayed to get a footing in the town in 1862, Bishop Turner, knowing the crippling conditions of poverty under which many of the mission churches were working, would only allow them to do so with certain agreed restrictions. He feared that if they opened a church it would at once become a centre of ecclesiastical fashion, attracting the wealthier Catholics away from their own parishes where their money and leadership abilities were needed. He therefore stipulated that the Jesuits could have a church in the then middle-class suburb of Chorlton-on-Medlock, but he would not allow them a school, fearing pupils who might have a vocation for the priesthood would join the Jesuit order at a time when Turner was making efforts to increase vocations for the secular priesthood.⁶⁴ When he was succeeded by Bishop Vaughan in 1872, the Jesuits reneged on the deal and in 1874 attempted to open a grammar school resulting in an ecclesiastical dispute which lasted over six years. This was resolved in favour of Vaughan only with the intervention of Pope Pius IX, who ruled that it was the Bishop of the Diocese alone who had the authority to grant the commissioning of new churches and schools, a ruling that had implications for the Church world-wide.⁶⁵ These internal rivalries stand in sharp contrast to the popular Protestant fears of a united, strong ultramontane organisation, although such conflict was internalised within the Church and so not open to extensive external scrutiny.

63 William Corbishley, *The Story of The Holy Name on the Occasion of the Centenary* (Manchester, 1972), pp 4-5.

64 J. G. Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan* (London, 1911), p.271.

65 Ibid, pp 272-303.

Figure 3:4. The Church of the Holy Name of Jesus circa 1880⁶⁶

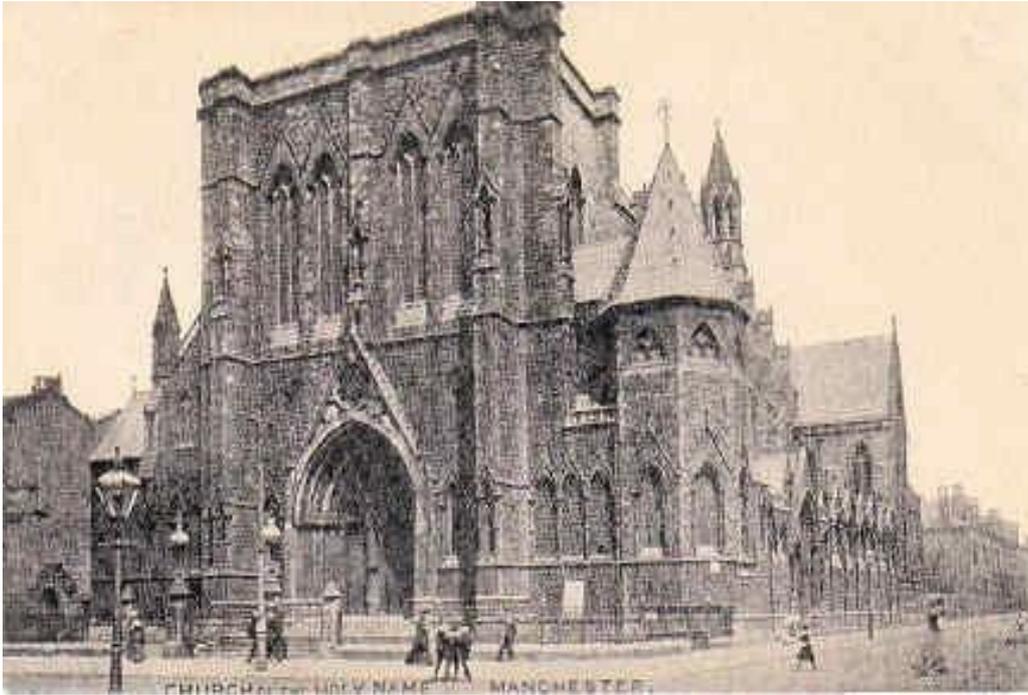


Figure 4:4. The interior of the Holy Name⁶⁷



66 'The Churches of Britain and Ireland' (http://www.churches-uk-ireland.org/towns/c/chorlton_medlock.html) (9 July 2016).

67 'The Churches of Britain and Ireland'. It was through the patronage of Charles O'Neill, a second-generation Irish industrial chemist, that part of the church adornments were financed. O'Neill features in the subsequent chapter of this thesis.

The construction of the building expressed and reinforced the power of the Jesuit order and the revived confidence of English Catholics. The church's dimensions and proportions are on the scale of a fourteenth-century cathedral and the architect Joseph Aloysius Hansom based the building on Frankish Gothic style.⁶⁸ It was (and remains) the largest church in Manchester, dominating the surrounding area and ministering to the needs of the large Irish communities living adjacent to the church in Chorlton-on-Medlock.

The *Almanac for the Diocese of Salford* published annual estimates of the size of parochial populations which allow for a reconstruction of the total size and distribution of the city's Catholic population. In 1890 just over 37,000 Catholics lived in the seven parishes which lay in what was the mainly working-class part of north Manchester containing Ancoats, Angel Meadow, Collyhurst and Miles Platting, all areas with a large Irish migrant population. This accounted for 38% of the city's total Catholic population. Large numbers of Catholics also lived in other working-class areas near to the city centre, with the Catholic population of Hulme and Chorlton-on-Medlock estimated to be around 30%, again both areas having large Irish communities.⁶⁹ Fielding calculates that Irish-born migrants made up about 25% of Manchester's Catholic population, although if second and subsequent generations are taken into consideration the figure for those identifying as Irish Catholics is much higher, accounting for at least half of the city's Catholic population.⁷⁰ The increase in Catholic numbers as a result of Irish migration caused major pressure on resources in all the major centres of settlement in Britain with insufficient clergy, churches and schools in urgent need of redress, although by comparison the United States which experienced the largest influx of Irish migrants, had a far greater struggle to minister to the needs of the vastly expanding

68 Corbishley, *The Story of the Holy Name*, p.7.

69 *Almanac for the Diocese of Salford* (1890).

70 Fielding, *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford*, p.52.

Catholic population.⁷¹

The first Bishop of Salford, William Turner (1851-1872), made the assimilation of the large Irish community a priority and saw education as one means of achieving this. The lower classes in general had limited access to schools and Turner initiated the founding of new schools in various parishes.⁷² He oversaw the building of Loreto College for girls in 1851; founded the Salford Catholic Grammar School in 1852, in 1862 brought the Xaverian Brothers, a Belgian teaching order, into a school for boys in Manchester, as well as setting up schools in various parishes.⁷³ Bishop Herbert Vaughan (1872–1892) built on Turner's achievements in the field of education as well as expanding social action. He founded St Bede's College, Manchester in 1876; began the Catholic Protection and Rescue Society for orphans and homeless children in 1886; organised the Catholic Truth Society, which he had founded in 1868, and established more than 40 new missions (churches) throughout the diocese.⁷⁴

Manchester became a site of innovation for the Catholic hierarchy with issues of Irish assimilation and the need for a refocus of the Catholic image towards commerce, entrepreneurship and Englishness taken up enthusiastically by a series of Salford bishops. The Catholic Church in Manchester, as in the rest of England, thus attempted to construct an identity, composed of more than the Irish roots and largely proletarian origins of most of its adherents. These aims were a reflection of the national origins of those who comprised the upper reaches of the Catholic laity and clergy and, thereby, held the reins of power within the Church. English members of the Church were greatly concerned to establish their patriotic credentials and wished to impart this loyalty to Queen and British values to the

71 Initially the American Catholic church had a far greater struggle to minister to the number of arriving immigrants. In New York City during the 1840s the priest-to-people ratio was 1 to 4500 and in the western territories it grew to 1 to 7000: K. A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and Irish Exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), pp 320, 331-32.

72 Cuniffe, 'Religion and Empire in Manchester', pp 202-211.

73 Eric Tenbus, *English Catholics and the Education of the Poor, 1847 – 1902* (London, 2010), p. 61.

74 Snead-Fox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, p. 111.

Irish Catholic community. The fear was that the English Catholic church was destined in the future to be 'less respectable' than it had been. In 1850 the *Guardian* remarked on some of the very features which disturbed the hierarchy:

The strength of Romanism in this country, even as a political power, is no longer confined to nobleman's castle. It is something rougher, more aggressive, and less English in its attachments and sympathies.⁷⁵

The Catholic Church in England was seen by many non-Catholic observers as intrinsically foreign and it was feared that any efforts made to gain respectability would be offset by the allegedly inherently disreputable and even dangerous nature of the Catholic Irish, typified by social problems of poor housing, alcohol abuse, faction fighting and distinctive political aspiration, with the inevitable sectarian suspicions from the local Protestant population.⁷⁶ In an ethnically and socially divided Catholic community, the hierarchy wanted to change the image of the faith from that of the religion of the Irish poor, to one which was unmistakably English and solidly loyal. Keeping the faithful within the church was paramount, but the transformation of the image of Catholicism was also vital to the future envisaged by Vaughan and his close associate, the future Bishop of Salford, Louis Charles Casartelli. These men were not unusual amongst the English nineteenth-century Catholic hierarchy, who were largely English-born, and had no desire to nurture the Irish ethnicity of their flock which had manifested itself in the rise of the Fenians in the 1860s and with the renewed vigour of the call for Home Rule in the 1880s.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 Dec. 1850.

⁷⁶ The problems of poor housing and alcohol abuse were not confined to the Irish. Father Daniel Hearne, the redoubtable Waterford-born first rector of St. Patrick's, Livesey Street in the heart of Irish Town was under no illusion that alcohol was the major causative factor in the distress of his parishioners whether Irish or not. In July 1842, Hearne invited Father Theobald Mathew, the instigator of the temperance movement in Ireland to Manchester. At a meeting in the Free Trade Hall around 17,000 people of all denominations, English and Irish took the pledge of abstinence from alcohol (Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 83).

⁷⁷ Sheridan Gilley, 'English Catholic Attitudes to Irish Catholics' in *Immigrants and Minorities*, xxvii, no.2-3 (2009), p. 228. In distinct contrast the Catholic church in America gained the attention of the Irish immigrants and integrated them into its structure. Benefiting from the 'devotional revolution' which Irish bishops waged after the Famine to capture and refine the commitments of their people and the efforts of American bishops such as John Hughes of New York, American Catholicism took on a decidedly Irish flavour: Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850- 75,' in *American Historical Review*, lxxvii (June 1972), pp 625-652.

Although the English Catholic hierarchy had deep misgivings when it came to Irish priests serving the English mission districts⁷⁸, they may have hoped that these same priests might act as pacifiers of their flock in times of economic and political tension. Indeed, even the *Manchester Courier*, a Tory and anti-Catholic newspaper, acknowledged the benign influence that Catholic clergy could exert at times of tension in the city. Clerical fears are well illustrated by the events of March 1848 when a combination of economic distress and political tension both in Britain and Ireland led to fears that a St. Patrick's Day meeting planned in the Free Trade Hall would end in violence.⁷⁹ Local magistrates took appropriate precautions, but the congenitally anti-Catholic *Manchester Courier* noted that 'to their great credit as good citizens and loyal subjects, the Roman Catholic clergy also came to the aid of the magistracy.'⁸⁰ Local clergy appealed to Irish Catholics to show calm and restraint and avoid bringing the Faith into disrepute. The largest concentration of Irish migrants in Manchester resided in the area known as Irish Town, which was served by the churches of St. Chad's and St. Patrick's, both administered by Irish-born priests. The appeals proved so effective that it was alleged that 'never within the recollection of the oldest inhabitant has so quiet a St. Patrick's Day been known in Manchester. From careful enquiries ... we are enabled to state positively that there was less drunkenness and disposition to riot than we have ever known'.⁸¹ However, the increase in the numbers of Irish-born clergy did initially generate feelings of suspicion and doubt amongst the English Catholic church which only abated with the passage of time, when Irish clergy would eventually come to occupy positions of power and responsibility within the English mission.

78 Discussed later in this chapter.

79 Ireland in 1848 was in the grips of Famine; Manchester had suffered an economic downturn due to the poor cotton harvest of 1847; Working people had proclaimed themselves as Chartists at crowded meetings throughout March 1848. The authorities had viewed this campaign with great concern, and some of the propertied classes had come to believe that the Chartists intended revolution at a time when revolutionary fervour was sweeping Europe.

80 *Manchester Courier* 18 Mar. 1848.

81 Ibid.

The Irish Catholic Priest: Perceptions and Reality

As the number of Catholic churches in the city increased, so there was a corresponding increase in the numbers of Irish-born priests who came to serve in these new missions and were classified as middle class⁸² (Table 2:4).

Table 2:4. Irish-born Secular Priests ministering in Manchester between 1825 to 1901⁸³

District	Catholic Churches (Year founded in brackets)	Number of Priests
Ancoats	St.Anne's(1848), St.Joseph's(1852), St.Michael's(1859), St.Alban's (1863)	11
Ardwick	St.Aloysius' (1852)	3
Cheetham	St.Chad's (Rook St.,1774) (Cheetham Hill Rd.,1847)	8
Chorlton-on-Medlock	St.Augustine's (1820), The Holy Family (1876)	7
Deansgate	St.Mary's (1794)	10
Hulme	St.Wilfrid's (1842)	8
Rusholme	St.Edward's (1860)	1
St. George's	St.Patrick's (1832), St.Williams (1864), St. Edmund's (1871)	14

There were Irish-born Catholic priests serving in Manchester as early as the 1820s which further identifies Manchester as a key pre-famine diasporic site.⁸⁴ A total of twenty-six Irish-born priests served the districts that comprise the study area between 1825 to 1901.⁸⁵ An article published by the *Manchester Guardian* in 1847 presented a view of the Irish Roman Catholic priest that expressed traditional popular English prejudice:

82 Records show that after 1850 priests were recruited from the Continent, from Ireland and from England in about equal proportions. (MS in possession of Salford Diocesan Archives).

83 Data extrapolated from Richard Bracken, *Irish Born Secular Priests in the Diocese of Salford* (Manchester, 1984). The majority of these priests attended seminaries in Ireland. Six attended English seminaries, four at Ushaw in Durham, two at Oscott in Birmingham. One priest received his training at the Gregorian University in Rome and one at the Irish College also in Rome. All of these establishments were contacted with a view to obtaining archival material pertaining to these priests. Only Ushaw College was able to provide any relevant material, which is included in this chapter.

84 Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p.1.

85 Although, because a majority of the priests had served in more than one parish, the figures in Table 3:5 total sixty-two.

... Admitting that the professional education, and the general culture of the Irish Catholic priests are exceedingly defective, and little fitted to give them noble intellectual aspirations. ... their heart is chilled by the habitual feeling of an isolation all the more painful that they dare not confess it; and in the immense majority of priests, the feeling of isolation will cause sometimes hypocrisy, sometimes a descent into coarse and sensual vices ... Here, then, wherever there is a group of squalid peasants large enough to form a religious assembly, you have a man armed, not only with the oppressions that have been heaped on his country, not only with the contempt and persecution that have been the uniform doom of his religion for ages, but with the personal bitterness of the social outcast.⁸⁶

The perspective that the Irish Catholic clergy were from the lowest classes of society was not restricted to Protestant liberal thinkers and Nonconformists, since the recusant Catholic gentry had strident misgivings. Most celebrated in the annals of anti-Irish diatribe is the outburst of the Northumbrian Catholic gentlewoman Barbara Charlton. In her nineteenth-century *Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady* she wrote, 'I never knew to what degree of perfection Irish filth could be raised until I visited the Hibernian colony in Bristol, and duplicity went hand in hand with dirt'. She also denounced 'the ignorant and unworthy Irish priesthood', and described an Irish tutor, a Reverend Mr Sheridan, as 'a decrepit, dirty, sniffy old Irish priest'.⁸⁷

It is sometimes assumed that English Roman Catholic priests had a similar dismal outlook on their Irish counterparts,⁸⁸ but Gilley contends that because of their comparable training, liturgical commonality and shared belief in a common authority there was an *esprit de corps* fostered among clergy through a shared pride in their expanding churches.⁸⁹ Many of these English and Irish priests would minister together in the same parish and live together in the same presbytery which in many cases must have engendered both respect and friendship. There were also more common class origins than popularly assumed with many Irish priests on an intellectual and social par with their English counterparts. Indeed, the

86 *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 Feb. 1847. (previously cited in Introduction).

87 Barbara Charlton, *Recollections of a Northumbrian Gentlewoman, 1815-1866* cited in Gilley, 'English Attitudes to Irish Catholics', pp 226-47.

88 Conversation with retired Salford Diocesan Archivist, Fr. David Lannon PhD, 12th January 2017.

89 Gilley, *English Catholic Attitudes to Irish Catholics*, p. 231. Indeed, significant numbers of Irish-born priests received their training in English seminaries – illustrated later in this chapter.

weight of contemporary evidence from parliamentary papers, observers, and visitors comments indicates that Irish priests did not come from classes who were lowest in the economic scale.⁹⁰ On the contrary, the necessity of a pre-seminary education and the cost of seminary training in Maynooth made it difficult for the children of the poor to enter the priesthood. In the 1840s the cost of the first year of seminary study at Maynooth was forty pounds, a sum that would almost certainly exclude those from a labouring or lower-class background.⁹¹ Significantly, classes at the seminaries were conducted in English, reinforcing the ethos of the landed and middle-class Catholic strata from which most of the students came: since retaining Gaelic did not lead to social and economic advancement it was passed over in favour of English.⁹²

Kerr quotes a study of the background of 168 priests ordained for the diocese of Kilmore between 1830 and 1880, which shows that 79% were sons of farmers possessing over fifteen acres, whereas 93.5% of all Irish farms, in 1841, were under fifteen acres. The percentage who came from farms over twenty acres was 71%, while 20% came from farms over 50 acres and 9% from various businesses. A similar study for County Tipperary for 1850-91 supports this conclusion.⁹³ Indeed, priests were sometimes criticized for being out of sympathy with the labouring or cottier class, since they identified with the better-off farmers from whom they sprang.⁹⁴

Vocations to the priesthood and the religious life increased dramatically in nineteenth-century Ireland. This is partly a result on an ongoing restructuring of church life and devotions noted earlier, but there was also the impact of a material factor, mainly the growing perception of the priesthood not merely as a respected profession, but a high-status occupation, all of which resulted in the Irish Catholic church having more clergy than they

90 On this question see S. J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Dublin, 1982), pp 35-44; Desmond Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth Century Ireland: A Sociological Study* (Dublin, 1983), pp61-66.

91 Donal Kerr, *A Nation of Beggars?: Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846-1852* (Oxford, 1994), p. 78.

92 Timothy McMahon, *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910* (New York, 2008), p. 35.

93 James O'Shea, *Priests, Politics and Society in Post-Famine Ireland: A Study Of County Tipperary, 1850-91* (Dublin, 1983), pp 307-312.

94 *Ibid.*, pp 19-35.

needed for their various parishes and religious institutions. Surplus Irish Catholic clergy were thus sent overseas and this Irish mission followed the path of the Irish diaspora, encompassing Britain, America and Australasia, spreading the ultramontane practices and Roman devotions which helped cement the concept of a truly universal Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁵ There was a mixed reaction to the Irish mission in England. Some of the hierarchy viewed the Irish clergy with disdain, their attitude concurring with the Scottish Catholic priest, John Bremner, who regarded them as 'half educated and wholly prejudiced sons of Maynooth'.⁹⁶ Others such as John Briggs, first bishop of Beverley, North Yorkshire, and past president of Ushaw College, actively recruited Irish priests to serve the English mission.⁹⁷ English priests who were accustomed to serving the more well-heeled native Catholics found ministering to the slum-dwelling immigrant Irish unsettling, therefore the influx of Irish priests was welcomed as they so readily identified with and moved amongst their Irish flock.⁹⁸

One of the most vehement critics of the Irish priests ministering in England was the Reverend Robert Tate of Ushaw College, Durham, who served in various capacities at Ushaw from his ordination in 1822 until his appointment as president of the college in 1863.⁹⁹ Personal letters from Tate, who served as president of the college until his death in 1876, to a friend and colleague, the Reverend Thomas Slater, mention the Irish clergy ministering in the Yorkshire and Durham region over a twenty-two year period from 1843 to

95 W. L. Smith, 'Go Teach all Nations' in *18th -19th Century Social Perspectives*, viii, no.3 (Autumn, 2000), pp 1-14.

96 Donald MacRaild, 'Spiritual and Social Bonds: The Culture of Irish Catholicism' in Donald MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (2nd ed., Basinstoke, 2010), p.77.

97 GB-0298-UC/P8, Ushaw College Library Special Collections Catalogue.

98 For an in-depth analysis of the effect of the Irish diaspora on the Catholic Church in Britain and the role of the Irish priests see MacRaild, 'Spiritual and Social Bonds', pp 64-88.

99 GB-0298-UC/P8, Ushaw College Library Special Collections Catalogue. Following his ordination in 1822 Tate served as a teacher; prefect of studies (senior teacher); professor of dogmatic theology; vice-president, before being appointed president of Ushaw in 1863.

1865.¹⁰⁰ Tate was opposed to ultramontane practices which contrasted with his own Gallican views and criticised the local bishop, John Briggs, for allowing Irish Jesuits into Yorkshire 'to build chapels and indulge in Roman devotions'.¹⁰¹ Later that year Tate criticised 'the propaganda that only Irish clergy and people have effected improvements in religion in England'.¹⁰² Tate regarded the Irish priests as 'factious and vulgar', 'causing trouble in all the major centres of Yorkshire'.¹⁰³ Although he did not elaborate on the specifics, he 'had met many Irish priests who support Repeal and speak of England with scant regard'.¹⁰⁴ He, like much of the English Catholic hierarchy, did not approve of the aims of the Repeal movement and it may be surmised that is the 'trouble' he refers to. In further correspondence he again bemoaned the fact the presiding bishop 'with an excellent heart, knew not what it is to put a rein on the Irish clergy whose activities are leading to the decline of the Yorkshire district'.¹⁰⁵ Tate was staunchly opposed to the applications of Irish clergy to serve the English mission in Yorkshire and 'voiced the opinions of local clergy who were determined to resist the will of Bishop Briggs'.¹⁰⁶ At a subsequent meeting in York, Tate voiced opposition to the numbers of Irish clergy being encouraged by Briggs to serve in Yorkshire.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, he blamed the anti-Catholic feeling in the district on 'the scandals caused by the Irish clergy and their ultramontane practices'¹⁰⁸ and lamented 'the lack of Yorkshiremen at Ushaw due to the

100 The first letter mentioning Irish priests is dated 12th August 1843 and the last is dated 8th September 1865. There are in fact 512 letters from Tate to Slater covering the period 1835-1875. Throughout the correspondence, Tate offers frank and forthright opinions on the changing nature of Catholicism in England, in particular contrasting his own Gallican views which tended to restrain the Pope's authority in favour of that of bishops and the people's representatives in the State, or the monarch, with the development of ultramontanism and its influence on devotional practices and clerical attitudes, and how these changes influenced the wider political situation. But the most respected proponents of Gallican ideas did not contest the Pope's primacy in the Church, merely his supremacy and infallibility.

101 UC/P8/61, Tate to Slater 30 Oct. 1847.

102 UC/P8/72, Ibid., 27 Dec. 1847.

103 UC/P8/85, Ibid; 5 Jun. 1848.

104 UC/P8/31, Ibid., 12 Aug. 1843.

105 UC/P8/98, Ibid., 29 Nov. 1848.

106 UC/P8/142, Ibid., 24 Apr. 1852.

107 UC/P8/143, Ibid., 14 May 1852.

108 UC/P8/147, Ibid., 1 Nov. 1852.

Importation of Irish priests'.¹⁰⁹ Nor did Tate's antipathy and mistrust of Irish priests abate with the passage of time. In 1856 he stated in a letter to Slater: 'the Irish priests are likely to destroy the prestige of the upcoming synod in York'.¹¹⁰ A letter from 1859 shows a degree of *schardenfreude* when he reports to Slater details of an Irish priest in Ripon 'found drunk in bed'.¹¹¹ Tate was concerned with the changing nature of Catholicism in Ripon, contrasting the behaviour of the English and Irish churchgoers and criticising the attitude of Irish priests 'who do not appreciate the limitations of their power in England'.¹¹² Although he does not elaborate on this statement, on a visit to Ireland in 1843, he witnessed 'the deep reverence' that the Irish Catholic peasantry had for the clergy, which invested in them 'a degree of power' that their counterparts in England 'would certainly ponder on'.¹¹³ His final comment on Irish priests appeared in a letter of 1865 in which he appears exasperated that 'the lanes in Durham were swamped with Irish priests and foreigners'.¹¹⁴

Paradoxically, this view of Irish priests does not extend to the numbers of Irish-born seminarians who went on to be ordained at Ushaw. From 1836 until the end of the nineteenth century, a total of eighty-two Irish-born students received holy orders. Thirty-nine, or 48%, were ordained during Tate's time as either a teacher or president of the college.¹¹⁵ It may be that he considered the Irish priests ordained under his tutelage had received a training that gave them an attitude and outlook more in line with the indigenous priests whom he, judging by his omission of criticism of them in his correspondence to Slater, obviously held in high regard. As a prefect of studies and later president of the college Tate would have interviewed and approved many of these Irish-born applicants for the priesthood and would have the

109 UC/P8/155, Ibid., 2 Jul. 1853.

110 UC/P8/208, Ibid., 8 Jan. 1856.

111 UC/P8/265, Ibid., 23 Mar. 1859.

112 UC/P8/291, Ibid., 9 Feb. 1860.

113 UC/P8/31, Ibid., 12 Aug. 1843.

114 UC/P8/382, Ibid., 8 Sep. 1865.

115 Database of Ushaw Alumni, list of all students.

authority to veto any whom he considered suspect.¹¹⁶ He clearly had an elevated opinion of his influence on the improved standard of Ushaw students during his presidency, as he expressed to Slater: 'Ushaw is full ... behaviour of the students is much improved ... examinations results exemplary. My efforts at improving discipline have played no small part in this'.¹¹⁷ Indeed, Tate's tenure at Ushaw led him into direct contact with the first Irish-born priest to be ordained there, first as his teacher and then a close colleague. This was James Chadwick, born in Drogheda in 1813 into a prosperous family who owned a substantial flax mill and linen manufacturing business and were one of the largest employers in the town. Chadwick was educated at Ushaw from May 1825 until his ordination as priest in December 1836.¹¹⁸ He then became general prefect (teacher) at the college for three years, after which he taught humanities until he was appointed professor of philosophy, a post he occupied for five years. During this period Tate had cause to write to Slater extolling Chadwick's virtues: '... his intellect is second to none ... yet he shows piety and humility'.¹¹⁹ In 1849, Chadwick succeeded Tate as Vice-President of the college, an appointment Tate 'wholeheartedly endorsed'¹²⁰, and held positions as professor of dogmatic theology and later professor of pastoral theology. In 1866, during Tate's presidency, he was elected as second bishop of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle and was consecrated at Ushaw college chapel by the

116 Interview with Dr. Jonathan Bush, Archivist, Ushaw College, 20th June 2017.

117 UC/8/501, Tate to Slater, 30 Nov. 1870

118 Ushaw also served as a boarding school for boys, educating the sons of the Catholic middle classes from across Britain and abroad. The list of alumni shows many Irish students receiving their education at Ushaw, some of whom went on to train for the priesthood at the seminary. Without doubt the most illustrious of Ushaw alumni was Nicholas Wiseman, first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster from 1850 to 1865. Born in Spain in 1802 to wealthy Irish parents, he was brought up in Waterford. He was a boarder at Ushaw from 1810 to 1818 before going on to the English College in Rome. Ordained in 1825 he was consecrated bishop in 1840 also being appointed President of Oscott seminary. He was both praised and criticised for his ultramontane views. 'Nicholas Patrick Stephen (Nicolas Patricio Esteban) Cardinal Wiseman' (<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org>) (18 Oct. 2017). For a detailed study of the practice of Irish 'elites' educating their children in England or abroad see Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014).

119 UC/P8/25, Tate to Slater, 8 Feb. 1843. This is the first of twenty-seven letters to Slater in which Chadwick is discussed. There is no hint of criticism in any of them and it is obvious Tate has the highest regard and respect for Chadwick.

120 UC/P8/102, Tate to Slater, 30 Jan. 1849. Tate began an extended sabbatical from Ushaw, carrying out missionary work in the district.

archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Edward Manning.¹²¹ For sixteen years he oversaw the diocese and for one year during that time (1877) he also held the office of president of Ushaw.¹²² It is apparent that Chadwick became both a friend and close confidant to Tate. Between 1857 and 1866 Tate wrote forty-three letters to Chadwick covering every aspect of church business as well as personal news. He expressed forthright views and opinions on doctrines and personnel to Chadwick, whom he obviously trusted to keep his confidence. His last direct correspondence with Chadwick offered his 'sincere and wholehearted congratulations on his appointment as bishop', stating that is 'no better man who through love of God or devotion to His church deserves this elevation'.¹²³ None of this correspondence replicates Tate's criticism of Irish priests so prevalent in his letters to Slater, showing sensitivity to Chadwick's upbringing and reinforcing the view that it was not Irish-born priests *per se* that Tate took objection to but the outlook and attitude that those priests who had trained in Ireland brought with them to the English mission.

The *Registration Studentium* of Ushaw provides a record of attendance for four Irish-born priests who subsequently ministered in Manchester.¹²⁴ The four student priests were sufficiently proficient in the core subjects of Latin, English, Mathematics and Philosophy to be allowed to forego the *gradu inferiore* and were admitted straight on to the *superiorem gradum*.¹²⁵ The fact that they had undergone their training at Ushaw indicates they were from a middle-class background. Archival material shows that the cost of seminary training in the mid-nineteenth century was £50 per annum which was roughly equivalent to the average

121 In 1866 Tate expressed his delight at Chadwick's appointment as bishop of Hexham and Newcastle and enthusiastically shares his plans for Chadwick's consecration at Ushaw (UC/P8/409, 410, 411, 413, 417. 5 Sept. 1866 through to 2 Nov. 1866).

122 One of the most distinguished of Ushaw's alumni, he is famous for writing the lyrics of the Christmas carol *Angels we have heard on High*. 'James Chadwick Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle' (<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org>) (18 Oct. 2017).

123 UC/P8/405, Tate to Chadwick, 21st Aug 1866.

124 The Student Register shows the four priests studying between 1879-83, 1887-91, 1891-93 and 1891-99.

125 Lower level and upper level of seminary training. All records are in Latin.

male earnings per annum.¹²⁶

One of the priests, Father Francis Hart was born in Belfast in 1859. He was educated by the Christian Brothers, and at St. Malachy's College, Belfast. He arrived in Manchester in 1880 and attended the Salford Catholic Grammar School which also acted as a training college for Catholic teachers. In 1887 he began his studies for the priesthood at Ushaw and was ordained in 1891, following which he became a teacher at St. Bede's until his appointment in 1908, as chaplain to the Salford workhouse. To have taught at the prestigious and highly regarded St. Bede's, Hart must have demonstrated considerable intellectual and educational acumen and the fact he went on to serve in what was a high profile role as a workhouse chaplain where he would have engaged with a number of Irish paupers, shows the confidence of the presiding bishop.¹²⁷

Two Irish-born priests who had ministries in Manchester attended the seminary at Oscott, Birmingham. One of these priests, Father Thomas Fox, was educated in England, at Sedgeley Park Catholic School, the first post-Reformation English Catholic boarding-school for the education of boys.¹²⁸ In 1861 he was given the mission of building St. Edward's church in Rusholme, still very much a semi-rural, middle-class suburb of Manchester which included the prestigious Victoria Park development. His middle-class background and education made him eminently suitable for such a mission and he remained at St. Edward's until 1873.¹²⁹ However, it was not a homogeneous cadre of Irish-born priests who arrived in Manchester. Some like Francis Hart and Thomas Fox were trusted with important posts

126 Ushaw Archivist, 20th June 2017; Gregory Clark, *Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK, 1209-2010* (University of California, 2011), available at

Measuring Net Worth Website, (<https://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/ukeyncpi/earnstudynew.pdf>) (10 Oct 2017).

127 Database of Ushaw Alumni, list of all students. Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p.9. St. Bede's College Archives. Lawrence Gregory, St. Bede's archivist, confirms the presence of several Irish-born priests in the nineteenth century. Conversation with archivist 14th Sept 2017.

128 Sedgeley Park was founded in 1763 with the aim of educating the boys of middle-class Catholics. It was a popular destination for the education of middle-class Irish boys following the relaxation of the penal laws and continued to be so well into the nineteenth century. (*The Tablet*, 9 July 1938).

129 Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 3.

within the church indicating a certain acquiescence to the aims and policies of the hierarchy whilst others concerned themselves more with the plight of the mainly poor parishioners they served which had the potential to bring them into conflict with that very same hierarchy. The 'scandals' caused by the Irish clergy and their ultramontane practices remained controversial. However, it was not the Irish-born priests' theological orthodoxy that provoked most controversy amongst the hierarchy, but the sympathy of some priests with the Irish population's 'unpatriotic' demand for Home Rule, clashing with the church leadership's desire to assimilate them into English national culture.

Controversy and Suspicion

All Hallows College, Drumcondra, Dublin, was dedicated to providing clergy for overseas missions. McNicholas's research into correspondence between bishops and priests in Scotland and England provides insights into both native and Irish Catholics, clergy and laity, and the tensions which arose between them.¹³⁰ Conditions in England and Scotland were not identical but were sufficiently so to make comparisons valid. In 1842, Bishop Scott, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District Scotland, wrote to Father Hands of All Hallows on the difficulties presented by the poverty of his flock:

Our congregations here are almost wholly composed of operatives and labourers, one half of whom is always reduced to beggary whenever a depression of trade takes place (...). But are poor people even where a thousand of Catholic souls are collected and could not pay for a hall to supply temporarily for a chapel and give a priest £30 a year to live on.¹³¹

This is certainly a scenario that the Catholic Church in Manchester of the 1840s and later would be familiar with and was seen by Scott as the main obstacle to progress. Another was the political involvement of the young Irish priests the college had sent him.

¹³⁰ Anthony McNicholas, *Politics, Religion and the Press: Irish Journalism in Mid-Victorian England* (Bern, 2007), pp 56-58. This All Hallows material is not currently available due to relocation of archives.

¹³¹ Scott to Hands, 23 Dec. 1842 cited in McNicholas, p. 57.

The following April he again wrote to Hands:¹³²

I trust you and the other professors will impress upon their mind the necessity of acting in every respect as clergymen in this country, and not allowing even the finest feelings of their native land to induce them to take when here, public part in political movements whatever may be their private opinions on the subject. Every Clergyman in this country of the Established Church or of any churches who takes any public part in mere political questions is looked down upon and despised.

He expressed what was to be a consistent English clerical view of political endeavour by the Irish in Britain, namely that the poor were too untutored to have independent views and that in the expression of their opinions, they and their (Irish) clerical supporters were recklessly leaving themselves and the Church open to attack. This concern was reflected in a letter sent by Salford's first bishop, William Turner, to Father Hands. Writing in 1855 he stated that he was unable to accept one student priest even on a short-term basis, 'for six months or any period'. In refusing him, he said 'I am sorry that Mr. Tracey is so ultra- Irish but I hope that the advice and caution you will deem it necessary to give him would have its due effect'.¹³³ The hierarchy in Britain were reluctant to employ Irish priests, and although the pressure of numbers exacerbated by the Famine meant that the policy had to be abandoned, reservations lingered. One source of grievance amongst the faithful was noted by Gwynn who observes that whilst the Roman Catholic Church in England, both congregation and priesthood, became largely Irish, there was a lack of Irish bishops, which caused some resentment among the laity though not the clergy themselves: 'Many of them had political sympathies which were scarcely compatible with promotion to the episcopacy in England, and they also brought with them from Ireland the close relationship between priest and flock, which they valued more than promotion.'¹³⁴ However selfless Irish priests may have been when it came to spiritual and pastoral ministrations and lack of personal

132 Ibid., 31 Apr. 1843.

133 Turner to Hands cite in McNicholas, *Politics, Religion and the Press*, p. 59.

134 Denys Gwynn, 'The Irish Immigration' in G. A. Beck (ed.), *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950), p.29. In America by the closing decades of the century about half of the bishops were of Irish background and only four out of seventeen cardinals had not been Irish: James Hennessy, *American Catholics: A history of the Roman Catholic community in the United States* (Boston, 1981), pp 194-203.

ambition, Bishop Scott in Edinburgh and his colleagues south of the border still scrutinised them for any political unorthodoxy and complained loudly whenever they found it. As Scott wrote again of the student Irish priests, 'They are too great politicians for their country to be able to do much good as Clergymen'. He stated that he would remove them if their conduct did not improve. He avowed that in future he required a signed letter from students stating that they would not engage in politics,¹³⁵ a policy echoed by the then Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen in the 1850s. Some priests, however, were openly defiant, denying the right of the hierarchy to pronounce on political matters, a key principle of the Fenian movement.

This reflects the fact that by the 1860s Fenianism had taken deep roots in parts of Ireland and the diaspora, with Lancashire a notable stronghold. Episcopal concern is illustrated by Bishop Brown of Shrewsbury who wrote a series of letters to Father Fortune at All Hallows, concerning one student, a Mr. Brosnan, who, he said, had some peculiar beliefs. In consequence his connection to him had 'been brought to a very early close':

During his stay at Birkenhead, he had frequently expressed himself, both in the presbytery, and among the people, in the strongest anti-English terms, and he spoke of the Fenians with praise and with admiration – among the class of people who form the bulk of the Catholics in that town.¹³⁶

Fortune claimed that such opinions were common amongst the young Irish men and it would require serious attention in order to equip them for the English mission. It is not possible to gauge the true extent of Fenian influence among Irish clergy, but at a parish level and, as might be expected, among the younger clergy, there were varying degrees of understanding, in some cases shading into sympathy and outright support. Fenianism in Manchester resonated among those Irish migrants who regarded leaving Ireland not as an opportunity to improve themselves economically and socially, as most Irish migrants did, but as a curse, inflicted on them by British misrule and repression.¹³⁷

135 Scott to Hands cited in McNicholas, p. 58.

136 Brown to Fortune, 28 Jan. 1867 cited in McNicholas, p. 59.

137 Joseph O'Neill, 'Introduction' in Joseph O'Neill, *The Manchester Martyrs* (Cork, 2012).

Recruits to the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) were organised through a front organisation, the Brotherhood of St. Patrick which had seven branches in Manchester by 1863.¹³⁸ Cullen condemned the organization declaring that Catholics 'repudiate and condemn resistance to lawful authority and denounce treason and rebellion wherever they may spring up.'¹³⁹ Bishops in Lancashire spoke in similar vein.¹⁴⁰ Local clergy in Manchester claimed the Brotherhood was linked to the 'Ribbonmen'¹⁴¹ and their pressure succeeded in reducing the number of branches from seven to two.¹⁴² When local activist Neil Walsh drowned, one priest told a member of the Brotherhood in the confessional, they all 'would never have a good day's fortune and that it was the vengeance of God that fell on Neil Walsh for starting the Brotherhood against his will'.¹⁴³ Certainly Fenians were active in the Brotherhood and influential in many branches, which probably accounts for the enmity of the Church. The 'Manchester Martyrs' incident of 1867, in which members of a Fenian cell were arrested and executed, vividly brought home to Manchester's Catholics these potential ethnic tensions.¹⁴⁴ Bishop Turner condemned this 'recent deplorable deed in Manchester now under magisterial investigation' in no uncertain terms.¹⁴⁵ The clergy, he stated, '... have a duty to teach obedience to the law of God, and warn of the danger of secret organisations'.¹⁴⁶ Priests were reminded that members of such organisations were barred from receiving the sacraments

138 Gerard Moran, 'The National Brotherhood of St. Patrick in Britain in the 1860s' in *Irish Studies Review*, vii, no.3 (December, 1999), pp 325-36; Gerard Moran, 'Nationalists in exile: The National Brotherhood of St. Patrick in Lancashire, 1861-65' in Gilley and Swift, *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The local dimension*, pp 212-35.

139 Archbishop Paul Cullen, 'An address to the clergy of Dublin, 1865' in *Ireland and the Holy See: A Retrospective. Illegal and Seditious Movements in Ireland Contrasted with the Principles of the Catholic Church as shown in the Writings of Cardinal Cullen* (Rome, 1883), reprinted in J. R. Moore (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain* (4 vols, Manchester, 1988) iii, pp 123-125.

140 W. J. Lowe, 'Lancashire Fenianism 1864 – 1871 in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, lxxvii (1976), p. 162.

141 An umbrella term encompassing the secret societies whose common identifying mark was a green ribbon tucked into a front pocket. Those who identified specifically as 'Ribbonmen' were predominantly farm labourers. The Catholic Church opposed them and condemned the taking of secret oaths.

142 Moran, *Nationalists in exile*, p. 163.

143 Ibid.

144 Mervyn Busted, 'The Manchester Martyrs: A Victorian Melodrama' in *History Ireland*, vol xvi, no. 6 (2008), p.35.

145 William Turner, *Pastoral Letter*, 3 Oct. 1867. (MS, Salford Diocesan Archives [hereafter SDA]).

146 Ibid.

and it is testimony to the longevity of Fenianism that Turner revisited the issue in a letter to the clergy of the diocese in 1870:

... Confessional practice in the Diocese seems to vary regarding a certain class of penitent – or so it is said – that is, individuals connected with the Fenian association. ... The Church is very clear on such matters. The penitent must wholly withdraw directly and indirectly (from such organisations) before admission to Sacraments ...¹⁴⁷

Turner was succeeded in 1872 by Herbert Vaughan, a descendant of an old Catholic recusant family. The growth of a more cohesive Home Rule movement in Ireland from the early 1870s onwards alarmed English Catholics such as Vaughan, who did not see the issue as a priority and feared the ethnic tensions which the Irish question could exacerbate in England.¹⁴⁸ Gilley contends that Vaughan's natural conservatism meant that his episcopate displayed little sympathy for Home Rule, leading him to shepherd his flock towards the Conservative party in the light of their policies on denominational schooling. As a strong Tory, he was clearly vehemently opposed to the revolutionary Irish nationalism embodied in Fenianism, and abhorred laity and clergy who leaned towards support for militantly Nationalist policies.¹⁴⁹ In 1874 for example, he refused to attend a Home Rule meeting at the Free Trade Hall convened by Irish Nationalist leader Isaac Butt. Vaughan stated that he believed in 'a larger measure of self-government' for Ireland, but he was in fact steadfastly opposed to Home Rule.¹⁵⁰ For Vaughan, Ireland's place was as an integral and proud part of the British Empire.

By 1891 it was suggested that all but one of the Irish-born priests working in the city's North-east division which included a large part of north Manchester, were nationalist sympathisers suggesting Vaughan's influence on the views of the Irish clergy was largely ineffectual.¹⁵¹ The hierarchy's fear was that such priests, as Charles Booth noted in London

147 Turner, *Private Letter to Clergy*, 17 Feb. 1870. (SDA)

148 See for example, Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800-2000* (London, 2003), Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867–1921* (Manchester, 1998). Unfortunately, no personal correspondence from Vaughan on his attitude to Irish Catholic priests is available. (Information from Susan Rayner, Diocese of Westminster Archivist).

149 Sheridan Gilley, 'Roman Catholicism' in D. G. Paz (ed.), *Nineteenth-century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect* (London, 1995), pp 33-56

150 *Manchester Guardian*, 6 Jan. 1874.

151 Fielding, 'The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford', p. 59.

'in sentiment are even more Irish than they are Catholics.'¹⁵² Whilst this engendered a deep respect for the priests amongst the diasporic Irish, it caused long standing, albeit, fluctuating unease with the English Catholic hierarchy.

Father Daniel Hearne came to personify this concern. Born in Waterford, he arrived in Manchester in 1825 following his appointment as curate at St. Mary's in Mulberry Street. Following the opening of St. Patrick's, Livesey Street, in February 1832, situated in the heart of 'Irish Town', Hearne became the first rector. Many of the Irish migrants fleeing the famine from 1845 onwards, settled in Irish Town and made their way to St. Patrick's, where they found Hearne to be a faithful priest and caring pastor and also a staunch advocate of justice for themselves and the wider working-class community.¹⁵³ He was a widely respected local leader and acted as broker between the poor Irish and the authorities. Hearne also testified to the Royal Commission investigating the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain when they visited Manchester to collect evidence in early 1834. At the time Hearne lived in Livesey Street, a Wesleyan minister, the Rev. John Smith also resided there, and the two men agreed to park theological differences and work together when it came to dealing with social issues, visiting the poor and destitute and providing aid regardless of creed or religious adherence.¹⁵⁴ One of the most notable incidents of this brokerage was during the cholera outbreak of 1832. Rumours circulated that anatomy students had removed the head of one of the child fatalities and treated it in a flippant, disrespectful manner. As gossip spread the windows of doctors' surgeries were smashed and an enraged crowd threatened to run riot. Hearne hurried to the scene and, standing on a barrel in the middle of the street, held up his arm and urged them to go home and remain quiet. They readily obeyed, which was just as

152 Feilding, 'The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford', pp 253-274.

153 Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 2

154 Thomas Swindells, 'A Roman Catholic Chapel and a Notable Priest' in *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men* (Manchester, 1908, reprinted 2013), pp 168-180.

well as yeoman cavalry at arrived at the scene.¹⁵⁵ Again in 1834, when several parishioners were on trial following a confrontation with members of the Orange Order, Fr. Daniel Hearne from St. Patrick's gave character references for several of the accused and described how 'he had been engaged until the evening keeping things as quiet as he could'.¹⁵⁶

Hearne was removed from his ministry in 1846, allegedly due a dispute with his curates, although many suspected at the time it was due to the displeasure of the overseeing bishop at his active involvement with social and political issues which included his support for the Anti-Corn Law League and Daniel O'Connell's campaigns for the repeal of the union.¹⁵⁷ So popular and respected was Hearne that a presentation evening held at the Free Trade Hall on the occasion of his leaving St. Patrick's attracted an estimated audience of 3,000 with noted speakers outlining Hearne's work on temperance, opposition to the corn law and his calls for repeal. He was presented with the sum of £250, equivalent to over £18,000 in today's terms, which further highlighted the deep affection he had engendered. In his acceptance speech he reiterated his support for the aforementioned causes but urged submission to the authority of the Catholic church.¹⁵⁸ His removal caused uproar amongst his working-class parishioners with a public meeting held later that month, calling for his reinstatement, attracted 'not less than upwards of 1200-1400 working people'.¹⁵⁹ Fifty years later the highly public work of Father Hearne, at a time when Catholics were only gradually coming to the fore in public affairs, was acknowledged by a senior Catholic cleric: '... the position which Father Hearne took up, commanded the respect of all classes, and destroyed a good deal of the prejudice in the public mind against the church and against the priests'.¹⁶⁰

155 Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 2.

156 Mervyn Busteed and Rob Hodgson, 'Coping with Urbanization: The Irish in Early Manchester' in F.E. Brown, S.J. Neary, M. S. Symes (eds), *The Urban Experience: A People-Environment Perspective* (Abingdon, 1994), pp 469-78.

157 Malcolm Colwe, *Dirty Politics-Hard Times-A Trilogy of Chartism* (Manchester, 2010), p. 350.

158 *The Manchester Guardian*, 17 June 1846.

159 *Ibid.*, 27 June 1846.

160 Monsignor McKenna, 'Recollections of Catholicity in Manchester', in *The Harvest*, x, no.115 (1897), p. 76.

Clearly, Hearne was at the vanguard of that category of Irish priest who saw one of their primary purposes as supporting both the poor parishioners whom they served, the aspirations of the mass membership of the Repeal Association with whom they empathised and the campaigns for improvement of the living conditions of the working class in general.

The failure of the campaign for repeal of the Act of Union in the 1840s and the death of Daniel O'Connell in 1847, demoralised many of the Irish priests in the English mission and beyond, though there was lingering support for Irish self-government and even for Fenian aspirations, if not methods. That this was an enduring anxiety for the English hierarchy can be seen even in the late 1890s. In November 1898, the then Bishop of Salford, John Bilsborrow, faced a major problem when Father McCarthy, the curate of St. James in Pendleton, blessed the foundation stone to the monument commemorating the Manchester Martyrs. This event, held at Moston cemetery in Manchester, was attended by the elderly James Stephens, founder of the IRB. Later that evening a public meeting heard a number of ardent nationalists make rousing speeches in support of the Fenian cause. McCarthy was already known to the bishop for his fervent support of Irish nationalism, and in February 1899 he was dismissed from his post, provoking vehement reaction from local Irish Catholics who accused Bilsborrow of anti-Irish bias. A demonstration in support of McCarthy attracted up to 6,000 people enthused by widely distributed leaflets calling for support for 'another Irish priest sacrificed on the altar of English hate and animosity.'¹⁶¹ A public meeting following the demonstration passed a resolution demanding the reinstatement of McCarthy stating that 'The Irish people were the Catholic Church in Pendleton; and they demanded that a man of their race and nationality should represent them in the Church and minister to their spiritual requirements'.¹⁶² Their petitioning was unsuccessful but the nature and size of the protest

¹⁶¹ Busteded, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 106.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

was an indication of the strong association and that the Irish migrant community still had with priests from 'the Old Country' who shared their political outlook. Such priests were ever mindful that their views would bring them into conflict with the Church hierarchy, yet a significant number retained their sympathy for the cause of Irish self-determination, some to the point of provoking episcopal displeasure. In time, however, the majority managed to accommodate themselves to the expectations of the English hierarchy.

From Reservation to Acceptance: The Pastoral Dimension

The great majority of Irish-born clergy eventually gained not merely the trust but the confidence of the authorities and to occupy positions of increasing significance and sensitivity within the structures of the church. As Hearne and McCarthy illustrate, the Irish-born clergy had a natural affinity with their fellow countrymen and whilst this could sometimes lead individual clergy politically astray in the view of the hierarchy, it also meant there was a broad understanding and empathy which helped establish close pastoral relationships.¹⁶³ This gradual process was exemplified by the Rev. Edmund Cantwell, who served for thirty-two years, from 1845 until 1877 at St. Patrick's Livesey Street in the heart of Irish Town, six years as a curate and twenty-six as Rector.¹⁶⁴ He served for a short period under Fr. Daniel Hearne and during his time as curate was remembered for an unflinching support of the poor of the parish demonstrated by the lack of concern for his own welfare. In 1848, at a time when many parishioners were suffering from infectious diseases, for example, he gave the last sacraments to seventeen victims in one house alone in the Angel Meadow district, an area which was almost exclusively populated by poor and destitute Irish migrants living in

¹⁶³ For an in-depth analysis of the power and respect Catholic priests held within their parishes see Fielding, *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford*, pp 64-75.

¹⁶⁴ Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p.3.

low lodging-houses and overcrowded cellars.¹⁶⁵ In 1852, a mere seven years after his ordination and at the relatively young age of thirty-two, he was made a Canon of Salford Cathedral and became Rector of St. Patrick's.¹⁶⁶ Cantwell's rapid rise to the higher ranks of the Church and his long tenure in a very large parish that served the needs of many thousands of poor parishioners, suggests that he was in that category of Irish-born priest who acquiesced to the rulings of the presiding bishop and had his full confidence. Further evidence of this is found in Cantwell's appointment to the delicate, high profile task of ministering to the spiritual needs of Philip Allen, at nineteen the youngest of the three 'Manchester Martyrs' to face execution for the murder of police sergeant Brett in 1867. Cantwell was the most senior of the three Catholic clerics who attended the convicted men prior to, and in the final hours leading up to the executions:

The three prisoners were locked up in their cells for the last time at half-past six o'clock. They retired to rest at half-past eleven o'clock and were awakened at a quarter to five on Saturday morning by Mr. Holt. They were shortly afterwards visited by the Rev. Canon Cantwell, and the Rev. Fathers Quick and Gadd, and went to mass at a quarter past five o'clock. The condemned men were most attentive to the service and showed great fortitude.¹⁶⁷

Cantwell accompanied Allen to the scaffold, reciting prayers to which Allen dutifully responded:

At a few minutes past eight the prisoners were brought from their cells. Allen headed the procession, the Rev. Canon Cantwell, dressed in full canonicals, walking by his side. Allen was deadly pale, but he walked with a firm step, and repeatedly uttered the response, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy upon us.'¹⁶⁸

There is a significance to be drawn from Cantwell's appointment to this sacramental duty. As reported by the local press, this 'Fenian outrage' caused widespread panic and significant ethnic tension in Manchester and the surrounding districts, and on the day of the executions the authorities put in place the most stringent security measures in order to quell any civil

165 Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic*, p.19.

166 Braken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 3.

167 *The Manchester Courier*, 25 Nov.1867.

168 *The Lancashire General Advertiser*, 25 Nov.1867.

unrest. Extra police were drafted in from Salford, Bolton and Oldham. Thousands of troops were on duty, guarding the prison and surrounding streets, and local firms encouraged workers to volunteer as special constables.¹⁶⁹ The executions were to take place at the New Bailey Prison on the border of Manchester and Salford, close to the Irish Town district of Manchester. The largest of the Catholic parishes serving Irish Town was St. Patrick's, where Canon Cantwell was rector. The Catholic church and Bishop Turner had condemned the action of the Fenians¹⁷⁰ and it was most important that the Church was not in any way seen to support their action whilst at the same time ministering to the spiritual needs of the condemned men. It would therefore be appropriate for Bishop Turner to entrust Cantwell, a senior cleric and Irishman, with this most sensitive of tasks. With over fifty reporters at the scene, Cantwell's dignified appearance and manner¹⁷¹ were a positive witness to the Catholic church in a very delicate situation.¹⁷²

Given the complex hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church and its emphasis on orthodoxy, authority, obedience and regular attendance to spiritual duties, a high premium was placed on effective administration and monitoring of the faithful and the clergy. Those chosen for high profile, sensitive administrative posts therefore had not only to be gifted administrators but also individuals who would have the total trust and confidence of their superiors. From the Manchester case study, it is clear that some Irish-born priests had indeed graduated to this high status. The process is further demonstrated by Monsignor William Joseph Sheenan, educated at St. John's College in Waterford, who came to St. Chad's, Cheetham, in 1845, coinciding with the influx of Irish migrants into Manchester fleeing the Famine. He remained at St. Chad's for the forty-six years of his career.¹⁷³ He served as Vicar General, a priest given executive powers by the bishop to act as his deputy,

¹⁶⁹ *The Manchester Courier*, 25 Nov. 1867; *The Lancashire General Advertiser*, 25 Nov. 1867.

¹⁷⁰ Discussed earlier in this chapter.

¹⁷¹ *The Manchester Courier*, 25 Nov. 1867.

¹⁷² He continued to minister to the needs of his parishioners until he retired to his birthplace of Clonmel in 1877.

¹⁷³ Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 4.

and assisted with the administration of the diocese under both Bishop William Turner (1851-72) and then Bishop Vaughan (1872-92).¹⁷⁴ In explaining the role of Vicar General the Salford diocesan magazine *The Harvest*, described it thus: '... if the Bishop is the Sovereign of the diocese the Vicar General is Prime Minister or Viceroy'.¹⁷⁵ During Sheenan's tenure as Vicar General, William Turner was called away to Rome to attend the first Vatican Council held between December 1869 and October 1870. Sheenan was the bishop's advocate in his absence and was the most senior Catholic cleric in the expansive diocese. Bishop Vaughan's twenty years in Salford also witnessed intense activity and the many projects in which he was involved required periods of absence from the diocese¹⁷⁶ and it was during these times that Sheenan would come to the fore as his deputy.¹⁷⁷ During the period that Sheenan held the position of Vicar General the Catholic church in Manchester was experiencing an unprecedented period of expansion in all aspects of ministry. The presiding bishop would therefore require a trusted and able deputy in a role that required considerable intellectual, administrative and diplomatic skills and this, coupled with his lifelong position as rector of St. Chad's, made Mgr. Sheenan the best known priest of his time in Manchester. He was the highest ranking Irish-born Catholic clergyman to serve in the Salford diocese up to his death in 1891 and clearly had the unqualified trust and confidence of his superiors.¹⁷⁸

The Irish clergy were amongst the relatively few Irish Catholics, besides the small cadre of middle-class professionals, with any education or experience in leadership and

174 A Vicar General is the principal deputy of the Bishop of a Diocese for the exercise of administrative authority. The Vicar General exercises the Bishop's ordinary executive power over the entire diocese and, thus, is the highest official in a diocese after the diocesan Bishop or his equivalent in canon law (www.newadvent.org > Catholic Encyclopaedia) (5 July 2016).

175 *The Harvest*, iii, no.25 (Oct. 1889), p. 26.

176 See Robert O'Neill, *Cardinal Herbert Vaughan: Archbishop of Westminster, Bishop of Salford, founder of the Mill Hill Missionaries* (London, 1997).

177 Unfortunately, there is limited archival material on Mgr. Sheenan's tenure as Vicar General, with no correspondence pertaining to his duties as the presiding bishop's deputy. (Salford diocesan archivist, 10th Jan. 2017).

178 *The Tablet*, 11 Apr. 1891. His obituary gives testimony to his faithful service and administrative acumen in a time of great transition for the Catholic church in Manchester.

administration. Consequently, they were frequently leaders in secular as well as spiritual matters to the disadvantaged poor, whilst also acting as defenders and pacifiers of their flock in times of economic and political tension. The intellectual ability of some of the Irish clergy was recognised by the Church hierarchy who trusted them with positions of responsibility and encouraged their involvement in the wider ministry proving that in time adherence to Church authority could overcome anti-Irish sentiment. But the Catholic church also had deep and more enduring concerns about outside threat to the faith and the faithful.

Patrolling the boundaries of the Faith

The Catholic church in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain, was chronically anxious about 'leakage'. This was the concern that a combination of the emigration process, the anonymity of the novel urban context and the operation of public institutions and bodies would lead to the loss of numbers. Consequently, the Catholic Church in Manchester was particularly active in its attempt to limit such potential losses, by social action, home missionaries and ensuring that when Catholics appeared in court, the workhouse or were recruited into the armed forces, Catholic representatives, clerical or lay were on hand to guard Catholic interests.¹⁷⁹

Of particular concern was the loss of Catholic children through lax registration procedures in the workhouse or in court which might allow them to be given over to the care of Protestant chaplains and possibly placed in non-Catholic foster homes. The solution was to ensure the presence of Catholic observers at court proceedings and election of Catholic

¹⁷⁹ The appointment of Catholic chaplains to the workhouses was a matter of some controversy in the nineteenth century. Even in areas with large Catholic populations, such as Liverpool, the appointment of a Catholic chaplain was unthinkable. Some guardians went so far as to refuse Catholic priests' entry to the workhouse, viewing Catholic inmates as fertile ground for proselytising. See A. C. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834–1929: The History of an English Social Institution* (London, 1981), p. 130.

ratepayers to the Board of Guardians who oversaw the administration of the workhouses. There they could lobby for the appointment of Catholic chaplains and ensure the correct registration procedures to identify Catholic inmates.¹⁸⁰ The appointment of a Catholic chaplain to the workhouse was therefore viewed by the hierarchy as an essential role in the maintenance and propagation of the faith and it showed a special mark of confidence in a priest's ability to be appointed as a chaplain in what was regarded as a particularly important and sensitive, high profile role. In 1857, Father Edward O'Neil, who had been ordained to the priesthood five years earlier at St. John's College, Waterford, was appointed chaplain to the Salford Workhouse. He also took up the task of chaplain to the Salford army barracks, another key project at a time when the Irish were a significant element in the British army comprising 28% of ordinary ranks and 7.5% of officers.¹⁸¹

Such roles led Hamer to argue with justification that Manchester Catholics were the pioneers of the new Catholic Church amongst the urban workforce, with increased personal contact between Church and poor during a period when Catholic numbers were increasing rapidly, due in most part to the influx of poor Irish migrants, particularly in the post-famine period.¹⁸² This is further evidenced by the expansion of Catholic missions throughout the poorer areas of the city and the increase in Catholic schools both under Bishop William Turner and his successor Herbert Vaughan both of whom saw the education of the poor as a priority for the Church. The rise in the number of Catholic church attenders and the concurrent increase in churches saw the associated growth of parish-based Catholic institutions such as classes teaching English run on a parish or local level, priest-run classes which taught English to Irish migrants, friendly societies which included funeral clubs, sick

180 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 103.

181 Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922', pp 31-64. Apparently both officers and men had the greatest respect for O'Neill and he frequently dined in the officer's mess (Braken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 5).

182 Edna Hamer, *Elizabeth Prout, 1820-1864: A Religious Life for Industrial England* (Bath, 1994), pp217-218.

and burial societies, savings groups, and charitable fraternities like the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (SVP)¹⁸³ and Church-led organisations, for instance, the Catholic Protection and Rescue Society (CPRS).

The CPRS, with its mission to identify and care for orphans and homeless children, was founded by Bishop Vaughan in 1886. It is a prime example of the Church's proactive approach to the challenges generated by urban industrialisation at a time when child abandonment had reached alarming proportions. Vaughan acted on his concern in 1884 by appointing a board of enquiry which reported that nearly 10,000 children were in danger of losing their faith. Its work was publicised through the diocesan monthly magazine *The Harvest* whose logo included the words 'An Organ of Catholic Works' as it also acted as the mouthpiece of the St. Vincent de Paul Society (SVP), the Catholic Temperance Movement and the Girls' Mutual Aid Society.¹⁸⁴ The magazine set out the mission statement of the CPRS in its first issue under the headline 'What the Society is for'. Its primary purpose was, 'to rescue the Catholic inmates of institutions where the practice of their faith is denied them'.¹⁸⁵ Significantly, Vaughan proclaimed the society and its work was under the patronage of St. Patrick and made this known at the St. Patrick's day celebrations of 1887.¹⁸⁶ The entire purpose of the society was to check 'leakage'. In 1889 Vaughan issued a pamphlet entitled 'The Loss of Our Children'. His description of Britain's philanthropic institutions was a blunt expression of the opinion of the Catholic hierarchy and a statement of the urgency of taking action, whilst taking care to declare his ideas were firmly within the framework of the generally praiseworthy tradition of English philanthropy:

183 The SVP was set up in England and Wales in 1844 to work amongst the vast numbers of urban poor in the industrial cities. By 1845 branches, or conferences as they were known, had been founded in Liverpool and Manchester. (*The Tablet*, 23 Oct. 1845). As the Society's activities expanded members were recruited amongst the wider Catholic laity. No membership books are available for the study period of this thesis but, however *The Harvest* magazine mentions middle-class members of Irish descent who held high office in the society. These will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

184 *The Harvest*, i, no.1 (Oct. 1887), p. 44.

185 *Ibid.*

186 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 101.

... They were nearly all Protestant, all absolutely non-Catholic, many of them merely proselytizing institutions, mingled with a great amount of human benevolence. ... every credit for making great sacrifices for what they believed to be the best, but they looked upon Catholics as men tainted with disease, and if they could rid their children of the disease in infancy, they believed they were doing a service to the children and to the State... (Children) were snatched up in courts and alleys. Those private societies had agents who were busy all over large towns and all over the country (Catholics) must march with the times, that as the people of England had established by private effort an enormous number of philanthropic institutions for rescuing and educating the waifs and strays of the lower class of society, and were gathering their children, it behoved them as Catholics belonging to the English community not to be behind the times, but to found their own associations for educating their waifs and strays.¹⁸⁷

By 1891 the Church had opened seven homes across the diocese, capable of accommodating 700 boys and girls, supported by 2,200 men and women engaged in full-time or voluntary work.¹⁸⁸

The CPRS annual reports show that several Irish-born Catholic priests served on the executive committee of a society which was clearly seen as playing a key role in staunching the potential loss of large numbers of the faithful.¹⁸⁹ Two Irish born priests were to become key personnel in its early phase. Father Malachy J. O'Callaghan, was chairman of the Homes' Committee, which oversaw the running of the society's residences, and also acted as honorary manager, roles which required considerable business and financial acumen.¹⁹⁰ O' Callaghan was born in Limerick in 1840 and educated at All Hallows College, Dublin. He was ordained at Salford Cathedral in 1865 and served as Rector at two Manchester, St. Aloysius, Ardwick and St. Michaels, Ancoats, both areas having substantial Irish migrant populations.¹⁹¹ Another long-serving CPRS member was Father Lawrence Cassidy, born in Dublin in 1851. ¹⁹² He joined the Franciscan Order at the age of sixteen and was ordained

187 Cited in John Bennett, 'The Care of the Poor', in Beck, *The English Catholics 1850-1950*, pp 569-70.

188 *The Tablet*, 2 May 1891.

189 In 1901 *The Harvest* began publishing the annual reports of the CPRS. Two priests had ministries in Manchester, a third Father William Shine was born in Waterford in 1868. Educated at Mount Melleray he was ordained at St. Bede's College, Manchester. He served as a priest in Blackburn and Burnley, also being a CPRS executive member for a number of years.

190 *The Harvest*, xiv, no. 171 (Dec. 1901), p. 47.

191 Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 8; 'Census of England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (17 Dec. 2016).

192 *Ibid.*, p.10. *The Harvest*, xv, no.183, (Dec. 1902), p. 46.

at the Franciscan College in Rome in 1873. He resided at the Franciscan Adam and Eve Friary known as the 'Church of the Poor' in Dublin for twenty-five years and for many of those years acted as Guardian (the religious superior) of the Friary, experiences which equipped him well for his move to the Salford diocese in 1899. There he served as curate at St. Chad's, Cheetham Hill, before finally being appointed in 1911 as Rector of St. Patrick's, Collyhurst, where he ministered until his death in 1925. Both of these parishes had large Irish migrant populations, St. Patrick's being in the heart of 'Irish Town'. Clearly both were recognised by their superiors as not merely trustworthy in both personal and political terms but as having considerable gifts of oversight and administration.

The CPRS executive committee consisted of equal numbers of secular priests and lay persons with the Bishop and Diocesan Provost acting as chair and vice-chair respectively.¹⁹³ The ten priests represented parishes across Salford diocese. It was perhaps an acknowledgement of the problems of endemic poverty and its social consequences within Manchester's Irish districts that two of the committee members were Irish-born priests who served these areas and would therefore have first-hand knowledge of the plight of the orphaned and abandoned children. The fact that O'Callaghan was selected as chair and honorary manager of the Homes Committee was not only an acknowledgement of his proficiency as an administrator but also of his understanding and empathy with the poor of the diocese with Manchester being a *prima facie* example of the problem.

Since the primary purpose of the Catholic priest was to minister to the spiritual needs of his flock this could potentially involve Irish-born priests serving an ethnically diverse congregation, an increasingly likely scenario as Manchester became more of a plural society. St. Michael's, Ancoats was founded in 1859 as a chapel of ease to aid St. Patrick's, Livesey Street, Collyhurst areas both accommodating large Irish communities. The chapel,

¹⁹³ *The Harvest*, xiv, no. 171 (Dec. 1901), p. 47.

served by priests from St. Patrick's, was replaced by a new church ten years later and given independent status in 1875 with its own Rector and curate. However, during the mid-1860s a new diaspora began to settle in Ancoats when thousands of Italians left the rural villages of their native regions.¹⁹⁴ The newly-founded Italian state would be at loggerheads with the Vatican well into the twentieth century dating from the conquest and incorporation of the Papal States into the new Italian kingdom in 1870 until the signing of a concordat with the Mussolini regime in 1929.¹⁹⁵ There was, therefore, potential for a severe conflict of loyalties between faith and nation, and the choice of parish priest to minister to this potentially alienated community was a sensitive issue. By 1887 both the rector, Canon Thomas Byrne and assistant rector, Fr. Joseph Tynan of St. Michael's were Irish-born priests, still fondly remembered by Manchester's Italian communities¹⁹⁶, demonstrating how Irish-born priests could now be trusted to reach out to a community beyond that of the Irish migrant.

Canon Thomas Byrne was made rector of St. Michael's in Ancoats in 1887, a position he held for twenty-five years. At that time the mission comprised of approximately eight hundred Italians.¹⁹⁷ Byrne received his education at Carlow, Spain, Paris and Belgium and was ordained in Bruges in 1867. He came into the Salford Diocese and joined two of his brothers already serving as priests there. Another brother was a Doctor of Medicine working in the Cheetham Hill district of Manchester, still very much a middle-class suburb.¹⁹⁸ Although clearly from a middle-class background, he was renowned in the district for his

194 Stephen Rea, *Manchester's Little Italy: Memories of the Italian Colony of Ancoats* (Manchester, 1988).

195 Until 1929 since it had incorporated the Papal States into the new kingdom by force of arms.

196 Rea, *Manchester's Little Italy*, p.11.

197 Ibid.

198 This is an indication of the middle-class family background from which Canon Byrne came. The average price of medical tuition at that time was £150 per annum, a huge sum in the Victorian period: M. J. Peterson, *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London* (London, 1978), p. 69-74. The cost of seminary tuition for Byrne and his two brothers would also have been around £50 per annum each, again an indication of considerable family resources.

concern for the poor, working closely with the Italian priests who served in the area.¹⁹⁹

As his obituary in the *Manchester Catholic Herald* noted:

Self-sacrifice scarcely describes his charity; he robbed himself even of necessaries and wore his clothes till they were something more than shabby, so that he might be able to assist the poor. He was always reluctant to refuse anyone seeking alms, and this naturally led him to be the victim of much imposition. Beggars met him and knew that their appeals would not go unheeded if he could possibly assist them, and the demands on his purse were far unequal to his means.²⁰⁰

This is an echo of Booth's description of certain parish priests in London who, though by no means affluent, 'if they have a shilling in their pocket no one in want will ask in vain.'²⁰¹ The Sunday before Byrne's burial an 'extraordinary number' of Catholics attended Mass and Communion. On the day of his funeral thousands lined the streets to watch the procession and the *Manchester Catholic Herald* sold 3,000 copies of his portrait in less than three days.²⁰²

Another Irish-born priest with perhaps an even more prominent role in incorporating this new Italian element into the church was Joseph Tynan who had studied at the Gregorian University in Rome, one of the oldest universities in the world and the first Jesuit university, founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1551. It contained faculties and institutes of various disciplines of the humanities. As a pontifical university, the Gregorian functioned primarily as the higher education centre for Catholic clergy and among its graduates were numerous popes, saints and beatified persons. Because of its vast collections and historical origins, it was also regarded as an excellent academic school.²⁰³ Born at Camross Leix in 1862, Tynan entered St. Kieran's Seminary, Kilkenny, where he studied from 1876 to 1881. He joined the Salford diocese where his academic prowess was recognized by Bishop (later Cardinal)

199 Rea, *Manchester's Little Italy*, p. 13.

200 *Manchester Catholic Herald*, 19 Oct. 1907.

201 Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, ii,243.

202 *Manchester Catholic Herald*, 26 Oct. 1907.

203 Phillip Caraman, *University of the Nations: The Story of the Gregorian University with its Associated Institutes, the Biblical and Oriental, 1551-1962* (New York, 1981).

Vaughan who sent him to the Gregorian University in Rome. Within four years, by the age of twenty-two, he had obtained his Bachelor's degree in Divinity and Canon Law and had been granted the honorary title of Doctor of Divinity, an honour reserved for the most gifted and able of students.²⁰⁴ He returned to the Salford diocese in 1885 where he was ordained by Vaughan. He was curate at the Holy Family church in Chorlton-on-Medlock before being appointed in 1887 assistant rector of St. Michael's, Ancoats, both churches serving large Irish communities. Tynan frequently preached to Italian migrants attending mass at St. Michael's in their own language and it was his work within the Manchester's Italian diaspora which sealed his reputation in the local community. Realising the need for some form of more broadly-based social structure aside from the extended family, he took an active role in founding the Manchester Italian Catholic Society (*Societa Italiana*) in 1888. It was a non-political organisation whose function was to look after the cultural needs of the colony's families. Fr. Tynan encouraged the Italians to dress in their native regalia and take part in the annual Manchester Whit Walk procession carrying an elaborate image of the Virgin Mary.²⁰⁵ He also served as rector at St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, ministering to the large Irish migrant community. He went on to become a Provost at Salford Cathedral, was appointed as a Domestic Prelate by Pope Pius X²⁰⁶ and also served as the Synodical Examiner of the clergy with the power to remove parish priests from their administrative duties.²⁰⁷ For a time he also taught mathematics, a subject in which he was especially proficient, at St. Bede's College, Manchester. It was however as the Right Reverend Monsignor, that he further enhanced his reputation as a leading Catholic scholar. He was a member of the Catholic Educational

²⁰⁴ Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p.14.

²⁰⁵ *The Tablet*, 22 June 1888.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 Aug. 1939. A Domestic Prelate is a title granted by the Pontiff to the most trusted and able of the clergy – *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

²⁰⁷ Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 14.

Council and was co-opted onto the Manchester Education Committee.²⁰⁸ During the period which preceded the 1902 Educational Act and during subsequent periods of education legislation, he was principal adviser to the Diocesan authorities, and was regarded as one of the leading Catholic authorities on the subject in Britain having written numerous academic papers as well as being a frequent speaker at education conferences.²⁰⁹ On his death in 1939 Tynan was lauded as one of the leading Catholic academics of his time.²¹⁰ He was without doubt one of the most respected and influential Roman Catholic clergy of the period. His educational attainments, the influence of his ministry on the diverse ethnic composition of his parishioners and attainment of high office within the expansive diocese of Salford are far removed from the disparaging views of the Irish Catholic priest that had been presented earlier in the nineteenth century.

Irish Teaching Orders in Nineteenth-Century Manchester

Education was regarded by the hierarchy as a vital part of Church ministry and indeed as a crucial instrument in the struggle for survival. Almost without exception, the order of priorities in a new mission was to open a school, find a house for the priest, then open a chapel and finally build a church.²¹¹ This prioritisation was part of the Catholic world view that education was integral to its universal mission. In England, Catholic traditionalists harked back to medieval times when education was the sole preserve of the church and wished to preserve this link. Many Catholics still felt marginalised in wider society and therefore any attempt by the state at the secularisation of education was further evidence of lingering Protestant suspicion and mistrust. Education in this sense went beyond mere secular 'instruction' and included moral training and religious formation, an education of the

208 *The Tablet*, 15 Jan. 1911.

209 *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1911.

210 *Ibid.*, 19 Aug. 1939.

211 David Lannon 'Catholic Education in the Salford Diocese 1870-1944' (PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2003).

whole person, thus ensuring transmission of the faith to the next generation in an attempt to minimise the Church's perennial fear of 'leakage'.²¹²

As well as Irish-born clergy the Catholic Church in England also adopted Irish-founded organisations to serve the wider Catholic community in Britain, thus accepting ideas and concepts from Ireland. The spiritual and educational needs of the poor, mainly Irish, Catholic community far outweighed the provision that could be made by the local bishops, clergy and laity. For many bishops, religious teaching orders provided the answer to a lack of qualified Catholic teachers and a shortage of funds. Two Irish religious teaching orders were invited to Manchester to fulfil the demand for teachers namely the Christian Brothers and the Presentation Sisters.

The Congregation of Christian Brothers, a Roman Catholic lay congregation, was founded in Waterford, Ireland, in 1802 by Edward Rice for the purpose of educating poor Catholic boys. Concerned by the poverty and lack of education, he sold his business, and devoted his money and life to educating the poor. In 1802, he opened his first school in Waterford assisted by a number of secular teachers. They lived together in community and were professed as Brothers, along with Rice, in 1808.²¹³ In 1812 a community was established in Dublin and by 1907 there were ten communities educating around 6000 children. In 1820 the Christian Brothers were the first Irish order of men to be formally approved by a charter from Rome. The Congregation of the Christian Brothers also reached English cities such as Liverpool, Manchester and London by the 1820s.²¹⁴ In 1845 a community of Irish Christian Brothers moved to St. Patrick's in Manchester, to teach at a boys school which had opened in 1838. This was one of several factors that continued to draw Irish migrants to the area in the mid-nineteenth century.²¹⁵ Irish Christian Brothers

212 This concept was not limited to Catholics. Both the Established Church and Dissenters recognised the importance of the cultural transmission of the faith and lobbied for it with equal vigour.

213 Daire Keogh, *Edmund Rice and the First Christian Brothers* (Dublin, 2008), pp 10-11.

214 By the end of the 19th century the Christian Brothers was a world-wide order (Keogh, *Edmund Rice*, p. 10.)

215 Busted and Hodgson, *Angel Meadow*, p. 20.

also taught at the prestigious St. Bede's College, founded in 1876 by Bishop Vaughan. The school was conceived as a 'commercial school' to prepare the sons of Manchester's middle-class Catholics for a life in business and the professions, a significant recognition in itself that of the growing social and cultural importance of that group within the Catholic community.²¹⁶

The nineteenth century also saw a dramatic increase in religious female orders in Ireland. While in 1800 there had been only 120 nuns in Ireland, belonging to six different orders and living in eighteen houses, by 1900 their numbers had grown to 8000 nuns belonging to 35 orders and living in 365 convents, of which almost a quarter belonged to the Presentation Sisters.²¹⁷ Founded in 1775, the Presentation Sisters were a semi-cloistered religious order founded to educate 'young girls, especially the poor, in the precepts and rudiments of the Catholic faith.'²¹⁸ The Presentation Sisters were one of the first Irish orders to open a convent in England.²¹⁹ On the 10 May, 1836 a Brief granted by Pope Gregory XVI endorsed the establishment of a Convent of the Presentation Order of Sisters, in England. This was established in Livesey Street, Manchester, adjacent to St. Patrick's church. The Brief stated 'For since there are in that town about fifty thousand Catholics and a growing number of them poor, abundant fruit would be derived from the pious education of girls committed to the nuns.'²²⁰ This was the first convent of any kind to be established in Lancashire after the Reformation, and the first convent of Presentation Sisters in England.

Large numbers of the city's Irish migrants had little chance of education and spiritual instruction. It was 'through the munificence of Patrick Lavery, an Irish Silk merchant with

216 Gregory, *A History of St Bede's College*, p. 5.

217 Frank Biletz, *Historical Dictionary of Ireland* (Plymouth, 2014), p.303.

218 B. J. Flanagan, M. T. O'Brien and A. M. O'Leary (eds), *Nano Nagle and an Evolving Charism*, (Dublin, 2017), p. 1.

219 Gloria McAdam, 'Willing Women and the Rise of Convents in Nineteenth-century England' in *Women's History Review*, viii, no.3 (1999), pp 411-441.

220 Catherine O'Neill, *The Presentation Sisters in England: 1836 – 1986* (Manchester, 1986), p. 17.

premises at 2, Angel Street, Manchester²²¹ that the Presentation Sisters were invited to establish a convent and school for the education of girls. Lavery died in 1821 and it was not until 1832 that Fr. Daniel Hearne of St. Patrick's, Livesey Street, was appointed to prepare and act as Superior for a convent and it was 1836 before the nuns actually arrived in Manchester. An examination of *The Annals of the Order of Presentation Sisters, 1836-1936*, record that relations between the nuns and Hearne were often fractious usually because of financial disputes. In 1846, the Reverend Mother Magdalen for example, recalled 'The Rev. D. Hearne always intended to do well for the Community; the money matters were always the cause of his great trouble'.²²² In 1832 Hearne had travelled to the Presentation Sisters convent in Clonmel to begin discussions regarding the proposed convent and school in Manchester. The annals record that Hearne was 'most agitated' when the subject of finance was broached. Indeed, he demanded 'most forcefully' that the sisters reimburse his 'travel expenses and other sundries' plus give a supplement to the building fund, 'a total sum amounting to one hundred pounds'. On arrival in Manchester, Mother Magdalen was immediately confronted by Hearne who asked for the money she had received from the Community at Clonmel. She asked to keep ten pounds of the thirty she had received for items 'greatly needed in the house' and 'to provide for the nuns as they did in Clonmel'. Hearne answered, 'Mother Magdalen the ways in England are so different from those at home, you could not manage as I will provide'.²²³ As Hearne was Superior, she was obliged to give up the money. Hearne initially showed a benevolent attitude towards the nuns:

1836. The Rev. D. Hearne arranged that his servants should wait on the Nuns and that they should provide everything that might be required out of a common stock of St. Patrick's House. Frequently

221 *The Annals of the Order of Presentation Sisters in Manchester, 1836 -1936* (MS in the possession of the Order of Presentation Sisters, St. Patrick's Convent, Manchester), p.1.

222 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

223 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.

There was a great provision of expensive things unfit for Nuns and Mother Magdalen would remark to the Rev. D. Hearne that they were unaccustomed to such expensive living, plain food provided by themselves was what they wished for, but he thought that nothing was to good for them and the servants were very attentive. Still Mother Magdalen used to urge the propriety of their having a more plain diet regularly and that they should know at what expense they were living, but to no purpose (all through kindness).²²⁴

This rebuffal may have influenced Hearne's future treatment of the nuns:

1837. Rev. D Hearne became very nasty; forbade any visitors in the convent, and said any money received as donations had to be given to him, and even read the Nuns letters. ... Rev. D. Hearne's constant remarks regarding money and expenses, caused the Nuns to state: Rev. D. Hearne seems very queer about us now, let us go home, Mother Magdalen²²⁵

Records show that the priests of Manchester showed little interest or kindness towards the nuns. MacAdam suggests that this hostility was due to a perceived weakening of priestly control at parochial level²²⁶ although this is questionable since it was the priest who ultimately had control of the parish and exerted the greatest influence on his parishioners.²²⁷ It quite possible hostility arose because of the priests' unfamiliarity regarding social interaction with the nuns, given the more secular role undertaken by a teaching order. Priests were happy with the concept of the cloistered nun confined to the convent in spiritual meditation and prayer, but personal interactions may have made them uncomfortable. Of course, concern (or envy) over the perceived financial status of the nuns may have contributed towards the animosity. This is suggested by the case of Fr. Hearne in his dealings with the Presentation Sisters all of whom were choir nuns and had access to considerable financial assets.²²⁸ The majority of Catholic priests in Manchester ministered to the poorest of parishioners and may have felt, as Hearne did, that the nuns monetary assets could be better used to help the poor of the parish. However, there was one notable exception to this hostility in the form of an English priest, the Rev. Thomas Lupton, who became a generous benefactor to the Sisters following the admission of his niece to the Order. On his death in 1843 he left 'all his furniture,

224 Ibid., p. 5.

225 Ibid., p. 8.

226 McAdam, *Willing Women and the Rise of Convents in Nineteenth-century England*, p. 422.

227 Fielding, *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford*, pp 64-75.

228 Conversation with Presentation Order archivist (22 Nov. 2017).

his books and the sum of £600' to the nuns in Livesey Street.²²⁹ Father Hearne again appropriated the money to the dismay of Mother Magdalen who complained to the Bishop of the 'difficulties which she and the other sisters had to bear with regards Rev. D. Hearne ... I find it not only difficult but impossible to obey him'.²³⁰ Eventually the Bishop made a change in the Superior giving the authority to Father Robert Thompson who immediately began a thorough audit of the finances reporting that 'all money matters were in confusion.' Unfortunately, Thompson died before his report was concluded and the investigation died with him. His death was 'a fresh and severe trial' to Mother Magdalen as the convent was in debt to the sum of £500.²³¹ As noted earlier, Hearne was removed from the post of Rector of St. Patrick's in 1846, under controversial circumstances, and the annals record the nuns were accused by locals of being complicit in his removal which 'occasioned numerous insults and even death threats'.²³² There was never any indication that Hearne had misappropriated the monies for his own benefit. In fact, the *Annals* hint at where the money was most likely being spent – on the poor. Referring to Hearne's task in respect of the building of a convent for the Presentation Sisters:

1833. Many and great were the difficulties the Rev. D. Hearne had to encounter in this work. He had only Mr. Lavery's money and its interest to commence with. He however set on foot a general subscription through the town and went himself all over England, begging for aid.²³³

Notorious for the poverty of its inhabitants, Hearne focused on the poor of Irish Town:

1836. Rev. D. Hearne was always most concerned for the financing of the church and the boys' school. ... The parishioners are the poorest of poor and can barely sustain themselves.²³⁴

Further they record:

1837: 'Rev. D. Hearne has begun a soup kitchen for the benefit of the poor. ... Rev. D. Hearne never rejects the supplications of the poor and destitute.'²³⁵

229 Copy of the will pertaining to Rev. Thomas Lupton (MS in possession of the Order of Presentation Sisters, St. Patrick's Convent, Manchester).

230 *The Annals*, p. 14.

231 *Ibid.*

232 *Ibid.*, p.18.

233 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

234 *Ibid.*, p.5.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Hearne was well aware of the privileged background of the nuns and the wealth of the Order. As Superior he had every right to govern their and he may have concluded that the nuns could indeed survive on more meagre provisions and the excess of money could be better spent elsewhere.

Despite the early problems, the convent school flourished. In 1886, over 1,000 girls between the ages of seven and fourteen years attended the schools. In 1845 the Sisters took charge of an orphanage, which moved from Chorlton to a purpose-built house attached to St Patrick's School with an initial admission of twenty children. An examination of the *The Records of the Teaching Staff of St. Patrick's Convent School for Girls* from 1836 to 1901 show that at any one time at least seven Sisters were qualified teachers, holding Government Certificates. Initially the teachers were all Irish-born but as time progressed a number of English-born Presentation sisters were on the teaching staff,²³⁶ which provides evidence of integration. There were fourteen, perhaps more, Sisters in living in the Convent Community, some of them novitiates who would train to become qualified teachers.²³⁷ With the removal of Hearne the fractious relationship with the clergy abated and scant reference appears in the annals to dealings with subsequent parish priests.

The socio-economic status of nuns is alluded to on several occasions by members of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education, or Powis Commission (1870). In it, one of the commissioners, Renoulf, observed that '... many of the ladies who teach in convent schools belong to good families and have themselves received a highly refined education.'²³⁸ A second commissioner, Balmer, commented that 'The refinement of manners

236 *The Records of the Teaching Staff of St. Patrick's Convent School for Girls, 1836 – 1901* (MS in the possession of the Order of Presentation Sisters, Livesey Street Convent, Manchester).

237 Conversation with Presentation Order archivist (22 Nov. 2017).

238 Report of the Royal Commissioner on Nature and Extent of Instruction by Institutions in Ireland for Elementary or Primary Education, and Working of System of National Education, xxviii, no.1 (1870), pp 557-558 (<https://archive.org/details/op1249643-1001>) (15 Nov. 2017)

which naturally characterises ladies by birth and education is one of the striking features presented on entering convent schools after leaving a school of any other description.²³⁹ Several onlookers both secular and religious, Catholic and Protestant made similar observations.²⁴⁰ Canon Law stipulated that every woman entering a convent bring a certain sum of money with them. Women who entered the Presentation convent in Galway in the early nineteenth century, for example, had to bring five hundred pounds each, equivalent to almost £30,000 in today's value.²⁴¹ This was a huge sum of money, roughly equivalent to the annual salaries of the most prestigious middle-class professions, serving to preclude lower-class women from admittance to the order as choir sisters. Furthermore, letters petitioning for admittance to the order show that the overwhelming majority of potential novitiates were privately educated in France, Belgium or Spain.²⁴² In general, the very poorest classes of society were rarely good sources of recruits, perhaps because such individuals were too preoccupied with securing bare subsistence to spare their time or their children for the spiritual rigours demanded by the cloistered or semi-cloistered orders. The financial requirements would certainly have debarred them from admittance as choir sisters although the richest of convents could choose to dispense with the dowry in the case of a highly promising candidate.²⁴³ The exclusivity of religious orders such as the Presentation Sisters, implied that they could be entrusted with the spiritual, moral and intellectual advancement of their charges.

The Presentation Sisters and Christian Brothers became an established part of the Irish Mission in Manchester, providing children from the poorest of backgrounds with an

239 Ibid., p. 558.

240 Caitriona Clear, 'Walls within Walls: Nuns in Nineteenth Century Ireland' in Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart (eds), *The Irish Women's History Reader* (London, 2001), pp 126-134.

241 Ibid., p. 127; 'Currency Converter' (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk) (10 May 2016).

242 Letters of petition for admittance to the Order of Presentation Sisters (MS in the possession of the Order of Presentation Sisters, Clonmel Convent, Ireland).

243 In most orders the nuns are divided into choir sisters and lay sisters. The latter are usually employed in the household duties and other manual work and were from poorer backgrounds which meant any dowry due was assessed on individual circumstances (www.newadvent.org > [Catholic Encyclopedia](http://www.newadvent.org) > [V](http://www.newadvent.org)) (5 July 2016).

education that their socio-economic standing would normally preclude them. Furthermore, the Brothers taught in one of Manchester's most prestigious schools educating the children of the Catholic middle class. However, the 1870s saw a potential challenge to denominational schooling. The 1870 Education Act stands as the first piece of legislation to deal specifically with the provision of education in Britain on a national scale.²⁴⁴ The act allowed voluntary schools to carry on unchanged, but established a system of 'School Boards' to build and manage schools in areas where they were needed. The boards were locally elected bodies which drew their funding from local property taxes universally referred to as 'the rates'. The introduction of the School Board elections in 1870 opened an opportunity for wider Catholic involvement in civil society. These elections, held every three years, were significant outside of the immediate result, as this was one of the first opportunities that Catholics had to vote for their co-religionists in their potential role as elected representatives.²⁴⁵ Unlike the voluntary schools, religious teaching in the board schools was to be 'non-denominational'. But any attempt to establish education as the responsibility of the state, and thus spend public money on it, created acute tensions. Members of the Established Church claimed that any national system must use an Anglican-based curriculum, a claim fiercely resisted by both Nonconformists and Catholics. Some of the conflict and bitterness was due to the social and political divisions that underlay and reinforced sectarian and theological disputes. Many Anglican clergymen regarded education crudely as a means of expressing and consolidating what they viewed as their rightful role as the Established Church whilst the Catholic hierarchy,

244 Prior to the Education Act of 1870 Catholic elementary school education was under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Poor School Committee (CPSC) which liaised with government on educational matters. The CPSC was responsible for the training of Catholic teachers and raising and distributing funds for new and existing schools and also negotiated the government grant received by Catholic schools.

245 By the mid-nineteenth century the restored Catholic hierarchy recognised the importance of Catholic involvement and representation in civil society in order to promote and maintain the interests of the Church and its adherents. To this end Catholic Registration Societies were formed in diocese across England and Wales, the object of which was the registration of all Catholics who were entitled to vote, either at parliamentary, municipal or other election (school boards for example). In 1865 such a society was formed in Manchester.

the majority of whom were loyal to crown and country, as note earlier, saw schooling as a way of not only transmitting the faith but also of promoting the concept of 'Englishness' among children from an Irish migrant background. Ironically in the long term, the provisions of the 1870 Act had the effect of allying the Catholics and the Anglicans as voluntary schools were in competition with the new Board Schools. Moreover, both were opposed to Liberal, Radical and Labour candidates who argued either for non-denominational religious instruction or increasingly, for its total exclusion from the curriculum. In most spheres, the Catholic Church was traditionally suspicious or fearful of any other religious organisations, especially the Established Church. In the realm of voluntary education, however, the Anglican Church was at the forefront of opposition to the Boards, and the support of other religious denominations was gradually accepted as reinforcement rather than competition. Board schools, with both rates, and government grants to draw on, had the resources to grow. By comparison, aside from donations from the faithful, Voluntary schools had no other source of local income comparable to rates. There was no way in which they could keep pace.²⁴⁶ In this sense the settlement of 1870 carried within it the seeds of considerable potential threat to the work of the faith-based voluntary schools. By the 1890s it was clear that provision for elementary education was notably variable across the country and likely to become even more so. An additional problem arose from the growing concern for a national scheme of secondary education. It was felt that the existing structure was not one on to which any provision for secondary education could be grafted. The Education Act 1902 made church schools partly the responsibility of local authorities, who financed them from local government funds. School Boards were abolished and, in return for rate aid, voluntary schools' committees of management came within the control of the new Local Education

246 For instance, in the 1880s voluntary schools received an annual government grant equivalent to 17s 6d per pupil. Board school pupils with simultaneous funding from the rates received £5 per head (Lannon, *Catholic Education*, pp 60-61).

Authorities, though this was not entirely satisfactory to all denominations and the place of voluntary schools in the British education system would linger well into the twentieth century.

The burden of financing their voluntary schools bore heavily on the Catholic community and in the diocese of Salford, Bishop Vaughan was vociferous in arguing and petitioning for parity of funding for Catholic schools. His core argument was the unfairness of a system in which the ratepayers who chose in conscience to send their child to a denominational school were expected to give to the financial upkeep of board schools whilst also contributing towards provision of a religious-based education for their own children.²⁴⁷ Vaughan was careful to avoid any hint of sectarianism in his public statements and this was in line with Catholic hierarchical aims not to antagonise the Established church. This allowed an alliance of mutual interests. In this context it was vital that Catholic interests were represented on the Schools Board and Vaughan led a ceaseless campaign through a series of pastoral letters and personal interventions to ensure Catholic voters returned Catholics representatives to the boards covered by the diocese.²⁴⁸

The inaugural election in 1870 had two successful Catholic candidates and Catholic interests were well represented on the Manchester School Board until its abolition in 1900. Both Catholic laity and clergymen were elected to the School Boards and co-opted to Education committees.²⁴⁹ One of the most active and vociferous was Fr. Patrick Lynch. Born in county Kerry in 1852²⁵⁰, Lynch was elected onto the Manchester School Board in 1894. His election speech delivered to an audience at St. Patrick's School, Livesey Street, received extensive coverage in *The Manchester Guardian*,²⁵¹ and demonstrated not merely his

247 Lannon, *Catholic Education*, p. 63.

248 *Ibid.*, pp 66-73.

249 Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, pp 184-189.

250 Lynch was ordained at St. Bede's college, Manchester in 1876. He served as curate at the church of the Holy Family, Chorlton-on-Medlock and he became Rector of St. Wilfred's, Hulme (Bracken, *Irish-born Secular Priests*, p. 9). Both churches served the needs of large Irish migrant communities.

251 *The Manchester Guardian*, 8 Nov. 1894.

eloquence, but depth of knowledge and assertiveness on the matter of Catholic Education. It serves as a direct counter to the image of that Irish Roman Catholic priest as pronounced by *The Manchester Guardian's* article of 1847: '... the professional education, and the general culture of the Irish Catholic priests are exceedingly defective, and little fitted to give them noble intellectual aspirations.'²⁵² Lynch clearly stated his intentions if elected: '... to defend the rights of Catholic parents and to place Catholic schools in the same position as Board schools.'²⁵³ However, he also made it clear at the outset that his policy would not be one of 'Meaningless obstruction on the Board. ... Catholics were not now and never had been opposed to the spread of education.'²⁵⁴ Furthermore, he was not merely defending the interests of Catholic schools:

Surely the upholders of the Voluntary schools might pose with more justice as the true friends of education, seeing as they give the best test of friendship – they had dipped their hands deeply into their own pockets. This they did last year in raising £808,000 to maintain their own schools, whilst the same schools did not receive a single penny of the £1,700,000 in rates levied for the maintenance of Board schools. ... The School Board religion was taught at the expense of rates, and when Catholic's and others claimed a share in those same rates to give their children a sounder secular knowledge they were informed that they were dogmatists, denominationalists, sectarians or any other nickname that came handy. The school question was and ever will be a religious question. One form of religion by a clever trick managed to secure endowment for itself, and when the other religious bodies sought rate aid to meet the ever-increasing exigencies of the Education Department they were met with parrotcry of sectarianism ...²⁵⁵

The underlying theme of Lynch's address was the non-sectarian nature of his campaign, arguing Catholics had long been victims of sectarian bias some of which was expressed through violence, but they themselves were magnanimous in their attitude to other denominations when the matter of the common welfare for all Christian children was concerned. As Lynch stated:

He would not say that they ought not to look for further help from rates or taxes, as some people seemed to think, for the Voluntary System was an essential and integral part of the primary education of this country. If the government wanted to turn all the Voluntary schools into Board schools it would have to lay down 50 millions or nearly so, to purchase the mere buildings and incur an annual expenditure of two millions beyond what was already spent. If the government

²⁵² *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 Feb. 1847. Full quote in thesis introduction.

²⁵³ ²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 8 Nov. 1894.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

was not prepared to do that, it showed Voluntary schools were a necessity; and if they needed further aid either from rates or taxes, they ought in justice to get it.²⁵⁶

The Guardian reported that throughout the election address Lynch was greeted with loud applause and cries of 'hear, hear'.²⁵⁷

Lynch's speech demonstrates an important point regarding voluntary schools: the inter-necine bickering between the various religious denominations could be suspended when it came to a common matter in which they all held a shared interest. Lynch served on the School Board for six years and the minutes of the Manchester School Board show that he was a powerful voice on the subject of Catholic education. They report that he was a regular attender to the Board, mentioned on several occasions and either proposed or seconded resolutions in petitioning for parity with Board Schools in regard to government and ratepayer grants for voluntary schools.²⁵⁸ Again his non-sectarian argument was evident when in 1896 he seconded a motion from an Anglican representative calling for the government to increase its contributions to voluntary schools whilst exempting parents of children attending church schools from paying educational rates to Board Schools.²⁵⁹ He was also a life-long friend of Bishop Casarterlli, the intellectual as well as spiritual leader of Manchester's Catholics,²⁶⁰ who appointed him Provost, or head, of the Cathedral Chapter of Salford diocese, a prestigious appointment as the leader of the body of clerics serving as advisers to the bishop or, in his absence, governing the diocese. He was later a made a Domestic Prelate, a title gifted by the Pope to the most senior Monsignori. His titles were a recognition of his outstanding intellectual and administrative abilities²⁶¹ and an indication that Irish birth did not necessarily hinder promotion in the English Catholic Church.

256 Ibid.

257 Ibid.

258 M65/1/1/41 to M65/1/1/71. (Manchester Archives and Local Studies).

259 M65/1/1/48, 28 Dec. 1896. (MALS).

260 *The Tablet*, 24 Jan. 1925.

261 Ibid., 15 Jan. 1911

Conclusion

It is evident that a number of Irish-born ministers of religion resided and ministered in Manchester during the nineteenth century. Numbers of Catholic priests were initially low in comparison to other clergy but several factors, including an excess of priests in Ireland and Irish migration to Manchester, were responsible for a steady and significant increase in their numbers so that by the end of the nineteenth century they made up the overwhelming majority of Irish-born ministers of religion. There was a popular perception, propounded by elements of both the British Tory and for a time Liberal presses, that the Irish priest was from a lower-class background and was poorly educated, with an almost mystical hold over the poor and superstitious Irish peasant to whom he mostly ministered. However, the overwhelming majority of priests came from staunchly middle-class backgrounds. In the case of those clergy who came to Manchester as part of the Irish mission, far from being ill-educated, some of the priests received an extensive and privileged education, and were articulate, capable individuals, a trait also evident in members of the Order of Presentation Sisters who came to teach in Manchester. Those priests who had witnessed the horrors of the Famine had an innate empathy with the poor Irish migrants to whom they mostly ministered, acting as brokers between the host authorities and the diasporic poor, a trait later extended to Italian migrants. However, this empathy could cause conflict within the Catholic Church as illustrated by the conflict over funds, between Fr. Daniel Hearne and the Presentation Sisters.

Attitudes within the Catholic hierarchy towards the Irish clergy of the diocese went through a transition from a situation where they were almost a suspect group to the point where they were valued and trusted as a positive asset to Catholic church-life and work. After initial reservations about the poverty, cultural background, irregular religious

observances and politics of the Irish influx and indeed Irish-born priests, the Catholic Church set about founding churches, schools, organisations and associations for their worship, education and instruction. A concern over politics persisted, but with the passage of time a *modus vivendi* evolved and as Irish priests rose through the ranks, clergy who displayed administrative gifts and leadership abilities were given significant posts in church administration, education, parish-based organisations, associations and societies which guarded and patrolled the boundaries of the faith. They were certainly on an educational and intellectual par with other ministers of religion of other denominations with whom they were grouped in the census in Social Class I. The myth of the ill-educated Catholic priest should therefore be dispelled in Britain and, they, and other members of religious orders who served both the Irish migrant and host communities, were a key part of not only of the Irish mission but of a reforming Church in a significant phase of recovery and augmentation. The same is true of the many Catholic middle-class lay people who served both in the Church-based organisations and in the wider civic life of the city.

CHAPTER 5. ASSOCIATIONAL CULTURE AND THE IRISH MIDDLE CLASS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANCHESTER

Introduction

As this thesis explores, the middle class in nineteenth-century Manchester, as in other large conurbations, was not a homogeneous stratum. There was both a significant petit bourgeoisie characterised by occupations such as clerks, commercial travellers and police officers, what would be regarded as a typical middle-class element comprising of for example, teachers, shopkeepers, merchants and dealers, within the Irish migrant community as well as what may be described as part of a 'diasporic elite'. In the latter category are individuals who played a key role in politics and high-status professions such as medicine, science-based technologies and engineering. This role has often been understated or omitted altogether in the literature pertaining to the Irish in nineteenth-century Manchester¹ but a case-study approach can, provide an insight into the important contributions such individuals made to both the Irish migrant settlement and the wider host community and personalise the process of upward mobility. A key contextual factor in the progress of this diasporic elite was the role of associational culture both in their personal and professional lives. It was through active participation in religious and secular clubs, societies, institutions and professional bodies, that the middle class in all of its configurations asserted identity and status amongst both peers and the wider community. This new narrative of the Irish middle-class in Manchester associational culture helps to dispel the myth of the Irish in Britain as a homogeneous lumpen proletarian mass.²

1 For example in *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880-1939*, Steve Fielding touches on the subject of an Irish middle-class within Manchester's migrant community but does not expand on the concept, whilst Alan Kidd in *Manchester* identifies the Irish as a significant presence during the period of the Industrial Revolution and beyond. Whilst mentioning the areas of Irish settlement and Irish labour patterns Kidd does not mention those Irish settlers who did not conform to the 'poor Paddy' stereotype. This is a notable omission considering how the city was in some ways the classic example of the rise of the middle class to positions of ascendancy in nineteenth-century Britain.

2 The 'myth' is evidenced by the works of Hume, Carlyle, Philips-Kay and Engels discussed earlier in this thesis.

Theories of Associational Culture

Research on the social history of the middle class's emphasises the diverse composition of this group and the internal variations of wealth, power and status, as well as the divisions in terms of religious and political identity and the transnational nature of this phenomenon.³ These divides within the middle class were reflected in their cultural and social worlds: there was no single middle-class culture or sphere. This becomes evident in the innumerable associations for various purposes that were formed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ranging across the social classes although rarely between them. Whilst a characteristic working-class form was the friendly society perhaps the definitive middle-class version was the charitable society. To describe the voluntary associations and networks of this period is virtually to describe civil society itself.⁴ Voluntary societies were essential to the construction of an identity for the nineteenth-century middle class. Religious bodies, missionary societies, health and welfare organizations, occupational associations, scientific societies, educational charities, and learned societies, as well as a myriad of individual voluntary bodies, comprised a culture of voluntarism that was characteristic of a society in which the State was often regarded with reserve.

Despite the general assumptions of *laissez-faire* ideology, Victorian Britain was in fact a country of growing state intervention.⁵ The various medical, poor relief, and education charities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are examples of voluntary effort which was subsequently replaced by or subsumed under statutory provision. However, the functions of middle class involvement in voluntary activity in the nineteenth century were of

3 Theodore Koditcheck, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society. Bradford 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1990); R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: the making of the British middle class: Leeds, 1820– 1850* (Manchester, 1990); A. J. Kidd and David Nichols (eds), *The making of the British middle class: studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century* (Stroud, 1998); Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (Basingstoke, 2003). Jerrod Siegel, *Modernity and Bourgeois: Society, politics and culture in England, France and Germany, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 2012); Jurgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (eds), *Bourgeois life in nineteenth-century Europe* (Oxford, 1993); A. R. Lopez and Barbara Weinstein (eds), *The making of the middle class: Towards a transnational history* (London, 2012).

4 R. J. Morris, 'Clubs, societies and associations', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge social history of Britain, 1750-1950*, (3 vols, Cambridge, 1990), iii, pp 395-430.

5 E. J. Evans, *Social Policy 1830-1914: Individualism, Collectivism and the Origins of the Welfare State* (London, 2016).

intra - as well as inter-class significance. Whilst much voluntary provision faced outwards towards the rest of society and its perceived needs, much of it also exclusively attended to the cultural requirements of the middle class themselves through involvement in various societies, clubs and institutions by members with shared interest and outlook. This was paramount in the development of middle-class associational culture.

The importance of associational culture in the construction of a middle class identity has long been acknowledged by historians and social scientists.⁶ Indeed it has been recognized that associational culture constituted part of urban life for the middle section of British society from the sixteenth century onwards.⁷ Associational culture provides the means by which micro communities, based on certain preconditions to admission, are created within society. It is through these communities that members extract, develop and express identities which are not only linked to this micro community but are seen as part of, and interacting with, the broader community, based on the political and social idea of the nation. It is in this sense that associations promote and develop ideas of nationalism as they engage members in what Benedict Anderson depicts as small, 'imagined communities', where a regional or nationwide presence promotes a larger imagined community.⁸ Anderson embraces this idea as the main basis of nationalism, seeing it as the theoretical construction of an imagined community of people with similar preoccupations. Collective identity created by clubs, therefore mimics and enhances ideas of nationalism, whether based on civic engagement or not.

6 Jonathan Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 84-112; Peter Clark, *British clubs and societies 1580-1800, the origins of an associational world* (Oxford, 2000); Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester, 2000), p. 84; Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society*, pp 293-319; R. J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis' in *The Historical Journal*, xxvi, no.1 (1983), pp 95-118; Graeme Morton, Boudien de Vries, and R. J. Morris (eds), *Civil society, associations, and urban places: class, nation, and culture in nineteenth-century Europe* (Hampshire, 2006).

7 Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', p. 41.

8 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2006).

Conversely, Robert Anderson postulates that associational culture developed as a concomitant 'of emergent industrialization involving mainly the upper and middle classes'.⁹ He considers the development of clubs and societies both in urban and rural areas in industrial nations and, although his definitions lack definitive time-frames, he postulates a strong attachment to liberal ideals and the existence and development of associations. He also observes:

the 'worldwide phenomenon' of 'modern urban-industrial growth...correlated with a new, wider development of voluntary associations, as permitted by the government - and often the government outlawed or limited them.'¹⁰

The types of clubs and societies which emerged and developed thus reflected the social and political concerns and interests of the day and differed immensely in size and participation as well as social and political background.

The importance of social networking has long been understood, both in the role in underpinning the lives of well-known political, commercial and artistic figures as well as influencing in a broader sense, local, regional and national social and political movements. One route to investigating social networks is through the structures of a developing associational culture, that is, formal voluntary activity, such as participation in clubs, societies and organisations, areas where the promotion of social exclusivity and overlapping membership patterns provide insights into the wider study of individuals or different groups of people who participate in such 'civil society': the arena outside the family, the state, and the market which is created by individual and collective actions, organizations, and institutions to advance shared interests,¹¹ a model that will be applied to nineteenth-century Manchester.

9 Robert Anderson, 'Voluntary associations in history' in *American Anthropology*, i, no. 73 (1973), p. 214.

10 Ibid., p. 215.

11 Ibid; D. E. Brown, 'Voluntary association: a further comment' in *American Anthropologist*, lxxv, no. 1 (1973); J. L. Cohen, 'Civil Society' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (London, 1998) available at (<http://www.rep.routledge.com/article/S006SECT3>) (7 Jan. 2018); Bent Flyvbjerg, 'Habermas and Foucault: thinkers for civil society' in *British Journal of Sociology*, xlix, no. 2 (1998); Dorothy Hammond, 'Associations' in *An Addison- Wesley Module of Anthropology*, module 14 (1972); Bernard McGrane, *Beyond anthropology, Society and the Other* (New York, 1989).

Gender Roles and Associational Culture

Historically, the majority of clubs and societies were gender exclusive with male clubs most numerous, and while a number of heterosocial associations existed, they were mostly philanthropic and educational in nature.¹² Issues of gender, however, went largely unnoticed in the accounts of middle-class associational culture by Morris, Koditschek and Gunn.¹³ Since the publication of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's study *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* in 1987, however, historians of the middle class have become increasingly aware of the processes by which social and cultural identities were gendered.¹⁴ Davidoff and Hall argued that the dominant defining feature of the early nineteenth-century middle class was a domestic ideology which separated gender roles between the private world of the home and the public world of work. The Victorian period witnessed such markedly polarized gender roles that it can be investigated according to the ideology of separate spheres. This holds that men were capable of reason, action, aggression, independence, and self-interest in the public sphere whereas women were believed to possess distinctively feminine qualities, mainly emotion, obedience, submission, reliance, and selflessness. Such characteristics were derived, it was maintained, from women's sexual and reproductive propensity. Such ideology allowed men to be in control (mentally and intellectually), to dominate society and to be the dominant gender. Men were subsequently viewed as rational, brave, and independent. Women, it was argued, were dominated by their sexuality and as such they were expected to fall silently into the social mould crafted by men, since they were regarded as irrational and sensitive. While women were positioned at the centre of the home, as a moral sanctuary away from the public domain, men straddled both the public and private spheres, and thus a man's occupation

12 The chapter mostly follows this alignment but aims to be as gender inclusive as sources allow.

13 Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites'; Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850*; Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*.

14 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780- 1850*.

and public activities constituted an essential part of his identity, yet he also took active participation in family life.¹⁵

The roots of this construction of masculinity, referring to men's traditional manners, habits and attitudes, which constitute the patriarchal system of order in society, lie in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries. The idea of separate gender spheres was instrumental in the development of a model of middle-class masculinity particularly during the nineteenth century, as divided between the home and workplace. In recent years however a number of studies have revised and modified the notion of women being totally enclosed in the domestic sphere in the Victorian era. Accounts of working-class women's lives have uncovered the extent of their involvement in waged labour and in working-class politics.¹⁶ There have also been a number of modifications to the standard image of the bourgeois woman immured in the home. Studies of middle-class women have revealed how many of them battled to enter the public arena, for example, in education, medicine and politics.¹⁷ Other work has explored the way in which the highly circumscribed public space allocated to women, such as voluntary work, was negotiated by women to carve out an influential niche,¹⁸ and how even in local government women created a space for themselves.¹⁹ The separate spheres paradigm is therefore not the most useful way to view

15 Ibid., pp 33, 90, 333. Concurring with Davidoff and Hall in *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London, 1991), Elaine Showalter discusses what Victorian masculinity was. Showalter argues that 'the nineteenth century had a cherished belief in the separate spheres of femininity and masculinity that were amounted almost to religious faith', p.105.

16 Eleanor Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland* (Oxford, 1991); Angela John (ed.), *Unequal Opportunities: women's employment in England 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1986); Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us* (London, 1978); Elizabeth Roberts, *Women's Work 1840–1940* (Cambridge, 1988).

17 Sandra Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: women's suffrage and reform politics in Britain* (Cambridge, 1986); Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: women in Britain, France and the United States 1780–1860* (Chicago, 1985); Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870–1939* (London, 1995).

18 Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1980); Anne Summers, 'A Home from Home – women's philanthropic work in the nineteenth century' in Sandra Burman (ed.), *Fit Work for Women* (London, 1979); Kathleen McCarthy, *Lady Bountiful Revisited* (London, 1990).

19 Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: women in local government in nineteenth century England* (Oxford, 1987).

gender roles of women in the nineteenth century.²⁰

The concept of Victorian masculinity was also influenced by various factors such as domesticity and gender roles. Males were depicted as showing a vast amount of pride and protectiveness over their wives. Victorian men, either in the public or private sphere, were to feel superior over women. This was a dominant feature of Victorian society which was very much a patriarchy, and the cultural rules allowed men to establish moral roles. Accordingly, Victorian masculinity entailed having certain rights that Victorian femininity was not granted. Men could work in a reputable occupation, travel through the city alone, and join 'men-only' clubs.

John Tosh suggests that in the concept of masculinity in nineteenth-century Britain:

... manliness was only secondarily about men's relations with women. The dominant code of Victorian manliness, with its emphasis on self-control, hard work and independence, was that of the professional and business classes and manly behaviour was what (among other things) established a man's class credentials vis-à-vis his peers' himself and his subordinates.²¹

Tosh's pioneering study of male domesticity in the period has furthered understanding of the role of middle-class men in the home and family life.²² He suggests that 'domesticity and masculinity were not opposed as our received image of the Victorian period would suggest and that the domestic or the private sphere is integral to masculinity'.²³ Furthermore, he argues that educational and societal values were important in the construction of late Victorian masculinity. A decision to send a middle-class father's son to a public school for example,²⁴ might be influenced by the hope that the boy would acquire the patina of a

20 Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter. Women's Lives in Georgian England, Introduction* (Boston, 1998).

21 John Tosh, 'Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson', in John Tosh and Michael Roper (eds.), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), pp44-73.

22 Tosh, 'Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class'; John Tosh, 'From Keighley to St Denis: Separations and Intimacy in Victorian Bourgeois Marriage' in *History Workshop Journal*, xl (1995), pp 193-206; John Tosh, 'Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian Britain, in *Gender and History*, viii (1996), pp 48-63; John Tosh, 'New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of the Home' in *History Today*, xlvi, no.12 (1996), pp 9-15; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (London, 1999).

23 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 33.

24 For relevance to the Irish Catholic middle class see O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*.

gentleman:

Learning to stand on one's own feet, to rub shoulders with all sorts, to have the guts to stand out against the crowd - these qualities were integral to manliness and they were not acquired at home.²⁵

Tosh therefore redefines Victorian masculinity: the gender roles of the man encompassed that of a father, a husband, or a boy and the relationship between masculinity and the domestic sphere is far more intricate than the early concept of separate spheres suggested. Furthermore, research by academics such as Jon Stobart, Alastair Owens, Catherine Hall, Martha Vicinus, Penelope Lane, Neil Raven, Hugh Cunningham, Kathryn Gleadle and Margot Finn into the political, social and cultural history of Britain during the nineteenth century, reveals that the majority of middle-class households neither conformed to the stereotype of the nuclear male-dominated family unit, nor were men completely excluded from playing a formative role in the domestic environment.²⁶ Tosh thus asserts that 'home was central to masculinity, as the place where the boy was disciplined by dependence and where the man attained full adult status as a householder.'²⁷ However, he has also suggested that historians of masculinity need to go beyond the simple dichotomy of home and work to counter the all-male association as a third arena for social and cultural activity in the lives of nineteenth-century middle-class men.²⁸ From 1870 onwards at a time when middle-class women were expanding their educational, employment and civic horizons, men of the professional and business classes were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with aspects of

25 Ibid., p. 58.

26 Jon Stobart and Alastair Owens (eds), *Urban Fortunes: Property and Inheritance in the Town, 1700- 1900* (Aldershot, 2000); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class* (Cornwall, 1995); Martha Vinicus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (London, 1994); Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and K. D. M. Snell (eds), *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850* (London, 2004); Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London, 1995); Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831- 51* (London, 1998); Margot Finn, *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge, 2004).

27 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, P.33.

28 John Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain' in *History Workshop Journal*, xxxviii (1994), p. 184.

domesticity in the home and therefore turned towards the alternative homosocial lifestyle offered by the club or a career in the colonies.²⁹

The Development of Associational Culture in Manchester

Manchester in the late eighteenth century was in transition. It was still essentially a 'pre-industrial town', where leisure, like the town itself, was in a process of development. Associational culture as defined by Clark, Morris *et al*, had not yet evolved to the level seen in London. Most leisure opportunities therefore belonged essentially to the pre-industrial age. Sports which encouraged gambling, such as horse racing and cock fighting, were popular, enabling people (almost exclusively men) of all classes to mingle. Coffee-houses and taverns were popular meeting places to exchange gossip and conduct business.³⁰ However, new leisure facilities began to develop in the latter half of the eighteenth century to meet the demands and aspirations of the gentry and the burgeoning middle class. The new facilities though few in number but were to have a major impact. Venues such as the Theatre Royal and the Concert Rooms, built in 1776 and 1777 respectively were created for the leisured classes, the gentry and upper middle class. The proletariat and petit bourgeoisie preferred their more traditional pastimes centred around the taverns, markets and sporting events.³¹ The concept of the 'Gentleman's Club' began to evolve in Manchester in the latter-half of the eighteenth century. The Gentleman's Concert club for example, was formed in 1770 meeting originally in a Market Place tavern before moving to purpose-built premises on Fountain Street in 1775. Financed by 'gentleman's subscriptions', the Assembly Rooms opened in 1792. Situated on Moseley Street, the building housed facilities such a ballroom,

²⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 172-178; John Tosh, 'Imperial Masculinity and the Flight from Domesticity in Britain, 1880-1914' in T. P. Foley *et al* (eds), *Gender and Colonialism* (Galway, 1995), p.80.

³⁰ Nigel Burton, 'Leisure in the City: The Entertainment Sector in the Manchester Central Business District. 1770- 1930.' (www.mangeogsoc.org.uk/pdfs/manchestergeographer/TMG_8_1_burton.pdf) (8 Mar. 2018).

³¹ *Ibid*.

billiard rooms, card rooms and meeting rooms.³²

In a study of middle-class public culture in the second half of the nineteenth century, Simon Gunn highlighted the variety of clubs and associations that were active in provincial cities such as Manchester.³³ He identified the period from 1870 to 1914 as the 'efflorescence of provincial club life', when the number and variety of associations rose dramatically and became part of 'a mass bourgeois culture of sociability that paralleled developments in popular urban leisure.'³⁴ Club life certainly became more visible in late nineteenth-century Manchester with the opening of new purpose-built club houses. But many of the 'Institutes, Athenaeums and gentlemen's clubs identified by Gunn as comprising the vibrancy of late nineteenth-century club life were, in fact, rooted in the earlier half of the century.'³⁵ The Manchester Athenaeum, which Gunn acknowledged as one of the 'new cultural associations from the mid-nineteenth century designed to appeal to a wider propertied population than simply the elite', was founded in 1835, as a social and educational institution aimed at the city's young business and commercial men. Although the institution struggled financially during its early years, it was nevertheless a popular and lively centre for social life and education.³⁶ In some ways, however, it was the first rather than second half of the century which constituted a 'golden age'. For example, membership of the Manchester Union Club, a social club founded in 1825, underwent its most dramatic growth during the early decades of the nineteenth century than at any other time, and doubled its membership from 200 to 400 after the opening of its new club house on Mosley Street in 1836.³⁷ By 1890, seven gentleman's clubs were functioning in and around Manchester's Central Business

32 Ibid.

33 Gunn, *The Public Culture*.

34 Ibid., p. 91.

35 Ibid., 86-87.

36 Ibid., Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 73.

37 3 August 1829, Manchester Union Club General Committee Minutes 1829-1832, M17/2/2/2, (MALS); 12 October 1835, Manchester Union Club General Committee Minutes 1832-1836, M17/2/2/3, (MALS).

District,³⁸ situated amongst the workplaces of precisely the type of person they would wish to recruit as members. Along with the gentlemen's clubs, notable societies for education and learning in Manchester have included: Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society founded in 1781, The Portico Library (1806), Royal Manchester Institution (1823), Manchester Mechanics' Institute (1824), Manchester Statistical Society (1833), Manchester Athenaeum (1835), Chetham Antiquarian and Historical Society (1843) and the Manchester Geographical Society (1884). However, there were alternatives to the all-male environment of the clubs and institutions which were open to all regardless of class or gender. For some, it was the religious community rather than the club or association which provided a much-needed sense of identity.

Associational Culture and Religious Identity

Although associational culture played an important role in the development of the middle class, the first port of call for the new migrant arrival in town was often the church or chapel. Historians such as Gilbert have acknowledged the importance of the religious community for the socially-dislocated individual during the industrial period.³⁹ Places of worship were an obvious point of introduction for new arrivals of any social class, as a location where they could make social contacts.⁴⁰ The different roles played by the religious community and associational culture in the lives of Irish Catholic migrants, were based on the type of social networks they had access to. The community of the church was, at least

38 Burton, *Leisure in the City*, p. 26. Although there was a Freemasons Lodge in nineteenth-century Manchester it is not included in this study as Roman Catholics were barred from membership and those non-Catholics examined in this study are not found on the membership lists available at 'Freemasons Membership Lists' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (30 July 2018).

39 A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London, 1976), pp 87-93.

40 C. G. Brown, 'The Mechanisms of Religious Growth in Urban Societies: British Cities since the Eighteenth Century', in Hugh McLeod (ed.), *European Religion in the Age of Great Cities, 1830-1930* (London, 1995), pp250-251.

in theory, neither gender nor socially specific as congregations mixed men with women and drew the old and young together from across the social spectrum.⁴¹ However, churches of all denominations benefited from the patronage of their more wealthy adherents some of whom were of Irish descent in nineteenth-century Manchester. An early example was Daniel Lee, born in Salford in 1798 of Irish parents, the owner of a successful calico printing company, who used his wealth for the benefit of the Roman Catholic church and gave £1,000 towards the building of Salford Cathedral, acknowledged by the dedication of the chantry in his name.⁴² He also gave a number of private donations to help fund the establishment of Catholic churches and schools and supported other Catholic causes throughout the diocese.⁴³ Before the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850, leadership of local Catholic communities often fell to prominent laymen like Lee who brought the Sisters of Charity to Manchester in 1848.⁴⁴ Significantly, in an implicit expression of dual loyalty to the crown and the church, he chaired the meeting of Catholic laity which gathered in the Free Trade Hall in February 1851 to acclaim the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy of England and Wales and pledge their allegiance to the Queen.⁴⁵ His civil involvement and many works of philanthropy for the benefit of the Church and wider Catholic community were recognised by Pope Pius IX who in 1852, made him a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory.⁴⁶

Individual churches in Manchester benefitted from the munificence of wealthy Irish

41 Social interaction may have been limited but would certainly have taken place. For example, The Catholic church of the Holy Name of Jesus in Chorlton-on-Medlock served both the middle-class Catholic residents of the suburb and also increasing numbers of poor Irish migrants. Furthermore, in Catholic parishes the St. Vincent de Paul Society drew its members mainly from the middle class who would have necessarily mixed with the lower classes both in and out of church due to the nature of their charitable endeavours.

42 Howe, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1984), p. 71. £1,000 would be equivalent to almost £65,000 in today's values 'Currency Converter' (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk) (10 May 2018). Lee's contribution to the advancement of Catholicism in Manchester is acknowledged in *The Harvest*, Anon, 'Reminiscences of Catholicity in Manchester in the early part of this century' xi, no.129 (1998), p. 142.

43 *The Manchester Courier*, 24 Mar. 1877.

44 *Manchester Guardian*, 25 Feb. 1851.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Manchester Evening News*, 21 Mar. 1877.

benefactors. Edward Caulfield, a second-generation Irishman and a wealthy calico merchant living in Cheetham Hill was a member of St. Chad's parish.⁴⁷ He paid for the Rosary Chapel in the church, which increasingly served the needs of poor Irish migrants who colonised the inner-city areas.⁴⁸ It was also through the patronage of middle-class members of the congregation that the largest church in Manchester, the Holy Name of Jesus, was fitted with many of its religious adornments. Charles O'Neill, a second-generation Irishman born in Manchester, and prominent member of the church, donated an undisclosed sum for the fitment of the elaborately constructed communion rails.⁴⁹ It was not only the Catholic church which benefited from the generosity of its wealthy Irish adherents, since the established Church also received significant patronage from Irish Protestants. Charles Patrick Stewart, born in Dublin, a mechanical engineer and partner in one of Manchester's largest engineering companies, paid for the building of the new Anglican church of St. James's in Collyhurst, founded in 1873.⁵⁰ The church was built within the parish boundaries of St. Patrick's Catholic church in 'Irish Town' which also housed a number of other Anglican and Nonconformist churches and chapels fuelling Catholic anxieties over Protestant proselytising.

The Catholic church's perennial concern over leakage in the light of Protestant proselytising, precipitated the expansion of church-based associational culture based on a blend of religious identity and social concern. The principles of Catholic social teaching began to crystallise in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The emphasis on concern for the poor, the sick and deprived, and for the wider community were evident in the number of church-based organisations that flourished in Britain particularly in the wake of the

47 'Census of England and Wales 1861, 1881, 1891,' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (26 Aug.2018).

48 *The Harvest*, iv, no. 44 (May 1891).

49 Corbishley, *The Story of The Holy Name* p. 6; 'Census of England and Wales 1861' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (2 Aug. 2018).

50 *The Manchester Courier*, 3 June 1874. The cost of building the new church is not disclosed, but upon his death in 1882 Stewart left bequests to the value £135,000, almost £9,000,000 in today's values (*Tamworth Herald*, 30 Sept. 1882). Stewart's professional life is discussed later in this chapter.

restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1850. The dual purposes underlying the Catholic provision of leisure, welfare and education for adolescents and adults modified and elevate both religious and civic conduct and staved off the threat of leakage. By facilitating and overseeing confraternities, welfare and leisure facilities, the church authorities hoped to secure and consolidate the faith and loyalty of its adherents with a pre-condition for membership often being regular attendance at Mass. Indeed, the rules of St. Patrick's Mens' Social Club, opened in 1877, stated that membership was restricted to 'Practical Catholics' only. Even here clerical control was not relinquished - the parish priest was president of the club with one of the two vice-presidents a layman.⁵¹

Many of Irish descent had a strong religious identity expressed through involvement with church confraternities and other parish-based organisations. Confraternities (also known as soladalties or guilds), voluntary associations of lay people created for the purpose of promoting special works of charity or piety and approved by the Church hierarchy became increasingly popular in the nineteenth century and were well represented in Manchester. Many of these were specifically devoted to the cult of particular saints, the devotion to Christ or the Virgin Mary. Others, such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (SVP) or The Catholic Women's League (CWL)⁵², had specifically charitable or educational aims. Membership of such confraternities varied between parishes with the more affluent parishes attracting the highest percentages of the parish population.⁵³

51 Anon, 'St. Patrick's Social Club', *St. Patrick's Silver Jubilee Souvenir* (Manchester, 1961).

52 The CWL did not come into formal existence until 1906. It was an amalgamation of informal women's groups active in many parishes. 'The Catholic Women's League', Societies Box, (SDA).

53 This varied in 1899 between seven and twenty percent with the poor, largely Irish parishes having the lowest membership of such confraternities. *Catholic Whit Walk Official Programme* (Manchester, 1899). Confraternities did charge membership fees which varied depending largely on the nature and purpose of the organisation. 'List of various confraternities', Societies Box, SDA.

The SVP was active in Manchester from the mid-1840s with conferences, as branches were known, established in each parish. The permission of the parish priest was required to set up a conference. Women had a separate organisation, the Ladies of Charity of St. Vincent De Paul. The committee of the conference was comprised of laity but the parish priest or his appointed curate would keep an overseeing eye on proceedings via his role as official chaplain. The SVP members carried out practical acts of charity throughout the parish by visiting the poor, the sick and the housebound, providing food, clothing and furniture for the most needy.⁵⁴ Prominent middle-class members of Irish descent included Daniel McCabe, a Manchester councillor and local businessman who was vice-president of St. Patrick's conference and Edward Caulfield, the calico merchant and philanthropist who was president of St. Chad's conference. McCabe was a staunch Roman Catholic throughout his life and from a young age was involved with the work of the St Patrick's parish. He served as Vice President of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, vice-chair of the Catholic Registration Society, as Superintendent and Registrar at the St. Patrick's Sunday School, committee member of St. Patrick's Social club, and was the first president of the St. Patrick's Old Boys' Association.⁵⁵ His work as a member of the Catholic community was recognised by the Pope in 1915, when the Order of St. Sylvester was conferred upon him, making him one of only twenty knights in the Order.⁵⁶ No doubt members of the SVP acted out of benevolence and magnanimity but a secondary effect (and in the view of the church hierarchy equally important) was to maintain a Catholic presence in areas where the poor were least inclined to attend mass on any regular basis and proselytising by Protestant missionaries was rife.

54 'Vision, mission and history of the St. Vincent de Paul Society'(<https://www.svp.org.uk/vision-mission-history>) (28 Aug. 2018).

55 Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic past*; Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p.98.

56 *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 Sept. 1919.

Members of the Catholic Women's League (CWL) established a Mother's and Babies' Welcome in St. Anne's parish, Ancoats in April 1909, an area with a large Irish migrant community.⁵⁷ Middle-class women, residing outside the parish appeared to be the main organisers. Rose Hyland, the League's benefactress and of Irish descent, lived in the exclusive Victoria Park.⁵⁸ A wealthy widow, she served as a Poor Law Guardian from 1889 to 1899, providing money and materials to encourage women in the workhouse to have a means to provide for themselves, a scheme she promoted across the North-West.⁵⁹ Elizabeth O'Brien, the secretary of the CWL, also lived in the middle-class suburb of Old Trafford.⁶⁰

The Welcome had two objectives:

both to educate our mothers in the proper method of feeding, clothing and general care of their children, and to encourage them to take a more serious view of their parental responsibilities regarding the spiritual and physical welfare of their little ones.⁶¹

At the Welcome care for the spiritual and physical well-being of both mother and baby were intimately intertwined: weekly meetings began with a hymn and ended with a prayer led by the parish priest. Lectures on how to care for baby alternated with medical inspections carried out by a doctor. Free milk and food were provided for expectant mothers.⁶² Women, as mothers, were seen as having a decisive role in the making of a Catholic. The women were also encouraged to join a thrift fund which, for every shilling saved, the CWL's chairman added a penny. Irregular mass attenders were visited at home by the volunteer workers who 'suggested' that they might like to improve their devotional habits. The Welcome also provided opportunities for leisure - there were picnics during summers and parties at

57 Minutes for meeting of the CWL, April 1909, Societies Box, SDA.

58 1851, 1881, 1901, England Census for Rose Hyland' Hyland had an Irish migrant father and is listed in the census returns as being of 'private means'. (www.ancestry.co.uk) (26 Aug 2018).

59 *Manchester Courier*, 28 Mar 1889, 2 April 1892; *Liverpool Mercury*, 9 Dec. 1899. She was also vice-president of the Manchester Ladies' Literary Society which had a number of prominent literary figures speak at the meetings (*Manchester Courier*, 6 Oct. 1899).

60 'Census of England and Wales 1861 and 1891' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (26 Aug 2018). O'Brien was second generation Irish married to a glass manufacturer.

61 The minutes for the CWL meeting, June 1909, Societies Box, SDA.

62 *Ibid.*, June 1911.

Christmas.⁶³

At the turn of the century a number of parishes also formed Lecture Associations. Their objects - like those of the first association which was established in St. Anne's parish, Ancoats in 1899 – were:

to extend the knowledge of Catholic principles and practices, to afford opportunities for debate on subjects of interest, and to promote social intercourse between the men of St. Anne's parish.⁶⁴

This inaugural meeting of the St. Anne's branch was attended by two local politicians of Irish heritage – Daniel McCabe and Dan Boyle.⁶⁵ Meetings took place on Sunday afternoons after Mass. In its first year an average of fifty men attended these gatherings.⁶⁶ The branch also encouraged social activities such as summer rambles and a debate and social evening with members of St. Bridget's branch of the association. Women in the parish were also invited to attend some debates although not, it appears, to participate,⁶⁷ which was a reflection of traditional social norms. Also active in the nineteenth century, the Catholic Literary and Debating Society attracted middle-class members such as the eminent Irish-born physician general practitioner and local councillor Dr. Cornelius O'Doherty.⁶⁸

The Church realised that confraternities only appealed to the 'pious' rather than the 'irreligious'. During the 1890s, in the face of the perennial attractions of the pub and the increasing prosletysing efforts of other denominations, the Church therefore began a concerted effort to fill this void. By the end of the century the salvation of Catholic youth had become one of the Church's most important mission tasks. In some ways this was a defensive reaction to the initiatives of others as in the summer camps which replicated

63 Ibid., June 1909.

64 *The Harvest*, xiii, no.150 (March 1900), pp 68-69.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., xiii, no.150 (March 1900), pp 68-69. These were the undoubtedly 'pious' church-going parishioners who avoided the temptation of the pub.

67 Catholic Lecture Association, St. Anne's branch, Societies Box.

68 Smith and Busteed, 'A diasporic elite', p. 206.

those such as the Boys Brigade initiated by other denominations.⁶⁹ Similarly, one of St. Aloysius's football team's more important functions was to discourage lads (none of whom were over seventeen) from visiting pubs.⁷⁰

Leisure could also be conceived in more proactive terms. The Catholic Boys' Brigade, founded in 1896, aimed to create 'a consolidated Catholic manhood, eager and anxious to take part in any matter which will help forward the onward march of the Church' and, together with Lads' clubs, encouraged social improvement amongst Catholics⁷¹ with the hope that working-class boys would adopt middle-class manners, although, of course, there was the danger that the opposite could happen with the middle-class boys adopting undesirable working-class habits. It was also hoped that both the clubs and the Brigade would enable the Church to overcome class division amongst adherents through social contact promoted via shared leisure pursuits generating a sense of common interest, latent in their shared religion.⁷² The dual object was to isolate these adolescents from unrespectable and anti-Catholic influences and to improve them in both social and religious terms.

During the 1890s two lads' clubs and one girls' club were opened in St. William's parish located in the heart of Angel Meadow's slums, which were populated mainly by unskilled, casual workers, largely Irish Catholics in background and noted for a low level of Mass attendance.⁷³ The clubs were founded, funded and administered through the munificence of Edward Caulfield, the calico merchant and philanthropist, of Irish descent. This area was also the scene of energetic Protestant missionary work. Caulfield, therefore, was confronted by a culmination of intense poverty, religious competition and distracting

⁶⁹ *The Harvest*, xv, no. 172 (Jan. 1902), pp 6-8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, no. 81 (June 1894), p. 243; *Ibid.*, xv, no.172 (Jan 1902), pp 6-8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, viii, no. 81 (June 1899), pp 32-34.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Angel Meadow was infamous for the large numbers of destitute Irish who settled in the area. For an analysis of Irish settlement in Manchester see chapter two of this thesis, pp 28-33.

leisure time temptations. As a member of the bench and a devout Catholic, he sought to diminish the influence of the pub over young men, provide an alternative to street fighting and increase devotion to the Church.⁷⁴ It is estimated his work in the Meadow cost £400 per annum, amounting to almost £33,000 in today's terms,⁷⁵ in addition to his work at St. Charles' Young Mens' Club in Pendleton.⁷⁶

Caulfield established his first Catholic Working Lads' Club in the late 1880s. By the early 1890s there were two such clubs in Angel Meadow, one for 'better class' boys able to pay a nominal subscription and the other for those who could ill-afford even that.⁷⁷ This latter club, popularly known as 'the Home' (an interesting illustration of domesticity and its links to masculinity which Tosh denotes), since it compensated for what the boy's own family had failed to do, had at least 300 members in 1894.⁷⁸ It was kept in a state of order by a well-defined authority structure, led by members of St. Chad's SVP (of which Caulfield was President), responsible for the administration and financial management of the club. Thirty members of St. William's Guild of the Sacred Heart acted as overseers, responsible for discipline and order. Every Sunday they collected members for Mass by calling at their homes.⁷⁹ The girls had to wait until 1894 for their club. This was granted to them only after they had protested to the visiting Bishop about their omission. Initially their club was administered by the Sisters of Charity and membership restricted to the seventy members of the Guild of St. Agnes. Later members were vetted so they would not endanger these girls' 'excellent spirit'. The clubs were kept apart, underlining differences of gender and

74 *The Harvest*, iv, no. 44 (May 1891), p. 177; *Ibid.*, vi, no. 66 (Mar. 1893), pp 139-140; *Ibid.*, vi, no. 67 (April, 1893), pp 162-164.

75 'Currency Converter' (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk) (28 Aug 2018)

76 *The Harvest*, vi, no. 68 (May 1893), pp. 192-194.

77 Although the area was characterised by extreme poverty there were artisans and a cadre of lower middle-class individuals residing there such as shopkeepers, small-time dealers, lodging-house keepers and policemen which may account for this apparent class separation amongst their offspring.

78 *The Harvest*, vii, no. 81 (June 1894), p. 243.

79 *Ibid.*

status and a nervousness at mixing the sexes: each took separate summer trips.⁸⁰ By 1897, with the consolidation of the two lads' clubs into one much bigger building, older and married men began to be catered for. Efforts at 'Improvement' in civic conduct were exemplified by the establishment of a penny bank.⁸¹

The main purpose underlying such organisations, and Caulfield's clubs in particular, was to improve church attendance, above all in such districts as the Meadow where poverty and irreligion were at their most intense. Each club member was expected to attend Mass every Sunday and take Communion at Easter and Christmas. Caulfield regarded the facilities provided by his clubs as secondary to the implantation of religious faith. Amusements were generally seen by those in charge as merely a means to 'entice' boys into Catholic clubs.⁸² Indeed the clubs were attractive because they provided free trips, treats, somewhere to socialise without police interference and one of the few alternatives to the pub. But temperance was not strictly enforced by Caulfield, who realised that a tough line on such matters would have been counter-productive.⁸³ In terms of an informal contract, therefore, attendance at Mass was a small price to pay. As these clubs and associations increased in number, the expansion of Catholic associational culture raised Catholic visibility in Manchester. It also allowed Catholics to associate exclusively with other Catholics, possibly decrease the feasibility of marrying out of the community, helped check leakage and, as their leaders saw it, consolidate the faith.

In many ways the confraternities, associations and clubs reflect the arguments proposed by both Benedict Anderson and Robert Anderson.⁸⁴ In the case of religious identity and associational culture, the various Catholic organisations which parallel Benedict Anderson's 'micro' communities, based on certain preconditions to admission, created within

80 Ibid., vii, no. 85 (Oct. 1894), pp 345-348.

81 Ibid., vxi, no. 124 (Jan. 1898), pp 21-22.

82 Ibid., iii, no. 21 (June 1899), pp 25-26.

83 Ibid., iii, no. 22 (July 1899), p. 28.

84 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Robert Anderson, 'Voluntary associations in history'.

nineteenth-century Catholic society. These preconditions usually required prospective participants to be 'Practical Catholics' or to attend Mass on a regular basis in order to gain or continue membership, the aim being to reinforce their religious identity within the wider Catholic 'macro' community, and to avert the threat of 'leakage'. Furthermore, the Roman Catholic hierarchy wished to emphasise its loyalty to the crown and state by integrating the lower classes such as the large Irish migrant communities into respectable society, and saw the confraternities, societies and clubs which were nationwide, as one way of promoting this. Robert Anderson's theory reflects the industrial landscape of nineteenth-century Manchester with social and political concerns seeing a plethora of Catholic organisations emerge in response to the social and ideological concerns of the period. These organisations promoted the involvement of middle-class Catholics for the benefit of the wider Catholic community through charitable endeavours (the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Catholic Womens' League) and paternal involvement (the Catholic Boys Brigade, Youth Clubs). It could also be argued that such organisations played a key role in the embourgeoisement of the Catholic community by curbing what were seen as undesirable habits and encouraging adoption of what were defined as more respectable middle-class characteristics of religious devotion and temperate behaviour in both the private and the public space. However, there was also a wider world of secular associational culture that provided the means of social networking, a key pathway enabling middle-class social mobility.

Secular Associational Culture

The popularity of the club or society was, in part, due to the role of associational culture in becoming a middle-class man. Young middle-class men in the nineteenth century were not the heads of their own households or families, but found themselves still within the

family home, at university or in lodgings. It was precisely at this point in the male life cycle that the first references to clubs and associations were made in the life writings of professional and businessmen. Discussion clubs and debating societies played a particularly prominent role in the lives of young working migrants who were removed from the social networks of the family, as a place for male friendship and fellowship. Indeed, Clark has noted that of young men joining clubs and societies in the early modern period, 'a substantial proportion were recent arrivals in town'.⁸⁵ For those who remained in the family home, associational culture was an escape from the monotony of domestic life, and there was also a strong emphasis on the relief the club provided from work.

For many of the men whose lives were represented in the life writings, joining a club or association went hand-in-hand with a young man's removal from the family home to another town in order to begin work. Henry Steinthal Gibbs (1829-1894), a cotton manufacturer in Manchester, son of an Irish mother,⁸⁶ had come to the city as a young migrant and was apprenticed to a cotton manufacturer in Kearsley, Salford.⁸⁷ Gibbs saw himself as a self-made man and was keen to stress how he started out in life on his own, as a young working migrant in a city where he had few or no family or friends. Soon after his arrival in 1848 Gibbs joined the Athenaeum. He depicted it as a fairly typical experience for the young migrant, and recalled in his autobiography how 'most of the young men coming to Manchester were expected to become members of the Athenaeum, to which they were promptly introduced

85 Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 208.

86 H. S. Gibbs, *Autobiography of a Manchester Cotton Manufacturer, or Thirty Years' Experience of Manchester* (Manchester, 1887), p. 92.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

by some friend already in the enjoyment of membership'.⁸⁸

Leaving home to pursue training for business or a professional career was also a common experience for young males in the middle ranks of Victorian society.⁸⁹ While some sons stayed at home in the expectation of continuing the family business, younger sons and those living in rural areas were often sent away to take up an apprenticeship. As the major centre of industrial activity and economic potential, Manchester was a popular destination. Gibbs depicted club membership as offering an attractive range of educational, fitness and social activities. From 1839, the Athenaeum was housed in purpose-built premises on Bond Street (now Princess Street), and for thirty shillings a year which was equivalent to the average weekly wage in the cotton industry⁹⁰, members had access to the resources of a large news room supplied with local and national newspapers and journals, a library and lecture rooms as well as a coffee room, smoke rooms and a gymnasium.⁹¹ As a young man, Gibbs had not thought much of the library, and recalled that it 'was a poor one, the books dirty, and the missing volumes...seemed never to reappear'.⁹² He did admit there were 'other advantages, such as Dramatic and Chess Clubs, French, German, Spanish and Italian classes...and an excellent Debating Society'.⁹³ Claiming membership of the Athenaeum also played a symbolic role in the construction of his identity as a middle-class man. Gibbs was introduced to the Athenaeum by his friend Edward Phelps, whom he had first met in Manchester's Mechanics' Institute. But, as Gibbs made clear to his readers, as a new and friendless arrival in the city, he did not use the Mechanics' Institute to socialize, but had

88 Ibid., p. 91.

89 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp172-178.

90 David Chadwick, 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford, and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839-59' in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, xxxiii, no. 1 (March 1860), pp. 1-36.

91 *Report of the Proceedings of the Public Meeting held 28th October 1835, for the Purpose of Establishing the Manchester Athenaeum* (Manchester, 1835); J. W. Hudson, *The History of Adult Education* (London, 1852), p. 110; Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 73.

92 Gibbs, *Autobiography*, p. 92.

93 Ibid.

'resorted [to the Institution] on an evening, to read the daily papers only'.⁹⁴ For the middle-class migrant, the Athenaeum offered a more appropriate venue for social life and self-improvement.

The Manchester Athenaeum was one of three learned institutions established by Manchester's middle class in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, for the moral and intellectual improvement of the city's residents and workers.⁹⁵ Aimed at young clerks and business men, the Athenaeum sat between the Royal Manchester Institution, founded in 1823 as an arts venue for the city's bourgeois elite, and the Mechanics' Institute, opened in 1824 as a social and educational institution for the aspiring working-class.⁹⁶ The Mechanics' Institute was formed by industrialists who thought that artisans should learn basic sciences at evening classes. Its first building was near St Peter's Square, perhaps hoping to inspire its patrons by being close to both the Athenaeum and the Royal Manchester Institution. At times the Institute struggled because students had little basic education - primary schooling was not made compulsory in England until 1870. Artisans worked long hours, and many saw little advantage in scientific studies. The institution's more general classes often proved more useful to young office workers and shopkeepers seeking to improve their literacy and numeracy.⁹⁷ The artisans and petty bourgeoisie who comprised the majority of the Institute's clientele may explain Gibb's disdain for the place, as he no doubt considered himself staunchly middle class and felt it was beneath his social standing to be seen there.

The various learned societies formed from the later eighteenth century onwards contributed directly to the creation of a self-image that was deemed appropriate to the new

94 Ibid., p. 65.

95 H. M. Wach, 'Culture and the Middle Classes: Popular Knowledge in Industrial Manchester' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxvii, no. 4 (1988), pp 379-382.

96 Kidd, *Manchester*, pp 51-52; The success of the Mechanics' Institute led directly to the foundation of vocational institutions including the Manchester School of Commerce founded in 1889, Schools of Education (f. 1878), and Domestic Science (f. 1880). Manchester Metropolitan University can trace its roots back to the Mechanics' Institute and these other institutions - 'About Manchester Metropolitan University' (www.2.mmu.ac.uk) (24 July 2018).

97 Martyn Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond* (London, 2017), pp 57, 58.; These occupations were areas in which many Irish migrants were employed – see occupational tables in chapter two of this thesis.

urban elites of the growing towns and cities of the provinces. Literary and philosophical societies are prime examples of such institutions, bringing together leading scientists, academics, medical men, manufacturers and merchants in a number of provincial towns for debate and education. It was through these societies that 'science was built into middle-class and urban elite identity as part of a bid for legitimacy and power'.⁹⁸ The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, opened in 1781, was a classic example of such a body. Popularly known as the 'Lit & Phil', the society, situated on George Street, promoted the advancement of education and the widening of public interest in the appreciation of any form of literature, science, the arts, and public affairs. Many famous scientists, engineers, physicists and mathematicians were members of the Society, the most notable being John Dalton, the 'father of modern chemistry', James Prescott Joule, physicist and mathematician, Peter Mark Roget, the originator of the Thesaurus, William Fairbairn the engineer, Henry Roscoe the chemist, and the esteemed astronomer, Joseph Baxendell.⁹⁹ Ernest Rutherford, the nuclear physicist, and Richard Cobden, founding member of the Anti-Corn Law League were also members.¹⁰⁰ From the outset it was an exclusive organisation, with membership being costly and determined by ballot. A candidate upon his election in 1837 was, for instance, required to pay the half year's subscription of £2.12.6 along with the entrance fee of £28.17.6, both substantial sums at the time.¹⁰¹ Membership expanded gradually, from 178 in 1842 to over 200 by the 1860s, including not only members of the scientific and medical professions but prominent merchants, engineers, and manufacturers.¹⁰² Amongst its members were a number of Irish descent including the prominent analytical chemist and

98 Morris, *Clubs, societies and associations*, p. 10.

99 'The History of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society' (www.manlitphil.co.uk) (17 Mar.2018).

100 Ibid.

101 'Membership details of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society from 1781 onwards' (Archives of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society). Religious denomination was not a determinant of membership with prominent members of the Catholic community amongst its members.

102 'Manchester Lit and Phil membership database' (www.manlitphil.co.uk) (14 Mar.2018).

Catholic philanthropist Charles O'Neill, Charles Patrick Stewart, a locomotive manufacturer and patron of the Anglican church, Osborne Reynolds, a renowned innovator and professor of engineering at Owens College, later the University of Manchester, and Dr. Charles Phillips, medical practitioner and lecturer. Men of such learning and professional standing would also belong to the most prestigious professional institutions of the time and Lit and Phil membership details show Dr. Charles Phillips was a member the Manchester Medical Society, Charles Patrick Stewart was vice-president of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, Charles O'Neill was a Fellow of the Chemical Society and a Fellow of the Institute of Chemistry, Osborne Reynolds was Chairman of the Manchester Scientific and Mechanical Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1862, O'Neill, who was also a 'Lit and Phil' committee member, delivered a paper to a meeting of the society entitled 'On the Changes of Density which take place in Rolled Copper by Hammering and Annealing', indicating he was something of a polymath, since this was not his main area of expertise. In 1865 he delivered two further papers at society meetings this time on more familiar ground concerning experiments on the properties of textiles.¹⁰³ Professor Osborne Reynolds became a member of the 'Lit and Phil' in 1869. At that time the President of the Society was the distinguished scientist James Prescott Joule, a man for whom Reynolds came to have the very highest regard.¹⁰⁴ It was under the latter's tutelage that Reynolds read his first paper to the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1870 on 'The stability of a ball above a jet of water'. It marked the beginning of a close involvement with the 'Lit and Phil' on Reynold's part and underlines the importance of patronage and the impact of networking in such bodies. Subsequently, Reynolds went onto serve as society secretary from 1874 to 1883, vice-president 1884-87 and 1890-96, president 1889-89.

¹⁰³ 'Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester' (www.manlitphil.ac.uk) (20 Dec. 2018).

¹⁰⁴ 'Manchester Lit and Phil membership database'.

He eventually contributed twenty-six papers, mainly on scientific topics of general interest and broad appeal to members of the Society.¹⁰⁵

Whilst literary and philosophical societies focused largely on what was termed 'natural knowledge', the emerging social sciences, public art galleries and libraries were also well represented. The Manchester Statistical Society (MSS) was formed in September 1833 at a time of severe social problems including overcrowding and disease.¹⁰⁶ Few of the founders were statisticians in the modern sense but, they were interested in improving living conditions of the poor and believed that establishing the facts regarding social problems was a necessary first step to arguing for redress by local authorities and national government. The Society's objects were thus the collection of facts illustrative of the condition of society and the discussion of subjects of social and political economy, totally excluding party politics.¹⁰⁷ The types of clubs and associations which proliferated reflected the prevailing economic and social concerns of the time and their ability to rally and rouse mass public support was instrumental in the success of numerous prominent social movements, including those of a national political nature such as the Anti-Corn Law League which was based in Manchester from 1838. This was certainly true with the MSS which was associated with the resurgence of Manchester liberalism, and moves for central and local government reform. Early members of the MSS were Dr James Phillips Kay, the leading campaigner for public health reform in Manchester, and Richard Cobden.¹⁰⁸

The Royal Manchester Institution (RMI), as it came to be known after the patronage of King George IV was granted, was founded in 1823 at a public meeting held in the Exchange Room by merchants, local artists and others keen to promote the image of Manchester as

105 'Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester'.

106 The squalid, overcrowded housing conditions and lack of proper sanitation meant cholera and typhus outbreaks were a constant threat in the working-class districts of Manchester as in other large cities.

107 'Manchester Statistical Society's History' (www.manstatsoc.org) (26 Feb. 2018) These aims remain to the present.

108 Ibid.

a city of culture and taste, rather than merely a generator of material wealth. They proposed a 'Manchester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Arts'¹⁰⁹ where exhibition space and lecture rooms would demonstrate that the city had a cultural significance to match its growing wealth and economic importance. Such was the enthusiasm and the wealth of its benefactors for the idea that less than a year later, in January 1824, £23,000 had been raised by public subscription to finance such a building.¹¹⁰

The Portico opened in 1806, established as a result of a meeting of Manchester businessmen in 1802 which resolved to find an 'institute uniting the advantages of a newsroom and a library'. A visit by a delegation of four to the Athenaeum in Liverpool inspired them to establish a similar institution in Manchester. Money was raised through 400 subscriptions from Manchester businessmen and the library opened in 1806 costing almost £7,000.¹¹¹ The Portico attracted such distinguished members as John Dalton, Peter Roget (both also members of the 'Lit and Phil'), the Reverend William Gaskell and Sir Robert Peel, the future Prime Minister. It was situated on Mosley Street, 'the most elegant and retired street in town' according to Dalton.¹¹² Examination of the available membership lists cross-referenced with census returns show that a number of merchants and other professionals of Irish descent were members of the Portico, including James Lynch, chemist and druggist, Constantine Kelly, merchant, both of whom resided in the upper middle-class enclave of Cheetham Hill, and members of the wealthy Reynolds family who went on to establish an extensive dyeing and cleaning company.¹¹³

109 S. D. Cleveland, *The Royal Manchester Institution: Its History from its Origin Until 1882* (Manchester, 1931), p. 1.

110 £1.3 million pounds in today's terms.

111 £680,000 in today's terms.

112 Ann Brooks and Brian Haworth, *Portico Library: A History* (Manchester, 2000).

113 'Membership books 1806-1903, The Portico Library and Newsroom' (MS in possession of Portico Library, Mosley Street, Manchester); 'Census of England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk); For details of the Reynolds family see: Lawrence McBride (ed.), *The Reynolds Letters: An Irish Emigrant Family in Late Victorian Britain* (Cork, 1999).

G. M. Trevelyan described members of learned societies and institutions thus:

They were 'neither aristocrats nor shopkeepers, but men of University education, or of trained professional intelligence, readers of Mill, Darwin, Huxley and Matthew Arnold, George Eliot and Browning – the gentlemanly bearded intellectuals'.¹¹⁴

Henry Reeve, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* and a member of several clubs and learned societies, sought 'the most rising men of the day' for membership in such societies.¹¹⁵ Belonging to learned societies signalled their aspirations were not totally fulfilled as mere landowners or market entrepreneurs but in quite a different social formation. Status was based upon what they knew, and memberships of learned societies confirmed their intellectual and cultural credibility, stressing private self-development, character, and public and civic virtues. Members of learned societies, clubs, and institutions belonged to a very distinctive regime of social worth. Keynes, for example, called attention to the power and authority of such learned men:

I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas ... But soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or ill.¹¹⁶

Of course, members of the landowning nobility and the business and commercial classes joined such societies, but membership, through ballot of members, was based on intellectual ability and not simply on class connections.¹¹⁷ These societies enabled individuals to engage with others of similar rank who shared the same interests in associative acts which identified the individual not only with the pursuit of knowledge but also with a community of other like-minded persons thus also providing opportunities for the Irish diasporic elite in Manchester. Thus, membership of these societies marked a distinction not just in terms of social status but also in cultural terms within a class and an age acutely conscious of its place in history.

114 G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries – Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London, 2008), p. 557.

115 John Knox Laughton, *Memories of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve* (London, 1898), p. 338.

116 John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (New York, 1936), pp383–4.

117 'The History of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society'

Membership was a public 'badge' of knowledge, a symbol of shared and therefore affirmed intellectual status. Therefore, membership of a learned society was both a form of cultural capital and a collective cultural act following a prescribed pattern with a shared meaning for those who participated. Members were almost exclusively men, at a time when the advanced education of women was considered unnecessary, if not unnatural, and many were excluded even from the amateur pursuit of intellectual knowledge.¹¹⁸ Women were excluded from the universities until 1868, when the University of London admitted nine female students.¹¹⁹

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Manchester's image as the frightening 'shock city' of the industrial revolution had long been replaced by its acceptance as a model of *laissez-faire* capitalism, exemplifying Disraeli's assessment, 'What art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern ... Rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens.'¹²⁰ The city was one of Britain's great urban centres, with a distinctive role in the national economy, embracing the radical economic and political tenets of classical liberalism resulting in a confident and inclusive civil ethos, an abundant, wealthy middle class and a plethora of voluntary organisations, associations and clubs. Whilst, as will shortly be demonstrated, the textile trade was basic in establishing Manchester's commercial, industrial and financial success, it was always more than 'Cottonopolis' with its expanding scientific and engineering sectors, a flourishing academic sector exemplified by the opening of Owens College in 1851, the forerunner of the Victorian University of Manchester and Manchester Royal School of Medicine, the first provincial medical school. This rapidly evolving vibrant urban scene was to see a notable Irish presence both first and second generation, in many

118 One entry point for the respectable middle-class women into the public sphere was the work of the charitable society. Compassion for suffering and the care of the needy were considered female qualities and thus suitable grounds for women's work outside the home in the public sphere of voluntary charity. However, the female intellectual was not so favourably considered. This prevailing attitude did not stop women of intellect forming their own learned societies such as the previously mentioned Manchester Ladies' Literary Society.

119 'Remembering the London Nine' (<https://london.ac.uk> > News and opinion) (24 Oct. 2019).

120 Disraeli, *Coningsby or The New Generation*, quoted in chapter 2, of this thesis.

sections of the city's development and in the associational culture in which it generated.

The Irish Diasporic Elite and Manchester's development in the Nineteenth Century

By 1750 Manchester had become the market centre of a wide locality, where many different types of cotton goods were manufactured, as well as some woollens and linens. By mid-century Manchester merchants were travelling round the country for orders, taking over the work formerly done by the old established wholesale dealers of London and elsewhere, including the manufacture and trade in calicoes.

During the 17th century the East India Company imported from India cotton cloth called 'calico', derived from its place of origin Calcut. This new cloth, a form of cotton heavier than linen, alarmed the English woollen industry, which in 1700 obtained an Act of Parliament banning imported printed fabrics. As a result, merchants imported plain cotton and developed the techniques of printing it. It was printed in bright colours and, although expensive, became very popular. The early calicoes were printed by hand using wood blocks that were replaced in the 1750s by engraved copper plates. These had the advantage of taking more detail than the wood blocks, but still had to be operated by hand. By the end of the 18th century copper plates were replaced in turn by mechanized copper cylinders which enabled entire lengths of cloth to be printed much faster, increasing production and lowering costs, making the finished goods cheaper.¹²¹ Manchester was pivotal in leading the opposition to the punitive excise duties levied on calicoes - after a public meeting of the 'Master Calico Printers of Manchester and its vicinity' in 1823, a petition was submitted to Lord Stanley appealing against '... the inference of the Excise in restricting, shackling, limiting and impeding production and most injuriously enhancing the price of calicoes to the

121 Giorgio Riello, *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850* (Oxford, 2011), pp291-293.

consumer ...'.¹²² By 1830 the major part of textile printing in England was concentrated within a thirty-mile radius of Manchester, and printers over a wide area utilised it as the main centre for wholesaling and dealing.¹²³ The rise in importance of the town as a distribution centre monopolizing the market functions of the trade was well known.¹²⁴ The emergence of the warehousing system in Manchester to accommodate storage and distribution was widely noted, being called 'one of the most startling changes in the organisation of the cotton industry ...'¹²⁵ It had become the pivot of an enormous industry which had grown up in the space of some 60-70 years and which supplanted London and its environs as the most important producing and distributing area of printed goods in Britain.

The two most important groups of printed goods as measured by volume of registered designs were printed dress fabrics and furnishings, and the first of these was by far the largest.¹²⁶ From the beginning there was a varied range of printed dress fabrics including designs on cotton, muslins, figured fabrics, silk, and wool, with designs printed on paper, some hand-coloured work, waistcoat patterns, handkerchiefs, and heavily glazed cloth. Printed furnishings included carpets, curtains, tablecloths, sofa and chair coverings.¹²⁷ The quality of goods produced reflected the intended market. The cheaper mass-produced furnishings and fabrics enabled the artisan working-class and lower middle-class to purchase these items new rather than buy second-hand goods as was common practice amongst

122 Quoted in R. E. Smith, 'Manchester as a Centre for the Manufacture and Merchanting of Cotton Goods 1820-30' in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, iv, no. 1 (1953-54), pp 47-65. The petitioning was unsuccessful at this time and the duty was not withdrawn until 1831, however as a compensation to this the import duty on raw cotton was increased (Arthur Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade* (Manchester, 1973), pp 140).

123 Ibid.

124 'About the year 1835, for example, the Manchester merchant class was receiving and dispensing with cotton goods to the annual value of over £36 millions': J. A. Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London, 1860), p.34.

125 'In 1820 126 officially termed warehouses were listed in the Township Rate Books and only nine years later the number had increased to nearly one thousand'. From Official Payment Rate Books from the Township of Manchester 1820-29: Smith, 'Manchester as a Centre for the Manufacture and Merchanting of Cotton Goods 1820-30' p.63.

126 David Greysmith, 'Patterns, Piracy and Protection in the Textile Printing Industry 1787-1850' in *TextileHistory*, xiv, no.2 (1983), pp 165-194.

127 Ibid.

the least well-off of the period. Several company names recur for registering designs for both dress fabrics and furnishings in nineteenth-century Manchester including Daniel Lee and Co.¹²⁸

A pioneer of Manchester's textile trade and eventually to become one of the city's merchant princes, Daniel Lee was born in Salford in 1798, the son of an Irish veterinary surgeon. He was educated at Sedgely Park, an exclusive Catholic boarding school. In 1819 he started work in the calico printing trade, and in 1826 became a partner in Wright and Lee, calico printers. The firm had no works of their own but commissioned printed goods from other factories. Lee was of sufficient significance to be called to give evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Copyright of Designs in 1840. He stated that his firm had a vast turnover in designs to keep pace with changing fashions and about half the business was in the production and sale of printed goods, the rest being 'Calicoes in various shapes, and nankeens and those things; it is called a general warehouse; we are general dealers'.¹²⁹ On the death of Edmund Wright in 1852, Lee became sole proprietor and changed the company name to Daniel Lee & Co.¹³⁰ His warehouse was on the corner of Spring Gardens and Fountain Street in the centre of Manchester's business district, commended as 'the foremost place amongst calico printing establishments'.¹³¹ The trade magazine *The Builder* said of the brick and stone-dressed structure, 'this would have been the handsomest warehouse in Manchester – and that is saying much for any structure'.¹³² By 1855 the high quality of the goods produced by the firm had established an international reputation. In that year a report appeared of their success at the Universal Exposition in Paris:

128 Ibid.

129 *Report of the Select Committee on the Copyright of Designs 1840*, H.C., 16th Jan - 11th Aug., vi, 252-274; The expert evidence given by Daniel Lee is summarised in *The Mechanic's Magazine, Register, Journal and Gazette*, xxxiii (1840), pp 391-394.

130 *The Manchester Courier*, 24 Mar.1877.

131 Ibid.

132 Quoted in John J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester: An Architectural History* (Manchester, 2000), p. 82.

As regards individual exhibitors in the Manchester department the most remarkable, both for excellence and novelty of the results, is that of Messrs. Daniel Lee & Co. ... These specimens stand alone in the exhibition and have attracted great attention on the part of the technical men ...¹³³

Lee employed from six to eight designers in house, producing 2,500 designs per year, and also purchased some 750 designs annually. These designs were for high quality textile goods and furniture, mostly for export. The bulk of were for furnishings, an area in which the firm was producing almost twice as many designs as the competitors in the region.¹³⁴ A testimony to the success of his business was the fact that Lee resided in the upper middle class suburb of Pendlebury employing seven servants – a butler, governess, nurse, cook and three domestic servants.¹³⁵

Crucial in textile production through the second-half of the nineteenth century was the introduction of aniline dyes in the late 1850s.¹³⁶ But what was radically new was the growing understanding of the structure and composition of the dyes, stimulating the early development of the chemical industry. The pressure to devise new dyes and apply them to a growing diversity of textile fabrics led to further research. Amongst the leading exponents of this new science was Charles O'Neill.

O'Neill, a second-generation Irishman born in Manchester in 1832 to two Irish parents, came to occupy a key role in the ongoing development of the textile trade, earning national and international recognition. Employed as an analytical chemist with a local textile print works, O'Neill became an acknowledged expert in the fields of bleaching, dying and printing, publishing what became standard text books on the subjects in 1860 and 1862.¹³⁷ He was sufficiently prosperous to reside in the middle-class district of Chorlton-on-Medlock where

133 George Wallis, 'The Artistic, Industrial, and Commercial Results of the Universal Exposition of 1855' in *The Art Journal*, i (1858), p. viii.

134 Greysmith, 'Patterns, Piracy and Protection in the Textile Printing Industry 1787–1850'.

135 '1871 Census for England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (24 Oct. 2018).

136 Colours, especially blues, had been synthesized artificially for many years – millennia, in fact. Egyptian blue was in use before 2000 B.C.

137 Smith and Busteed, 'A diasporic elite', pp 204-205.

he lived with his wife and three young children and a domestic servant.¹³⁸ Although only scant details of his early life and education are available, he may well have studied chemistry at Owens College founded in 1851, the forerunner of the University of Manchester and a leading centre in chemical research and teaching.¹³⁹ It was usual for students to study in the evenings whilst in full-time employment. The fees would exclude many potential students but it was common for employers in Manchester's burgeoning scientific and engineering sector to reimburse the fees of the most promising of their employees.¹⁴⁰ O'Neill obviously fell into this class as demonstrated by the publication of his first book at the age of twenty-eight. In 1863 his expertise in the field led him to being head-hunted by a calico-printing firm in Moscow where he spent ten years with occasional periods in London.¹⁴¹ By then he was sufficiently affluent to reside in what was an upper-middle class district of Marylebone, an area favoured by prestigious professions such as physicians, surgeons and solicitors, each resident employing at least one servant.¹⁴² Returning to Manchester he eventually settled in the staunchly middle-class suburb of Withington, an area much favoured by merchants, bankers and other high status professionals.¹⁴³ He and his four sons established their own calico printing business and O'Neill published a six-volume work on textile printing and was editor of the journal of dyeing, printing and finishing, *The Textile Colourist*.¹⁴⁴ He became a Fellow of the Chemical Society and of the Institute of Chemistry and taught at Manchester Technical College where he served 'as an admirable and successful teacher'.¹⁴⁵ The Chemical Society had been founded in 1841 with an emphasis on the development of chemical applications in

138 'Census for England and Wales 1861' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (2 Aug 2018).

139 A. D. Orange, *Studies in the History of Chemical Research at Owens College, Manchester, 1851-1880* (London, 1964).

140 Ibid.

141 Smith and Busteed, 'A diasporic elite', p. 204; 'Census of England 1871' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (2 Aug 2018).

142 '1871 Census of England and Wales'.

143 '1891 Census of England and Wales'.

144 O'Neill's six volume work *The Practice and Principles of Calico Printing, Bleaching, Dyeing, Etc.* became a standard text on the subject and is still in print to the present day; 'The Textile Colourist' in *Classified Advertisements, The Chemical News and Journal of Physical Science*, xxx1 (Dec. 1875), p. 315.

145 Anon., 'The late Mr. Charles O'Neill' in *The Harvest*, viii, no.8 (1894), p. 403, quoted in Smith and Busteed, 'A diasporic elite', p.204.

industry. The most eminent chemists of the era, both national and international, were members of the society. Fellowship was awarded to members who were a 'fruitful amalgamation of the technological and academic chemist'.¹⁴⁶ Founded in 1877, the Institute of Chemistry focused on the qualifications and the professional status of chemists, and its aim was to ensure that analytical chemists were properly trained and qualified. Fellowship was awarded only to those members who had undergone full training as analytical chemists and had demonstrated a high level of professional competence allowing them to use the title 'consulting chemist'.¹⁴⁷ For O'Neill to obtain the status of Fellow in both these prestigious organisations demonstrates the respect and standing he commanded amongst his peers, many of whom he will have associated with on a personal and professional level.

Lee and O'Neill therefore exemplified the successful middle-class Irish who came to reside in a prestigious suburb, employing servants, and holding membership of professional bodies including that of Manchester's oldest and most notable learned institution, the Lit and Phil, clearly accepted by their peers on the basis of their obvious ability and business acumen.

In the mid-eighteenth-century Manchester was a rapidly developing industrial centre with an ever-expanding population bringing with it the associated problems of overcrowding and deteriorating public health highlighting the inadequate medical provision in the town. In 1745, Liverpool had founded an Infirmary thereby prompting Manchester to follow suit. In April 1752, a meeting of several gentlemen in Manchester concluded that a subscription should be opened for the purpose of promoting a public infirmary for Manchester and its neighbourhood. After further meetings, rules and orders were published for the government

¹⁴⁶ William Brock, *The Case of the Poisonous Socks: Tales from Chemistry* (London, 2011), pp67-73.

¹⁴⁷ C. A. Russell, N. G. Coley and G. K. Roberts, *Chemists by profession. The origins of the Royal Institute of Chemistry* (Milton Keynes, 1977).

and regulation of the projected infirmary. Benefactions, legacies and subscriptions were collected, and medical staff appointed. A temporary building was leased, and soon a permanent site was purchased on the northern edge of the town. Amidst this flurry of preparation, the new institution was opened in 1752.¹⁴⁸ Such speed between the first public notice of the intention to found an infirmary and its official opening suggests that much thought had already privately been given to the scheme. Indeed, the notice in the *Manchester Mercury* in April hinted as much: 'Tho' the Thing has been so much wish'd for and talk'd of, the Conversation has been too Vague, not sufficiently digested, and not fix'd to one certain point'.¹⁴⁹ However, three years after that initial meeting the *Mercury* was praising the Infirmary:

On the Infirmary Is all this true? Does your fair Structure rise To yield the Sick and Needy due Supplies Of Physick; Food and Raiment? Happy Man Who form'd, inspir'd by Heav'n, the lucky Plan, Since nothing surer than a Scheme like this, To raise him to the Realms of Endless Bliss.¹⁵⁰

Since benefactors and subscribers were involved in its government, and only they had the right of recommending patients, the charity was closely controlled. Most importantly:

Designs of the Nature are happily founded on a Principle, in which worthy and honest Persons of all Religions and all Parties Unite; a Principle of Benevolence and Compassion; and therefore not liable to those obstructions to which unhappy Prejudices and Differences sometimes subject the best Undertakings.¹⁵¹

In 1793 the Infirmary began offering teaching for medical students. By the early 1800s, the city was rapidly increasing in size, a growth that brought with it problems of great poverty already discussed, and on occasion the 'prejudices' referred to could be aroused as it ministered to all in need regardless of their beliefs. Thus, its treatment of victims of the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 was the subject of much speculation on the political sympathies

148 William Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital, 1752-1948* (London, 1952).

149 *Manchester Mercury*, 14 Apr. 1752, quoted in Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital*, p. 7.

150 *Ibid.*, 15 April 1755, quoted in Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital*, p. 8.

151 *Ibid.*

of the staff.¹⁵²

The Infirmary received Royal Patronage in 1830 and became Manchester Royal Infirmary (MRI). The MRI was intrinsically linked with medical education in Manchester through its association with the Manchester Royal School of Medicine (MRSM), the forerunner of the University of Manchester School of Medicine. Founded in 1825 this was the first English provincial medical school and gained a reputation for excellence in teaching and its well-equipped laboratories and lecture theatres. The school was considered so prestigious that it became the model for the provincial medical schools which were established in Sheffield, Leeds, Bristol, Birmingham and elsewhere in the 1820s and 1830s.¹⁵³ It boasted amongst its teaching staff John Dalton who taught chemistry and pharmaceutical chemistry.¹⁵⁴ To teach at the MRSM would not only enhance one's professional reputation but attract wealthy middle-class patients who demanded the best medical care.

Dr. Charles D.F. Phillips, who held dual membership of the Manchester Medical Society and the Lit and Phil, was to become a lecturer in this most prestigious of medical schools. Born in Ireland in 1832, Phillips studied at the illustrious Edinburgh Medical School, qualifying in 1852.¹⁵⁵ He opened a practice in Manchester, on Oxford Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, still a middle-class suburb but increasingly experiencing the settlement of poor working-class Irish migrants.¹⁵⁶ As well as running his own practice, Phillips obtained a post teaching at what was then known as the Manchester Royal School of Medicine (MRSM) before amalgamating with Owens College in 1872. For Phillips to have been given a teaching post in the school indicates a level of knowledge and ability which clearly earned the respect and

¹⁵² Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital*, p. 76.

¹⁵³ 'General History of the MRSM', Manchester Medical Collection (MMC/5/3/1).

¹⁵⁴ 'Information relating to Staff' (MMC/5/3/8).

¹⁵⁵ 'The Register of the General Medical Council 1800 – 1869' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (2 Aug 2018).

¹⁵⁶ '1861 Census of England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (2 Aug 2018).

acknowledgement of his colleagues. However, an extract of a reference provided for him when applying for the teaching post at MRSM hints at the lingering anti-Irish prejudice even amongst the professional classes. It opens with the sentence 'Although of Irish extraction ...' before going on to extoll his abilities and general good character.¹⁵⁷ The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society membership details list his achievements in the field of medicine. This is again an indication of his intellect and status, as admittance to the 'Lit and Phil' was by ballot and was expensive, restricting membership to those involved in the most prestigious of middle-class professions. He was also a member of the Liberal Party, an indication that his political sympathies lay with the Home Rule movement, yet this did not impede his progress or professional standing. Furthermore, he was chairman of the Manchester Shakespearean Society¹⁵⁸ which drew members and audiences from Manchester's middle-class elite.

The rapid growth of the new industrial urban centres of nineteenth-century Britain quickly highlighted major public health problems of housing, sanitation, and water supply and their relationship to diseases such as typhus, dysentery and cholera. Occupational diseases were also thrown into sharp relief, particularly in Manchester's cotton industry, where the air in the mill was thick with cotton dust and had to be kept hot and humid to prevent the thread breaking. Such conditions precipitated many illnesses in the factory workers such as bronchitis, pneumonia, eye inflammation, tuberculosis, cancer of the mouth and of the groin (popularly known as mule-spinner's cancer). Local manufacturers would often contribute monies for the opening and funding of dispensaries in the areas where their workers lived and worked.¹⁵⁹ The Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, was established, for example, in one of the most populous industrial suburbs in Manchester and opened in 1828.

157 'Information relating to Staff', (MMC/5/3/8). The information is contained on a card index which only gives a copied extract of the reference. It also lists Phillips interests outside the field of medicine.

158 Ibid.

159 Janet Greenlees, 'The dangers attending these conditions are evident': Public Health and the Working Environment of Lancashire Textile Communities, c.1870–1939' in *Social History of Medicine*, xxvi, no.4 (1 Nov. 2013), pp 672–694.

The Dispensary dealt with outpatients and home-patients, and because of the industrial nature of the area in which it was situated, looked after a substantial number of accident cases. Ancoats also had much experience in the treatment of infectious diseases with the result that its physicians became very experienced in public health matters and the condition of the industrial working classes in general.¹⁶⁰

Increasing demands were also being made on the medical profession by the growing middle class. This class also had the education and the money to supply the recruits to the profession, leading to the expansion of medical education, the foundation of medical institutions and the development of corporate medical bodies.¹⁶¹ Manchester was at the forefront of these developments. The medical profession itself was in a state of transition with the training, qualifications and status of medical practitioners under much scrutiny. Traditionally medical practitioners were divided into three separate disciplines – the physician, the surgeon and the apothecary, with the physician the most prestigious of the three. Physic was one of three highly regarded traditional professions, the other two being Law and the Church. Only physicians were 'professional' men, with surgeons and apothecaries considered artisans or tradesmen.¹⁶² The concept of a professional man as essentially a gentleman first, though one with a specific and worthy occupation, pervaded many of the expressed ideas about the medical profession by practitioners throughout the period from 1750 to 1850 and beyond. The physician was a gentleman. He was also, having a medical degree, a learned gentleman, a scholar.¹⁶³ With the newly emerging discipline of

160 James Philips-Kay served as physician at Ancoats, publishing his *Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes* in 1832 see Roger Cooter and John Pickstone, 'From Dispensary to Hospital: Medicine, Community and the Workplace in Ancoats, 1828-1948' in *Manchester Regional History Review*, no.7 (1993), pp 73-84.

161 D. U. Bloor, 'The rise of the general practitioner in the nineteenth century' in *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, xxxviii, no. 290 (May 1978), pp 288-291.

162 J. V. Pickstone, 'The Professionalisation of Medicine in England and Europe: The State, the Market and Industrial Society' in *Journal of the Japan Society of Medical History*, xxv, no. 4 (Oct. 1979), pp 22 –26.

163 The term 'gentleman', conversely, by definition applied not only to those persons entitled to bear arms but also to 'a person of distinction without precise definition of rank', and 'as a complimentary designation of a member of certain societies or professions'. Another definition of a gentleman was: 'A man of superior position in society or having the habits indicative of this; often one whose means enable him to live in easy circumstances without engaging in trade. Definitions nineteenth-century examples in Oxford English Dictionary.

general practitioner dominated by physicians, they readily assumed the mantle of the widely respected 'gentleman, scholar and professional man'. These 'GP's are they later became known, were often employed as medical attendants by factories, trade unions, benevolent societies and charitable organisations in addition to their own private practice.¹⁶⁴

Dr. Cornelius O' Doherty, born in Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare in 1863 came to exemplify the standing of this branch of the profession.¹⁶⁵ Schooled in Kilrush by the Christian Brothers, he prepared for university entrance through study at Ennis seminary. He went on to study medicine at the Queen's Colleges in Belfast and Cork, proving to be an outstanding student, winning the Gold Medal prize and qualifying as a doctor of medicine, master of surgery and master of obstetrics by the age of twenty-one, the youngest student ever to achieve such distinction.¹⁶⁶ He moved to England where there were much greater career opportunities for such a talented medical practitioner. He settled in Manchester and opened a practice in Chorlton-on-Medlock, an area with a large Irish migrant population.¹⁶⁷ His concerns ranged beyond the immediately professional. He served the Salford Diocese Catholic Protection and Rescue Society as the medical attendant of its Working Boys Home and at one of its shelters although his application to serve as coroner for the city of Manchester was rejected in the latter stages of the process on 'technical grounds' which raised suspicions of lingering anti-Irish Catholic prejudice amongst the establishment.¹⁶⁸ O'Doherty was a notably well-qualified middle-class professional whose work was very much orientated towards serving his Irish Catholic brethren. Tebbut has suggested that it was this tendency that explained why they were largely invisible to outsiders.¹⁶⁹ However, the evidence presented in this thesis counters

164 Bloor, 'The rise of the general practitioner in the nineteenth century'.

165 'Ireland, Civil Registration Births Index' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (28 Oct. 2018).

166 *Belfast News Letter*, 14 Oct. 1881; *Belfast Morning News*, 14 Oct. 1881.

167 '1891, 1901 Census of England of England and Wales' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (28 Oct.2018).

168 Smith and Busteed, *A diasporic elite*, p. 206. This was not the case with all the Irish middle-class but English perceptions were distorted by those like O'Doherty who chose to focus on the Irish migrant community.

169 Tebbutt, 'The Evolution of Ethnic Stereotypes'.

this argument: rather than invisibility a high level of visibility is noted.

In all pre-industrial economies, poor transport links were a major obstacle to economic growth. The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw major improvements to transport systems in England and Wales that accompanied and facilitated early industrialisation and regional specialisation. At that juncture the length of navigable rivers was considerably extended, while the second half of the eighteenth century saw rapid development of an extensive canal network. At the onset of the railway age in the early nineteenth century, the dominant form of passenger transport for those who could afford it was still the scheduled stagecoach.

The railways eventually brought safe and affordable travel to a large proportion of the working population. They also supplied Britain's rapidly growing cities with food, coal and raw materials on a hitherto unimaginable scale and enabled natural resources such as coal and iron to be exploited to an unprecedented extent. The twenty-seven miles long Stockton and Darlington Railway opened in 1825 inspired the first wave of railway development and twenty-five new railways were authorised by Parliament over the next five years. One of the earliest was the Liverpool to Manchester Railway, opened to great fanfare in 1830. This was the world's first public railway to use steam-powered locomotives to haul both passenger and freight trains. It provided Manchester with much improved access to the sea enabling raw materials, most notably cotton, to be imported on a large scale and finished goods, especially cotton cloth, to be exported in equally large quantities. While the railway was built mainly with freight in mind, passenger revenues made up 65% of its income in the first year of operation and exceeded 50% thereafter.¹⁷⁰ The Liverpool and Manchester Railway

¹⁷⁰ T. R. Gourvish, 'Railways 1830-1870: the formative years', in M. J. Freeman and D. H. Aldcroft (eds), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester, 1988), p. 57.

operated at seventeen miles per hour, which enabled Liverpool merchants and Manchester manufacturers to conduct business by making return journeys in the same day.

Following the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, there was a forty-year period of railway construction on a massive scale. At the end of 1830, there were just over 125 miles of railway lines in Britain but by the end of 1870, this figure had augmented to more than 13,000 miles.¹⁷¹ This extraordinary increase created a concurrent demand for the locomotive engines. One of the largest locomotive engineering firms was located in Manchester, namely Messrs. Sharp, Stewart, & Co., situated at the Atlas works on Liverpool Road and employing up to 1300 men and 200 apprentices. The chairman of the company was Charles Patrick Stewart.¹⁷²

Stewart was born in Dublin in 1823 where his father, the Hon. Keith Stewart, was at that time occupied in the Irish administration.¹⁷³ He completed his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, and after completing his apprenticeship with a marine engineering company, in 1852 became a partner in the firm of Sharp Brothers and Co., which was originally a textile machinery and machine tool concern but took the significant step of diversifying into building steam locomotives in 1833. The firm subsequently became Messrs. Sharp, Stewart, & Co., and so continued until 1863, when the private partnership was converted into a limited company with Stewart as chairman, a position he held until his death in 1882. Between 1834 and 1888 the company built 478 locomotives for a number of railway companies in the north-west, the London region, India and elsewhere.¹⁷⁴ In their engagement with the imperial and world economy they had become an early multi-national. Stewart was known as an innovator, and through his foresight and engineering prowess he obtained sole rights for the

171 Ibid.

172 'Memoirs of Members deceased in 1882', *The Gazette of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers* (Jan. 1883), p. 17.

173 'Birth, Marriage and Death' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (31 Oct. 2018).

174 J. W. Lowe, *British Steam Locomotive Builders* (Barnsley, 2014), p. 404.

company to incorporate the Giffard injector into their locomotives. The injector used a jet of steam from the boiler to force fresh water back into the boiler, heating it up in the process. It has virtually no moving parts and was thermally very efficient. Its advantage over the previous mechanical pumps were improved performance and cost reduction.¹⁷⁵ Despite initial skepticism, the injector became standard fitment for locomotives built in Britain and abroad.¹⁷⁶ Stewart's contribution to the development of the locomotive building industry both in Manchester and globally was significant. His firm were one of the city's major employers, and his wealth allowed philanthropic exploits such as the building of St. James Anglican church in Manchester.¹⁷⁷ His great wealth was indicated by the fact that he resided in the exclusive Victoria Park development with his wife, son and five servants.¹⁷⁸ This growth in the city's medical, engineering and scientific sectors necessitated the expansion of higher education facilities.

The idea of a university for Manchester had been regularly canvassed from the late eighteenth century onwards. Enlightened opinion in the town was sympathetic to developing more formal systems of educational instruction, with bodies such as the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and the Royal Manchester Institution offering lectures to the public. In 1824, W.R. Whatton, a governor of the Royal Manchester Institution, proposed that a university-type institution should be established at the RMI to educate local men destined for the professions and the higher echelons of commerce and industry. In 1836, Harry Longueville Jones, a former Cambridge don, published *A plan of a university of Manchester*, which outlined a more detailed scheme. Ultimately this particular scheme came

175 A. J. Goldfinch and P. W. B. Semmens, *How Steam Locomotives Really Work* (Oxford, 2000), pp 94-97.

176 Lowe, *British Steam Locomotive Builders*. Stewart's business and engineering achievements are all the more remarkable considering he suffered from chronic and profound deafness.

177 Stewart's religious benefaction is discussed earlier in this chapter.

178 'Census of England and Wales 1861, 1871' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (04 Jan. 2019). Stewart later lived in London with his wife, four children and eleven servants.

to nothing, but it prepared the ground in that it familiarised Manchester elites with the idea of a university which could compete with Oxford and Cambridge; several of those involved in this campaign were later to become trustees of Owens College.¹⁷⁹

By the mid-nineteenth century there was a growing belief that Manchester could sustain such an institution, reflecting the intellectual and economic confidence of the town. Apart from its learned societies, Manchester now also had privately-run medical schools and one of the largest mechanics' institutes in England. There was a vigorous intellectual culture associated with local dissenters. Given their continued exclusion from Oxbridge they had founded The Manchester Academy, which provided advanced education for their community between 1840 and 1853. They were to be prominent supporters of Owens College.

In 1846, the Manchester textile merchant John Owens (1790-1846) bequeathed a sum of money to be dedicated to:

a scheme to establish a college for providing or aiding the means of instructing and improving young persons of the male sex (and being of an age not less than fourteen years) in such branches of learning and science as are usually taught in the English Universities.¹⁸⁰

The college was to impose no religious tests on staff or students, and teaching was not to include 'any religious or theological subject which shall be reasonably offensive to the conscience of the student.' In all Owens left a total of £96,954 (£11,000,000 in today's terms) for the college scheme.¹⁸¹

The task of planning the College took almost five years. Premises were found in Quay Street in the Deansgate area of central Manchester, in the former home of Richard Cobden MP, with Owens College formally opening at a meeting at Manchester Town Hall in 1851.

179 'Documents relating to pre-Owens campaigns to establish a university at Manchester.' GB133/Owens College Archives (OCA)/22, University of Manchester Library (UML). (No apostrophe in official nomenclature).

180 'Documents relating to the campaign for an independent university' GB133/OCA/23, UML.

181 Ibid.

By the mid-1860s, with rising student numbers, Owens was facing acute accommodation problems. Lecture rooms were overcrowded, and laboratories under-equipped. This hindered prospects of developing new subjects such as physics and engineering. In its report to the Trustees in 1867, the Committee contended 'it would probably be found that in no institution of the kind in the kingdom are so many persons under instruction in so confined a space', and recommended that the College should be redeveloped at a new site in the Manchester suburbs. The committee called a public meeting in February 1867, at Manchester Town Hall, which launched a public subscription campaign for the 'Extension' of the College, aiming to raise at least £100,000 for the purpose.¹⁸² By 1868 sufficient funds had been raised to commission a building situated on Oxford Street in Chorlton-on-Medlock. The new College was opened in 1872. During the period 1851-1870 the College was governed according to the will of John Owens. The trustees had absolute authority over finances, property and staff of the College. In practice, they appear to have exercised their powers in a consensual fashion, extensively consulting with the professors, particularly over academic matters. A new structure of governance was introduced, with the post of College President being created and a Court of Governors, Council and Senate as governing bodies. The College's new tripartite system of government was to become the model for other British civic universities.¹⁸³ The most dramatic impact of the new system was the admittance of women students for the first time in 1883 although segregation through separate classes was strictly adhered to.¹⁸⁴

The idea of providing advanced education in engineering in Manchester had been mooted for a number of years particularly by Manchester industrialists. Once funding had been secured for the college extension the planning for a faculty of Engineering began in

182 'Records relating to the College Extension' GB/OCA/7, UML.

183 Ibid.

184 'Administrative History' GB133/OCA, UML.

earnest. The Chair of Engineering was established in 1868 by eminent local engineers and businessmen with a view to providing a source of well-educated young men trained in science and engineering. The hope was that they would take up employment in the Manchester area and feed ideas and initiatives into the city's many industrial firms and organisations in order to help to combat the stiff competition from elsewhere in Europe, especially from Germany where industry was already benefitting as a direct result of the creation of teaching establishments which provided technical education to a high level. The major industrialists Joseph Whitworth, William Fairbairn, Charles Beyer and John Robinson all played a leading role in the foundation of the Chair at Manchester and in the selection of the twenty year old Osborne Reynolds as the first incumbent, becoming one of the first professors in UK university history to hold a chair with that title.¹⁸⁵

Osborne Reynolds was born in Belfast in 1842.¹⁸⁶ His father the Reverend Osborne Reynolds, was a Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, Principal of the Belfast Collegiate School and latterly Headmaster of Dedham Grammar School, Essex. Reynolds was schooled at Dedham but his early education was undertaken mainly by his father who, in addition to being an extremely able mathematician, had a keen interest in mechanics and mechanical matters and took out a number of patents for improvements to agricultural equipment and machinery. During this period, as Reynolds stated, 'my attention was drawn to various mechanical phenomena, for the explanation of which I discovered that a knowledge of mathematics was essential'. He therefore decided to go to Cambridge to take a course in mathematics. His university career was highly successful, graduating in 1867 and was immediately afterwards elected to a Fellowship at Queens' College.¹⁸⁷

185 'Chair of Engineering (Reynolds)' GB133/OCA/19/2, UML.

186 '1841 Census of Ireland' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (4 Jan. 2019).

187 J. D. Jackson, 'Osborne Reynolds, Scientist and Engineer' in *Proceedings of the Royal Society Of London*, cdli (1995), pp 49-86.

In his application for the newly instituted Chair of Engineering at Owens College Reynolds stated:

From my earliest recollection I have had an irresistible liking for mechanics and the physical laws on which mechanics as a science are based. In my boyhood I had the advantage of the constant guidance of my father, also a lover of mechanics and a man of no mean attainment in mathematics and their applications to physics.¹⁸⁸

Shortly after arriving in Manchester, Reynolds began a series of original researches which led, during the next thirty-five years, to the publication of many papers which attracted intense interest from his peers. These covered a phenomenally wide range of physical problems and engineering applications and laid the foundations for much of the subsequent work on turbulent flow, hydraulic modelling, hydrodynamic lubrication, friction and heat transfer. His experiments on the origins of turbulence, the scaling of estuary models and the determination of the mechanical equivalent of heat remain classics of their kind. The importance of his work in fluid mechanics and heat transfer is emphasised by the widespread use of such terms as the Reynolds Number, Reynolds equations, Reynolds stresses and Reynolds Analogy which are standard terms in the field.¹⁸⁹

As well as his membership of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, in a bid to further extend both his own and the College's contacts with the scientific community of the area, Reynolds also actively involved himself with two other local societies, the Manchester Association of Employers, Foremen and Draughtsmen (a group consisting of men with technical interests and experience, first formed in 1856)¹⁹⁰ and the Manchester Scientific and Mechanical Society (whom he twice served as President), formed in 1870 by William Fairbairn with the intention of linking academics with local industrialists.¹⁹¹

In 1894 Owens College became the University of Manchester and Reynolds remained as Professor of Engineering at the university until his retirement in 1905. Over the course of

¹⁸⁸ 'Chair of Engineering (Reynolds)'

¹⁸⁹ His collected works were published by Cambridge University Press in three volumes with the title 'Papers on Mechanical and Physical Subjects' published between 1900 and 1903. These contain most of his published papers, over seventy in all - Jackson, 'Osborne Reynolds, Scientist and Engineer'.

¹⁹⁰ *The Manchester Courier*, 25 Feb. 1871.

¹⁹¹ *Manchester Evening News*, 10 Aug. 1872.

his career he was invested with many honours. He was awarded the degree of M.A. by the University of Cambridge in 1880 and elected Honorary Fellow of Queens' College Cambridge in 1882. In 1877, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in 1888 received the Royal Medal. In 1883, he became a Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers and was awarded the Telford Premium in 1885 (a monetary prize for outstanding research paper or papers). The University of Glasgow conferred the Honorary Degree of LL.D. on him in 1884. He was elected President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1888 and received the Dalton Medal (awarded for distinguished research in the field of science) in 1903.¹⁹²

Osborne Reynolds' thirty-seven-year tenure at Owens College coincided with major changes in the scientific world in which his research and teaching played a major and widely acknowledged role. Perhaps his inaugural address at Owens college for the opening of the 1868-69 session, best illustrates the philosophical underpinnings of his pursuit of scientific truth and his foresight. In this lecture, entitled 'The progress of engineering with respect to the social conditions of this country', he firmly rejected any notion of engineering as an 'ivory tower' abstraction divorced from human context:

The results, however, of the labour and invention of this century are not to be found in a network of railways, in superb bridges, in enormous guns, or in instantaneous communication. We must compare the social state of the inhabitants of the country with what it was. The change is apparent enough. The population is double what it was a century back; the people are better fed and better housed, and comforts and even luxuries that were only within the reach of the wealthy can now be obtained by all classes alike... But with these advantages there are some drawbacks. These have in many cases assumed national importance, and it has become the province of the engineer to provide a remedy.¹⁹³

It gives a penetrating view of the problems of the times as he saw them and of his attitude toward engineering in relation to the work, wealth, and happiness of mankind in many ways reflecting Bentham's 'fundamental axiom' of his utilitarianism philosophy, the principle

¹⁹² *The Manchester Courier*, 24 Feb. 1912.

¹⁹³ Osborne Reynolds, 'The progress of engineering considered with respect to the social conditions of this country. (1868)' quoted in Derek Jackson and Brian Launder, *Osborne Reynolds and the Publication of His Papers on Turbulent Flow* (Manchester, 2007).

that 'it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong'.¹⁹⁴ Reynolds' involvement in the various societies is yet another illustration of Robert Anderson's theory that the types of clubs and societies which emerged and developed reflected the social and political concerns and interests of the day and had a strong attachment to liberal ideas.¹⁹⁵ Although perhaps hinting at a perception of utopian socialism, Reynolds himself had all the trappings of the wealthy middle-class – he too lived in the exclusive middle-class development of Victoria Park for many years and never had less than three servants in his employ.¹⁹⁶ He was an Irishman of world repute (again countering Tebbut's suggestion of invisibility) at the forefront of the drive to incorporate academia and associated research into the ever-evolving field of industrial engineering, which was of paramount economic importance to the city of Manchester and globally.

Irish-Catholic Representation in the Public Arena

At a time when the Catholic church was regarded with suspicion and outright hostility, in 1838 the calico merchant Daniel Lee, was appointed to the magistrates' bench, the first Roman Catholic to serve as a Justice of the Peace for the newly incorporated city of Manchester and was the longest serving of this initial group. He is also notable in being elected a Liberal councillor for Salford Central from 1844 to 1848.¹⁹⁷ The lack of press comment by even the anti-Irish and usually anti-Catholic *Manchester Courier* is notable. It may be his obvious business acumen and vast wealth facilitated a degree of acceptance not afforded to those of Irish-Catholic descent with lesser means. His achievements are even more notable at a time when anti-Catholic sentiment was reviving in response to the sometimes-heated public debate over the government's decision in 1845 to provide

¹⁹⁴ 'Jeremy Bentham' (utilitarianphilosophy.com/jeremybentham.eng.html) (24 Jan. 2019).

¹⁹⁵ Robert Anderson, 'Voluntary associations in history', p. 214.

¹⁹⁶ 'Census of England and Wales 1871-1901' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (04 Jan. 2019).

¹⁹⁷ *Manchester Evening News*, 21 Mar. 1877.

monetary support for the Irish Catholic seminary in Maynooth and subsequently the influx of mainly Catholic Irish migrants fleeing the famine. From 1850 onwards the restored hierarchy was aware that involvement in civic society was vital in order to promote and maintain the interests of the Church and its adherents and to this end Catholic Registration Societies were encouraged with the aim of locating those Catholics who were qualified to vote, encouraging them to register and building up a data bank for use at elections. As someone who was at the vanguard of Catholic involvement in civic society, Lee was elected president of the Salford Diocesan Registration Society.¹⁹⁸

A new opportunity for Catholic political involvement opened with the first School Board elections in 1870. Henceforth, slates of Catholic candidates would stand at the three yearly elections to 1900.¹⁹⁹ This was paralleled in council elections. By the 1880s, *The Tablet* could celebrate a growing number of Catholic candidates from both political parties standing for election.²⁰⁰ The body politic would be strengthened, the paper contended, by a Catholic presence in each party, and the hard-won acceptance of Catholics in public life would be continued and consolidated. In 1885, a correspondent to *The Tablet* argued that involvement in both parties would prove Catholics to be 'loyal subjects and good citizens'²⁰¹ indicative that they were still seeking acceptance.

Local political activity in Manchester culminated in the election to the City Council of several Catholic Liberal members in the 1880s and 1890s.²⁰² The first to be elected was the industrial chemist Charles O'Neill in 1885, after his involvement as a member of Manchester School Board. He had long been an enthusiastic advocate of Catholic education and had

198 Daniel O'Gorman, *Chronological Record from the Creation to the Present Time* (Manchester, 1865), p. 420.

199 See Clarke, *Lancashire & the New Liberalism*, p. 64.

200 *The Tablet*, 1 Aug. 1885.

201 *Ibid.*, 12 Sept. 1885.

202 In contrast the large number of Irish living in U.S. cities such as Boston, New York, Chicago and San Francisco, made the Irish a powerful political force by this time. Irish influence resulted in increased power for the Democratic Party as well as the Catholic Church. William R. Grace became New York City's first Irish-Catholic mayor in 1880. Four years later, Hugh O'Brien won the same position in Boston (C. F. Wittke, *The Irish in America* (17th ed. Louisiana, 2003).

taught chemistry and natural philosophy at St. Bede's Catholic College, established in 1876 to educate the children of Manchester's Catholic middle class. He was elected to the Manchester School Board serving from 1879 to 1891 whilst also serving as Manchester's first Catholic councillor from 1885 to 1891. A supporter of Home Rule he represented the Liberal party in the strongly Irish St. Michael's ward in Angel Meadow.²⁰³

Dr. Cornelius O'Doherty, also discussed earlier, was another notably well-qualified middle-class professional. His political and civil engagements were orientated towards the Irish Catholic community. He publicly identified himself with their interests and those of his birthplace, but he also clearly served the wider population. This is reflected in the ten years from 1892, that he served on the Board of Guardians for the Chorlton Poor Law Union, where he was vice-chair for two years, in a district which covered the area of his medical practice. Elected in 1895 he served for eight years as a Liberal on Manchester City Council, proving so popular that on two occasions he was returned unopposed.²⁰⁴ He was an active supporter of Home Rule, frequently taking part in St. Patrick's Day celebrations. In March 1891, he seconded the resolution supporting the majority of the Irish party, their adherence to the Liberal alliance and their stance on Parnell's leadership, describing the former leader as someone who 'would ... have crushed their hopes to gratify his own ambition'.²⁰⁵ Two years later he was present at the public meeting in support of a Catholic university for Ireland.²⁰⁶ In May 1900 he moved a resolution arguing that whilst the alliance with the Liberals was highly valued, Home Rule was the top priority and that in Irish-speaking districts pupils should be taught in the Irish language. He received great applause when on request he addressed the meeting in Irish.²⁰⁷ Clearly, both he and O'Neill he saw no contradiction in serving the Irish, Ireland, and the people of Manchester as a whole.

203 Smith and Busteed, *A diasporic elite*, p. 205.

204 *Manchester Courier*, 2 April 1892; *Manchester Times*, 25 Oct. 1895; *Manchester Courier*, 6 Apr. 1906.

205 *Catholic Herald*, 20 Mar. 1891 quoted in Smith and Busteed, *A diasporic elite*, p. 206.

206 *Manchester Guardian*, 24 Jan. 1898.

207 *Ibid.*, 14 May 1900.

This outlook was shared by politicians of Irish background in the city, namely Daniel Boyle and Daniel McCabe who, as councillors and aldermen, respectively represented New Cross ward (1894-1917) and St. Michael's ward (1892-1919). Boyle, born in Fermanagh in 1859, the son of a farmer, trained to be a teacher in Ireland but came to Manchester in 1877 as a railway clerk. He rose swiftly from this humble position to become a registrar for births and deaths living in the prestigious Victoria Park.²⁰⁸ He simultaneously advanced through the Nationalist movement and became organiser for the Irish National League, the United Irish League's predecessor, in Lancashire and Cheshire.²⁰⁹ He was also correspondent for the Nationalist Dublin newspaper *Freeman's Journal*. During the 1880s he took a leading role in organising the Irish National Foresters in Manchester. From 1881 to 1897 he was District Secretary and was twice elected Grand High Chief Ranger bringing their annual convention to the city on three occasions.²¹⁰ A devout Catholic, Boyle lent his support to various Catholic associations and was a vice-chair of the Catholic Registration Society.²¹¹

Daniel McCabe was born in Stockport of Irish parents in 1853 but grew up in Manchester's St. Patrick's parish. He received his education from the Christian Brothers at St. Patrick's boys school in Livesey Street and later studied at evening classes in the Manchester Mechanics' Institute.²¹² McCabe worked in a warehouse for a number of years whilst studying part-time at the Mechanics' Institute, before setting up a family business in Ancoats as a manufacturer of infants' millinery, a business he was associated with all his life and which was sufficiently profitable to allow a move to the middle-class area of life and which was sufficiently profitable to allow a move to the middle-class area of Crumpsall View

208 *Manchester Evening News*, 25 Oct. 1897; 'Census of England and Wales 1901' (www.ancestry.co.uk) (31 Aug 2018).

209 *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 May 1893, 10 Apr. 1894; *Preston Herald*, 27 Aug. 1890.

210 *Manchester Courier*, 9 June 1894, 4 Aug. 1885; *Manchester Evening News*, 12 Nov. 1906; *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Aug. 1916.

211 *The Harvest*, vol xiii, no.150 (March 1900), pp 68-69; Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 189.

212 *Manchester Guardian*, 30 Sep. 1919.

in Blackley and to employ a domestic servant.²¹³ He was also active politically in the Irish National League, where he was president of the Michael Davitt branch.²¹⁴ In 1892 he became a Justice of the Peace, only the second Roman Catholic to be so appointed and was also a Poor Law Guardian.²¹⁵ His role as a Poor Law Guardian would be seen as particularly crucial by the Catholic church who, as discussed earlier, had a perennial anxiety over the possibility of 'leakage' due to proselytising in the workhouses and the placement of Catholic children into non-Catholic homes. To counter this threat the Catholic bishops regularly sent out pastoral letters to be read out by parish priests, listing Catholic candidates in each union of the diocese encouraging parishioners to 'ensure the necessary votes required for the return of a Catholic Guardian'.²¹⁶

Both men were prominent Liberals, each became vice-president of their particular divisional associations. This dual membership and activity reflected the prevailing political wisdom that only the Liberal party would deliver Irish Home Rule. In the early 1890s the Manchester Liberal Party had adopted a notably progressive municipal programme which had provoked unease in some more conservative members. Boyle and McCabe, by contrast, were keen supporters both of the municipalisation of the gas supply and tramways system. By so doing they hoped the Corporation would 'set the tone' in both hours and conditions for those workers employed by private enterprise.²¹⁷ They also supported the introduction of the eight hour day for municipal employees and were enthusiastically endorsed by trade unions grateful for their efforts. In 1895 McCabe received a unanimous message of support from the Manchester Lodge of the United Operative Street Masons, Paviments and Stone Dressers

213 'Census of England and Wales 1861, 1881, 1911' (www.ancestry.co.uk)(12 July 2018).

214 *Manchester Guardian*, 19 Oct. 1897.

215 *Ibid.*, 6 Oct. 1919.

216 'Ad Clerum' 23 March 1898, Acta of Bishop Bilborough, 1897-98 quoted in Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, p. 103.

217 Steve Fielding, 'Irish Politics in Manchester 1890-1914' in *International Review of Social History*, xxxiii (1988), pp 261-284.

Society. He was thanked for:

... the democratic services he has rendered on all occasions in the interests of the toilers in the last six years. The members had always been pleased to note that whenever the workman's welfare had been under consideration Mr. McCabe had taken a very prominent part in their favour.²¹⁸

In 1894 Boyle was unsuccessfully challenged by the Independent Labour Party secretary of the Bargemens' Union. Yet by 1897 this former opponent was willing to support him as 'the most stalwart champion in the Council that the Labour cause had ever had.'²¹⁹ Recognition of his extensive administrative abilities came from Nationalist political leader John Redmond who encouraged his election for North Mayo in 1910 and selected him to accompany himself and T. P. O'Connor, M.P. on a fund raising visit to the U.S.A. later that year.²²⁰

Both men also served on the Police Watch Committee with Boyle serving on a sub-committee considering the Dugdale report, commissioned by the Home Office in 1897 into the administration of the city police force.²²¹ For some time there had been growing disquiet over the police service and the lack of any desire on the part of the Watch Committee to deal with the matter. In particular, it was alleged Superintendent William Bannister would be compromised by the fact that he was living with a Miss Julia Davies a publican, who was accused of running a number of brothels in the town. It was alleged Bannister profited from the proceeds of her activities and that he and his subordinate officers protected her from prosecution.²²² It was also purported that the Watch Committee had been presented with evidence against Bannister on several occasions and had failed to act, giving him the impression he was unassailable.²²³ The sub-committee recommended the dismissal of Bannister but their recommendation was rejected by the full Watch Committee. At subsequent Watch Committee meetings both Boyle and McCabe were resolute in support

218 Ibid.

219 *Manchester Guardian*, 21 Oct. 1897.

220 Busted, 'Elections and Meetings: 1870-1921' in *The Irish in Manchester*, pp 172-205.

221 *Manchester Evening News*, 29 Jul. 1897, 30 Sep. 1897; *Lancashire Evening Post*, 2 Nov. 1897.

222 David Daniels, 'Watching and policing in Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900.' (PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2018), pp 211-270.

223 *Manchester Guardian*, 7 Dec. 1895.

of the recommendations of the Dugdale inquiry although they were usually in a minority.²²⁴ After the inquiry had been concluded and the Report by the commissioner received, events in the council chamber became rancorous. The debate on 4 August 1897 was reported at length in the *Manchester Guardian*. Under the heading 'The Police Scandal, Animated Discussion', six columns of very tight script described a full attendance of the city council and the 'Strangers Gallery's' packed.²²⁵ The first order of business was for the council to consider the implications of the Watch Committee's activities: a motion was proposed by McCabe who wanted those members of the Watch Committee who had not accepted the proposal to ask for Bannister's resignation in 1893, to resign. He could not, he said, get at those 1893 members so he wanted to get at the 'pachydermatous (sic) majority' of the Watch Committee. He moved that the committee as a whole should resign. This motion was rejected. Significantly, McCabe was a serving member of the Watch Committee although he felt that no confidence could be held in that body, 'their proceedings could never be respected and could never inspire confidence' and continued saying that he had enough of this 'miserable business'. McCabe said that it was plain that Bannister was not fit for the job but he had friends on the Watch Committee and even in the previous December when they sat all day and heard shocking things about him, the Watch Committee had still voted fourteen to four for Bannister. To McCabe members of the Watch Committee were dishonourable. Such was the determination of the Watch Committee that several members spoke at the meeting and all said they would not resign and had nothing to apologise for. Subsequently however, Bannister was forced to resign and the Dugdale report into police procedural matters and command structure was adopted.²²⁶ Boyle and McCabe were two of only a

224 Daniels, 'Watching and policing in Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900.'

225 *Manchester Guardian*, 5 Aug. 1897.

226 Daniels, 'Watching and policing '.

handful of Watch Committee members who came out of the debate with their reputations intact.²²⁷

They also used their position within the Council to improve their standing in other ways. Both men held some limited influence over the livelihood of a number of their electors. McCabe was chairman of the Smithfield Market sub-committee which was principally responsible for the setting of stall rents and the making of contracts with suppliers. He was consequently seen as holding the market's economic fortunes in his hands. For example, when he spoke at a 1907 election meeting, he was forced to defend an increase in stall rents. He was able to counter his critics by announcing the signing of a contract to import American cattle to the city, winning a round of applause.²²⁸ His climb up the municipal ladder, culminated in his election as the city's first Catholic Lord Mayor in 1913, a position he held for two successive years, which is all more remarkable considering the council was now dominated by the Conservatives.²²⁹

Perhaps Boyle's most lasting contribution to Manchester was taking on the complex task of organising the replacement of the Corporation's horse-drawn trams by a modern electric tram system, which was inaugurated in 1901. Boyle held the important post of first chairman of the tramways committee between 1898 and 1906 becoming personally identified with both the policy of municipalisation as a whole and the tramways in particular. Speaking at the banquet to celebrate the opening, he said that the object was to provide a good service with the best possible conditions, and, not least, to give the ratepayers a decent return on their capital.²³⁰ Soon the service was responsible for 140 miles of track with 450 tramcars travelling 30,000 miles a day and carrying tens of thousands of passengers. Mancunian wits dubbed

²²⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 5 Aug. 1897.

²²⁸ Fielding, *Irish Politics in Manchester*, p.275.

²²⁹ In 1913 the council comprised 55 Conservatives, 27 Liberals and 15 Labour – Alan Kidd and Terry Wyke, *Manchester: Making the Modern City* (Liverpool, 2016), p. 196.

²³⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, 1 Jun. 1901.

It 'Dan Boyle's light railway'.²³¹ Boyle also had a strong interest in the welfare of the workers on the tram system and revolutionised the conditions of service, reducing the hours from seventy to fifty-four, increasing pay and giving a week's paid holiday while still making enough money on the trams to contribute a large sum in relief of rates. However, he had been initially reluctant to take up such a politically delicate post, feeling that his nationality and religion made him uniquely vulnerable to criticism.²³² He was proved correct. Conservatives were only too willing to point to the large number of Irishmen working on the trams, suggesting that he gave preference to his co-religionists, accusations angrily rejected at a public election meeting in November 1906, since when Boyle was attacked so were all Irishmen.²³³ Consequently, these Conservative claims only strengthened the bonds between Boyle and his constituents, evidence of a strong sense of ethnic affinity despite class differences. That same year he was the only municipal candidate endorsed by the local Trades Union Council. During his tenure, the committee was considered both a commercial success and a model employer. At the end of his stewardship in 1906, the *Manchester Guardian* concluded in an editorial, that the tramways were 'a branch of municipal work which has the admiration of all the citizens.'²³⁴

McCabe and Boyle were regarded as a model of what a Catholic public man should be – hard-working, respectable and devoted to both his religion and his public duties. Indeed McCabe himself acknowledged that the social position of Catholics was an important factor in the efforts to promote church expansion and consolidation.²³⁵ Their political courage was evident in their stance on the police scandal in which they are shown to be modern-minded men arguing for sound efficient administration with appointments made on merit rather than

231 Ibid., 30 Jun. 1906.

232 Ibid., 01 Nov. 1906.

233 *Manchester Evening News*, 9 Nov. 1906.

234 *Manchester Guardian*, 30 Mar. 1906.

235 Daniel McCabe, 'The Social Position of Catholics' in *The Harvest*, xii, no.129 (July 1899), pp 167-169.

seniority, patronage or personal connections. They were at the forefront of the process by which Manchester sought to establish itself as a truly modern city. Both rose from humble beginnings to establish themselves as respectable and widely respected members of Manchester's middle class engaging in wide-ranging associational culture based on political and civic involvement and religious and Nationalist identity.

Conclusion

A 'diasporic elite' was clearly present in Manchester throughout the study period of this thesis. Such persons of Irish descent were prominent in a diverse range of areas including academia, arts and culture, civic society, engineering, medicine and textiles, demonstrating acceptance in the city regardless of their religious background. Several were actively involved with the most prestigious and influential societies of the period, achieving high office in such institutions whilst others became acknowledged experts in their field.

Charity and philanthropy played an important role in the Victorian era and the narratives show involvement in church-based organisations that provided relief and support to Manchester's poor and disadvantaged. Philanthropic donations enabled the building or equipping of both Catholic and Protestant churches. Clubs were built and opened for the most deprived of the city's youth. Although this study has primarily highlighted men in recognition of their dominance in associational culture at this juncture, middle-class women such as Rose Hyland had an important role to play in civil and civic society through involvement in church-based organisations and civic institutions such as the Poor Law Board of Guardians. An Irish-Catholic presence in local civic society also allowed the interests of the Church and the large Irish migrant population of Manchester to have representation on the Board of Guardians, the Magistrate's bench, School Boards and the city council, the

latter having two of the most prominent and influential councillors of the time in Daniel McCabe and Dan Boyle. Boyle's influence on the infrastructure of the city through his chairmanship of the Tramways committee produced a lasting legacy which is still evident today.

It is also apparent how easy it was for middle-class people with professional qualifications to move between Britain and Ireland - in many ways the United Kingdom was not merely a single political unit, but a single professional world - and this freedom of movement was exercised by the middle-class Irish. They participated fully in the maturing world of late nineteenth-century Manchester, some focusing on their own community, others involved in the wider world of civic affairs and some in the wider imperial world with associational culture indicative of their class and a prominent feature of their lives and careers, a clear rebuttal of Tebbut's argument that such persons were largely invisible. Such levels of promotion, preferment and prestige provide further proof that the image of those of Irish decent as morally and intellectually inferior to the 'true-born Englishmen' was a fallacy and that recognition should be given to the presence of this Irish diasporic elite and its presence in the Manchester's middle-class and its contribution to the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has used the nineteenth-century Manchester situation to challenge the paradigm of the Irish as 'the largest unassimilated section of their society, as a people set apart, rejected and despised',¹ living 'a life of incessant combat among a people who hated them', an homogeneous lumpen proletariat.

Anglo-Irish relations in Manchester had a distinct chronology and complexity. Neither the Irish, nor the communities in which they settled, were homogenous in structure or outlook and as elsewhere in Britain, relations between natives and newcomers varied with the fluctuations in Anglo-Irish relations at the national level and were also dependent on local circumstances of time, place and civic tradition. Expressions of hostility generally emerged sporadically with external encouragement such as provocative sermons from ultra-Protestant preachers like Hugh Stowell and inflammatory parades by the Orange Order, rather than there being a consistent internal antipathy. But the commonly perceived collective failings of the Irish migrant in Britain and further afield, generated a negative characterisation, aided and abetted in no small part by the establishment, who failed for political and social reasons, to look past the 'poor Paddy' image of the Irish migrant and therefore to acknowledge the presence and contribution made by those of Irish descent who by occupational status, educational attainment, professional standing and economic contribution to the city and beyond, did not conform to the negative stereotype. This negative image was frequently perpetuated in academic and popular writing.² Whilst some early

1 Roger Swift, 'The outcast Irish in the British Victorian city: Problems and perspectives' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxv, no. 99 (1987), p. 271.

2 Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*; Evidence to George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain* in British Parliamentary Papers, 1836, p. 457; Carlyle, *Chartism*; Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, p. 72; *Manchester Courier*, 6 Jan. 1847; Werly, 'The Irish in Manchester, 1832-49' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii (1973), pp 345-58; Alan Kidd, *Manchester*.

commentators like Heinrick and Denvir and later academic analysts such as Finnegan, Jeffes and Busteed, qualified this image and hinted at the presence of a cohort of Irish migrants who belied this portrayal and would be categorised as middle-class, their work tended to be more in the nature of asides and qualification of their main themes which focus on the majority view.³ This thesis is only the second piece of work to make their presence and role in a major provincial city the focus of research, Belchem on Liverpool being the only other worker on such a project.⁴ Where quantitative data has been analysed in previous work it has also been from small data-bases which do not bare qualitative comparison with the large urban conurbation that was nineteenth-century Manchester.

The paucity of in-depth studies into the presence and nature of the Irish middle-class in Manchester (and indeed Britain as a whole) therefore remains and has left a gap in knowledge and understanding of a significant cohort within the Irish-migrant community. This study has gone some way in rectifying this omission through quantitative analysis of the census returns for Manchester published in 1841 and from 1861 to 1901. Data both from these census returns and additional sources such as membership lists of prestigious societies and institutions, bears out the argument there was an Irish migrant middle-class from relatively early on in the nineteenth century which increased steadily throughout the century as it gained access to the expanding education system and became socially mobile. Thus, the Irish middle-class were finding their place in one of Britain's leading nineteenth-century cities as it matured and by 1891 through to 1901, they were relatively stronger in this city than in England and Wales as a whole.

³ Heinrick, *A Survey of the Irish in England, 1872*; Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*; Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: a Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875*; Jeffes, 'The Irish in Early Victorian Chester' in Swift, *Victorian Chester: Essays in Social History, 1830-1900*, pp 85-117; Busteed, 'Resistance and Respectability: Dilemmas of Irish Migrant Politics in Victorian Britain' in Swift and Gilley *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain*, pp 50-62.

⁴ Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*.

This thesis has successfully challenged the perceived 'poor Paddy' image of Irish migrants in nineteenth-century Manchester by establishing the presence of an Irish middle class through analysing their numbers, their residential and occupational profiles, and how they interacted with one another and the wider host society. The study examines their changing roles in the city, thereby showing that at all stages of the city's development in the nineteenth century there was an Irish presence in the ranks of the burgeoning middle class. It demonstrates that, despite lingering prejudice, as the city economy diversified into new forms of enterprise, the cultural life and associational culture of the city intensified and its infrastructure and civic life were modernised, the Irish were active participators in the process.

This work also challenged another deep-seated and disparaging image as myth. The Irish Catholic priest was not the uneducated, uncouth, troublemaker as portrayed by certain sections of the press and some within the English Catholic clergy and laity, especially in the heightened sectarianism of the 1840s and 1850s. In background, educational attainment and professional achievements, they were on a par with their English counterparts and in some cases surpassed them, gaining them acceptance, respect and admiration amongst a traditionally cynical host community. This was also the case with the presence in Manchester of well-educated, middle class Irish nuns from the Order of Presentation Sisters, who made a significant and visible difference to the care and education of girls in one of the most deprived areas of the city

Within the middle-class secular Irish there were some notable distinctions. There was a typical petty bourgeoisie including Irish shopkeepers, publicans, small-time merchants and dealers, teachers, police officers and lodging-house keepers, living alongside and serving particularly though not exclusively, their own countrymen. A number of high status

professionals such as Professor Osborne Reynolds, Dr. Charles Philips and Charles O'Neill, were also identified. Several in this diasporic elite like Daniel Lee, Edward Caulfield and Charles Patrick Stewart, were extremely wealthy philanthropists using their wealth for the benefit of both church and community and residing in the most prestigious of Manchester's suburbs. They made significant contributions to the political, commercial and scientific life of the nineteenth-century city. Associational culture both church-based and secular, played a prominent role in their lives and careers, with nationality and religion no bar to membership of the most prestigious clubs, societies and institutions of the day, in which they played a prominent and active role.

Whilst the role of Irish middle-class women in nineteenth century Manchester was constrained by both church traditions and wider cultural norms, it is obvious that some occupations such as that of lodging-house keeper provided entrepreneurial opportunities for women which gave a degree of financial independence whilst providing an essential service for Irish migrants and others who flooded into Manchester during the nineteenth century. Others found an outlet for organisational and administrative skills in charitable public work with some key individuals emerging in the study such as Rose Hyland, whose philanthropic work helped improved the lives of the less privileged women in the city. This fact was highlighted by several regional newspapers of the day, indicating a gradual acceptance of women's role outside of house and home. This thesis, then, helps to restore women's experience in the historical narrative.

No single history of Irish immigration can be constructed. Rather there is a myriad of disparate and even contradictory histories. This study illustrates the danger of generalization. Experiences differed within the Irish middle-class because of disparities in the economic, social and occupational standing in relation to both the immigrant and host

communities, and the attitudes of political and religious oligarchies, both of which, varied chronologically.

This study has shown that the Irish middle classes made a distinct and important contribution to the commercial, political and religious life of nineteenth-century Manchester. This thesis therefore, contributes to the ongoing trend of a more nuanced view of the nature and role of the Irish migrant communities in nineteenth-century Britain by focusing on their middle-class numbers, composition, contribution and place in the life of one of the most economically dynamic urban centres of the period.

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