

GREEN RIBBONS:
THE IRISH IN BIRMINGHAM IN THE 1860s
A STUDY OF HOUSING, WORK AND POLICING

by
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ABSTRACT

This study of material conditions and policing found that the Irish often shared accommodation, with families of lodgers and concentration in Irish streets or Irish ends of streets shared with the general population. Community continuity and stability from the 1820s was compromised by the demolition of many Irish or part-Irish streets in the 1870s and 1880s. Within Birmingham's low wage economy, Irish people worked in a wide variety of occupations with men more likely to work in casual irregular employment and women more likely to work in factories than was general in Birmingham. Irish men's irregular work and Irish women's factory work supports the general Irish experience of employment in low-paid work specific to a town and challenges the assertion that Irish women preferred domestic work. There was a disproportionate number of Irish men in Birmingham's police force, yet Irish people shared the general experience of the Irish in England of being more likely to be imprisoned than the indigenous population. The Murphy riots encapsulate this inequality. An English mob rioted, Irish homes were sacked, the police joined in the riot yet the majority arrested and tried for riot were Irish.

(47000 words)

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the Irish in 1860s Birmingham.

"Atáid cuid díobh do fhág ainm iona ndiaigh, iondus go naithreostaoi a molta.
Agus atáid daoine ann aig nach bí cuimhne air bioth orra, téid as mar nach beidír riamh ann,
táinic annsa riocht soin amhuil nach bearthaoi riamh iad..."

"There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.
And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they have never
been; and are become as though they had never been born..."

quotation from Alice Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland and its undoing 1200-1600* (Dublin & London:
Maunsel & Company. 1920). frontispiece.

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Go mairir is go gaithir.

(live long and prosper.)

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCL	Birmingham Central Library
BCLA	Birmingham Central Library Archives
BCL LSD	Birmingham Central Library Local Studies Department
BUCL	Birmingham University Special Collection
IUP	Irish University Press
PA	Police Archives, West Midlands Police Museum, Birmingham
SCCA	St. Chad's Cathedral Archives, Birmingham

INTRODUCTION

[1] The historiography of the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain

With the mid-1980s publication of Swift and Gilley's¹ first collection of essays on the Irish in England and Scotland, the study of the Irish in England became an academic discipline in its own right, despite the reluctance of some historians to admit that Irish independence might stretch to the field of historical studies². Swift and Gilley collected essays hitherto published separately as literature, geography, economics, and social studies, religious and local history. This first collection concentrated on large urban areas of high Irish concentration such as Liverpool, London, Manchester and Glasgow and on studies that demonstrated Irish isolation and poverty. Their subsequent collections³ have continued to concentrate on the Irish in England, Scotland and Wales but have widened their scope to draw in the Irish experience in smaller urban areas and of different economic cohorts. O'Sullivan's⁴ collections of essays published in the 1990s have examined the experience of the Irish diaspora in Australia and the Americas as well as Britain.

Earlier stand-alone studies of the Irish in Britain consisted of a few general histories and studies of large urban areas, for example Handley⁵ on Scotland, Jackson⁶ on the Irish in Britain. Recent work continues to concentrate on general histories or the same areas of high

¹ Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London: 1985).

² D. G. Boyce, 'Brahmins and Carnivores: the Irish historian in Great Britain', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXV (99) (1987), pp. 225-235: p. 235 Ireland should be studied as part of the British Isles.

³ Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939* (London: 1989); Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* (Dublin: 1999).

⁴ Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities* (London and Washington: 1992); O' Sullivan, ed., *The Creative Migrant* (Leicester: 1994); O'Sullivan, ed., *Irish Women and Irish Migration* (Leicester: 1995).

⁵ James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork and Oxford: 1947); Handley, *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845* (Cork: 1945).

Irish concentration, for example Graham Davis'⁷ and Harris'⁸ general histories, Fielding's⁹ study of Manchester, Neal's¹⁰ of Liverpool, and Lees'¹¹ study of London. In contrast, MacRaild's¹² study of the hitherto unresearched Cumbria describes the experience of smaller isolated Irish communities and Hickman¹³ discusses the Irish experience with special reference to the Roman Catholic Church.

There is general consensus that there were three main routes of Irish immigration to Britain in the nineteenth century: the northern route, from Ulster and North Connacht to Scotland; the midland route from Connacht and Leinster to the north and midlands of England and the southern route from south Leinster and Munster to London.¹⁴ There was general agreement that these routes followed those of seasonal migration in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century described by Redford¹⁵, and that there were two types of immigration, seasonal and permanent. Authors also generally agreed that there was further movement within Britain and from Britain, with the final destination of Irish people largely determined

⁶ John Archer Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London: 1963).

⁷ Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914* (Dublin: 1991).

⁸ Ruth-Ann M. Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland* (Iowa: 1994).

⁹ Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: 1993).

¹⁰ Frank Neal, *Sectarian Violence, The Liverpool Experience, 1819-1914* (Manchester: 1988).

¹¹ Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin* (New York: 1979).

¹² Donald M. MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration The Irish in Victorian Cumbria* (Liverpool: 1998).

¹³ Mary Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity* (Aldershot: 1995).

¹⁴ Roger Swift, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914 Perspectives and Sources* (London: 1990) p. 11.

¹⁵ Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England 1800 - 1850* (Manchester: 1964) [first published 1926], pp. 141-149.

by employment prospects¹⁶. The dichotomy into seasonal and permanent immigration is challenged by studies that demonstrate that seasonal workers became permanent¹⁷ and by statistics which show that the majority of immigrants went to large or expanding industrial towns and cities¹⁸. However the number of emigrants to Britain remains speculative since government statistics on emigrant numbers and destinations are unreliable¹⁹, for example, from Miller, total emigration was less than emigration to destinations outside Britain.²⁰ Miller estimates that between 1856 and 1921, more than 3 million Irish people emigrated to the United States, 200,000 to Canada, 300,000 to other destinations, plus at least 500,000 perhaps 1 million unrecorded emigrants went to Britain. The police responsible for counting emigrants at ports in Ireland were less scrupulous than those in Liverpool counting emigrants to North America²¹. Uncounted emigrants were disembarked outside ports in Wales.²²

Seasonal migration to undertake agricultural labour continued throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century²³. The introduction of machinery into agriculture in the nineteenth

¹⁶ John Denvir, *The Irish in Britain from the Earliest times to the Fall and Death of Parnell* (London: 1892), p. 422; Graham Davis, 'Little Irelands', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939*, p. 106.

¹⁷ D. Morgan, *Harvesters and Harvesting 1840-1900* (London: 1982), p. 81; Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island* (London: 1988), pp. 22, 37; Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 149.

¹⁸ Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 386-387; Jeffrey Williamson, 'The Impact of the Irish on British labor markets during the Industrial Revolution' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939*, pp. 139-141; and see Table 3.

¹⁹ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, p. 65.

²⁰ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York and Oxford: 1985), pp. 569-571, Tables 1 and 2 "Overseas" emigration, that is to destinations other than the British Isles, exceeds total emigration in the periods 1851-1855, 1891-1900, etc. This suggests that the numbers of emigrants in Returns of the Emigration Commissioners to the Register General were lower than those in Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners 1851-1872 and their successors the Board of Trade Returns 1873-1921; p. 346 emigrants to Britain, United States and Canada.

²¹ David Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939*, p. 20; Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 20.

²² Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, pp. 141-147.

²³ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 147.

century did not reduce the need for labour, but meant that more labour was needed for shorter, more intensive periods²⁴. Denvir²⁵ described Irish people residing throughout the agricultural counties of England in the late nineteenth century, as navvies and harvest workers settled permanently. Finnegan²⁶ is probably unique in describing migration to a city with few job opportunities, that is, York. Here a determining factor was the presence of the Quaker humanitarian James Tuke who had supported the Irish poor in Roscommon, Mayo and Galway during the Famine and whose presence in York was wrongly assumed by the Irish to be evidence that they would be well received. Garry²⁷ suggests that a factor in settlement in Birmingham was the presence of a supportive English Catholic population.

Irish people were involved in and led working-class movements²⁸. Between 10% and 15% of emigrants were skilled and professional people²⁹. Nonetheless many studies, from Redford to Farrell and Ó Gráda, described them as strike-breakers, undercutting wage levels and distancing themselves from the indigenous working-class³⁰. Williamson's³¹ study countered the received wisdom that Irish labour lowered wage levels. Using classical capitalist economic modelling to discuss labour supply and industrialisation, he concluded that there was no evidence that the Irish lowered wages. Rather than an elastic labour supply, that is

²⁴ Morgan, *Harvesters and Harvesting 1840-1900*, pp. 14-15.

²⁵ Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 383-384, 387.

²⁶ Frances Finnegan, 'The Irish in York', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City*.

²⁷ Karen Garry, *Keeping the Faith: The Response of the Catholic Church to Irish Immigration in Birmingham (1840-1871)*, M. A. Dissertation, Birmingham University, 1997.

²⁸ Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 118/9; Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists* (Aldershot: 1984); Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 290; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-class* (Harmondsworth: 1968), pp. 471, 481-485; Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 164.

²⁹ Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 192 Table IX.

³⁰ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 159; Cormac Ó Gráda, Introduction to Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland*, pp. ix-xi; P. O. Farrell, *England and Ireland Since 1800* (London: 1975), p. 77.

plenty of labour willing to work for any wages, there was elastic demand for labour, that is industry needed all the labour it could get. In towns the Irish worked in Lancashire cotton mills, Dundee jute mills, Liverpool and London docks³². High mortality is indicated in Denvir's³³ description of copper works at Oldbury where young Irish men succumbed to arsenic poisoning within a few years. He suggests such working conditions explain the disappearance, "melting away like a snow wreath", of Irish people from some areas of England.

Direct migration in the expectation of finding permanent work in familiar circumstances is described in Collins'³⁴ study of textile workers in Dundee. Many authorities are dismissive of Irish skills but emigration to continue employment in a particular trade was described by Redford³⁵, who was partial against the Irish, and more recently by Emmons³⁶. Redford wrote that as textile manufacturing industry in Ireland closed, workers moved from Dublin, Cork and Limerick to Lancashire to continue in the same trade. Emmons described miners emigrating from Cork to Butte, Montana to continue in their trade.

Emphasis has been placed on class and religion as determining emigrant destination. Nolan³⁷ described North America as the destination of wealthier pre-1855 emigrants, and Redford and

³¹ Williamson, 'The Impact of the Irish on British labor markets'.

³² Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 10.

³³ Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 73.

³⁴ Brenda Collins, 'Irish Emigration to Dundee and Paisley during the first half of the Nineteenth Century', in J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson, eds., *Irish Population, Economy and Society* (Oxford: 1981).

³⁵ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, pp. 152-153.

³⁶ David M. Emmons, 'Faction fights: the Irish Worlds of Butte, Montana, 1875-1917', in O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities*.

Lees described it as the destination of early-nineteenth century Irish Protestants³⁸. Wolffe³⁹ asserted that middle-class Protestants emigrated to London, Bristol and Edinburgh. MacRaild's⁴⁰ study demonstrates Irish Protestant working-class emigration to Cumbria, and Waller's⁴¹ their emigration to Liverpool. The Irish Protestant Missionary Thomas Finigan⁴² thought that the majority of Irish in Birmingham in the 1830s were Protestant. 15% of post-Famine emigrants were Protestants⁴³, slightly higher than their presence in the Irish population.

Pooley⁴⁴ sought to demonstrate that the Irish came from a wide variety of backgrounds and took up a wide variety of work and residence. He thought there was a general misconception that the Irish lived in the most squalid conditions due to Engels' repetition of Kay's descriptions of the Irish in Manchester. However, Pooley demonstrated that in the main the Irish lived in definite areas in Liverpool and Lancaster. He called this clustering and asserted that it was based on economic not ethnic conditions. However, if ethnicity was not a factor, how can he explain "clustering"? Furthermore, despite his warnings of subjectivity, he provided an abundance of assumptions unsupported by evidence that can be summed up as:

³⁷ Janet Nolan, *Ourselves Alone - Women's Emigration from Ireland 1885-1920* (Lexington, Kentucky: 1989), pp. 43-45.

³⁸ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 166 north Ireland emigration to US late 18th Century; Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 37.

³⁹ John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829 to 1860* (Oxford: 1991), p. 19.

⁴⁰ MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration*.

⁴¹ P. J. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: a political and social history of Liverpool 1868-1939* (Liverpool: 1981).

⁴² Thomas Augustine Finigan, *Journal of Thomas Augustine Finigan, 1837/8*, Birmingham Central Library Archives, hereafter BCLA, p. 195.

⁴³ Curtin, O'Dwyer and Ó Tuathaigh, 'Emigration and Exile' in Bartlett, Curtin, O'Dwyer, and Ó Tuathaigh, eds., *Irish Studies a general introduction* (Dublin: 1988), p. 62.

⁴⁴ Colin 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*.

Lancaster was such a small town there must have been interaction; Liverpool was such a big cosmopolitan city, there must have been interaction. He does not speculate on the nature of the interaction. It could have been throwing a brick or becoming part of the family. We are free to subjectively speculate.

Pooley thought the Irish were outcast because they were poor and shared their condition with the English poor. Fitzpatrick⁴⁵ suggests the Irish were outcast because they failed to grasp opportunity. Pooley's view is economic determinism and Fitzpatrick's classical capitalism. O Tuathaigh⁴⁶ described Irish separation in bad housing to the end of the nineteenth century. Farrell⁴⁷ and Fitzpatrick support the picture of Irish migrants living in the worst areas of industrial cities, Fitzpatrick taking this through to the end of the nineteenth century. Finnegan⁴⁸ found that Irish separation in inadequate housing continued to the 1920s. Finnegan and Herson⁴⁹ studied residence over 20 years in York and Stafford respectively and found that the presence of an Irish area encouraged settlement. Where the Irish lived together more Irish families settled than where the Irish lived dispersed amongst the majority population. Holmes⁵⁰ suggests that residential separation was a continuity throughout the nineteenth century; by the end of the century this separation and hostility were sometimes

⁴⁵ Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', p. 16.

⁴⁶ M. A. G. Ó Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems of Integration' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City*, p. 16.

⁴⁷ Farrell, *England and Ireland Since 1800*.

⁴⁸ Frances Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', in Clancy, Cunningham, and MacLochlainn, eds., ...*the emigrant experience...* (Galway: 1991), p. 40.

⁴⁹ John Herson, 'Irish Migration and Settlement in Victorian England', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939*, p. 93; Herson, 'Migration, "community" or integration? Irish Families in Victorian Stafford', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain*, pp. 160-164 suggests that mobility was supported by a core of stable families.

⁵⁰ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp.21, 38-39, 57-61.

based on racist assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Holmes cited Steele's statement that the Irish in England experienced an antipathy and discrimination unparalleled outside "Orange Canada"⁵¹.

Hickman and O'Sullivan justifiably criticise an unacknowledged application of discredited social science models in Irish studies⁵². Alienation, adjustment, assimilation, integration, ethnic fade, clustering, separateness, homogeneity, heterogeneity are terms used to describe the Irish experience in isolation from other emigrant communities and the majority population. Community and ethnic areas ease the life of immigrants.⁵³ Acceptance of difference and access to the resources of civil society irrespective of difference are more progressive aims.

Hostility was manifest in religious observance. Holmes⁵⁴, Jackson⁵⁵, and Busteed et al⁵⁶ agree that being Catholic made the Irish socially separate. Holmes saw this separation as a result of Protestant hostility, not Catholic exclusivity. The coincidence of Famine immigration and the re-establishment of Catholic hierarchy are cited as reasons for sectarian clashes in the 1850s⁵⁷, but the worst and most persistent sectarian violence occurred in

⁵¹ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p.38; E. D Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North of England, 1850-1914', *Northern History*, XII (1976), pp. 220-241: quote p. 226.

⁵² Mary Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain: a critique of the segregation / assimilation model', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain*, pp. 237-239; O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities*, Introduction pp. 7-8.

⁵³ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 285.

⁵⁴ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 58-9.

⁵⁵ Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 152-157.

⁵⁶ Busteed, Hodgson and Kennedy, 'The Myth and Reality of Irish Migrants in mid Nineteenth Century Manchester: a preliminary study', in O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities*, pp. 32, 45.

⁵⁷ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 59; Roger Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth century Britain' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939*, p. 171.

Scotland where the hierarchy was not re-established until 1873. Busteed et al agree that Catholicism was a factor separating the Irish from the English, and point out that anti-Catholic riots preceded re-establishment. Orange Lodges were established in England in 1798 and supported by Tory ultras, yet Jackson described the "Orange Plot" to put the Duke of Cumberland on the throne as an example of Irish disloyalty.⁵⁸

The presence of Orange Lodges in England has been attributed to Irish Protestant immigration, based on a limited interpretation of Senior's statement that Orange Lodges were brought to England by Irish militia and British soldiers who had taken part in suppressing the 1798 Irish rebellion. Senior described the Lodges in England as a means by which Irish Protestants could distance themselves from the more numerous Irish Catholics and win English approval, since the English "normally regarded Irish immigrants with contempt." Orange Lodges were set up in Birmingham from 1807 and by 1830 there were 6 in Birmingham and three in nearby Bilston. However, in Birmingham Irish Protestants left the Lodges and joined Attwood's Political Union in 1832. The Order was proscribed by the British Government in 1836.⁵⁹

Until MacRaild's⁶⁰ recent study, it was thought that the Orange Order in England had little influence outside Lancashire after the 1830s⁶¹. MacRaild provided evidence of continuity throughout the nineteenth century. Studies of the Murphy riots demonstrate that Murphy

⁵⁸ Hereward Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain, 1795-1836* (London: 1966), pp. 151-153, founding of Orange Lodges in England; Neal, *Sectarian Violence*, pp. 18-26 on Orange Lodge formation in England, and links between Orange Order and Tory ultras; Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 151 for Orange Plot.

⁵⁹ Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain*, p. 152 quote "normally regarded.."; p. 259 joining Attwood's BPU; pp. 304/5 Lodges in Birmingham and Bilston; E. R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: 1968), p. 20 - proscription of Order in 1836 and revival mid 1840s.

⁶⁰ MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration*.

⁶¹ D. G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: 1992), p. 298 Orangeism "reduced to the status of a working-class drinking club" in the 1830s, only powerful in Lancashire; Neal, *Sectarian Violence*, p. 172, by 1860 Order in England "almost entirely a Liverpool affair".

relied on Orange Order support⁶². With the general acceptance that growth in Orange Lodges followed growth in Irish immigration went the assumption that membership was Irish. However, the Order was present in rural areas not associated with Irish immigration⁶³. In Birmingham the Orange Order had continuity to the 1860s. Its leadership appears to have been largely English, and in the 1860s its membership interchangeable with that of the Birmingham's Protestant Association (BPA). A 5th Orange Lodge was established in Birmingham in 1867, "The Garibaldi Loyal Orange Lodge", with BPA secretary T H Aston as Worshipful Master and BPA committee member J M Brindley as Deputy Master.⁶⁴

Jackson⁶⁵ found hostility to Irish people within the Catholic church. Catholic hierarchy antipathy can be extrapolated from their unwillingness to appoint Irish priests⁶⁶. Bossy described Catholicism as an "agent of assimilation"⁶⁷ and Hickman's⁶⁸ persuasive study

⁶² See Patrick Quinlivan and Paul Rose, *The Fenians in England, 1856 - 1872* (London and New York: 1982), pp. 36-41; Neville Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism 1850-1870, in Kenneth Lunn, ed., *Hosts Immigrants and Minorities historical responses to newcomers in Britain* (Folkestone: 1980), pp. 79-80; and see Chapter 3 below.

⁶³ Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in mid-Victorian England: Mr Newdegate and the Nuns* (Colombia and London: 1982), p. 31.

⁶⁴ *Journal of the Birmingham Catholic Sick Club 1795-1852*, Saint Chad's Cathedral Archives, hereafter SCCA, entries for 17 August and 14 September 1840: 14 September entry - reports that a member John Power supported by "the basest party in Birmingham - The Orange Faction" is suing them; Neal, *Sectarian Violence*, p. 69-70 for Birmingham's Worshipful Master Allday at Newton le Willows Orange March 14 July 1845; Kaja Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham 1830 - 1970*, unpublished Ph. D thesis., Birmingham University, 1989, p. 121, cites *Gazette*, 12 December 1867 - 6th Orange Lodge in Birmingham founded at the Spread Eagle Tavern Oozell Street, and *Journal* 25 April 1868 - Orange mob; *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, Birmingham Central Library Local Studies Department, hereafter BCL LSD, No. 12, January 1868, p. 6, "Orangeism in Birmingham" headline, Garibaldi Loyal Orange Lodge set up on November 16th 1867; *Birmingham Protestant Association Monthly Reporter*, No. 10, March 1870, p. 3, Aston's retirement from the position of Worshipful Master. Unfortunately there is not space in this study to consider the contradictions apparent in the Lodge's name.

⁶⁵ Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, Chapter 7 especially p. 141.

⁶⁶ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 108-109; Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 189-190 English Roman Catholic Church; Denis Gwynn, 'The Irish Immigration', in George Peck, ed., *The English Catholics 1850 - 1890* (London: 1950), p. 290.

⁶⁷ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London: 1975), p. 309.

describes conscious state and church policy to separate the English and Irish working-class and deprive the Irish-born in England of an Irish identity. She demonstrates that Catholic schools encouraged identity as English at the same time as separating many Irish from the English.

Studies have attempted to demonstrate that the most literate English-speakers were more likely to emigrate⁶⁹, in line with theories of migration which emphasise individual educated choice rather than structural economic base causes of migration. Ó Gráda⁷⁰ demonstrated that literacy was not a factor and Miller's statistics of emigration show that half of post-Famine emigration came from Munster and Connacht, the south and west of Ireland, where half the population was Irish speaking, see Table 1. Miller suggests that between a quarter and a third of emigrants were Irish speakers, giving "...Irish-America at mid-century a decidedly Gaelic cast." Since Irish speakers came from the poorest areas, they were more likely to emigrate to Britain than to America during the Famine: "Common sense indicates that since Irish-speakers were concentrated among the poor and the elderly, they were more likely to perish or migrate to Great Britain than take ship for North America⁷¹. Therefore the Irish in mid-nineteenth century Britain may have had a more "Gaelic cast" than the Irish in America.

Little attention is paid to the language of the Irish in Britain yet Denvir, Swift, Holmes, Lees and Hickman describe Irish being spoken in the West Midlands, Scotland and London, being

⁶⁸ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 155-157, 199-202.

⁶⁹ Nolan, *Ourselves Alone*, p. 85.

⁷⁰ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before & After the Famine* (Manchester: 1993), pp. 170-171.

⁷¹ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 297, 350, 580: Table 10, Irish speakers' emigration, quotes p. 297.

the majority language in some districts⁷². Contemporary governments and the Catholic Church marginalised Irish. The National School System in Ireland and Catholic schools in Britain taught in English only⁷³. Lees and Hickman point out the Church's reluctance to appoint Irish priests who could speak Irish with their parishioners. Lees is the harsher critic, describing the Church as the only institution that could have supported the language⁷⁴. In *The Irish in Britain* Graham Davis⁷⁵ contradicts himself, saying first that most emigrants to the United States came from Irish speaking western counties, then that only 5% of the population of Ireland spoke Irish in 1851, and those lived in areas of low emigration in the south and west, and later that 60% of the people of Kerry, Clare, Galway and Mayo spoke Irish in 1851. In an earlier study he demonstrated that he shared with Pooley a difficulty in using the word Irish⁷⁶. For Graham Davis, Irish is a word which does less than justice to the heterogeneity of Irish people and focussing on Irish experiences of deprivation adds to anti-Irish prejudice. It was discomfiting to find these arguments used in the late twentieth century.

Akenson described a decline in the percentage of the population of Ireland able to speak Irish, from 23.3% in 1851, 19.1% in 1861 to 15.1% in 1871. However, Ó Cuív offered a more thorough picture of Irish speaking. In 1851 Irish was the first language of more than half of the people of Mayo, and about half of the population of Galway. The extent of Irish speaking

⁷² Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 259, 418, Irish speaking in the Black County, 1850s; Swift, ' "Another Stafford Street Row": Law, Order and the Irish Presence in mid-Victorian Wolverhampton' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City*, p. 182; Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 40 ditto in Glasgow in 1850s; Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, p. 109 for Irish speaking in Wapping in the 1850s; Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 189, Irish language in London, 1850s; Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 141 some Irish had no English at all for much of the nineteenth century.

⁷³ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 34 and 189-190.

⁷⁴ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 108-109; Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 189-190, English Roman Catholic Church.

⁷⁵ Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 20, 41 and 131.

⁷⁶ Pooley, 'Segregation or Integration?', p. 73; Davis, 'Little Irelands', pp. 113, 128 and 105.

varied greatly across Galway and Mayo. In east Galway, between 25 - 49 % had Irish as their first language; in West Galway and Clare, between 50 to 79%, and in North Galway / Connemara, more than 80%. In most of Mayo, Irish was the first language of between 50 to 79% of the population and in south west Mayo more than 80%. The extent of Irish speaking remained high, and in 1891, nearly 60% of the population of Galway and 50% of the population of Mayo spoke Irish.⁷⁷

Language and literacy will have impacted upon migrant ability to access employment and determined to some extent where they lived, leisure pursuits, understanding of laws and regulations and relationships with the majority community. Generally studies mention late nineteenth century revival attempts such as the Gaelic League but do not question the accepted view of a largely illiterate English speaking immigration⁷⁸. To some extent this is due to reliance on the 1841 survey of literacy in Ireland. Mokyr, Miller and Graham Davis agree that over 50% of Irishmen and more Irish women could neither read nor write in the mid-nineteenth century⁷⁹. Williamson says that Irish illiteracy was twice the English level in the 1850s⁸⁰. However both Thompson and Redford describe the rural English as illiterate in the 1820s and the English poor had less access to education than did the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century⁸¹. A national primary school system was set up in Ireland in the 1830s, to

⁷⁷ D. H. Akenson, 'Pre-University Education, 1782-1870', in W. E. Vaughan, ed., *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland Under the Union, I, 1801-70* (Oxford: 1989), p. 537; Brian Ó Cuív, 'Irish language and literature, 1845-1921', in W. E. Vaughan, ed., *A New History of Ireland, Volume VI, Ireland Under The Union, II, 1870-1921* (Oxford:1996), p. 387, Map I Irish Speakers, 1851, By Baronies; pp. 431-435, Appendix, tables 1, 2 and 3.

⁷⁸ Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', p. 35; Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 40, Gaelic revival.

⁷⁹ Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800-1850* (London, 1983), p. 247; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p. 70; Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 41.

⁸⁰ Williamson, 'The Impact of the Irish on British labor markets', p. 139.

⁸¹ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-class*, p. 248 English rural illiteracy, pp. 782-790 English literacy in general; Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 96.

promote literacy in English⁸², but similar state education was only launched in England in the 1870s⁸³. It is not clear whether the 1841 survey examined literacy, or merely literacy in English. Ó Gráda⁸⁴, like Redford not averse to questioning Irish ability, supports the view that the Irish had great eagerness for education. Scally describes the destitute residents of Ballykilcline, County Roscommon, supporting a priest and teacher in the midst of the Famine⁸⁵. The importance of the National School System in providing free education to counter the influence of the hedge school is accepted⁸⁶.

Hickman⁸⁷ and Swift⁸⁸ examine the reasons for the association of Irish people with criminality, finding that it predated the 1840s and emanated from newspapers, police and magistrates who were to a large extent prejudiced against the Irish. Swift described the Irish as three times more likely to be arrested and five times more likely to be convicted than the English in the second half of the nineteenth century. Hickman and Swift site criminality in the context of the late eighteenth century early nineteenth century middle-class fear of a criminal dangerous underclass of vagrants and the unemployed. This was evident in the genesis of the British police forces from 1829 and nineteenth century legislation aimed at the morals of the working-class.

⁸² Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 34.

⁸³ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Harmondsworth: 1969), p. 169.

⁸⁴ Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before & After the Famine*, p. 22.

⁸⁵ Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine, & Emigration* (New York & Oxford: 1996), pp. 123, 136.

⁸⁶ Akenson, 'Pre-University Education, 1782-1870', p. 524.

⁸⁷ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 72-83.

⁸⁸ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', pp. 163-164.

Weinberger⁸⁹ described the effects of this ideology in 1870s Birmingham, where the targeting of specific areas as criminal justified their exclusion from local authority improvements and employment. Studies such as that of Swift on Wolverhampton and Jennifer Davis on Jennings Buildings London illuminate the relationship between the Irish and the law⁹⁰. They describe the police concentrating their low numbers on areas popularly seen by the middle-class as in need of control, using legislation that made arrest and conviction easy. Jennifer Davis described Summary powers of arrest for drunkenness, loitering and suspicious behaviour with only police evidence needed to secure conviction. Swift cited local legislation in the 1840s/50s on alcohol and lodging houses that gave the police power to enter premises without a warrant and was implemented in Irish areas. Finnegan joins Swift and Jennifer Davis in noting both a police policy of forcible entry and community cohesion in resisting arrest⁹¹.

Some of the legislation imposed sectarian Christianity. Wolverhampton laws restricted sales on beer on Sundays and in York two Irish men were jailed after the police tried to arrest a boy for playing ball on Sunday⁹². The argument that police targeting of specific areas and crimes led to Irish over-representation in crime statistics is persuasive. Also persuasive is evidence that most of those arrested following anti-Irish disturbances were Irish⁹³. Millward describes the police in Stockport as uninterested in stopping the destruction of Irish property and special

⁸⁹ Barbara Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers in the late Victorian City: Birmingham, 1867-1877*, Ph. D. Thesis, Warwick University, 1981, pp. 3-5, 8-15 for theory and local implementation.

⁹⁰ Swift, 'Another Stafford Street Row'; Jennifer Davis, 'From Rookeries to Communities', *History Workshop*, 27 (Spring 1989), pp. 66-85.

⁹¹ Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', pp. 42-44.

⁹² Swift, 'Another Stafford Street Row', p. 185; Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', p. 42-43.

⁹³ Pauline Millward, 'The Stockport Riots of 1852' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City*, especially pp. 209, 212 and 219; Davis, 'Little Irelands', pp. 124-125.

constables as joining in the destruction. The Catholic priests whose churches were burnt had to prosecute the English rioters themselves. Swift describes the police joining in rioting in Paisley⁹⁴ and Denvir and this study describe the police joining in the rioting in Birmingham in 1867⁹⁵.

Many studies describe anti-Irish mob violence as reactions to Irish outrages, in Ireland or Britain. Arnstein describes the Murphy riots as reactions to Irish violence; Fitzpatrick and Holmes describe 1880s riots as a reaction to the killing of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland⁹⁶. More reasoned studies such as those by Wolffe⁹⁷, Swift⁹⁸ and Hickman⁹⁹ describe anti-Irish mob violence as provoked by English middle and upper class leaders, including Anglican and other churchmen and Tory election candidates. Competition between Established and Dissenting Protestant Churches and Tory parliamentary ambition motivated anti-Irish and anti-Catholic polemic. Disturbances sometimes coincided with local economic depression but ethnic tensions rather than unemployment was the most consistent factor¹⁰⁰. This study describes anti-Irish violence instigated by the itinerant preacher Murphy who was supported by local and national Tory politicians and clerics.

⁹⁴ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', p. 169.

⁹⁵ Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 261.

⁹⁶ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 107; Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', p. 21; Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 58.

⁹⁷ Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain*, pp. 7, 290-299.

⁹⁸ Swift, 'The outcast Irish in the British Victorian city: problems and perspectives', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXV (1987), pp. 264-276, especially p. 273.

⁹⁹ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 44-46.

¹⁰⁰ Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', pp. 84-86, 90-91; Millward, 'The Stockport Riots of 1852', p. 220; Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 58 for Tredegar.

In contrast there is a reluctance to accept that events in Ireland led to major political change¹⁰¹. Catholic emancipation and extensions of the franchise are attributed to British liberalism rather than Irish mass movements¹⁰². Surveillance of the Irish is persuasively seen as the result of ruling-class concern that Irish nationalism, like Chartism, was subversive¹⁰³. Setting up police forces arose from the need to watch the working-class in general, and Irish police forces were set up before those in England¹⁰⁴. The Special Branch in Britain was set up after the Irish Special Branch. The last public hanging in Britain was that of Michael Barrett, an Irishman unjustly convicted of the Clerkenwell bombing. Irishmen like O Donovan Rossa, convicted of political crime in Ireland, served their sentences in England¹⁰⁵.

Swift¹⁰⁶ and Waller¹⁰⁷ recognise discrimination, unequal treatment and prejudice against the Irish, but are unable to call it racist. Swift refuses to summarise the whole effect, preferring the parts to the whole. Statistics of the effects exist, albeit investigated and correlated under different headings, and we can look at the data. Fitzpatrick ascribed Irish criminality to

¹⁰¹ Ireland led political change in Britain, see John Ross, *Thatcher and Friends: The Anatomy of the Tory Party* (London: 1983), pp. 83-85; Perry Anderson, *English Questions* (London, 1992), pp. 146-147; Judith Champ, *Assimilation and Separation, the Catholic Revival in Birmingham 1650 - 1850*, Ph D Thesis, Birmingham University, 1984, p. 283.

¹⁰² Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁰³ Farrell, *England and Ireland Since 1800*, p. 78; Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 83- 89; Swift, 'The outcast Irish in the British Victorian city', pp. 268-270; Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁴ Clive Emsley, 'Policing the Cities', *Themes in British and American History, a comparative approach: Focus Point 5 and 6 Essays, Citizenship, Equality and Industrialisation, 1830-1890, Cities and the Social Order, c1850 -1970* (Milton Keynes: 1985) pp. 93-94; Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780-1850* (Cambridge: 1988), describes the formation of Irish and English police forces.

¹⁰⁵ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 36; Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 133-141.

¹⁰⁶ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', p. 178; Swift, 'The outcast Irish in the British Victorian city', p. 272.

¹⁰⁷ Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*.

alienation and Redford to the Catholic tradition of begging¹⁰⁸. The state is a social construct¹⁰⁹ and Irish criminality can be seen in the context of religious and national conventions that excluded the Irish. Sunday observance and adherence to the Union were two tests which the majority of Irish failed.

Whilst earlier studies found the homogeneity of the Irish in Britain as poor illiterate and ostracised¹¹⁰, more recent studies searched for heterogeneity. Hickman¹¹¹ suggests these searches for heterogeneity can be seen as attempts to marginalise the experience of the majority which in the twenty-first century continues to be low occupational status and early death rates¹¹². Historical studies are part of Britain's intellectual production and as such play a part in British attitudes to the Irish and Ireland. Redford's early study laid the ground for a facile acceptance of racist stereotypes in the history of the Irish in Britain. For Redford the Irish not only carried disease, they were a disease¹¹³.

¹⁰⁸ Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', pp. 11 and 25; Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, pp. 137-138.; Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ For discussion of the construction of the British state and British national identity see: Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800* (Harlow: 2001); Robin Cohen, *Frontiers of Identity: The British and the Others* (New York: 1994); for discussion of the Irish in this construction see: Raphael Samuel, ed., *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Volume II, Minorities and Outsiders* (London: 1989), his introduction; Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies', pp. 244-247; Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 29- 56.

¹¹⁰ Swift, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914 Perspectives and Sources*, p. 16; John Belchem, 'The Immigrant Alternative: Ethnic and Sectarian Mutuality among the Liverpool Irish during the Nineteenth Century' in Ashton, Fyson and Roberts, eds., *The duty of discontent: essays for Dorothy Thompson* (London: 1995), p. 231 "The Irish were located firmly at the bottom of the local occupational and social hierarchy".

¹¹¹ Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies', pp. 223-239.

¹¹² Bronwen Walter and Mary Hickman, *Discrimination and the Irish Community in Britain Report for the Commission for Racial Equality* (London: 1997); Iestyn Williams, *Research Findings of the Birmingham Irish Elders Project* (Birmingham: 1999), p. 7.

¹¹³ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, pp. 26 and 132-164; on Famine immigration pp. 156 "terrible racial invasion" p. 157 "threatened to over-run ...Dorset and Devon, which ...had been comparatively immune".

In Carleton's¹¹⁴ tragi-comic short stories his characters differentiated between Party and Faction fights: Pat Frayne, the hedge schoolmaster, noted: "...the differential symptomatics between a party Fight, that is, a battle between Orangemen and Ribbonmen, and one between two Roman Catholic Factions"; John explained: "...Faction, you know, is applied to a feud or grudge between Roman Catholics exclusively.", whereas party disputes took place between "Orangemen and Whiteboys". It is not clear that other commentators observed these distinctions. For example, Handley called the regular weekend Orange party attacks on Irish and Catholic passers-by in mid-nineteenth century Greenock faction fights; Emmons' faction fight was the struggle between Irish conservatives in the Butte Miners Union and Irish socialists in the Metal Mine Workers Union in the early twentieth century¹¹⁵. The comments of contemporaries were ambiguous, as Conley's quotes from magistrates' remarks at two Kilkenny cases illustrate: "...the parties belonged to opposite factions..."; "It was a regular fight between parties on the public road"¹¹⁶. Conley studied 1,932 homicides in Ireland between 1866 and 1892, stating that recreational violence gave rise to many of the homicides, 41%, with faction fights "...the clearest examples of recreational violence..."¹¹⁷. However less than 2% of homicides resulted from faction fights¹¹⁸ and 70% of fights had only two participants¹¹⁹. The Irish were generally less violent than the English and Welsh: "The records do not support the notion of the Irish as particularly prone to violence. Most years the

¹¹⁴ William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry, Volume I*, (Gerrards Cross: 1990), p. 134 Pat Frayne's remarks in 'The Battle of the Factions', p. 194 John's remarks in 'The Party Fight and Funeral'.

¹¹⁵ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, p 113; Emmons, 'Faction fights', pp. 86-95.

¹¹⁶ Carolyn Conley, 'The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting', *Journal of Social History*, 33 1 (Fall 1999), pp. 57-72, quotes p. 60.

¹¹⁷ Conley, 'The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting', p. 60.

¹¹⁸ Conley, 'The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting', p. 71, note 26, thirty faction-related homicides. That is 1.6% of the total 1,932.

¹¹⁹ Conley, 'The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting', p. 61.

Irish homicide rate was only two thirds that of England and Wales.”¹²⁰ However, some surprising authorities have repeated the view that the Irish enjoyed fighting, for example, Gilley¹²¹: “If the Irish enjoyed their scraps with the Saxon, they were never happier than when fighting other Irishmen”, and Thompson¹²²: “Every Saturday night the streets of Manchester, Liverpool and other manufacturing towns were taken over by hundreds of brawling and drunken Irishmen”. Samuel¹²³ uses similar language. Thompson is Kirk's¹²⁴ authority for Irish faction fights, but the more usual authority is Handley¹²⁵, the source for Ulster versus Connacht and similar factions.

[2] The Irish in Birmingham

Although Birmingham was England's fourth most populous town with the fourth largest Irish population, see Tables 2 and 3, the history of the Irish in nineteenth century Birmingham has been little studied and less has been published. Chinn's recent study is the first published research since Denvir¹²⁶. Chinn pointed out the sparseness of catalogued material in Birmingham Central Library and Archives on the Irish in Birmingham before the mid-1960s. This study and conversations with librarians suggests that more material awaits study. I was influenced to undertake this study by the lack of information on the Irish in Birmingham. Since it is the site of the birth of the Unionist Party, it is difficult to believe that Ireland and

¹²⁰ Conley, ‘The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting’, p. 59.

¹²¹ Sheridan Gilley, ‘Catholics and Socialists in Scotland, 1900-1930’ in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939*, p. 214.

¹²² Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-class*, p. 476.

¹²³ Samuel, ed., *Patriotism*, his introduction pp. xi-xii.

¹²⁴ Kirk, ‘Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism’, p. 72.

¹²⁵ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland and The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845*.

¹²⁶ Carl Chinn, ‘“Sturdy Catholic emigrants”: The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham’, in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain*; Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*.

the Irish were unimportant in Birmingham in the second half of the nineteenth century. A further stimulus was the stereotypical descriptions of Irish immigrants in popular histories such as Hobsbawm's *Industry & Empire*¹²⁷, in Marxist classics such as Engels' *The Condition of the Working-class in England*¹²⁸ pointed out recently by Toibín¹²⁹, and in Social Studies in general¹³⁰. Second generation Irish myself, it was impossible not to be offended by the casual stereotyping of Irish people found in many academic publications.

Predecessors in the explicit study of the Irish in Birmingham comprise Chinn, Ziesler, Divo, and McKenna.¹³¹ Chinn described the Irish in Birmingham in the 1830s to 1850s. His study of the Irish in the 1850s covered the whole of Birmingham apart from the most affluent Edgbaston area, where few Irish lived. I have used his study extensively to examine continuity and change in the Irish experience in Birmingham. Ziesler's study was in two parts, the period 1830 to 1940 based on published material and 1945 to 1970 based on the oral history of post 1945 Irish immigrants. The first part of her study indicated sources for research into the Irish experience of the local authorities and provided much information about the Roman Catholic Church's attitude to Irish people in the 1860s.

¹²⁷ Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, pp. 309-312: summed up Irish immigrants in 4 pages as unskilled, slow to learn industrial skills, working for the least wages and living in the worst slums; by 1961 Irish immigrants had not been assimilated, but became invisible.

¹²⁸ Frederick Engels, 'The Condition of the Working-class in England', pp. 35-336 in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on Britain* (Moscow: 1962): pp. 123-127 on Irish Immigration - written in 1844 and frequently re-issued repeats in 4 pages Carlyle's and Kay's racist descriptions, explicitly blames Irish immigrants for lowering wages, and describes them as revelling in poverty and squalor.

¹²⁹ Colm Toibín and Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Irish Famine A documentary* (London: 2001), p. 12.

¹³⁰ Casual stereotyping of Irish people for example is found in Clive Emsley, *The English Police: a Political and Social History* (London: 1996), p. 74 "Irish communities brought many of their peasant traditions with them to English cities, such as the keeping of pigs with the family, and the faction fight."; Samuel, 'An Irish Religion' in Samuel, ed., *Patriotism*, pp. 96-97 Irish attributed with "primitive violence", "impulsive belligerence".

¹³¹ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants'; Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*; Emmanuel Divo, *Irlandais et Italiens en Birmingham*, unpublished thesis, University of France Comte, 1992-3, BCL LSD; Joe McKenna, *The Irish in Birmingham*, unpublished manuscript; McKenna, *McKenna's Boxes*, BCL LSD, collection of cuttings.

Divo studied St Bartholomew's Ward in the east of the town centre in the 1880s. The Ward stretched from High Street to Digbeth and included Park and Allison Streets, which feature in this study. It was mostly working-class, with back-to-back houses predominating and many factories and workshops. Irish people, the majority from the West of Ireland, lived throughout the ward except for the most affluent streets. English people did not differentiate between the Irish-born and their English-born children and when children are included Irish people were about 50% of the Ward's population. McKenna's unpublished manuscript, a history of the Irish in Birmingham, and his boxes indicated invaluable sources for further research.

Weinberger¹³² was concerned with policing in Birmingham from 1867 to 1877. She found three areas perceived as criminal by the local authorities: the Lodging house area centred on Thomas Street, the Irish area centred on Park Street and the Canal/Prostitute area centred on Wharf Street. Her study indicated police and magistrate bias based on prior identification of the areas as criminal. Both her Lodging house and Irish areas feature in this study as Irish streets. Champ's¹³³ main focus was the Roman Catholic Church in Birmingham, and thus described Irish immigration to Birmingham and local responses in some detail. Champ underestimates the importance of Irish immigration to the Roman Catholic Church in England. However, she points out the division between English and Irish Catholics, the Irish preferring the less opulent of Birmingham's Catholic churches throughout the first half of the

¹³² Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 17-22 for lodging, Irish and brothel areas; Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public in Mid-Nineteenth Century Warwickshire, in Victor Bailey, ed., *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: 1981).

¹³³ Champ, *Assimilation and Separation*; Champ, 'The Demographic Impact of Irish Immigration on Birmingham Catholicism, 1800-1850', in Sheils and Wood, eds., *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish, Studies in Church History Volume 25* (Oxford: 1989).

century. This early division is reflected in the Church's official opposition to Irish national aspirations in the 1860s and its eventual conversion to Home Rule in the 1870s.

[3] Aims and Objectives

This study initially focused on the 1860s to bridge the gap between studies that ended in the 1850s and those that began in the 1870s. It looks at the Irish experience of housing, work and policing in Birmingham. These themes were selected to illuminate the material conditions of the Irish in Birmingham and compare and contrast them to the conditions described in studies of other towns in Britain. The study of housing and work was influenced by Lees' study of London¹³⁴ which explicitly included second generation Irish people. The study of policing was extended to include a description of the Murphy Riots in Birmingham since they were under-reported in other studies. Space and time constraints necessitated the omission of some completed research on the Poor Law as it affected Irish people, and in my Conclusion I mention further research which I was unable to undertake within the time limits for this study. The study now comprises three chapters. Chapter 1 considers housing conditions, house occupancy and the distribution of Irish people in three selected streets, Hospital Street, London Prentice Street and Park Street, to compare experience of housing with that found in other local studies. Hospital Street had a comparatively low Irish population and was a new street where Irish residency in new houses could be studied. London Prentice Street had been known as an Irish street since the 1820s; Park Street was associated with Irish people by contemporaries; both had a high percentage of Irish-born residents and were studied by Chinn. Therefore patterns of residence in so-called Irish streets and changes in the decade 1851 to 1861 could be studied. Housing is first placed in the context of contemporary descriptions and historical analyses of Birmingham's housing in general. There follows a

description of each street in 1861 with an analysis of the distribution of Irish residents in the street and their main occupations. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the mobility of the residents.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the occupations of the Irish community in Birmingham derived from individual census enumerations. The chapter begins by discussing scholars and moves on to discuss similarities and differences between the occupations of the Irish in Birmingham and Birmingham's population as a whole, and between the Irish in Birmingham and other towns in England. The wages and conditions in major occupations are investigated, and Irish preponderance in some occupations is pointed out. The study challenges contemporary commentators' claims for wages in Birmingham and the assertion that Irish women did not work in factories. A wide variety of occupations were followed, many of which needed skill and or capital. Some changes in occupations over the decade 1851 to 1861 are indicated.

Chapter 3 looks at relationships between the Irish community and the police and magistracy. It begins with an analysis of the Irish experience of policing and prison in nineteenth-century England and Birmingham drawn from earlier studies by Swift, Weinberger and Floy. This is followed by new research into the Irish in the police and in prison in Birmingham. A description of the Murphy Riots, the ensuing court cases and compensation claims and an analysis of Murphy's lectures makes up most of the chapter. Other studies of Murphy are questioned. This concentration on one episode may seem unwarranted, but it illuminates the attitude of contemporary local authorities, questions historians' views of Murphy and is a necessary antidote to a view that the Irish in Birmingham were immune from the prejudice experienced by the Irish in other large English towns.

¹³⁴ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*.

[4] Sources and Methods

Primary sources used include 1861 Census enumerations, 1860s Rates Books, Directories, local newspapers, burial registers and scale maps¹³⁵. Manuscript sources include Journals, Reports and Minute Books held at St Chad's and Birmingham Central Library Archives and Record Books held at West Midlands Police Museum. Often the title of sources had little relevance to the contents. This led to pleasant surprises when Greaney's Scrapbook for 1866/7 continued to 1874, and when the Abstract for the Birmingham Police for 1839 to 1841 continued to 1892¹³⁶.

A study of the census was essential. Problems with census data are discussed exhaustively by Higgs¹³⁷ and others¹³⁸, and include the under-recording of women's and children's work, men's seasonal work and work in shops and pubs; the mis-recording of ages and birth-places; the over-recording of children as scholars; the over-recording of work in domestic service; the non-recording of unconventional living arrangements and occupations such as prostitute; the failure to differentiate between employer and employee, and the mass of people enumerated merely as labourer with no indication of the industry they worked in.

From 1851 census questionnaires were supposed to be filled in by a household head, with

¹³⁵ Richard Lawton, 'Mobility in Nineteenth Century British Cities', *Geographical Journal*, 145 (1979), pp. 206-224: p. 210 on need to use all available local evidence.

¹³⁶ Rev. William Greaney, *Scrapbook of the Reverend William Greaney, 1866-1867*, SCCA, newspaper cuttings, pages not numbered; *Abstract of the Birmingham Police Force from October 1839 to 4th July 1841*, PA, PC's names, date of appointment, warrant number, date and reason for leaving in date of joining order within alphabetical order from 18 October 1839 to 1 June 1892. At 39 entries per page, last warrant number 6412, there are more than six thousand entries in the book.

¹³⁷ Edward Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census: Victorian censuses and historical research* (London: 1996).

omissions filled in on the doorstep by the enumerator who collected the questionnaires. Problems could arise because householders and enumerators misunderstood the questions, because the enumerator misunderstood the householder and by simple transcription errors as the enumerators copied the information from the questionnaires into the books which were sent to London for collation into the published Census Reports. What constituted a household was itself problematic, with boarders and lodgers having theoretically different status, lodgers entitled to a separate questionnaire in theory but given one erratically in practice. Furthermore, the enumerators collected questionnaires from un-numbered or haphazardly numbered houses in small back streets and alleys after which they could sort, lose or forget questionnaires. They filled in their books some time after collecting the questionnaires, hence the enumerations are an unreliable indication of a household's location in a street. Higgs asserts that most enumerators were conscientious.

With reference to women's work, Higgs and Terry-Chandler agree that the men who made up the Occupation Tables assumed that women were dependent on men¹³⁹ and Higgs recommended treating individual enumerations cautiously and the published reports even more cautiously¹⁴⁰. In 1861 women's work was counted in fewer and different occupations than was men's. Men's occupations were accumulated under 410 headings and women's under only 241¹⁴¹. Birmingham's enumerators recorded women agricultural labourers,

¹³⁸ Elizabeth Peters, *Women's Work 1840 - 1940* (London: 1988); W. A. Armstrong, 'The Interpretation of the Census Enumerators Books for Victorian Towns' in H. J. Dyos, ed., *The Study of Urban History* (London: 1968).

¹³⁹ Edward Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth-Century Censuses', *History Workshop Journal*, 23 (Spring 1987), pp. 59-80; Fiona Elizabeth Terry-Chandler, *Women, Work and the Family*, Ph. D. thesis, Birmingham University, 1999.

¹⁴⁰ Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work', p. 76.

¹⁴¹ *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume II, Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations and Birthplaces of the People*, pp. 508-514, "Table 19 Occupations of males..." and "Table 20 Occupations of females...". In Table 19 data was accumulated under 410 occupation headings; in Table 20 data was accumulated under 241 occupation headings.

painters, marine store dealers and mechanics. Whilst the first two occupations appear in the published women's Tables, the last two do not¹⁴² and it is a matter of conjecture under which occupational heading they were accumulated. In contrast, screw and steel pen making were occupations shown only in women's Tables and absent from men's. The difference between the proportions of Irish women working, derived from individual enumerations, and of all Birmingham women working, as shown in the Tables, suggests that the Tables reflect the enumerations.

Women's role in reproducing labour was not counted in any census, and pointing out that it was not counted in nineteenth century censuses¹⁴³ without acknowledging that it is not counted today is disingenuous. Since the drawbacks are shared by all enumerations, a basis for comparability between census studies remains¹⁴⁴. Census enumerations provide a great deal of information on individuals and, aggregated, provide insight into the economic structure of study areas¹⁴⁵. For the majority of the population, who left no personal records, the census is the only source of information available¹⁴⁶.

The drawbacks Higgs describes were evident in the enumerations used as were some he did not, such as how parsimonious enumerators' watery ink in different handwriting styles

¹⁴² In Census Table 20, unlike Table 19, there was no separate women's occupation of marine store dealer or mechanic. I assigned the sample women marine store dealers to general dealers and the mechanic to implement makers.

¹⁴³ Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work', p. 60.

¹⁴⁴ W. A. Armstrong, 'The census enumerators' books: a commentary' in R. Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth-Century Censuses for England Wales* (London: 1978), p. 62.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Dennis, 'Intercensal mobility in a Victorian City', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series*, 2 (1977), pp. 349-363 especially p. 351; Colin Pooley, 'Residential Mobility in the Victorian City', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series*, 4 (1979), pp. 258-277, especially p. 258.

¹⁴⁶ Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', p. 37.

appeared on scratched microfilms. It was usual for a street to be part of more than one enumeration district. A scale map was frequently consulted¹⁴⁷, and the description of the district given at the start of each enumeration was studied. Transcribing the enumerations was tedious and time consuming as was arranging it into a form comparable with other studies. Armstrong's¹⁴⁸ explanation of Booth's system and alphabetic list of occupations was used to arrange the census enumerations into comparable tables. Following Lees, co-residing non-Irish-born friends and relatives were included in the sample, and filtered out when comparisons with studies of Irish-born were made¹⁴⁹.

Rates Books contain the names of owners and occupiers of property, a description of the property and its Gross Estimated Rental (GER) and Rateable Value. The value of Rates Books in providing a complete list of property in a town has been described by Darlington, Daunton and R. C. Holmes¹⁵⁰. Rates Books were made up to enable the collection of rates, a tax on the value of land and buildings which had been compulsory since its introduction in 1601 as a means of providing income for the Poor Law. From 1815, Rates were a local tax levied at shillings per £ of actual or assessed rent¹⁵¹. Rates Books are a more complete record of buildings in a street than are Directories¹⁵². Property numbers and descriptions may be

¹⁴⁷ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census* (London: 1989), p. 51.

¹⁴⁸ W. A. Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth Century Society* (London: 1972).

¹⁴⁹ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, In the Appendix p. 252, Lees states that the basis for inclusion as an Irish household was the presence of an Irish-born member in the nuclear family of the head.

¹⁵⁰ Ida Darlington, 'Rate Books', *History*, 47 (1962), pp. 42-45; M. J. Daunton, 'House ownership from rate books', *Urban History Yearbook* (1976), pp. 21-27; R. C. Holmes, 'Ownership and migration from a study of rate books', *Area*, 5 (1) (1973), pp. 242-251.

¹⁵¹ J. V. Beckett, 'Local Taxation in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth', *Local Historian*, 12 (1976), pp. 7-12

¹⁵² Darlington, 'Rate Books', p. 44.

inaccurate but may be corrected by reference to Directories and census enumerations¹⁵³. In theory occupiers were liable for rates, but in practice they were generally paid by the owner in a procedure known as "compounding". Hence owners' names were accurately recorded but there was little incentive to record occupiers' names¹⁵⁴. The GER was assessed locally, and Daunton stated some major drawbacks to its reliability, including that although originally based on prevailing rents, they were seldom revised; property was not inspected and tenants were not asked what they paid; and it was common to undervalue property in order to reduce a parish's contribution to a borough. Daunton suggests that the accuracy of each town's Rates Books be assessed.

Birmingham's Rates Books were made up in ten-year periods. The 1860 Rates Books studied were comparatively unproblematic, being clearly laid out in Manuscript Books in house number order within streets. They indicated infrequent revision, with few changes of owner and "down" in pencil indicating demolition. They contained the name of the owner or owner's agent but the occupier was infrequently entered because "compounding" was general in Birmingham to 1867 and from 1869¹⁵⁵. A full description of the property was given¹⁵⁶. There was great variation in GER which suggests that, if not a reliable guide to actual rents, the GER is a good guide to the relative rent, size and condition of property. Moreover, other

¹⁵³ Holmes, 'Ownership and migration from a study of rate books', pp. 242-244.

¹⁵⁴ Daunton, 'House ownership from rate books', p. 21-22.

¹⁵⁵ John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II* (Birmingham: 1885), pp. 21-22 and 41-42 on Compounding, pp. 41-43 on 1867 and 1869 Acts; M. J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working-Class Housing 1850-1914* (London: 1983), p. 204, Landlords had customarily collected rates as part of the rent. The landlords "Compounded" these rates with the Overseers / Board of Guardians, that is paid an agreed percentage of the rates to the Overseers. With the passing of the 1867 Franchise Bill, the Birmingham Overseers immediately discontinued "Compounding" and sought the rates directly from the householder / tenant. 25,000 people were summoned for non-payment of the first rate under the new Act, the October 1867 Poor Rate. 15,000 summons and 5,000 warrants of distraint - seizure of property - were issued for non-payment of February 1868 rate. The 1869 Rate and Assessment Act restored compounding.

¹⁵⁶ For example see Table 1.3, Hospital Street from the *1860 Rates Books*, BCLA.

descriptions of rents support the Rates Book GERs as a guide to actual rents paid¹⁵⁷. Front House numbering was consecutive, although some property was unnumbered¹⁵⁸. Court and Court house numbering was more problematic; sometimes all Court houses were numbered consecutively, sometimes none, sometimes some. Where property was unnumbered I gave it a number derived from that of adjacent premises. These derived numbers are enclosed in square brackets.

The Rates Book data for three streets was transcribed and arranged into Excel Tables. Correlation and comparisons between Rates Books and Census enumerations was facilitated by Smith's *Survey of Birmingham, 1855*, a sheet map drawn to scale, 1 inch = 44 foot¹⁵⁹. Richard Abbott, librarian, drew the *Survey* and its scale to my attention. The 1889 Ordnance Survey was used to investigate continuity and change in the three streets.¹⁶⁰ Pooley has pointed out that Directories were "severely biased towards businesses and middle-class households" and excluded many working-class areas¹⁶¹. However, the Directories were a guide to house numbering and longevity of businesses in a street.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ *The Birmingham Landlords and Ratepayers Mutual Protection Association Speech of Henry Hawkes, Esq, JP, 29 May 1878, and Annual Report* (Birmingham: 1878), BCL LSD, pp. 3-19, rents in Thomas and London Prentice Street in 1878 3s. 6d. a week; 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population with the Local Reports (England and Wales) 1837-1842, 1842 (HL-) Volume XXVII, Birmingham Report', in *Irish University Press (hereafter IUP) Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Health, General Volume 4* (Shannon: 1971), pp. 832-836; Enid Gauldie, *Cruel habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918* (London: 1974), pp. 158-161.

¹⁵⁸ To facilitate description of the streets, where a house was unnumbered I gave it a number derived from the number of adjacent properties. These derived numbers are in square brackets [].

¹⁵⁹ J. Pigott Smith, C.E. [*Survey of Birmingham*] 1:528 [c. 1850-1855] (Birmingham: 1855).

¹⁶⁰ *Warwickshire 1:500, Birmingham and its environs*, Ordnance Survey Office (Southampton: 1889); J. B. Harley and C. W. Phillips, *The Historian's Guide to Ordnance Survey Maps* (London: 1964), pp. 5 and 17.

¹⁶¹ Pooley, 'Residential Mobility in the Victorian City', p. 260.

¹⁶² Jane E. Norton, *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, excluding London, published before 1856* (London: 1950), pp. 21, 24.

Two daily newspapers supplied the town with international, national and local news. The *Birmingham Daily Post* had the larger circulation, and was closely identified with the Radical / Liberal / Free Trade Caucus¹⁶³. The Birmingham historian Bunce was editor from 1862 to 1899. The *Post* was the offspring of the weekly *Birmingham Journal* which continued to be published on Saturdays. The *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, first published in 1862, was the offspring of the Conservative *Aris' Birmingham Gazette*¹⁶⁴. The *Gazette's* links with local Toryism were pronounced. It was less successful than its Liberal counterpart and "eked out a subsidised existence" throughout the 1860s and 70s. Its editor from 1867 to 1870 was Dr Sebastian Evans, Conservative Parliamentary Candidate in 1868.

The *Journal*, *Post* and *Gazette*¹⁶⁵ are available on microfilm, but whereas the *Journal* is legible on a microfilm reader, the *Post* and *Gazette* are so much reduced as to be illegible until enlarged and printed off. The *Gazette* in particular was filmed in red ink, so that it was necessary to print it off as a negative. Fortunately *Osborne's Cuttings*¹⁶⁶ and the *Journal* acted as an index to and sometimes substitute for the daily papers. Cuttings and Scrap Books are useful but problematic sources since cuttings may be not dated or wrongly dated and attributed and pages may not be numbered. The monthly satirical publication the *Town*

¹⁶³ H. R. G. Whates, *The Birmingham Post 1857:1957* (Birmingham: 1957), pp. 32-39, 79; E. Edwards, *Personal Recollections of Birmingham and Birmingham Men* (Birmingham: 1877), p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ M. T. Gammage, 'The Birmingham Daily Gazette: a case history of the Conservative provincial press 1862-1914', *West Midlands Studies*, 13 (Winter 1980), pp. 27-33, quote p. 28.

¹⁶⁵ *Birmingham Journal*, *Birmingham Daily Post* and *Birmingham Daily Gazette* on microfilm in BCL LSD.

¹⁶⁶ *Osborne's Cuttings* catalogued as *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, 1866-1872, Accession Number 243123 and *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 2*, 1867-1871, Accession Number 243126, BCL LSD. Since I completed my research, Volume 1 has been rebound and partly repaginated.

*Crier*¹⁶⁷ affords succinct insight into Birmingham's elite. As well as satirical reviews of council business, councillors and magistrates, it reviewed productions of "The Colleen Bawn", "The Faction Fight", "The Peep O' Day Boys" and "The Octaroon". Its cod Irish poet Brallaghan O'Blarney asked "Is it Chartists you're terming 'em, the men of Birmingham? Sure there's non such again on this side of the sea!"; and on the Murphy riots it wrote "Whalley a fool is, Murphy his tool is...". The *Town Crier* is easily accessible in its original printed form, in bound volumes.

The sample streets were based on data in Saint Joseph's Roman Catholic Church Burial Registers¹⁶⁸. The Registers gave the last address of the deceased, and from these a list of the most often mentioned streets was accumulated, see Table 4. The archivist, John Sharpe, very kindly translated the little Latin required. Problems in accumulating the list arose from difficulty in reading the priests' writing and the use of different names for what was probably the same street. For example Cross, Crop and Old Cross Street may have been the same street, but were not counted as such. The Registers may have biased the study towards Irish Catholics, but contemporary sources suggest that Irish of all and no religions shared the same streets¹⁶⁹. They may have biased the study towards the least healthy streets but the bias towards the longest streets was hopefully corrected by combining the most Irish streets arising from the Registers with those found by Chinn in 1851¹⁷⁰, see Table 5.

¹⁶⁷ *Town Crier*, periodical, 45 volumes, 5 volumes per bound copy, 1861-1905, BCL LSD Accession Number 10901; Thomas Anderton, *A Tale of One City: The New Birmingham* (Birmingham: 1900), p. 122; Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public', p. 91, note 43.

¹⁶⁸ '[St Joseph's] Burials 1850-1864', *Birmingham Nechells Volume 13*, SCCA.

¹⁶⁹ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 123; Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 195-197.; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867 for Park Street Irish Catholic and Protestant.

¹⁷⁰ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 59, Table 1: Streets of Irish population in Birmingham, 1851.

In 1861 of Birmingham Borough's 296, 076 inhabitants, 11,332 or 3.83% were Irish-born, see Table 2¹⁷¹. The increase in Irish-born in the Borough from 9,341 in 1851 demonstrates that immigration into Birmingham continued in the 1850s. By 1871 the Irish-born population of Birmingham Borough was 9,076 (2.64% of the Borough population) which suggests that immigration had largely ceased¹⁷². Birmingham's Irish-born population was numerically small compared to that in London, Manchester and Liverpool in 1861, see Table 2. Moreover, although it was numerically larger than that of northern manufacturing towns, including Preston, Stockport and Gateshead, it was a smaller proportion of the town's population, see Table 3.

I studied the census data for fifteen streets - the ten streets most often cited in St. Joseph's Burial Registers, Table 4, and the streets cited as the most Irish in Chinn's study, Table 5. In most of these streets the majority population was English-born and the Irish community also lived with and beside other immigrants: Americans and Italians, Jews from Poland, Russia and Germany, black people from America, the West Indies and Africa and people from the Indian sub continent¹⁷³. Their Irish-born population in 1861 is shown in Table 6. The Irish presence in the selected streets becomes more marked when co-residing children and other

¹⁷¹ *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III, General Report, Appendix to the Report* (London: 1863), p. 160, Table 126: 'Comparative Population and Number of Natives of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Colonies and Foreign Parts enumerated in the Principal Towns of England and Wales, 1851, 1861', data for Birmingham Borough; Examining 1851 Census enumerations, Chinn, '*Sturdy Catholic emigrants*', p. 58, found only 7,981 Irish-born people in Birmingham, 1,300 less than the 9,341 reported in the published Census Tables.

¹⁷² *Census of England and Wales 1871 Population Abstracts; Age, Civil Condition, Occupation and Birthplaces of the People Volume III* (London: 1873) [c-872] LXXI Pt 1.1, p. 342, Table 21: 'Birthplaces of the Inhabitants of the Principal Towns', data for Birmingham Borough. If Irish mortality was the same as Birmingham's, approx. 2.6%, then with no immigration after 1861 the Irish-born population in 1871 would have been 8,716.

¹⁷³ Evidence of birthplaces from *1861 Census Enumerations*; evidence of colour from *Birmingham Journal*, 18 June 1864, p. 6, 'Birmingham Police Court', John Thompson, of John Street, "a man of colour" and a veteran of Bull's Run, appeared in court; *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, BCLA, Volume D: 24 October 1859 to 14 April 1868, 8 October 1860, 1 Muslim "Musselman" in prison; *Town Crier*, Volume 1, Number 10, October 1861, pp. 8-9, black musicians in John Street.

relatives are included, see Table 7.

In 1861, except for Green's Village and Old Inkleys, all the streets had a lower percentage of Irish-born than was recorded in 1851, see Tables 5 and 6. However, most of the streets recorded a smaller population overall. Many of the streets were subject to demolition to make way for new railway lines and stations in the 1850s and thus had fewer houses: Livery, Water and Henrietta streets were affected by demolition for Snow Hill Station and the Great Western Railway (GWR) line; Green's Village, Inkleys and Myrtle Row by demolition for New Street Station and Park Street by the construction of both the GWR and London and North Western Railway lines¹⁷⁴. Chinn suggests that on demolition displaced residents moved into adjacent streets¹⁷⁵, and a cursory examination of census enumerations has shown large numbers of Irish people in streets close to Livery and Park Streets. St Joseph's Burial Registers demonstrate a higher mortality amongst the Roman Catholics in these streets (2.97%) than was the average for Birmingham (2.59%), see Table 8. We can speculate that mortality amongst the Irish was also higher than Birmingham's average in these streets, and thus reduced the proportion of Irish-born.

My study is concentrated on the Irish people living in the older parts of the town centre, see Table 6 and Map 1, and gives us some insight into their lives and circumstances before the major displacements and demolitions of the 1870s and 1880s. My sample comprises 5382 people, 3244 Irish-born and their cohabiting relatives. Where I have used only some of my

¹⁷⁴ The effects of Railway construction on central Birmingham are described in John R. Kellet, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: 1969), pp. 125-149, 302-303; Derek Harrison, *Salute To Snow Hill* (Birmingham: 1978), pp. 9-11; Richard Foster, *Birmingham New Street - Background and Beginnings: the years up to 1860* (Didcot: 1990); Richard Foster, *Birmingham New Street - Expansion and Improvement 1860 to 1923* (Didcot: 1990).

¹⁷⁵ Carl Chinn, *Homes for People: Council Housing and Urban Renewal in Birmingham, 1849 - 1999* (Studley: 1999), p. 5.

sample, for example when making comparisons with studies of only the Irish-born, I make it clear in the text. Within the sample, most adults were Irish-born; those aged 10-19 were roughly evenly divided English and Irish-born and the vast majority of those under ten were born in England.

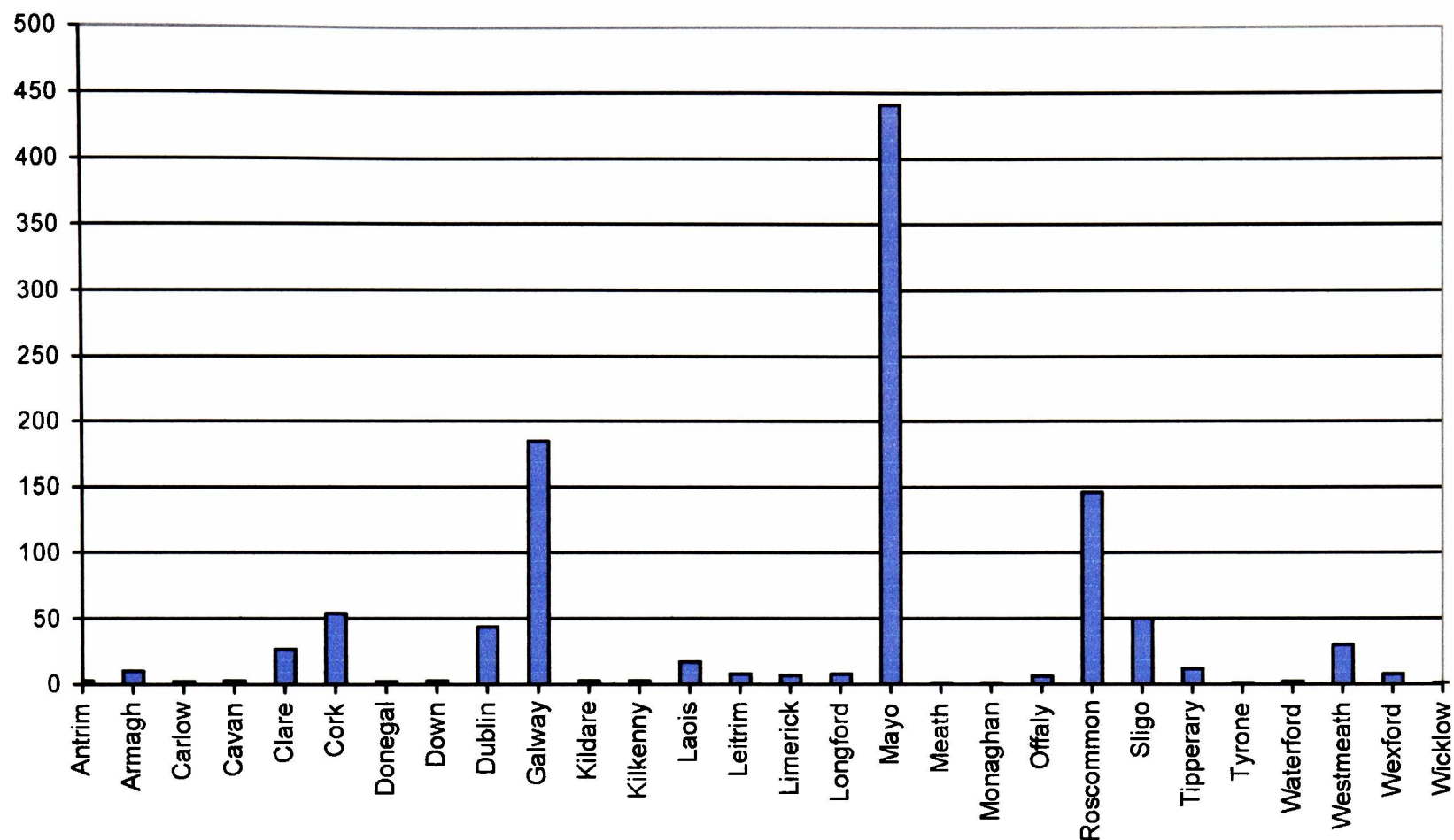
Supporting Chinn's earlier finding¹⁷⁶, the Irish-born in my study came predominantly from the West of Ireland. The county of birth was recorded legibly for 1078 of the total 3244 Irish-born. The largest number came from Mayo, 441, followed by Galway, 185, and Roscommon, 146. With 50 from Sligo and 8 from Leitrim, the total from Connacht was 830, more than three quarters of those for whom County was recorded. Only 123 came from Leinster; of these 44 were from Dublin, 30 from Westmeath and 17 from Laois; 103 came from Munster, including 54 from Cork and 27 from Clare, and 23 from Ulster, of whom 10 were from Armagh. The county of birth of my sample is shown in Figure 1 below¹⁷⁷. The number of people from Connacht is not a reflection of the emigration measured at the time, as Table 1 demonstrates. In the 1850s and 1860s, the majority of emigrants counted at Irish ports were from the south and north of Ireland, Munster and Ulster in Table 1. This study therefore supports suggestions that official statistics ignored emigration from smaller ports and to England¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁶ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 63-64.

¹⁷⁷ In the 1861 census enumerations the county of birth was not recorded consistently. It was available for all of Slaney Street; two thirds of Edgbaston & John Streets; half of Henrietta, Hospital and London Prentice Streets; one third of Park and Lichfield Streets; very little of Allison Street and none of Green's Village and Myrtle Row, Old and New Inkleys and Livery, Thomas, Weaman and Water Streets.

¹⁷⁸ F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland Since The Famine* (London: 1973), p. 44; Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 11 quoting Cormac Ó Gráda; Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', p. 12.

Figure 1: County of birth



Nassau William Senior was an influential political economist¹⁷⁹, a member of the British elite, architect of the 1834 Poor Law¹⁸⁰. He favoured the depopulation of Ireland, and supported Irish landlords who evicted their tenants¹⁸¹. His brother Edward organised emigration from workhouses in Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down and Tyrone in 1845¹⁸². Nassau Senior visited Ireland and described some of the places my sample came from and some of the reasons they

¹⁷⁹ Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before & After the Famine*, p. 129.

¹⁸⁰ David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in 19th Century Britain, 1834 - 1914* (London: 1998), pp. 9-16.

¹⁸¹ Toibín and Ferriter, *The Irish Famine A documentary*, p. 54; Nassau William Senior, *Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland, Volume II* (London: 1868), p. 267, to the Anglican Archbishop in Dublin in November 1862: "Had it not been for the famine and the emigration, the case of Ireland was hopeless."

¹⁸² Trevor Parkhill, ' "Permanent Deadweight": Emigration from Ulster Workhouses during the Famine', in E. Margaret Crawford, ed., *The Hungry Stream* (Belfast: 1997), pp. 89-92.

emigrated. In 1852 he visited Strokestown, Roscommon where during the Famine the landlord had "compelled, by threat of eviction, some hundreds of his tenants to emigrate...". The absentee landlord's agent now lived "with a garrison of eight policemen...".¹⁸³ In 1862 he travelled from Bushmills, Antrim, to Sligo, and then through Mayo, Galway and Clare. In "...exclusively Protestant" villages near Bushmills, there were windowless cabins, half-naked children and "...the over-population natural to the Irish...". From Sligo to Westport, Mayo, the first ten miles were beautiful, but from then to Castlebar "...the road runs through fifty miles of half-reclaimed bog, poverty-stricken towns and villages of wigwams." From Westport to Dhu Lough, Mayo, the many empty ruined houses were evidence of mass depopulation, and areas in Galway and Clare had "a very few newly-built slated houses and an abundance of ruined cabins and roofless walls...", evidence of "improving", that is, evicting, landlords.¹⁸⁴

The preponderance of Irish-born coupled with their provenance in the west of Ireland would have influenced the continuity of Irish speaking and traditions. Finigan frequently recorded Irish being spoken in his area in the late 1830s¹⁸⁵. In the 1880s Bertram Windle found "...Irish people who had come over at the time of the famine, and who had never learnt English..."¹⁸⁶ and in 1894 it was said that the "native patois can be heard as untainted as in distant Galway" in Woodgate Street and the Digbeth area.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Senior, *Journals, Conversations and Essays*, pp. 37-40. Strokestown, quotes pp. 38-40.

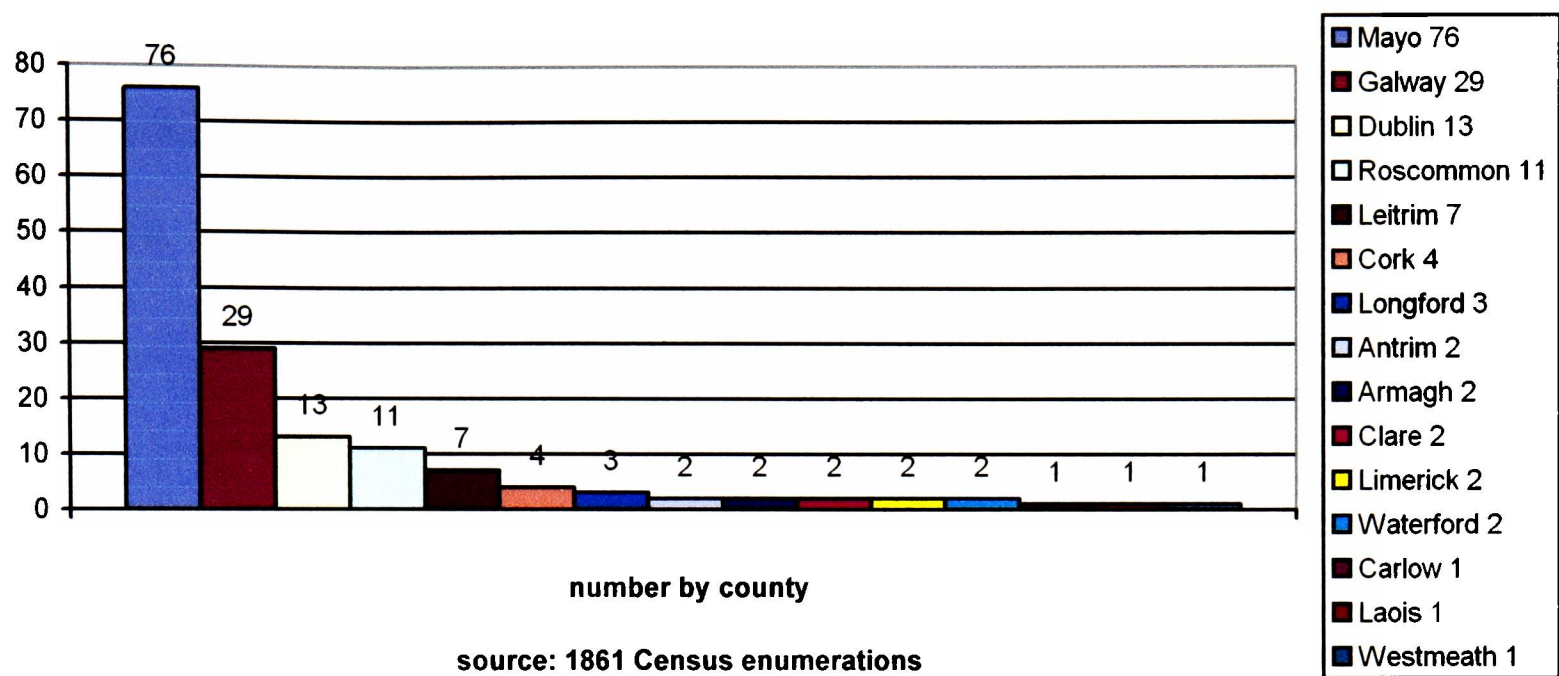
¹⁸⁴ Senior, *Journals, Conversations and Essays*, pp. 159, 166-168, 170-171, quote pp. 166-167.

¹⁸⁵ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 1-17, 3 to 26 July 1837.

¹⁸⁶ Monica Taylor, *Sir Bertram Windle, A Memoir* (London: 1932), p. 30.

¹⁸⁷ *Irish in Birmingham Scrapbook 1643-1989*, BCL LSD, Cutting from *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 15 November 1894, headline "Birmingham Sons of Erin", on Irish speaking in Digbeth and the Gaelic League in Birmingham.

Figure 2: Park Street Counties of birth



Around Park Street, in the Digbeth area, the likelihood that Irish was spoken at home and amongst compatriots is strengthened by the presence of Fr Sherlock as parish priest. Fr Sherlock had been sent to minister to the Irish in Bilston in the 1830s because of his ability to speak Irish¹⁸⁸. His appointment in the centre of Birmingham and his thirty years in post suggest the presence of Irish speakers there. His parishioners' gratitude is recorded in Irish in St Michael's church¹⁸⁹. In Park Street, where most of the parents and some of the children were born in Mayo and Galway, Irish may have been common at home. In Slaney Street, amongst the 197 people from Mayo, 48 were from Cong, on the north east coast of Lough

¹⁸⁸ Gwynn, 'The Irish Immigration', p. 267; Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 40; Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, pp. 259-260.

¹⁸⁹ The commemoration plaque in St Michael's Foyer reads: "Of your charity pray for the repose of the soul of the Rev. John Sherlock, first priest of St Michael's Mission, Birmingham, and for thirty five years its devoted and revered pastor. Fortified with all the rites of the Church, he departed this life at Rochfort Bridge, in his native county of Westmeath, Ireland. On the 5th March 1899, in the 88th year of his age. RIP Bannacht de le na anam agus le anamnaibh na mairbh ab-portadoir. Amen."

Corrib near its junction with Lough Mask, and 8 from Ballinrobe, east of Lough Mask. Originating in North Galway / Connemara, it is likely that they were Irish speaking. Such a high number enumerated from the same small area suggests a community impetus to emigration.

CHAPTER 1: HOUSING

[1] Introduction

In Irish to be "ar an mhuin na mhica" - on the pig's back - means to be fortunate. During the 1830s and 1840s Birmingham's working-class people kept pigs in their houses, courts and streets¹. It was said at the time that the more responsible Birmingham working men kept pigs as an investment for the future². However contemporary Birmingham commentators did not attribute the forward thinking demonstrated by keeping pigs to the Irish. On the contrary, as in other towns, the Irish were described as causing insanitary housing, overcrowding and disease³. Birmingham took pride in an alleged absence of cellar dwellings and historians have agreed that its mid-nineteenth-century working-class housing was superior to that in Manchester and Liverpool⁴. During the 1850s the principal streets and middle-class areas were sewered⁵. However, in the 1860s most of Birmingham's quarter of a million inhabitants relied on open middens for sewage disposal and had to buy water from carts or drawn from

¹ 'Health of Towns Select Committee Report with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, 1840, (384) Volume XI' in *IUP Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Health, General Volume 2* (Shannon: 1970), hereafter 'Health of Towns 1840', p. 213; 'Report of the Royal Commission on the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts: Second Report with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix Part I, 1845' in *IUP Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Health, General Volume 6* (Shannon: 1970), hereafter 'Large Towns 1845', p. 142.

² Robert Rawlinson, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of its Inhabitants, of the Borough of Birmingham* (London: 1849), p. 91.

³ See 'Health of Towns 1840', pp. 168-173.; 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population with the Local Reports (England and Wales) 1837-1842, 1842 (HL-) Volume XXVII, Birmingham Report', in *IUP Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Health, General Volume 4* (Shannon: 1971), hereafter 'Sanitary Condition 1842', pp. 841-842, 850; Rawlinson, *Report to the General Board of Health*, p. 22 and Appendix A, pp. 83, 88; John Darwell, 'Observations on the Medical Topography of Birmingham and the Health of the Inhabitants', *Midland Medical and Surgical Reporter*, I (II) (November 1828), pp 106-122 especially pp. 108-9, 111; John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume I* (Birmingham: 1878), p. 324; P. E. Razzell and R. W. Wainwright, eds., *The Victorian Working-class - Selections from Letters to the Morning Chronicle* (London: 1973), p. xiv of Introduction, pp. 285-288.

⁴ Enid Gauldie, *Cruel habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918* (London: 1974), pp. 93-95.

⁵ J Pigott Smith, AICE, 'On the Sewers of Birmingham', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1857* (London: 1858), pp. 430-433; William Spooner Till, 'Report on the Sewers and Sewerage of Birmingham', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1862* (London: 1863), pp. 608-611.

contaminated wells; central streets were intermittently flooded with sewage.⁶ Ninety percent of Birmingham's middle-class lived in the Calthorpe Estate, Edgbaston, immune from "the smoke, noise and pollution of the town"⁷; working-class housing in the town consisted typically of back-to-backs built in Courtyards accessed from the street front by a narrow passage⁸.

Chinn described the Courts: "closed in on all sides, with the communal privies and cesspools crowded against them..." and the houses: "Built in terraces, two or three storeys high, most back to backs had two small bedrooms, a room downstairs, a scullery and a cellar."⁹ Courts contained from 6 to 14 houses, see Plan 3.1.¹⁰ Chinn's description of Birmingham's housing is supported by Gauldie, Mayne and Daunton¹¹. Between 1780 and 1850 fifty thousand back-to-backs were built.¹² In 1858 there were 60,000 houses in Birmingham, most of them back-to-backs¹³. In mid-century two-thirds of the population, about 200,000 people, lived in back-to-back houses and up to the late 1870s "houses were at a premium", that is in short supply

⁶ John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II* (Birmingham: 1885), pp. 129-139 on sewers especially p. 131 - more than 300,000 people in 70,000 houses relied on nearly 20,000 privies / middens, pp. 85-86 streets flooded, pp. 104-106 wells, pp. 82-84 Park St. improvements.

⁷ David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: the Aristocracy and the Towns 1774-1967* (Leicester: 1980), p. 91.

⁸ Carl Chinn, *Homes for People: Council Housing and Urban Renewal in Birmingham, 1849 - 1999* (Studley: 1999); Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper representation in three cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: 1993), pp. 1-13 and 57-97.

⁹ Chinn, *Homes for People*, p. 3, description of back-to-backs.

¹⁰ Plan 3.1, source 'Sanitary Condition 1842', p. 834, Courts with 10 and 11 houses; 'Large Towns 1845', p. 142, up to 20 or 30 houses in a court.

¹¹ Chinn, *Homes for People*; Gauldie, *Cruel habitations*; Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*; M. J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working-Class Housing 1850-1914* (London: 1983).

¹² Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, Chapter 4, p. 60.

¹³ *Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Landlords Association - 6 April 1859* (Birmingham: 1859), BCL LSD, p. 6 for number of houses in Birmingham in 1858.

and expensive. The building of back-to-backs was banned in 1876.¹⁴

Gauldie compared working-class housing in different cities in nineteenth and twentieth century England and Scotland. She found that Birmingham housing was generally regarded as better than that of Liverpool, but was not necessarily any larger. In Liverpool the usual working-class house was 10 ft to 12 ft square, and consisted of a cellar, one ground floor room, and two rooms above, with a 12 ft frontage and 13½ foot depth (120 - 162 square foot ground area). Birmingham back-to-backs "...contained an extra storey, a cellar, a ground floor kitchen, a chamber room, and an attic above, but were not markedly bigger overall." Extant plans suggest that Gauldie over-estimated the size of Birmingham's working-class housing.¹⁵

Most authorities agree that, despite regulation and investigation, working-class housing did not improve during the nineteenth century¹⁶. In Birmingham the Liberal Party became synonymous with the 1875 Improvement Act, the grandiose scheme to build Corporation Street, to the neglect of working-class housing¹⁷. In 1878 Joseph Chamberlain declared that he was not going to build a single house¹⁸. Despite the avowed intentions to improve ordinary people's housing and massive borrowing, by the late 1890s there were still more than

¹⁴ Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City*, pp. 29-30, 46, quote page 159.

¹⁵ Gauldie, *Cruel habitations*, pp. 93-95, quote p. 95; 'Sanitary Condition 1842', plans pp. 832-835; p. 834 attached as Plan 3.1; Rawlinson, *Report to the General Board of Health*, p. 24.

¹⁶ Chinn, *Homes for People*, pp. 12-15; David Englander, *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain 1838-1918* (Oxford: 1983), p. 101; Asa Briggs, *History of Birmingham Volume II, Borough and City 1865-1938* (London: 1952), pp. 73-87.; James E. Vance, Junior, 'Housing the Worker', *Economic Geography*, 43 (1967), pp. 95-107, especially p. 107.

¹⁷ Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, pp. 65-66; Christopher Green, 'Birmingham's Politics, 1793-1891: The local basis of change', *Midland History*, II (2) (1973), pp. 90-91.

¹⁸ Gauldie, *Cruel habitations*, p. 285; Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p. 75.

6000 middens and a quarter of Birmingham's houses were still unsewered¹⁹. Gauldie²⁰ described clearance programs as removing the poor from sight of the middle-class, "[Demolition] had been easy in 1851, just as easy in 1868 and 1875...". Property owners could get a high profit from overcrowded unmaintained houses. Chinn²¹ asserted that housing was not improved because there was a tacit acknowledgement that rents and consequently wages would need to be higher.

Recently Hopkins²² painted a favourable picture of Birmingham's working-class housing in the mid-nineteenth century, Hopkins said that reports were "unanimous" that no-one lived in cellars and asserted that only casual labour lived in the worst housing, and that there is no evidence of houses being in bad repair. Hopkins appears to have relied solely on the statement of the 1842 Committee of Physicians and Surgeons²³, which stated that one family per house was general and minimised the poor housing and water supply available to the working-classes, but even so described some courts as dirty and neglected. Cellar living was noted in 1840²⁴. New houses built in the 1830s and 1840s were already subject to criticism in 1849²⁵ and were the sites of most deaths and remained unsewered in the 1870s²⁶. Both the 1845 and 1849 Parliamentary Reports included many references to housing in bad repair, or

¹⁹ Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p. 61.

²⁰ Gauldie, *Cruel habitations*, pp. 302-303 and 164-166.

²¹ Chinn, *Homes for People*, pp. 8-13.

²² Eric Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town - Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution* (Stroud: 1998), pp. 124-132.

²³ 'Sanitary Condition 1842', pp. 830-861; 830 for dirty courts.

²⁴ 'Health of Towns 1840', Hodgson's evidence pp. 210-214., cellar living p. 213.

²⁵ Rawlinson, *Report to the General Board of Health*, pp. 24-26.

worse.²⁷ The artisans in steady employment who moved into new houses did not enjoy good housing conditions for long. However, throughout the century, Birmingham's elite claimed that overcrowding was unknown and one family per house the norm.²⁸

[2] Analysis

To consider the Irish experience of housing in Birmingham the study focuses on three streets, Hospital Street, London Prentice Street and Park Street, which test the Irish experience in streets with high and low Irish populations and new and old houses²⁹. Hospital Street was a comparatively new street in 1861 and had the lowest proportion of Irish-born residents in the sample streets. It sheds light on the Irish experience of new housing. London Prentice Street had been associated with Irish people since the 1820s and sheds light on an established Irish area. Park Street became associated with Irish people in the 1860s and in part of the street Irish businesses were prominent. It was selected for destruction by the English mob during the Murphy Riots in 1867. Both Park Street and London Prentice Street had high proportions of Irish residents and were studied by Chinn, so that comparisons between 1851 and 1861 are

²⁶ Alfred Hill, M. D., *Report of the Health of the Borough of Birmingham for the Year 1873* (Birmingham: 1874), BCL LSD, pp. 8-9, introduction; Table I following p. 22 "Deaths Registered in the borough of Birmingham..."; Table [10] pp. 27-30 "Table of the Number of Deaths occurring in each Street...1873".

²⁷ Rawlinson, *Report to the General Board of Health*, Russell's evidence pp. 88-97; 'Large Towns 1845', Russell's evidence p. 168.

²⁸ Leonore Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work? Landladies and Lodgers in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century England', in Davidoff, ed., *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Cambridge: 1995), p. 157.

²⁹ Sources used to investigate the streets and describe their layouts: *1861 Census Enumerations* PRO Numbers 2143 to 2165 (parts); J. Pigott Smith, C.E., [*Survey of Birmingham*] 1:528 [c. 1850-1855] (Birmingham: c1855), BCL LSD; *Warwickshire 1:500, Birmingham and its environs*, (Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton: 1889); *1860 Rates Books*, BCLA; *1870 Rates Map, London Prentice Street*, BCL LSD; *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, Warwickshire and Part of Staffordshire, 1845* (London: 1845); *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1860, Part 1* (London: 1860); *Corporation of Birmingham, Corporation General and Trades Directory of Birmingham, 1861* (Birmingham: 1861); *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1864* (London:1863); *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1867* (London:1866); *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1871* (London: 1871). The Rates Books' "Gross Estimated Rental" has been used as rent. The rent was between 130 and 140% of the Rateable Value, for example see *1860 Rates Books*, Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, London Prentice Street, p. 28.

possible. The evidence from the streets is used to compare the Irish experience in Birmingham with that in other towns. Map 1 shows the position of the streets relevant to the town's built environment in 1840³⁰. Table 1.1 shows the Irish-born population of the streets in 1851 and 1861. Adding children and other co-resident relatives gives a more realistic sense of the Irish presence in the streets, see Table 1.2.

In 1861, the total population of London Prentice Street was 568, fewer than in 1851, but the Irish-born as a proportion of the total had stayed nearly constant, see Table 1.1. Park Street's population had grown by nearly two-thirds to 1,226, but its Irish-born population had stayed constant, so that they were a smaller proportion of the street's residents. Hospital Street's total population at 2,264 (Hospital & Upper Hospital) was larger than the other streets considered. Its Irish-born population was nearly the same as London Prentice Street's, a smaller proportion of the street's total population yet 2½ times the proportion of Irish people in the Borough as a whole.

[2.1] Hospital Street

In 1840 Hospital Street ran from Summer Lane to Tower Street, north of the town centre, see Map 1. Its extension, Upper Hospital Street, had few buildings in 1840 but between 1840 and 1855 considerable construction was carried out³¹ and it continued to be built upon and extended in succeeding years. In 1865 the Corporation became responsible for its sewage disposal and street cleaning. By 1889 both Hospital Street and Upper Hospital Street were

³⁰ Joseph McKenna, *Birmingham Street Names* (Birmingham: 1986), p. 39, "Bradshaw's Plan of Birmingham 1840" – photocopied as Map 1.

³¹ Smith, *Survey*, sheets 49, 50.

called Hospital Street³². The 1855 street names are used for this description, and in Hospital Street, see Map 2³³, and Upper Hospital Street it is possible to look at the distribution of Irish people in new and older houses in 1861. Map 3 aids analysis of the street in 1861³⁴.

In 1861 Hospital Street was largely residential, see Table 1.3 and Map 3. There were retail outlets and a bakery, some small workshops, a small school, a butcher's and accompanying slaughterhouse, 2 warehouses, at numbers 48 and 123, and two coalyards, at numbers 91 and 48. Hoopers' bit and stirrup makers was at the back of number 48, the Steam Engine Machinery of J Vick and Company, wrought iron garden furniture manufacturer at Number 12, and Lench's Trust Almshouses between numbers 110 and 111, next to St George's Branch School. The largest premises were the Cowhouse and slaughterhouse at Number 47, with a rent of £46/16/- a year, followed by the stirrup and bit makers at the back of Numbers 48/9 and the public houses and their associated brewhouses. Many of the premises described as Retail shops will have manufactured the goods they sold, including the baker, publicans and boot makers. Rents and property sizes were moderate. Estimated annual rents for front houses ranged from £25 a year for Number [92], to £1/1/- a year for Number 124, and for Court houses from £10/8/- a year, 4s a week, in Court 16, to £2/12/- a year, 1s a week, in Court 3, see Table 1.3.

Irish people were a minority in the street overall. Most lived between its start at Summer Lane and its junction with Buckingham Street, see Map 3. This part of the street was near

³² *Warwickshire 1:500*, sheets XIV.1.12, XIV.1.17, XIV.1.22.

³³ Map 2: Hospital Street taken from Smith, *Survey*, sheets 63, 64, 77 and 78.

³⁴ Map 3: Hospital Street showing Court numbers and some house numbers in 1861, drawn from Map 2, *1860 Rates Book*, Volume 4, St George's Ward, pp. 140-143, Hospital Street; pp. 153-161, Upper Hospital Street, *1861 Census enumerations* and contemporary directories.

older centres of Irish residence in Livery, Henrietta and Water Streets³⁵. On the west side of the street there were Irish households in 4 of the 34 front houses and 37 of the 79 residences in the seven Courts³⁶. Also a servant in the Angel Pub was Irish. Their distribution in courts varied from the totally Irish Court 27 with eleven Irish households comprising 72 people, to Court 31 where there were no Irish households.

On the east side of the street between Summer Lane and New Church Street Irish households lived in 6 of the 39 front houses and 21 of the 60 dwellings in the nine courts, see Map 3. Eight Irish households lived near the corner with Summer Lane in three front houses numbers 5, 6 and 7, in Court 1 behind these houses, and at Number 8 where the census recorded only Mary Brown, a laundress. Behind numbers 32 to 35 opposite the junction with Buckingham Street, ten households lived in Courts 9 and 10, while in Number 36 lived the household headed by John Clowsy, a Cooper. In addition three Irish people lived in English households.

³⁵ Carl Chinn, ' "Sturdy Catholic emigrants": The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin: 1999), pp. 58-59, 64-65, 70-71.

³⁶ Household - everyone living in the same premises, see below. W. A. Armstrong, 'The census enumerators' books: a commentary' in R. Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth-Century Censuses for England Wales* (London: 1978), pp. 48-54, describes difficulties in analysing households and families and suggests using "Anderson's general principles". However, these were inappropriate, making all relatives lodgers, then assuming that lodgers did not co-reside, imposing the nuclear family as the household and assuming that only within the nuclear family was there "regular inter-action". Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census: Victorian censuses and historical research* (London: 1996), p. 63 and pp. 75-76, the household is a social construct and p. 69 describes a convention whereby a household runs from "one entry 'head' in the column 'relation to head of family' to the last name preceding the next entry 'head' ". In my sample, this would have resulted in many households in one house therefore I have used the term household as synonymous with residence, as follows:

Household - Everyone listed in the census as living at an individual address, as shown by the house number or other individual address in the census. There may be only one household at one address. The head of the Household is the first person listed as Head for that address.

Family - Everyone in a household who is related by birth or marriage to a Head given in the census, as shown by the entries in the "Relation to Head of family" column in the census. There may be more than one family living at one address. Where two or more heads are listed in the census, the "Relation to Head of Family" entry refers to the most recent previous Head listed.

Irish household - A household (see above) in which the Head listed in the census or his/her co-residing spouse is Irish-born.

Irish family - A family (see above) of which the Head or his/her co-residing spouse is Irish-born.

In contrast, from Buckingham Street to Tower Street there were but two Irish households in the 30 front houses, and only one Irish household in the 30 houses in the 5 courts. From New Church Street to Tower Street, there were no Irish people in either the front houses or the 26 Court residences. Most of the front houses lived in by Irish households had rents little higher than the majority of the courts, see Tables 1.4 and 1.5. The Rafter's rent at Number 6 was 3s per week, and six families paid 3s 6d a week for front houses. The highest rented Irish properties were Reynolds' clothiers and drapers, at £20 per year (7s 8d a week), and Belford's, the cab driver's, at £14 10s per year (5s 7d a week).

Front houses varied in size, see Table 1.4. Of the houses Numbers 1 to 9 on the corner with Summer Row, Numbers 1 and 3 were large, 476 and 780 square foot, but the Irish houses were no bigger than Court houses. Numbers 4 and 5 had 11 foot frontages and were 12½ foot deep (138 square foot), Number 6 was 15 foot square (228 square foot), and Number 9 had an 18 foot frontage and was 11 foot deep (198 square foot). On the opposite side of the street, on either side of the Almshouses, Number 111, rent 5s 7d a week, had an 18 foot frontage and was 30 foot deep (540 Square foot), and Number 110, rent 3s 6d a week, had a 12 foot frontage and was 16½ foot deep (198 Square foot). For comparison, the Almshouses were uniform, with 30 foot frontages and 13¾ foot deep, 412 square foot ground area. Numbers 109 to 101 were smaller with frontages of approximately 11 foot, and depths of about 16½ feet (181 square feet); Number 94 was bigger, with a 12 foot frontage and 18 foot deep (216 square foot).

Court houses were little more uniform, see Table 1.5. Court premises were between 150 and 265 square feet ground area. Rents ranged from 1s to 4s a week. Irish people's rents were from 2s to 3s 3d a week. Irish people did not live in Courts with the highest rents: Court 16

where rents reached 4s; or the lowest rents: Court 3 where rents started at 1s and Court 31 where rents started at 1s 9d. In Courts 9 and 10, shared equally by Irish and English households, rents ranged from 2s 9d to 3s and house sizes from 150 to 240 square foot. In Court 27 where all the households were Irish, rents ranged from 2s 3d to 2s 6d and the ground area from 226 to 240 square feet. However Irish people made up the majority of households in Courts with consistently low rents, such as Court 1 where all the rents were 2s a week for premises with ground areas of 165 to 189 square feet, and Courts 27 and 32 where rents were 2s 3d to 2s 6d a week. All except 13 households lived in larger Courts of 10 or more houses, which may have been similar to those in Photographs 3.1 and 3.2³⁷. The most consistent theme of residence was location in the oldest part of the street.

Court 27 was an Irish Court. 72 people lived in the eleven Irish households, an average of 6.54 people per dwelling. The names of eleven tenants were recorded in the Rates Book, and three are the same as those recorded by the census enumerator: at number 3 lived Michael Nolan, a journeyman tailor, with his wife and seven children, rent 2s 6d per week; at number 10, lived James Maguire, a gun implement maker, with his wife, Mary, his mother, and four children, rent 2s 3d per week; and at number 5 lived John Trimble, a labourer, his wife, Mary, his mother, and his wife's grandmother and brother, rent 2s 6d a week. Half the families in the Court had members of their extended family living with them. As well as the Maguires and Trimbles, the Ryan family at number 2 lived with Mary Ann Ryan's mother, sister and niece; the Walshes at number 9 lived with the wife's three sisters, and at number 5 Magy Tomolty headed the household of her four children, grand-daughter and young lodger.

³⁷ Photograph 3.1, *Warwickshire Photographic Survey (1922)*, BCL LSD, WK/B11/2018, Court with 3 storey houses; Photograph 3.2, *Warwickshire Photographic Survey (1922)* WK/B11/2014, Court with 2 storey houses. Photographs taken in the 1920s, therefore very tenuous link to any court in the 1860s.

One family per dwelling was not usual amongst the Irish people in Hospital Street. There were 116 residential premises on the street front, counting Lench's trust almshouses as one residence, and 195 residential premises in Courts, a total of 311 residential premises. Irish people lived in 76 of these premises, in five of them as the sole Irish lodger in English households. The 71 Irish households contained 388 people; hence the average number of people per Irish household was 5.46, somewhat higher than the Birmingham average of 5.01. Only 26 households were made up of the nuclear family of wife, husband and their children. 18 households had lodgers or boarders, 16 included members of the extended family, and a further 10 were shared by two or more families sometimes with their extended family or lodgers. One woman lived alone.

Amongst the 403 strong Irish community 35% (141) were children aged 15 and under, of whom 36 had a working occupation whilst 27 were scholars³⁸. No-one under ten had an employment recorded. Two of the ten year olds worked at the same occupation as their elder siblings or parents, making buttons. Most of the other young people had occupations which meant they went out to work, for example, as errand boy, brass caster, or steel pen worker. Amongst the 16 to 19 year olds, 8% of the community, 9 were born in England and 24 in Ireland, with the Irish-born more likely to be employed in gun-making, and less likely to be employed in labouring, button making and general metal working than their English relations. Two 19 year olds and one seventeen year old had no occupation recorded. Most of those aged 20 and over were Irish-born; the 22 English-born were 14 wives, 1 James Binford, the copper-smith was a husband, 3 were other in-laws and 4 were children.

For the 247 Irish-born people the most frequent occupation was labourer of some description.

³⁸ Children's employment and its recording in the census is discussed in the Introduction and Work Chapter.

51 men and 4 women, 22.3 % of the total; no-one was an agricultural or farm labourer; 24, or 9.7%, were bricklayer's labourers. Also in the construction industry were a carpenter, a bricklayer, a slater and two painters. The typical Birmingham occupations of gun, button and metal-working were represented. Thirteen men and six women (7.7%) worked in gun making; ten women and two men worked at button making (2.9%). Metal workers in general included six men working in brass, six men and seven women working in other metals, two men working as tool makers, and two warehouse women, 9.3% of the total. Four women provided domestic services (laundry, washing and cleaning), three worked as servants, four were dressmakers and three nurses. Occupations requiring capital were not well represented amongst the women. There was one shopkeeper, a greengrocer. Amongst the men, however, there were several dealers, employers and skilled workers, including four axle makers and a factory engineer as well as the tradesmen living in the front houses amongst whom were a cooper whose son-in-law was a solicitor, a coppersmith, a cab driver and a policeman.

For all businesses, long term residence at the same address was unusual. Only 10 of the 142 businesses in the 1845 Directory were in the 1861 Directory and only 26 of the 144 businesses in 1861 Directory were in the 1871 Directory. Seven Irish businesses were in the 1861 Directory, and only one is also in the 1871 Directory: Reynolds listed at Number 99 in 1861 and at the same address 10 years later.³⁹

In Upper Hospital Street, the only non-residential premises was the Steam Engine Machinery, Warehouse and stables at Number 61, with an estimated rent of £61 a year. Front and Court house rents were £6/10/- to £7/16/-per year, 2s 6d to 3s per week. There were two Irish

³⁹ *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1845*, pp. 53, 54; *Corporation General and Trades Directory of Birmingham, 1861*, pp. 633, 634; *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1871*, p. 65.



households in Upper Hospital Street, and both lived at the back of Number 43. The households were two nuclear families: Edward Kirwin, slater's labourer, his wife and three children, and William and Jane Sheers and their three children. In Upper Hospital Street, of the total population of 621 people, there were three Irish-born, or 0.48% of the population of the street. The ten first and second generation made up 1.6 percent of the street's population.

The Irish in Hospital Street lived in the oldest houses in the street, near the junction with Summer Lane, and therefore near older centres of Irish residence in Livery, Henrietta and Water Streets. Their houses had more people than the average for Birmingham. In the Courts, they did not rent houses with the lowest or the highest rents; the most consistent theme of residence was location in the part of the street between Summer Lane and the junction with Buckingham Street. Their front houses were generally no bigger than Court houses, and had similar rents. Of the 71 Irish households, only 26 were the nuclear family. Sharing houses was common; 44 of the households included members of the extended family, lodgers or boarders. There were but two Irish households in the newer houses in Upper Hospital Street and these lived in the same Court. Irish people were concentrated in part of the street in the oldest houses.

[2.2] London Prentice Street

London Prentice Street was a more residential street⁴⁰. It ran parallel to and between Dale End and Lichfield Street, near the Old Square and Bull Street, the latter one of Birmingham's

⁴⁰ Description of the street compiled from 1861 Census enumerations, contemporary directories and *1860 Rates Books* Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, pp. 28-32, London Prentice Street; Smith, *Survey*, sheet 111; *1870 Rates Map of London Prentice Street; Warwickshire 1:500*, sheet XIV.5.8 shows Dalton Street on the site of London Prentice Street.

principal streets, see Map 4⁴¹. There were few commercial premises: two public houses, at Numbers 14 and 46, a shop at Number 7, two marine store dealers, and a cooper and packing case manufacturer. St Peter's Sunday and Infant School was on the corner of the Rope Walk, and St. John's Catholic School at Numbers 35 to 39 and Court 3 on the south side of the street, see Map 5⁴². At the Coach Yard end of the street were a number of coach houses and stables. The highest estimated rental was £26 a year, for the Retail Shop at Number 7 and the Public Houses at Numbers 46 and [14], see Table 1.6, although St John's School premises had a combined rent of £57.4s a year. In contrast, in nearby Bull and Thomas Streets the highest estimated yearly rental were £216 and £47 respectively.⁴³

The majority of the residential premises, both in the courts and on the street front, were modest. Front house rents, see Table 1.6, ranged from £14 per year (5s 4½d per week) for Number 43 to just under £5 17s per year (2s 3d per week) for Number 19. The majority had rents between 3s 9d and 2s 6d a week. Court house rents ranged from £7 3s per year (2s 9d per week) in Courts 10 and 14 to £3 18s per year (1s 6d per week) in Court 4½, see Table 1.7.

London Prentice Street was referred to as an Irish street from the 1820s. In 1828 John Darwell drew his readers' attention to "the neighbourhood of Thomas-street, John-street, London Prentice, etc. where the low Irish congregate"⁴⁴. Prefiguring the 1840 Report, he singled out Irish families as sharing accommodation and compared their habits and morals unfavourably with those of the indigenous population. In 1837, the Birmingham Town

⁴¹ Map 4: London Prentice Street taken from Smith, *Survey*, sheets 110 and 111.

⁴² Map 5: London Prentice Street showing Court numbers and house numbers in 1861, drawn from Map 4, *1860 Rates Book*, *1861 Census enumerations* and contemporary directories.

⁴³ *1860 Rates Books* Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, pp. 1-3, Bull Street; pp. 19-22, Thomas Street.

⁴⁴ Darwell, 'Observations', quote p. 109.

Missionary Society hired Thomas Augustine Finigan, an Irish Protestant Minister. His ability to speak Irish enabled him to gain access where other missionaries had been refused and he was therefore given a district with a large Irish population: "Lichfield Street, Stafford Street, Dale End, Lower Priory Court and Old Square, including Cross Streets- Thomas Street, John Street, London Prentice Street and all the courts...". He rented a house at 75 New Summer Street and on the 24th July made his first visit to his district.⁴⁵

Finigan kept a journal throughout his short stay in Birmingham and his Journal gives an insight into the living conditions, pre-occupations and pastimes of the people in his district as well as the pre-occupations and prejudices of the different Protestant denominations that made up the committee which employed him. The Journal was read and commented upon by a succession of supervisors who assumed that he visited and wrote only about Irish people. However Finigan noted the people living in his district - Irish, Italian, German, English, a "native of the Cape of Good Hope", Roman Catholic, Protestant, Lutheran, and "Infidel" (followers of Paine)⁴⁶. Finigan was assisted in his work by his wife and son, and described visits to London Prentice Street throughout his journal.

Soon after starting work Finigan noted the material needs of the people he met and recorded his reluctance to re-visit people whose material poverty he could not alleviate and who were ineligible for Poor Law relief⁴⁷. He visited John Hannon, 5 Court, 5 House London Prentice Street, who was very sick, and who, with his wife and two daughters had had no work for five

⁴⁵ Thomas Augustine Finigan, *Journal of Thomas Augustine Finigan, 1837/8*, pp. 1-8, 3 to 21 July 1837; quote p. 7, 19 July 1837. The emphases in the quoted passages are Finigan's. Page numbers: Finigan started his journal at page 1 and the New Year 1838 at page 1, therefore page numbers for 1838 are given in {}.

⁴⁶ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 22, 28 July 1837; p. 30, 29 July 1837; p. 133, 7 October 1837.

⁴⁷ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 40/41, 7 August 1837; p. 49, 14 August 1837; p. 81, 29 August 1837.

or six weeks and "Being Irish have no claim on parochial aid."⁴⁸ He remarked on the forbearance of the hungry working people⁴⁹. By August he was describing the Irish as his fellow country men and women⁵⁰ and in October he wrote that he had become known as "the Irish parson"⁵¹. His fellow countrymen tried to drench him in dirty water in September and saved him from the drummer of a recruiting party in October⁵². Although they disagreed with him, they expressed respect for religious difference: "...they would walk away with this observation: 'is fear é - is mait an obair dia do molas.' What you say is true, it is good to praise god".⁵³

By December 1837 discord with his superiors emerged and he was forbidden to go outside his district to visit an Irish-speaking Protestant woman⁵⁴. His hostility to Roman Catholicism endured but he established good relationships with some Roman Catholic clergy and with many people in his district. In February 1838 he met Rev Abbot of Shadwell Street [St Chad's], and they agreed that "a change of heart is more desirable than a change of name"⁵⁵. Concern for fellow Irish people continued and Finigan complained that were being refused Poor Relief⁵⁶. In March he wrote that his poor district got less from a Relief Fund than another missionary's rich district, and recorded in the margin that he was not listened to

⁴⁸ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 52, 15 August 1837.

⁴⁹ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 82, 30 August 1837, pp. 105/106, 11 September 1837.

⁵⁰ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 79, 27 August 1837.

⁵¹ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 132, 6 October 1837.

⁵² Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 99 and 108, 6 and 12 September 1837; p. 132, 6 October 1837.

⁵³ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 178, 9 November 1837 quote.

⁵⁴ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 196-197, 8 December 1837.

⁵⁵ Finigan, *Journal*, p. {33}, 24 February 1838 quote: pp. {72/73}, 5 April 1838.

⁵⁶ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. {24} and {38}, 7 and 24 February 1838.

because "*to be an Irishman is sin!!!*"⁵⁷ The final entries in his journal in May 1838 record his dismay at being dismissed on the hearsay evidence of four clergymen who claimed that Finigan had described the Mission as sectarian, and himself as unhappy working for them. Finigan appears to have been not sectarian enough for his employers, and left Birmingham in 1838.⁵⁸

Finigan's Journal is the sole sympathetic source of information about the lives of ordinary people in his district for this period, although his descriptions were often critical. In August and September 1837 he described London Prentice Street in detail: 23 August "I was about three hours more from one Brothel to Another..."; 10 days later: "I did not find *four* persons sober in every *forty*..."; the following week: "I met some civility and got some twenty to thirty persons to hear what I read and said."⁵⁹ In order to establish how many people he had talked to, "to whom the gospel message went into their own doors", he counted the number of houses in the street and the occupants and found that there were about 49 front and 70 Court houses. He estimated that most houses had from 12 to 16 occupants, but accepted an average of seven, a total of about 850 people, half of whom were Roman Catholics. He recorded that 630 out of the 850 could not read or write, that the children did not attend school, and that although he sometimes met with hostility, he was on the whole listened to respectfully.⁶⁰

In 1861 there were fewer Courts and hence less houses than Finigan described, see Map 5, otherwise his description of the living accommodation and extent of lodging and shared

⁵⁷ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. {50-51}, 9 or 10 March 1838, quote p. {51}, back of Journal records that donations to the Poor Relief Fund were £5,172 3s 6d, of which £3 0s 0d had been distributed in his district.

⁵⁸ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. {103}-{109}, 2 to 4 May 1838.

⁵⁹ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 72, 93, 105: 23 August, 3 September and 10 September 1837 respectively.

⁶⁰ Finigan, *Journal*, p. 113, 15 September 1837.

houses in London Prentice Street is supported by the later Census and Rates data. He was a reliable and accurate recorder of the living conditions he saw, albeit, as a missionary, an unsympathetic witness to the people's pastimes of drinking and card playing. London Prentice Street was again described in detail in 1863, when a series of articles entitled "The Night Side Of Birmingham" appeared in the *Gazette*. In the first article the author said the street was "a mixture of the worst class of Irish and of regular thieves"⁶¹. A resident tried to correct the author. J Goffey of 13 London Prentice Street wrote that he had been unable to find more than one house harbouring thieves and objected to 700 Irish people being condemned "for the Evildoings of the few." The author dismissed Goffey's letter, saying he had "been looking at the houses of his neighbours through rose coloured spectacles"⁶². However Mr Goffey was probably the more correct in his estimation of the morals of his neighbours, having lived at the same address in London Prentice Street for at least 13 years.⁶³ The author described London Prentice Street⁶⁴ as a narrow dirty street whose big houses looked gloomier than its small houses. Dark passages off each side of the street led to Courts crowded with little houses. There was one licensed public house, one beer house and fifteen registered lodging houses, all used by thieves. More than half of the rest of the houses in the

⁶¹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 30th October 1863, 'The Night Side Of Birmingham No 1 - A Bird's Eye View', in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 2*, p. 184.

⁶² *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, p. 6, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No. 2 - London Prentice Street'.

⁶³ Given the vagaries of enumerators' spelling, we can suggest that the James Goffey of the Night Side Article is the James Gaffey of the 1851 Census and *1860 Rates Book*

1851 British Census, extract from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints CD:

Head: GAFFEY, Patrik		Neighbors		261508		
Name	Relationship	Mar	Age	Sex	Occupation	Birthplace
Patrik GAFFEY	Head	M	67	M	Lab Huxter	Ire
Susannah GAFFEY	Wife	M	56	F	---	Birmgm-War
James GAFFEY	Son	U	21	M	Huxter	Birmgm-War

Address: 13 London Prentice St, ---

Census Place: Birmingham, Warwickshire

PRO Reference: HO/107/2057 Folio: 117 Page: 22 FHL Film: 0332117;

1860 Rates Books Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, pp. 28-32, tenant of Number 13, James Gaffey.

⁶⁴ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No.2'

street were occupied by members of more than one family but in these houses the lodgers were either relatives or known to householder and of good character. Contradicting his first article and Finigan, who wrote of many brothels, the author wrote: "for the credit of London Prentice Street....there is not a single brothel within its limits."⁶⁵ In the lodging houses:

"The first room entered from the street is the kitchen, which is furnished with one or two tables, as the case may be, a couple of long forms, and a shelf running the whole length of the kitchen on which the inmates keep their scraps of food. There is an old-fashioned hearth, on which a medium-sized grate, with a boiler for water on each side, is built up. Within this hearth there is room for two people to sit on each side, and as they are sheltered from all draughts, and a brisk fire is almost always kept up, those who are able to secure a place here are snug and comfortable, however cold it may be outside. At the common fire every lodger cooks his or her own provisions."⁶⁶

The bedrooms held two or three beds and often two married couples and four children slept in one room:

"At all the houses the sum charged for a night's lodging is 3d per head. For this the lodgers have the use of the kitchen, of the fire, of the frying pan when necessary, and of the soap and towel. All the houses have a good supply of water, and hot water is always ready in the boilers. When lodgers stay for some time in the same house, a special arrangement as to the price to be paid is frequently made; and when a married couple, or people cohabiting, have young children, the children are taken for nothing."⁶⁷

The author stated that the lodgers were day labourers, rag-and-bone gatherers, hawkers and vagrants, but from the census, the majority of lodgers were young families. This suggests they found it difficult to rent houses, since the cost of lodging for a week for two adults was

⁶⁵ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 30 October 1863, 'The Night Side Of Birmingham No 1'; Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 71-72, 23 August 1837.

⁶⁶ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No. 2'.

⁶⁷ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No. 2'.

3s, greater than the rent of many houses.⁶⁸

[2.2] London Prentice Street

London Prentice Street was an Irish street. It was demolished as part of the 1875 Birmingham Improvement Scheme and the 1889 Ordnance Survey cannot be used to analyse the layout of the street. However, the 1870 Rates Map, attached as Map 6, confirms the layout adduced in this study⁶⁹. By 1861 there were more Irish households in London Prentice Street, 63 compared to 56, and one more nuclear family, 13 compared to 12, than in 1851⁷⁰. There were thirty-four front, 1 back and forty-three Court residences, 78 residential premises, see Map 5. The back residence, twenty-three of the front and forty of the Court residences were Irish households. The population of the Street, see Table 1.1, was 568 in 78 houses, an average of 7.3 per dwelling, compared to the Birmingham Borough average of 5.01⁷¹. If only Irish households are considered the number of people per dwelling was slightly higher. In the sixty-three Irish households there were 440 Irish people plus twenty-six English lodgers, or 7.4 people per dwelling.

Two surviving photographs taken in 1874 help establish the size of houses. Photograph 3.3

⁶⁸ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No. 2'.

⁶⁹ Map 6: *1870 Rates Map, London Prentice Street*.

⁷⁰ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 59-60.; and see Tables 1. 6 and 1.7.

⁷¹ *Census of England and Wales 1861, Volume I, Population Tables, Summary Tables and Part I* (London, 1862), p. 441, 'Area, Houses and Inhabitants in Sub Districts'. Birmingham Borough average people per inhabited house was 5.01, calculated from totals for Birmingham Registration District and Deritend, Duddeston and Edgbaston Registration sub-Districts; *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III, General Report, Appendix to the Report* (London: 1863), p. 88, table 23, Average number of people per house in England and Wales was higher, at 5.366; *Census of England and Wales 1871, Volume I "Preliminary Report and Tables of the Population and Houses enumerated..."* (London: 1871), Table VIII, p. 9, in 1871, Birmingham Borough's average people per inhabited house was 5.01.

shows front houses Numbers 3 to 6 and Photograph 3.4 the rears of Numbers 16 to 20⁷². All were three-storey premises. Numbers 3 to 6 had ground areas of 238 to 272 square foot and rents of 3s to 3s 10d per week, see Table 1.6. Front houses 16 to 23 had greater variation in size. Number 16 had a ground area of about 15 by 14 feet (210 square foot), rent 2s 9d a week. Numbers 18 and 20 were larger, about 250 square foot, rent 2s 6d and 4s 7d per week. Numbers 10 and 11 were larger again, about 378 and 312 Sq. ft. respectively with rents of 3s 6d and 2s 6d. per week. Mary Rooney lived with her five children and grand-daughter Mary-Ann at Number 3. Her eldest children, Mary-Ann and Elizabeth, were pearl button polishers and her two sons, Michael and Thomas, were glass enamellers. Patrick and Bridget Davitt, marine store dealers with three grown up children and eight lodgers lived in Number 10 and Ellen McNally, a widow, her three teenage children, Michael, Bridget and Ellen, and five lodgers lived in Number 11. The same number of people lived at Number 16, the home of Catherine Cain and her extended family.

The size, rents and layout of Courts Houses varied, see Table 1.7 and Map 5. In Court 10, houses at the back of the Court were about 13 feet by 10 feet (130 sq. ft) but houses nearer the street were 15 feet by 22 feet (330 sq. ft.), bigger ground areas than some front houses. Rents ranged from 2s 3d to 2s 9d a week and the number of people in Court 10 houses ranged from four in John McIntyre's to eighteen in the Brown's where Owen (or John) Brown and his wife Honor, their three young children, and six Irish and seven English lodgers resided. Seventy-three people, including ten English lodgers, lived in nine houses in Court 10, an average of more than eight per dwelling. In 1851 the most people in a house was also in Court 10, where

⁷² *Improvement Scheme Photos*: Photograph 3.3, *Print number 74*, Numbers 3 to 6 London Prentice Street; Photograph 3.4, *Print Number 75*, rear of Numbers 16 to 20.

House 7 had housed 20 people⁷³. In Court 11 houses were more uniform, from 10 foot by 16½ foot to 11 by 14 foot (165 to 154 sq. ft.).

The above average occupancy of dwellings reflects the number of households with lodgers and, in two cases, boarders. Only Bridget Grey's at Number 6, see Photograph 3.3, was an official lodging house in the Census. Bridget Grey had twelve lodgers, made up of two Irish families, the Moores and the Campbells, and one English lodger. Both Catherine Moore and Anne Campbell were hawkers. Bridget Grey's rent was 3s 9d per week for her three-storey house. Ten men whose occupation was labourer of some description headed households with a significant number, four or more, of lodgers. These ten included at Number 2 Michael McDermott who with his wife Ellen had 8 English & 2 Irish lodgers, Thomas Boyle at 11 Court 1 House who with his mother Mary had 10 Irish lodgers and Owen Brown described above. In line with Davidoff⁷⁴, we can speculate that the wives or mothers carried out the duties necessary to running these households. Eighteen other households had more than one lodger or boarder. These included those of Ann Dunn, a widow aged 73, no occupation given, who lived with her grandson and two lodgers at the back of Number 9, rent 1s 9d, and Ellen Garay, also a widow, a wire drawer, living with her seven children and two lodgers at [13] Court 2 House, rent either 2s or 1s 6d. A further five households each had one lodger.

Many of the remaining 28 households were an extended family: with Catherine Cain at Number 16 lived her adult children Daniel and Mary, Mary's husband Thomas Farth and their four children, and her nephew Edward; Patrick and Bridget Niland, their son, daughter and grandchild lived at 5 Court, 1 House, rent 2s 6d. Only thirteen households conformed to a

⁷³ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 60.

⁷⁴ Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work?', pp. 167-175.

nuclear family model of husband wife and children. A significant number of households, thirteen, were headed by widows. Occupations were given for five: Bridget Grey and Ellen Garay, described above; Bridget Kelly, laundress, at Number 9; Jane Martin, a brush maker, at 12 Court 2 House; and Bridget O'Hora, a snuffles and candlestick polisher at 2 Court 3 House. A further three had lodgers: Ann Dunn and Ellen McNally, described above and Ann Corry with 5 lodgers and four children aged 9 to 18, at 6 Court, 3 house. Ellen McNally lived in the street in 1851⁷⁵.

The remaining five widows were Catherine Burke, who was born in Jamaica and lived with her two adult daughters Jane and Bridget, both born in Castlereay (sic), and her grandson William, 6 months, born in Birmingham; Bridget Driscoll, who lived with her four adult children; Catherine Cain and Mary Rooney, described above; and Ann McNulty, who lived with her two adult children. Although no occupation is given for the head of these households, the presence of adult working children and infant children of working parents suggests that the work involved in maintaining and caring for the other members of the household was the responsibility of the head.

As in Hospital Street, most of the adults were Irish-born and most of the children English-born. There were 169 children aged fifteen and under, 38% of the community, 157 English and 12 Irish-born. Fourteen had a working occupation and 19 were scholars. The youngest working was John Garay, aged 7, who worked at wire drawing with his brother James, aged 10, and mother Ellen, a widow. Another 10 year old, Catherine O'Hora, and her brother Henry, aged 14, were working, Catherine umbrella making and Henry wire working. Their mother was also a widow. The 40 young people aged 16 to 19 made up 9% of the

⁷⁵ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 59, Ellen McNally.

community; 14 were English and 26 Irish-born. They were employed in Birmingham's manufacturing in similar proportions: in metal six English and 12 Irish-born; in guns 1 English and 2 Irish-born, but the English-born were more likely to be unemployed: no occupation 3 English and 2 Irish-born. The 17 English-born adults consisted of 7 wives, one husband and 9 children. The wives had no occupation given, the husband was an oil cloth maker and the children included a tailor, an umbrella maker and a book binder. Catherine Burke, who was born in Jamaica, is described above.

Amongst the 251 Irish-born a third, all women, had no recorded occupation. The most common occupation was labourer, at 48 or 19.12%. Builder's labourer followed this, at 11, or 4.38%. Labourers of all descriptions numbered 64, or 25.5%, a smaller proportion of the Irish-born than the 31% who were labourers in 1851. There were 9 people involved in gun-making, 8 in making spoons, only 2 making screws or buttons, 1 servant, and 3 marine store dealers. Agricultural Labourer, tailor(ess), nail worker and hawker all had 5 people following each occupation. The total of hawkers and dealers was 10, or 3.98%, less than half the 1851 proportion⁷⁶. Irish people worked in a greater variety of occupations than they had in 1851, but were less represented in manufacturing than the Irish in Hospital Street.

London Prentice Street was a predominantly Irish street with a core of established families, including the Gaffey and McNally families who had lived in London Prentice Street in 1851. The Gaffey household suggests that the Irish community was greater than the 80% of the street's population the census birthplaces indicate, since it was not included in the sample because all the household were Birmingham born. The directories are not useful in

⁷⁶ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 70.

establishing continuity of residence⁷⁷. There were 32 addresses in the 1861 Directory, but only 6 in the 1871 Directory, none of which were of Irish residents. Rents were lower than in Hospital Street for similar sized court houses and larger front houses. The average number of people in a household in the street, 7.3 was greater than the Birmingham average, and the number of people in an Irish household, 7.4, was greater than the average for the street. Of the sixty-three Irish households, only thirteen were nuclear families; widows headed another thirteen. More than half the Irish households had lodgers. Although the 'Night Side' author described the houses as dilapidated, his description of the abundant hot water and warmth in the lodging houses contradicts this.

[2.3] Park Street

Park Street was south of the town centre, near St Martin's Church, the Market Hall, and the Bull Ring. It ran from Digbeth north-east to St Bartholomew's Church and Masshouse Lane, see Map 1, parallel to and south of Moor Street, the site of the Council's Public Offices, Police Station, lock-up and Magistrates' Court. In the mid-eighteenth century it was made up of large houses and gardens. Bunce noted a four-storey house with a large garden in Park Street in 1769: "four rooms on a floor, four cellars, one arched, with a cold-bath therein constantly filled by springs of water and continually discharging itself from the top, through gutters, or sewers, into the fields" ⁷⁸. The "springs of water" in the cellar suggests one reason cellar dwellings were not common in Birmingham.

Between 1845 and 1854 the London and North Western Railway (LNWR) and the Great

⁷⁷ *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1845*, no entries.; *Corporation General and Trades Directory of Birmingham, 1861*, p. 651, 30 front addresses.; *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1864*, p. 66, 4 front and 2 Court addresses.; *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1871*, p. 77, 5 front and 1 Court addresses.

⁷⁸ Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham Volume 1*, pp. 51-52.

Western Railway (GWR) built new stations in the centre of Birmingham on new lines which crossed Park Street⁷⁹. The construction of both lines disturbed the stretch of Park Street between Shut Lane and Freeman Street. Demolition and rebuilding continued in Park Street throughout the century, as comparisons between Smith's sheets, attached as Map 7, and the 1889 O.S. Map illustrated⁸⁰. Although not affected by grand clearance schemes until the twentieth century, Park Street buildings were constantly subject to piecemeal change.⁸¹

Working out where Irish people lived in Park Street in 1861 was difficult because of the demolition and reconstruction. The 1889 O S Map supported decisions about the site of premises for the section of the street from Digbeth to Bordesley Street where five landmark premises survived from 1855 to 1889: the Phoenix Hotel, the Duke of Cumberland and Chequers Pubs and the Shaws' Nail Works, all except the Chequers on the south side of the road. Sketch Map 8 helps to describe the layout of the street in 1861⁸². Few large premises such as that described in the 1769 advertisement remained. By 1849 the gardens were built on, and most of the premises on the north side of Park Street appear four storeys high, see Map 9⁸³. In Photograph 3.5 taken in 1867, the premises between the Phoenix Inn and William Shaw's Nail Works on the south side of the road are clearly visible, and the three-

⁷⁹ John R. Kellet, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: 1969), pp. 140-145, 302-303; Derek Harrison, *Salute To Snow Hill* (Birmingham: 1978), pp. 9-11; Richard Foster, *Birmingham New Street - Background and Beginnings: the years up to 1860* (Didcot: 1990), pp. 3, 169-173.

⁸⁰ Map 7: Park Street taken from Smith, *Survey*, sheets 111, 127, 146.

⁸¹ Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II*, pp. 7, 76-80, 82-84.

⁸² Map 8: Park Street showing Court numbers and house numbers in 1861, drawn from Map 7, *1860 Rates Books, 1861 Census enumerations* and contemporary directories.

⁸³ Foster, *Birmingham New Street Background and Beginnings*, pp. 50-51, Ackerman Lithograph, 1845, attached as Map 9.

storey premises are not imposing middle-class residences⁸⁴. The estimated rents suggest that the large eighteenth-century premises that remained, such as Henry Shaw's at Number 18 shown in Photograph 3.6, had become manufacturing premises, with the possible exception of Number [37] which was empty, see Table 1.8.⁸⁵

Park Street frontages were a mixture of factories, workshops, breweries, retail shops, large lodging houses and residential premises, see Table 1.8 and Map 7⁸⁶. On the south corner with Digbeth were the Corporation fire offices and stables, followed by the Phoenix Public House, some residential premises, a corn warehouse, a beerhouse, and William Shaw's nail works. There followed workshops, a bakehouse, a brewery cum beerhouse, more workshops, and Henry Shaw's nail works next to the GWR line. Between the GWR and LNWR lines were railway arches, yards and sheds, a conglomeration of lodging houses and workshops and the Duke of Cumberland Public House. St Bartholomew's Burial ground made up the remainder of the south side of the street to Masshouse Lane.

On the north corner with Digbeth was a large carriers office and smith's with stables and workshops, followed by a stove manufacturer with a retail outlet, a beerhouse / brewery, a large saddlery maker with stables and retail shop, a bakehouse, four retail shops and another beerhouse and brewery. Smaller premises, mostly retail shops, workshops and houses, then

⁸⁴ Keith Turner, *Birmingham Pubs* (Stroud: 1999), p. 40, Photograph of Park Street in 1867, attached as Photograph 3.5.

⁸⁵ Whilst we can estimate the floor space of premises using Smith, *Survey*, no plans of premises in Park Street have been found to help assess their layout or height. A surviving photograph of Henry Shaw's premises at number 18 in Keith Turner, *Central Birmingham 1870-1920* (Bath: 1994), p. 35, attached as Photograph 3.6, shows a substantial three-storey double-fronted premises. From the *1860 Rates Books*, Volumes 8 and 9, premises of similar size were numbers 2, [10], 37, 49/50, and 84, and of these numbers 2 and 84 were pubs and number [10] William Shaw's nail manufacturing premises.

⁸⁶ Layout of the street from: Smith, *Survey*, sheets 111, 127 and 146; *Warwickshire 1:500*, sheets XIV.5.8, XIV.5.13, XIV.5.18; *1860 Rates Books* Volume 9, St Martin's Ward, pp. 47-51: Park Street, Park Lane, Well Lane; *1860 Rates Books* Volume 8, St Peter's Ward, pp. 63-69, Park Street; *1861 Census enumerations*.

made up the street front to the Chequers Inn, Number 84, itself a brewery with Steam Engine Machinery. After the Chequers Inn for the rest of the street front premises were larger, still a mix of residential and workshop premises, with nail works at number 69 and Court 13, a warehouse / pawnbrokers at Number 49/50 and lodging houses at short intervals. The premises between Shut Lane and Freeman Street were soon to be demolished, as were larger premises near Albert Street. The premises between Albert Street and Masshouse Lane were uninhabited. The street front premises used solely as residences had estimated rents from £27 per year (a little more than 10 shillings per week) for William Beck's lodging House at Number 31, to £5/4/- per year (nearly 4 shillings a week) for Number [36], occupied by some of William Beck's lodgers. Behind the front houses were 105 houses in 15 Courts, see Table 1.9. Court house rents were from 1s 3d to 3s 3d a week. The number of premises in courts varied widely, and some were commercial. Park Place contained a bakery and Courts 3, 6 and 8 contained stables. There was a nail manufactory in Court 13, and smaller workshops in Courts 16 and 21. The totally residential courts were Court 3A, 9, 15, 18, 20, [22] and 23.

The highest rated building was Number [37] on the northern corner with Masshouse Lane, see Map 8, described as House and Premises in the Rates Book, see Table 1.8. Its estimated rent was £118. It was owned by the Free Grammar School, as were the seven smaller premises next to it, numbers 38 to 45, and two further premises, numbers 51 and 52, with a total rent for these smaller properties of £100. Numbers [37] to 41, 43 to 45 and numbers 53, 54, 70 and Court 16, between Masshouse Lane and Shut Lane, see Map 8, were demolished soon after the Rates Book was written up. Next in assessed value was the Corporation property, the fire-station and stables, on the south corner of Park Street and Digbeth, rent £114. The sole Steam Engine Machinery was attached to "The Chequers" licensed public house at Number 84, and may have been used in the manufacture of beer. More likely the owner

rented space and use of the steam power to small manufacturers. The largest manufacturing premises were those of William Shaw's Nail Manufactory, at Number [10], with rent of £94 18s. Henry Shaw had similar marginally smaller premises at Number 18, also making nails.

There were 70 Front, 96 Court and 32 Almshouse premises used as residences. The total 198 occupied residences in the street were home to 1226 people, an average of 6.2 per house. However the 32 Almshouses with 34 residents in total reduce the street's occupancy per dwelling. If the Almshouses are excluded, average occupancy per dwelling, 1192 people in 166 premises, was 7.2 people, greater than the town average, reflecting the presence of large lodging houses. Irish people resided in 10 front houses as lodgers, and in an English headed Public House as a servant. Twenty-three Front, 55 Court and 1 Almshouse were Irish households. These 79 Irish households contained 666 people, an average of 8.4 per house⁸⁷, greater than the average for the street. However, this greater occupancy is not the result of larger Irish lodging houses, but of the extent of lodging in Irish households generally.

Reflecting its location near the markets and Curzon Street Station, the main goods station until the late 1870s⁸⁸, Lodging Houses were common in Park Street and its environs. Lodging house keeper was a significant occupation with Irish, English, German, and Russian lodgers and lodging house keepers intermingled. The largest Irish Lodging House, the Angle's at number 46, had 17 Lodgers, while the largest English and German run lodging houses had between 23 and 41 lodgers. Catherine Brown, a widow from Roscommon and wood screw turner, shared her licensed lodging house at Number 85, floor area 12 by 16 foot, 192 square foot, rent 5s per week, with two sons and 13 lodgers. The lodgers included a young English

⁸⁷ Excluding the almshouse increases Irish household occupancy to 8.5.

⁸⁸ Richard Foster, *Birmingham New Street - Expansion and Improvement 1860-1923* (Didcot: 1990), pp. 71-81.

couple, three Irish vocalists, an English and an Irish labourer, and their ages ranged from 18 to 62. There was some specialisation in lodging houses. Ann MacNamara's and Patrick Kilroy's at numbers 6 and 92 respectively had exclusively male, predominantly single lodgers; the Angle's at Number 46 had four families and one older person as lodgers.

Most Irish households included someone from outside the family: lodgers, visitors, boarders or another family. Only 20 of the 79 Irish households were the nuclear family. Small families shared premises. Six couples or small families shared the accommodation at Number 14, including the Irish husband and wife Anne and John Harris. In Court [3.5] House 7 was shared by the Moren and Featherstone families; in Court 21 House 3 was shared by the schoolmaster Dennis Flynn from Laois, his wife Anne from Dublin, the bricklayer's labourer Patrick Gerathy and his wife Mary, both from Dublin, and their Birmingham born son Michael. There were 13 enumerated extended family households, including the Flanagan household at 18 Court 4 House: Patrick and Bridget Flanagan, their two children, Patrick and Catherine, and Patrick's brother Peter, his wife Catherine and son Martin. Patrick and Peter were farm labourers. All except Catherine junior and Martin were born in Galway. Siblings lived in adjacent premises: the successful Murphys at Numbers 79 and 80 may be joined by Patrick and Michael Burk, bricklayer's labourers from Galway in Houses 5 and 6 in Court 18, and Patrick and Mary Manning from Mayo in Houses 3 and 7 in Court 20. In Court 20, James, a slater, and Mary Deasy lodged in 2 House, whilst Anthony, also a slater, and Catherine Deasy lived in 7 House with their 4 young children and Catherine Costalo and her two children. All except the young Deasy children were from Mayo.

Moreover Irish people lived in a specific part of Park Street: that between the Phoenix Inn and Bordesley Street, see Map 8. The premises nearest Digbeth on the north side of the street, see

Map 8, were not Irish households. In Court 23 four of the ten residences were Irish households, as was the front premises of Patrick and Anne Hawkins' large beerhouse / brewery at Number 94, rent £20 per year. From Court [22] / Number 92 to Freeman Street / Number [59], Park Street was Irish, with Irish households in 16 of the 18 front houses and 34 of the 42 occupied Court houses. Front houses Number 93 to 85 were between 10 and 16 feet wide with a depth of 16 foot, 160 to 256 square foot, see Map 7. Of these Catherine Brown's lodging house at Number 85 had a 10 foot frontage, 160 square foot area. The front houses from Number 81 to Freeman Street, including John Murphy's Marine Store, were larger, with frontages of 16 foot, 32 feet deep, 512 square foot. One of the 32 Almshouses was an Irish household; the Almshouses had 36 foot frontages and a depth of 14 foot, 504 square foot.

From Freeman Street to Masshouse Lane the first three premises, the site of the later Fox and Grapes Public House, were Irish households, with only those of John Neilus at Number 54 and William Angle at Number 46 in the rest of the street. John Neilus, a grain dealer from Armagh, employed 2 men and lived with his English-born wife and 4 young children and his mother. A further single Irish woman, Mary Hayes, from Limerick, was one of 23 lodgers at Number 42, Lodging House of Philip Apple, a musician from Germany.

The south side of the street from the Phoenix Inn to Park Lane, Numbers 4 to 15 and Court 4, three of the eleven front houses and 14 of the 26 Court houses were Irish households. The Irish households at Numbers 4, 6 and 13 were Ann Jourdan's clothes dealers, the lodging house run by Anne McNamara and the home of John Graham, tin plate worker. From Park Lane to the GWR line, Numbers 16 to 18 and Court 6, are missing from the census. From the GWR line to Bordesley Street the residential premises were the Duke of Cumberland Public house, the lodging houses of Dennis Coughlan at Numbers 32 and 33 and William Beck at

Number 31, and nine houses in Court 8. Dennis Coughlan had twelve lodgers in two houses whose combined rates were £22 a year. Court 8 was home to three Irish households: those of Edward Connor, Peter Dudy and Martin Curly. From Bordesley Street to Masshouse Lane were the cemetery grounds.

On the north side of the street two Irish residents owned their premises and more paid high rents. The two owner/occupiers were John Murphy's Marine Store at number 79 and Patrick Hawkins' Beerhouse at number 94, both with rents of £20 a year. The rent of Patrick Kilroy's lodging house at Number 92 was £15 12s a year and the three Irish premises on the site of the Fox and Grapes had rents of between £15 and £13. Rents of £13 a year, about 5 shillings a week, were also paid by John Neilus, the Grainer, at Number 54, William Welch, a labourer at Number 71 [73 in the Census], and Catherine Brown, the lodging house keeper at Number 85. On the south side of the street, Dennis Coughlan's premises had a combined estimated rent of £22 a year, 8s 6d per week.

Estimated rents for Court houses ranged from 1s 6d to 3s 3d per week, see Table 1.9. In Court 18, rents ranged from 1s 6d to 2s 3d per week, in Court 20 from 2s to 3s 3d. per week. In Park Place, Court 4, rents were 3s 3d per week, the highest for Court houses, and equal to that of some front houses. All the households in Court 18 and Park Place were Irish, and Irish people lived in Court property with the highest to the lowest rents. The ground space of Court houses varied, and may be compared to the 504 square foot floor space of the Almshouses. Five houses in Park Place, Court 4, were 15 foot deep with 11 foot frontages, 165 square foot; premises in Courts 20 and 21 were a similar size.

Park Lane ran from Park Street to Allison Street, see Map 7. It consisted of 21 residences,

two of which were also retail shops, a Nail Works and house, a Malthouse, a warehouse and a Workshop. The shops, warehouse, Malthouse and Nail Works were near the corners with Allison Street. Two-thirds of the households were Irish, in 11 front houses and 3 Court premises, including that of Alexander Stout, a nailor. Alexander and Ann Stout were both born in Ireland and lived with their four children and four English employees, all nailers, at the back of Number 20.

As in Hospital Street and London Prentice Street the adults in the community were overwhelmingly Irish-born. Only 29 of those aged 20 and over were English-born, 14 wives, 5 husbands and 10 children. Whilst ten of the wives had no occupation recorded, the occupations followed by the other English-born were as diverse as those followed by the Irish-born, described below. There were 218 children aged 15 and under, 35% of the community, of whom 21 had a working occupation and 62 were scholars. The 16 to 19 year olds, 8 English and 21 Irish-born, made up less than 5% of the community overall, and all but three had working occupations with the Irish-born more likely to work as labourers.

For all the Irish-born occupations were entered for most of the 217 men but for only 74 of the 169 women. The most common occupation was again labourer of some description, undertaken by 114 men, 29.5% of the total Irish people, 52.5% of the Irish men. Of the 114 labourers, ten were agricultural or farm labourers and twenty-one were builders' labourers. A further 12 men were skilled building workers: four carpenters, 1 bricklayer, 2 painters and 5 slaters. Hawking and dealing was undertaken by thirty-one people, of whom nearly half were women. When the eight dealers and the factor are included amongst those working for themselves and employing others, there were 25 Irish run businesses in Park Street. The two blacksmiths, the grainer, nailor, greengrocer, publican, whitesmith and toymaker joined the

eight lodging house keepers in running service and manufacturing businesses. Eight of these were women: three dealers, the factor, three Lodging House keepers and the Toy Maker. The Directories provide some evidence of continuity amongst the businesses. Seven were in the 1861 Directory, and one of these, Higgins at Number 81, had been there in 1845. However, by 1864 only three remained and by 1871 these were no longer listed.⁸⁹

Few Irish-born people followed the industries most associated with Birmingham. Twenty-two of the Irish-born, 6 female, 16 male undertook general metal work. Five were employed in gun making, all male; and two in button making. Ten women were employed in screw making; perhaps Catherine Brown employed the two described as wood screw wormers. Fifteen women undertook domestic service provision, 12 women and three men made clothes and 1 man made shoes. There were four musicians, a schoolmaster, two pearl carvers and a rope spinner. We may assume that the Whitesmith, George Neil, worked for Henry Shaw because he lived in Henry Shaw's premises. However, there were only two nailors, which is surprising given that there were four Nail Manufacturers in Park Street and Park Lane: Henry Shaw, William Shaw, Alexander Stout and the premises in court 13. Contrary to the general picture, Irish people do not seem to have found work in the nearest manufactories.

Compared to 1851⁹⁰, labouring of some kind was still the occupation of many of the Irishmen but they were increasingly employed in skilled occupations in the building industry. They continued keeping lodging houses and dealing, but had begun to work in the metal trades and almost ceased work as shoe makers and servants. Irish women had increased their

⁸⁹ *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1845*, p. 71, Higgins at Number 81; *Corporation General and Trades Directory of Birmingham, 1861*, pp. 679/680, businesses at Numbers 4, 32, 46, 54, 79, 81 and 94; *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1864*, p. 84, same businesses at Numbers 54, 79 and 94; *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1871*, p. 97, none.

representation in dealing and hawking, and also in cleaning and factory work. They maintained their representation in screw and clothes making, but reduced it as both lodging house keepers and servants. The difference between the occupations in 1851 and 1861 is demonstrated in the reduction in agricultural labourers, from 58 in 1851 to 10 in 1861. Greater differences are apparent by 1881⁹¹ when the Irish-born numbered a mere 55, down from 350 in 1851 and 319 in 1861. There were no Irish Lodging house keepers, agricultural labourers, carpenters or musicians. There were 9 bricklayer's labourers and 4 other labourers; 3 dealers, compared to the 8 in 1861; and only 4 hawkers. Labourer was the occupation of 50% of the men, but the total Irish-born population of the street was only a sixth of its mid-century level. The most striking difference between the 1850s and 1860s and 1881 is the absolute decline in the number of Irish-born people living in Park Street.

Park Street in 1861 was a commercial street, with factories and workshops and large and small lodging houses, giving accommodation to a vast range of people. It was near sources of supplies and outlets for traders, agents, travellers and hawkers, near work in the markets, railways and the small factories of the neighbourhood. However, whilst a significant number of Irish people were traders or hawkers, few Irish people worked in the manufactories in Park Street. The Irish community made up 55% of the street's population and most lived concentrated in one part of the street, that between the Phoenix Inn and Bordesley Street. Irish people were a significant presence in the businesses that were the public face of this part of the street. Most of these businesses were services. Court house sizes were similar to those in Hospital and London Prentice Streets, but rents were lower than in Hospital Street. Irish

⁹⁰ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 69-70.

⁹¹ Sara Hughes, BA Dissertation, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Wolverhampton, 1996, Appendix B.

front houses were bigger than those in Hospital and London Prentice Streets, with higher rents. Two-thirds of the Irish households shared houses with non-family members. The average number of house occupants in Park Street was 7.2, greater than the town average, reflecting the preponderance of lodging houses. Occupancy of Irish houses was even greater, at 8.4 per household. This greater occupancy is not a result of large Irish lodging houses, however, but of the preponderance of lodging in even the small houses in Courts.

Hospital Street's preponderance of boarders may have been a result of different enumerators using different criteria to enter data. In London Prentice Street and Park Street formal sharing in Lodging Houses was facilitated by their larger houses. However, in all the streets lodging and boarding and small families sharing a house was common⁹². The extent of keeping lodgers was greater than the census suggests⁹³. In London Prentice Street few of the households which took in lodgers were either described as lodging houses, or had a resident with the occupation lodging house keeper. The prevalence of families of lodgers who will have paid the equivalent of a house rent suggests that Irish people found it difficult to rent houses, and undermines the stereotype of lodgers as young single men⁹⁴.

[3] Summary

There is evidence of continuity and stability amongst Irish residents in all three streets. Mindful of the reservations about the accuracy of Census birthplace entries given by Higgs and others, birthplace coupled with children's ages have been used to assess the length of

⁹² Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 65-66 for kin, work, lodging networks, 1851.

⁹³ See Work Chapter.

⁹⁴ Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work?', p. 167.

residence in Birmingham⁹⁵. In the three streets there were 242 families with children. Of these, 99 had a child born outside Birmingham, demonstrating that there was not a reluctance, due to Poor Law qualifications or other factors, to give a birthplace different from the place of residence⁹⁶. In 143 families all the children were Birmingham born; in 36 families all children were Irish-born and 32 families had children in Ireland before moving to Birmingham where they had more children. Thirty-one families had children born outside Ireland and Birmingham, therefore from the birthplace evidence these families moved around after leaving Ireland and before arriving in Birmingham. However, another thirty-one families demonstrated a long residence in Birmingham, having children aged 15 and over born in Birmingham.

In Hospital Street seven families had children aged 15 and over born in Birmingham, including the Coffee family of Court 2, whose children aged from 21 to 6 were all born in Birmingham. In London Prentice Street thirteen families had children aged 15 and over born in Birmingham, including the Rooney Family at Number 3 with 5 children and 1 grandchild aged 21 to 4; the McNally Family at Number 11 with 3 children aged 19 to 14 and the Dolan Family at Court 12, house 3 with 6 children aged 28 to 2. In Park Street and Park Lane eleven families had children aged 15 and over born in Birmingham, including the Brown, Levingston and Kilroy families at Numbers 85, 90 and 92, the Felican and Drasy families in Court 3, the Martin and Flynt families in Court 18 and the Kilmartins in Park Place.

⁹⁵ Higgs, *A Clearer Sense Of The Census*, pp. 83-86; W. A. Armstrong, 'The Interpretation of the Census Enumerators Books for Victorian Towns' in H. J. Dyos, ed., *The Study of Urban History* (London: 1968), p. 84.

⁹⁶ Poor Law Qualification: Frances Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', in M Clancy, J. Cunningham and A. MacLochlainn, eds., *...the emigrant experience...* (Galway: 1991), p. 42; Also see Peter Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain* (Stroud: 1991).

Comparisons between the 1851 and 1861 Censuses also suggest stability⁹⁷. In Hospital Street the Trimble, Maguire and Dunn families resided in Court 27 in 1851 and 1861; the Woodward and Smith families resided in Court 1 in 1851 and 1861; the Buckley family moved from lodging in Number 114 in 1851 to become householders in Court 32 in 1861 and James Hughes moved from Court 26 to front house Number 110. In London Prentice Street as well as the Gaffey and McNally families described earlier, the Barratt and Miller families resided at similar addresses in both censuses, and the Sword family moved the short distance to the Rope Walk. Several families appeared to have come over in the Famine years, judging by the ages of their children. These included Mary Joyce's family, in Court 10 house 9: her eldest child Peter was born in Ireland in 1843 and her next child, Thomas born in Wolverhampton in 1848; and the Kennedys at Number 19, whose oldest sons were born in Ireland between 1844 and 1847, and their next child born in Birmingham in 1852.

In Park Street the Murphys had prospered over the decade, the two brothers sharing a front house in 1851 and living side by side in front houses in 1861; the Higgins family remained at Number 81 and Daniel Wynne and his family still lived in Park Lane. Anne Loftus became the head of the family and was joined by her brother-in-law James from Mayo and the Carney family moved lodgings into a house in Park Lane. In Park Street and Park Lane six families had obviously arrived during the Famine years, including the John Murphys at number 79 whose eldest child Ellen was born in Ireland in 1846 and their next child Neary born in Birmingham in 1848 and the Doyles in Court 2 house 8 whose eldest children were born in Mayo between 1839 and 1844 and whose next child was born in Birmingham in 1849. More families had bigger gaps between their Irish-born and English-born children, and may have

⁹⁷ 1851 Census data kindly provided by Dr. Carl Chinn. Continuity of families established when surnames, first names and place of birth of head, spouse and children were the same in 1851 and 1861 and age difference was approximately ten years.

arrived during the Famine years. Thirteen families had moved about after leaving Ireland before arriving in Birmingham. Neill the Whitesmith at Number 69 had moved most frequently, and the Angle family at Number 46 may have moved most recently after a long period in Newcastle, Staffordshire where all their children and their one year old grandchild had been born.

The 242 families do not support Fitzgerald's description of the Irish in Britain as "restless, transient people", or Holmes' description of the "transient" Irish⁹⁸. Fitzgerald applied different criteria to Irish people than are applied to the indigenous population. Michael Anderson⁹⁹ suggested that in mid-nineteenth-century England most English working-class people maintained family relationships, despite migration, mobility, unemployment and high mortality. Furthermore English people who migrated from the same place "...deliberately clustered together..." in their new environment. Therefore it appeared that only in the case of immigrants was moving or "clustering" problematic. Monkkonen pointed out that residential mobility in nineteenth-century English and American cities was extremely high¹⁰⁰. Pooley's study of thirty streets in Liverpool in 1871¹⁰¹ was mainly of middle-class and higher status households, with Irish and Welsh residents under represented. Nonetheless, Pooley found that less than 20% of households stayed ten years at the same address. However, most moved short distances, thus the area had a more stable population than superficial analysis of

⁹⁸ David Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939* (London: 1989), p. 10; Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island* (London: 1988), p. 37 also described the Irish as "still transient" in the 1860s, becoming "semi-permanent" by 1870.

⁹⁹ Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (London: 1971), pp. 66, 67, 101.

¹⁰⁰ Eric Monkkonen, 'Residential Mobility in England and the United States, 1850-1900', *Themes in British and American History, a comparative approach: Focus Point 5 and 6 Essays, Citizenship, Equality and Industrialisation, 1830-1890, Cities and the Social Order, c1850 -1970* (Milton Keynes: 1985), pp. 77-83.

¹⁰¹ Colin Pooley, 'Residential Mobility in the Victorian City', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series*, 4 (1979), pp. 258-277.

residential mobility showed.

Cannadine's study of movement on the middle-class Calthorpe¹⁰² estate found that the better off moved very frequently: between 1841 and 1861 two-thirds of the families with three or more servants moved, and in one road between 1871 and 1892, 90% of the households moved. Dennis' study of Huddersfield in 1851 to 1861¹⁰³ accepted mobility as general, and identified three categories: 'stayers' who remained within the same enumeration district for two censuses, 'movers' who remained in Huddersfield and 'lost' who moved from Huddersfield. Dennis' perspective allowed people who moved short distances to be seen as "stayers". He concluded that the young and unskilled were most likely to move, with few moving more than short distances. In historical studies moving has been portrayed as evidence of poverty and wealth, ambition and sloth.

Monkkonen suggests that family, ethnicity and neighbourhood "provided psychological anchors in a world where movement and residential change dominated the urban landscape"¹⁰⁴. Ziesler¹⁰⁵ pointed out that there was no single Irish area in Birmingham in the mid-nineteenth century, although there were several small areas of Irish concentration such as the parishes of St Jude's with 25% and St Mary's with 19% Irish-born residents. St Jude's Parish included Green's Village and The Inkleys and was in Market Hall Ward, as was Edgbaston Street. St Mary's Parish included Slaney and Weaman Streets and was in St

¹⁰² Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, p. 201.

¹⁰³ Richard Dennis, 'Intercensal mobility in a Victorian City', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series*, 2 (London: 1977), pp. 349-363.

¹⁰⁴ Monkkonen, 'Residential Mobility in England and the United States', p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ Kaja Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham 1830 - 1970*, Ph. D. thesis, Birmingham University, 1989, p. 28.

George's Ward¹⁰⁶. This study suggests further small areas of Irish concentration where more than 20% of residents were Irish-born and with their immediate family made up half the areas' population, see Table 1.10 and Map 1: an area centred on Henrietta, Water, Mary Ann and part of Livery Street in Hampton Ward; an area centred on London Prentice Street in St Mary's Ward and an area centred on Park and Allison Streets in St Martins Wards. In five small areas the Irish community made up half the population. However, these areas were scattered north south and east of the town centre and divided between five wards. Even with household suffrage the dispersed Irish in Birmingham could have little electoral impact, and two of the small Irish areas were demolished when the local authority began a programme of civic improvement in the 1870s.¹⁰⁷

Dennis¹⁰⁸ found that Irish people were highly segregated in Hull, and concentrated in certain courts in Huddersfield. Busteed et al's study of Manchester¹⁰⁹ found that Irish people were segregated in a few streets, with more people per house than their non-Irish neighbours. Belchem¹¹⁰ and Kirk¹¹¹ described Irish people in Lancashire living in the same streets as non-Irish, but clustered in part of the street, so that there were Irish and non-Irish ends of a street. Lowe's studies of Lancashire showed that Irish people lived at a greater concentration per

¹⁰⁶ *Index to Census 1861*, BCL LSD, for Wards and parishes of individual streets.

¹⁰⁷ Chinn, *Homes for People*, p. 5; Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 62.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1984), pp. 223-234.

¹⁰⁹ Busteed, Hodgson and Kennedy, 'The Myth and Reality of Irish Migrants in mid Nineteenth Century Manchester: a preliminary study', in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities* (London: 1992), pp. 37-38

¹¹⁰ John Belchem, 'Nationalism, republicanism and Exile: Irish Emigrants and the Revolutions of 1848' *Past and Present*, 146 (1995), pp. 103-135, especially p. 134.

¹¹¹ Neville Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism 1850-1870', in Kenneth Lunn, ed., *Hosts Immigrants and Minorities* (Folkestone: 1980), p. 88, Stalybridge.

house than did their non-Irish neighbours¹¹². The evidence from three streets suggests that in Birmingham, Irish people shared the experience of living at greater density than the average for the town and the immediate vicinity with the Irish in Manchester and Lancashire in general. This suggests that Irish people found it difficult to rent houses.¹¹³

Unlike Manchester there was no Irish quarter, but, as in Lancashire in general, in Park and Hospital Streets Irish people were concentrated in one part of the street, at the Irish end of streets shared with the non-Irish. In Hospital Street, the newest street, they were concentrated in the older houses. In London Prentice Street they made up the majority of the inhabitants. However, family, ethnicity and neighbourhood could not counter local authority clearance schemes. If the long term residents of London Prentice Street did not move voluntarily, they found mobility forced upon them by the demolition of their homes from 1874. In a less official clearance, Park Street Irish were unhoused by an English mob in 1867. Green's Village and its environs were demolished to make way for John Bright Street in 1881¹¹⁴ Lees described the Irish in London moving into areas where they could find work and cheap housing, creating "a string of settlements" in "the tumbledown corners of working-class

¹¹² Ruth-Ann M. Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland* (Iowa: 1994), pp. 165, 172-176 quotes Lowe's studies of Lancashire in the 1860s.

¹¹³ Other streets in the sample displayed similar concentration. For example, in Livery Street, between its junctions with Water Street and Northwood Street the total population was 760, of whom 332 or 44% were Irish. Of the Irish people, 315 lived between Mary Ann and Northwood Streets.

¹¹⁴ Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II*, pp. 82-84.

London", and holding onto certain streets for decades¹¹⁵. In the 1860s, it appears that the Irish in Birmingham shared the London housing model.

¹¹⁵ Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin* (New York: 1979), p. 56 "string of settlements"; p. 57 held certain streets.

CHAPTER 2: WORK

[1] Introduction

A M Sullivan in 1856 described the Irish in Birmingham as "poor to a man, and chiefly bricklayers' labourers"¹. Hugh Heinrich, who lived in Birmingham in the 1860s, found a larger percentage of skilled Irish people in Birmingham than in other English towns, "But the great body of the people earn their bread by the severest toil"². John Denvir writing a long generation later thought that Sullivan was probably correct, since 1856 "was ten years after the famine, when they were still for the most part in the ranks of unskilled labour." In contrast in 1892 "You will now find them in every rank of life, and tolerably numerous in the various trades for which Birmingham is famous"³. In his recent study Chinn⁴ found that, whilst some Irish people were in affluent or influential positions, most worked long hours for low pay in the factories, workshops, building sites and service outlets which employed the mass of the people.

In this chapter the wages and working conditions of the 1861 sample are considered and compared to those of people in Birmingham and to those of Irish people in other studies. Lees⁵ included the immediate cohabiting relatives in the Irish community, and her example has been followed in this study. The sample consists of 3,244 Irish-born people and their

¹ John Denvir, *The Irish in Britain from the Earliest times to the Fall and Death of Parnell* (London: 1892), pp. 259 cites A. M. Sullivan as the author of letters in *The Nation* from which 1856 quote is taken.

² Hugh Heinrich, *A Survey of the Irish in England (1872)* (London: 1990), edited by Alan O'Day, p. 43. In 1862 Heinrich became a member of the Birmingham Roman Catholic Friendly Society based at St Chad's Cathedral, authority *Birmingham Catholic Sick Club Register of Members 1795-1893*, SCCA, entry for 6 October 1862.

³ Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, quotes p. 259.

⁴ Carl Chinn, "'Sturdy Catholic emigrants': The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham", in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin: 1999).

⁵ Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, (New York: 1979), in the Appendix p. 252, Lees states that the basis for inclusion as an Irish household was the presence of an Irish-born member in the nuclear family of the head.

2,138 immediate English or elsewhere born cohabiting relatives. Armstrong's⁶ explanation of Booth's industrial categories was used to allocate the occupations given in individual enumerations to the orders and classes of the census tables, and, with published Census Occupation Tables, tables of occupations of Birmingham and sample men and women were constructed, see Tables 2.1 to 2.4⁷. Some studies considered only first generation Irish and Table 2.5 was constructed to facilitate comparisons with them. It has been necessary to collate the census data on different bases to enable comparison with other studies⁸.

[2] Analysis

In age and gender the sample was similar to Birmingham, see Table 2.6. It was slightly older than the population in general: 46% were 20 and over, compared to 44% of the population. A slightly higher percentage was occupied, 50% compared to Birmingham's 48%. The same

⁶ W. A. Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth Century Society* (London:1972), pp. 226-247 for general explanation and Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

⁷ Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense Of The Census: Victorian censuses and historical research* (London: 1996), also see Introduction for discussion of census data; *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume II, Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations and Birthplaces of the People* (London: 1863), pp. 508-512, 'Table 19 Occupations of males under 20 and 20 years and upwards in principal towns' data for Birmingham borough transcribed into Table 2.1; pp. 512 -514, 'Table 20 Occupations of females under 20 and 20 years and upwards in principal towns' data for Birmingham borough transcribed into Table 2.2.

To these I added the occupation code from Armstrong, making up codes for "wives", "widows", "Children" and "scholars" and so on where Armstrong offered none, to construct Table 2.1, "Occupations of Males in Birmingham in 1861" and Table 2.2, "Occupations of Females in Birmingham in 1861". I added the code for the stated occupation or lack of one to the record of each individual in the sample, bearing in mind Higgs' and Armstrong's advice on occupations. I distinguished between occupations within the same class, order and code by numbering the occupations within each class sequentially. I sorted and analysed the individual records to construct tables for Irish-born men, Irish-born women, English etc born men and English etc born women. I accumulated the data as Table 2.3, "Occupations of Sample Men in Birmingham in 1861" and Table 2.4 "Occupations of Sample Women in Birmingham in 1861", and Table 2.5 "Occupations of Sample Irish-born". I use Tables 2.1 to 2.4 when I consider particular occupations in detail, and Table 2.5 for comparison with studies which have considered only the Irish-born.

⁸ To compare the sample to Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, I used Armstrong's occupation codes and accumulated occupations within Lees' employment sectors using Tables 2.1 to 2.4 to construct Table 2.7, "Birmingham 1861". To compare the sample to Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', I used Table 2.5, Armstrong's occupation codes and Chinn's Table 3 p. 68 to construct Table 2.8, "Occupations in 1851 and 1861". To compare with Lynda Letford and Colin Pooley, 'Geographies of Migration and Religion: Irish Women in mid-nineteenth century Liverpool' in P O'Sullivan, ed., *Irish Women and Irish Migration* (Leicester: 1995), I filtered males out of Table 2.5 and further accumulated occupations to reflect the smaller number of occupational groupings in Liverpool, to construct Table 2.11.

proportion of the sample and Birmingham men were "occupied", 66%, but a higher proportion of the sample women were "occupied" than were Birmingham women, (34%: 31%), see Table 2.6. The same proportion of young people aged under 20, 12%, had working occupations, see Table 2.6. The sample contained a slightly smaller proportion of dependants, 33% compared to Birmingham's 35%. Of these, more of the sample young people entered no occupation and were thus listed as children and young relatives, 24% compared to Birmingham's 20%, but a considerably smaller proportion were scholars, 9% compared to Birmingham's 15%⁹.

In Birmingham in the 1860s the majority of the people experienced economic hardship¹⁰. Newspaper articles at the beginning and the end of the decade stated the minimum wage requirements of a family with 4 children. In 1861 this was 30s a week; in 1871 35s a week. Most earned less than this; average life expectancy in 1850 was 40 for men and 42 for women, and in 1890, 44 for men and 47 for women. Working hours were long, work was dangerous, life expectancy was short and housing was dire¹¹. Pay was low; the Northeast and London enjoyed higher wages than the Midlands¹². There was wide-spread employment of women and children, at a third of the wages which would have to be paid to men, and boys were laid off when they reached an age to ask for men's wages¹³.

⁹ Table 2.6 data abridged from Tables 2.1 to 2.4.

¹⁰ Carl Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity: The Urban Poor in England, 1834-1914* (Manchester: 1995), pp. 32, 33, 58; quote p. 33.

¹¹ Carl Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity*, Chapter 1; George Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People: A History of the Labour Movement in Birmingham, 1650-1914* (Wolverhampton: 1989), pp. 191-192, 201 and see this study, Chapter 1, Housing

¹² Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, pp. 191-192; Ian Donnachie, 'Land and Agriculture before the 1860s', *Themes in British and American History, A Comparative Approach, Democracy in Britain and America 1750 to 1870* (Milton Keynes: 1984), pp. 62-68, especially p. 65 Table 2 "Regional Wage Movements, 1850-1872" for comparative wage levels in England; A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge: 1900), p. 35 and Table at back of book, Nominal Weekly Wages of Agricultural Labourers.

¹³ J. S. Wright, 'On The Employment of Women in the Factories in Birmingham', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1857* (London: 1858), pp. 538-544; Barbara Weinberger,

Research into censuses has shown significant under-recording of the working population. Whilst Higgs states that men's paid employment and women's factory work was fairly accurately recorded with women's work in households which produced goods and services under-recorded, Peters found that even women's full time factory work was under-recorded¹⁴. Barnsby found great under-recording of children's work in Birmingham. This under-recording accompanied by the unreliability of numbers in education makes censuses generally unreliable sources for data on the number of children in work or in education.¹⁵ Contemporary reports described Courts and streets teeming with unsupervised children¹⁶.

[2.1] Scholars

The sample number of scholars may reflect reality more closely than is general for census enumerations. The number of school places available to Catholics was limited. From 1846 hasty provision was made for the education of Catholic children in the areas of Irish concentration in the town centre¹⁷. St Nicholas' Schools and Chapel were set up in 1846¹⁸ in

Law breakers and law enforcers in the late Victorian City: Birmingham, 1867-1877, Ph. D. Thesis, Warwick University, 1981, pp. 233, 237; Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public in Mid-Nineteenth Century Warwickshire', in Victor Bailey, ed., *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: 1981), pp. 69-70.

¹⁴ Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census*, pp. 95-103, 117; Elizabeth Peters, *Women's Work 1840 – 1940* (London: 1988), p. 19.

¹⁵ Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, pp. 198-201.

¹⁶ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 83; J. A. Banks, 'The Contagion of Numbers' in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City, Volume I* (London: 1976), pp. 107-108; Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, p. 198.

¹⁷ Judith Champ, *Assimilation and Separation, the Catholic Revival in Birmingham 1650 - 1850*, Ph. D. Thesis, Birmingham University, 1984, pp. 243-245; Rev. Thomas Leith, *St Chad's Cathedral Records, Volume II*, SCCA, p. 70, entry for 19 May 1865.

¹⁸ R. H. Kiernan, *The Story of the Archdiocese of Birmingham* (Birmingham: 1950) p. 33; Michael Snape, *The Development of the Mission of Newman's Oratory to the City of Birmingham 1847 - 1870*, BA Dissertation, Birmingham University, 1991, Oratory Church Archives, pp. 36-37; *Irish in Birmingham Scrapbook 1643-1989*, BCL LSD, clipping from *Birmingham Catholic Magazine* Volume 2, Number 19, October 1913.

premises between a cattle yard and a stables in Well Lane¹⁹, off Park Street, and served the Catholics as both church and school until St Michael's Church, Carrs Lane, opened in 1862²⁰. St Anne's, Alcester Street, was established in 1849²¹. St Patrick's²² was set up in Hill Street / Smallbrook Street, near the Inkleys and Green's Village, in 1856. Night schools for working girls and boys were started soon afterwards and despite a long working day in screw and umbrella factories, the girls' school immediately attracted 120 students and the boys' school was "soon overcrowded".

St. Nicholas', St Anne's and St. Patrick's joined St Chad's, Shadwell Street, set up in 1829, St Peter's, Broad Street, founded in 1799, and St John's, London Prentice Street, as the town's Roman Catholic schools²³. St Mary's Handsworth was established in 1848²⁴. The town centre premises were converted workshops or warehouses used as schools on weekdays and chapels on Sundays²⁵. St Patrick's Hill Street premises were over a vegetable store and the smell of vegetables and rabbits rose into the room²⁶. Denvir²⁷ described St. Nicholas' premises as "...an old dilapidated workshop...".

¹⁹ *1860 Rates Books*, BCLA, Volume 9, St Martin's Ward, pp. 47-51, Park Street, Park Lane, Well Lane.

²⁰ Leith, *St. Chad's Cathedral Records*, p. 64, entry for 19 February 1862.

²¹ Leith, *St. Chad's Cathedral Records*, p. 70.

²² Rev. Michael McManus, *The Story of St. Catherines in the Horse Fair* (Birmingham: 1971), St. Catherine's Church, Birmingham, pp. 1-3, quote p. 3; Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 58, 62-63.

²³ Kiernan, *The Story of the Archdiocese of Birmingham*, p. 32.

²⁴ Kiernan, *The Story of the Archdiocese of Birmingham*, p. 33.

²⁵ Sheridan Gilley, *Newman And His Age* (London: 1990), p. 258; Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 260.

²⁶ McManus, *The Story of St. Catherines*, p. 2.

²⁷ Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 260.

From 1847 state support was available to religious schools²⁸, and the Catholic Church provided education facilities via mission priests, nuns, lay teachers and volunteers. State funding was dependent on attendance, exam results and satisfactory school inspections²⁹. In 1861, despite the proximity of St. John's Catholic school, only 19 children from Irish families in London Prentice Street were described as scholars. Government Inspectors condemned the school in 1862³⁰. By 1863 St Patrick's girls' school was recognised by the Board of Education³¹ but in 1869 St Anne's lost state funding for inadequate record keeping³². Parents were expected to pay and Priests were often authoritarian in extracting payment and excluding non-payers: at St Patrick's May 23rd 1865 nineteen children were sent home for non-payment³³. Despite the fact that parents had to find school pence from their meagre earnings, and school buildings were financed by fund-raising bazaars, English Catholic aristocrats and businessmen were the acclaimed donors in Church publicity³⁴.

Four Catholic schools were within easy reach of the 463 scholars in the sample, St Chad's, St Patrick's, St John's and St Nicholas³⁵, and their catchment area extended beyond the sample streets. In 1869 the four schools had a combined average daily attendance of 927. St.

²⁸ Mary Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity* (Aldershot: 1995), pp. 153-157; John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829 to 1860* (Oxford: 1991), p. 232.

²⁹ Olwyn Ruston, *Elementary Education in Birmingham, 1867-1870*, BA Dissertation, Birmingham University, 1955, pp. 15-16.

³⁰ Leith, *St Chad's Cathedral Records*, p. 70.

³¹ McManus, *The Story of St. Catherines*, p. 17.

³² Ruston, *Elementary Education in Birmingham*, p. 13.

³³ McManus, *The Story of St. Catherines*, pp. 19 and 23.

³⁴ Leith, *Cathedral Records*, p. 98; McManus, *The Story of St. Catherines*, p. 15.

³⁵ Ruston, *Elementary Education in Birmingham*, p. 11, p. 106, Table III, Map in Appendix; and see Karen Garry, *Keeping the Faith, . The Response of the Catholic Church to Irish Immigration in Birmingham (1840-1871)*, M. A. Dissertation, Birmingham University, 1997.

George's School in Hospital Street and Ragged Schools such as St. Peter's in London Prentice Street may have provided the education of Protestant Irish children.³⁶ Given that the number of sample scholars was half the number on the nearest Catholic school rolls, it may be that the sample scholars more nearly reflect school attendance than is usual.

[2.2] Occupations in Birmingham in 1861

Table 2.7 shows the work distribution of the "occupied" population of Birmingham borough and of the sample in 1861, and working children are discussed alongside adults.³⁷ In men's occupations, the most notable difference between the sample and Birmingham men is the proportion of general labourers - 28% of the sample, six times the proportion for all Birmingham men of 4.5%. A smaller proportion of sample men were employed in metal working, 16% as against 25% for all Birmingham men. However, in the more skilled metal working occupations accumulated under machinery, the Irish proportion at 10.6% was closer to the nearly 13% for Birmingham. The association of Irish men with the construction industry is borne out by the percentages of those employed, 14% of the sample, compared to 8.5% for Birmingham.

The proportion of sample men engaged in clothing was slightly higher than the Birmingham proportion, and sample men were more represented as agricultural labourers, but for all other occupations a smaller proportion of the sample were employed than for Birmingham in general. The sample men were concentrated in general labouring, 28%, followed by metal work and machinery, 27%, construction, 14%, clothing, 9%, and service industries, 7%,

³⁶ *1860 Rates Books* Volume 4, St George's Ward, pp. 140-143, Hospital Street; Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, pp. 28-32, London Prentice Street.

³⁷ Table 2.7 is an attempt to construct a table on the same basis as that in Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 93, Table 4.1.

whereas the whole male population was concentrated in metal work and machinery, 38%, followed by service industries, 10%, construction, 8%, clothing, 8%, and wood, 6%, with general labouring the occupation of only 4.5%. Hence the sample men were more commonly in the irregular or casual employment of general labour and construction than was usual in Birmingham.

With regard to women's employment, see Table 2.7, general service was the single largest area of employment in Birmingham, nearly 40% of employment, followed by the clothing industry, 26%, metal working, 12% and machinery, 4%. In contrast only 27% of the sample women were employed in the Service industry and nearly the same proportion were in clothing, 24%, and metalwork, 23%, with machinery at 9%. The sample women were less likely to work in the service industry and twice as likely to work in metalworking and machinery than were all Birmingham women. The percentages of women employed in other sectors were small for both the sample and all Birmingham. However, the sample were more likely to work in agriculture, the construction industry, gas and fuel, glass and paper manufacture and as general labour and were less represented in textiles, food, transport, teaching and commerce. Their greater representation in the professions is due to the number of nurses. A higher proportion of the sample women were employed outside the domestic environment in occupations not generally associated with women, especially metalworking and machinery, than were Birmingham women as a whole. The pattern of work for the Irish community in Birmingham was therefore different from the majority Birmingham experience. However, this difference was a shared Irish experience, as studies of employment in other towns in England demonstrate.

[2.3] Occupations in 1851

Four analyses of the Irish at work are used for comparison. These are studies based on the 1851 census by Chinn³⁸ on Birmingham, Finnegan³⁹ on York, Letford & Pooley⁴⁰ on women in Liverpool, and Lees⁴¹ on London. The first three studied only the Irish-born, and their precedents are followed here. To begin with Birmingham, see Table 2.8, Chinn studied all the Irish-born in Birmingham borough in 1851 except those living in the most affluent and least populated Edgbaston ward, where it was unlikely that many Irish lived. In this study the 3,244 Irish-born lived in a few, mostly town centre, streets. Some of the differences between 1851 and 1861 are due to the different sample area. For example, the high percentage of soldiers and police in 1851 reflects the inclusion of the Cavalry Barracks⁴². Chinn⁴³ found that 5,231 [66%] of the total 7,981 Irish-born had an occupation enumerated in the census. In the 1861 sample, see Table 2.8, occupations were recorded for 2,258, a slightly higher proportion, 69.6%. In 1861 as in 1851 labouring was the most common occupation, followed by work in the metal trades. In 1851 a third of the occupied were general labourers, whereas in 1861 this was the occupation of a quarter of the sample. Work in the metal trades occupied nearly another quarter, compared to 13% in 1851. Domestic service, the third most common occupation in 1851, was supplanted in 1861 by the building trade and selling.

³⁸ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants'.

³⁹ Frances Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', in M Clancy, J. Cunningham and A. MacLochlainn, eds., *...the emigrant experience...* (Galway: 1991).

⁴⁰ Letford and Pooley, 'Geographies of Migration and Religion'.

⁴¹ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*.

⁴² *1861 Census enumerations*, Cavalry Regiment at Brook Street Barracks composition: Second in Command, (Major T Jones), one of two Captains, 7 of 20 Sergeants including the RSM, 1 of 12 Corporals and 55 of 203 Privates were Irish-born.

⁴³ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 67-71.

In the 1861 sample, see Table 2.8, the Irish-born were more concentrated in construction work and metal work and less likely to work in the service sector, clothing industry or as agricultural labour than in 1851, indicating a move from domestic service and general labour to the construction and metal trades. Agricultural labourers no longer congregated in Park Street and Park Lane. Given the foibles of census enumerators, the move from general labour may reflect a greater accuracy in entering occupations in 1861 than was applied in 1851. However, a closer look at the data supports the overall impression.

Chinn found that "The incidence of all types of labourers was at its highest in the 'most Irish' and 'most Connacht' streets"⁴⁴. The 1861 sample consists of 'most Irish' streets, and the highest incidence of labourers was in Henrietta Street, at 48% nearly equivalent to the highest found in 1851. However, where in 1851 all but two of the "most Irish" streets had between 41% and 49% labourers and none less than 30%, in 1861 only in Henrietta, Allison and Park Streets was the incidence of labourers more than 40%. In Edgbaston, Thomas and Weaman Streets and the Inkleys, the incidence of labourers was less than 30%. Moreover in 1861 a correlation between Connacht and labourer can no longer be found. In both Edgbaston and Henrietta Streets the percentage of people from Connacht was 79% of those for whom county was recorded, yet the percentage of labourers was 25% in Edgbaston Street and 48% in Henrietta Street. In Slaney Street, where nearly all recorded their county of birth and 54% were from Connacht and in John Street where 44% were from Connacht, 34% were labourers.

In Domestic Service the most affluent area and therefore the most likely site of living-in servants was not included in Chinn's study, yet in 1851 more than half of the 461 Irish women

⁴⁴ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 70-71 including Table 4 p. 70.

employed as servants were "single women 'living in' "⁴⁵. In 1861 less than a third (20) of the 62 Irish women servants were single women living in, nearer to the proportion for the general population that Higgs found in Rochdale in 1871⁴⁶. The move from domestic service and general labour in Birmingham is supported by a close examination of the sample and may reflect the occupational choice of a more settled community than that of 1851, which was adjusting to the catastrophic effect of An Gorta Mor.

In York⁴⁷ Irish-born people made up between 8% and 10% of the population between 1851 and 1871 and worked in the local building industry, in selling at fairs and markets and in agricultural work in the surrounding countryside, all casual irregular work. The large employers, the Railway Works, Glass works and iron foundries, employed few Irish people. The Railway Works employed 2,500 people, and its Irish employees numbered only 11 in 1851 and 33 in 1871. Irish women were the majority of York's female agricultural and field labourers, and a decreasing, low proportion of its domestic servants. Finnegan suggests that employers were reluctant to hire Irish women as domestic servants. The Irish experience of irregular casual work was so great that they applied for poor relief out of all proportion to their numbers. In 1861, they made up nearly a third of applicants for Poor Relief and this rose to nearly half in 1871.

Letford and Pooley's⁴⁸ Liverpool study discusses the living and employment conditions of Irish-born Catholic and Protestant women in relation to each other, to women in Liverpool in

⁴⁵ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', pp. 71-72.

⁴⁶ Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census*, p. 99.

⁴⁷ Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', pp. 38, 40, 46.

⁴⁸ Letford and Pooley, 'Geographies of Migration and Religion'.

general, and to English Catholics. Their data was accumulated under headings reflecting the work available to women in Liverpool, and their Irish Catholic and Protestant figures have been accumulated to give Irish women's occupations in Liverpool in 1851, see Table 2.9. It is not apparent that the separation of Irish women by religion is relevant to Birmingham, where the Orange Order was a largely English institution⁴⁹ and where there is little evidence of intra-Irish sectarian conflict⁵⁰, and more evidence that Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants lived in the same central streets⁵¹.

Letford and Pooley point out that their Liverpool sample was taken from central streets, therefore under-representing higher status areas and live-in servants and over-representing retailing and manufacturing⁵². Both these reservations apply to this study. In Liverpool employment was concentrated on the docks and associated industries, largely irregular, casual work carried out by men. Opportunities for women were limited to "low paid and often casual service, retail and domestic work" with just under a quarter of Liverpool women (24.5%) having a paid employment. The proportions which follow are the proportions of the paid workforce. About the same proportion of Irish women and all Liverpool women worked in dressmaking and sewing, see Table 2.9. However the proportion of Irish women in domestic cleaning, 15%, and in domestic employment in general, 37%, was much lower than for all women in Liverpool, 43% and 60% respectively.

Irish women were far more likely to work outside the home or a domestic environment than

⁴⁹ See discussion in Policing Chapter.

⁵⁰ Thomas Augustine Finigan, *Journal of Thomas Augustine Finigan*, 1837/8, p. 195, 7 August 1837.

⁵¹ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 192-195, 5 December 1837, John and Thomas Streets; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, Park Street.

⁵² Letford and Pooley, 'Geographies of Migration and Religion', pp. 92, 93, 100-104.

Liverpool women as a whole - 40% of Irish women were engaged in manufacturing, hawking or retailing, compared to 14% in Liverpool as a whole, see Table 2.9. There were major differences between the Catholic and Protestant experience in these areas, with Irish Catholics less likely to work in manufacturing than were Irish Protestants, 5.45% : 17%, and far more likely to work in retailing and hawking, 36% : 19.5%, see Table 2.9

No specific occupations were given for men, but compared to the overall Liverpool figure of about 33% of men in unskilled work, more of the husbands of their sample were in unskilled work, with Protestants slightly more likely and Catholics nearly twice as likely to be in unskilled work than Liverpool men in general. Irish Catholic women dependent on a male wage "were likely to be considerably worse off than most other women in Liverpool"⁵³.

In Birmingham ten years later, see Table 2.6, more women were in paid employment, nearly a third of all women and nearly 34% of Irish-born women. The proportions which follow again refer to proportions of women enumerated as occupied. The proportion of women employed in sewing and dressmaking was a little higher than in Liverpool in 1851, at 26% of all women, 23% of Irish women, see Tables 2.9 and 2.10. However, domestic cleaning, cleaning clothes, housekeeping and cooking occupied less women in Birmingham: 29% of Birmingham women, 56% of Liverpool women, 20% of Irish women in Birmingham and 35% of the Irish women in Liverpool. While 37% of Birmingham women's occupations, all manufacturing, retailing and hawking and other occupations, was outside a home or domestic environment, this rose to 55% for Irish women, with 40% employed in manufacturing alone, see Table 2.10. In Liverpool smaller proportions, 15% of women and 40% of Irish women, worked outside a domestic environment, mostly in hawking and retailing. In both towns,

⁵³ Letford and Pooley, 'Geographies of Migration and Religion', pp. 102-103, quote p. 103.

Irish women were more likely to work outside domestic employment than were women in general. In Birmingham the proportion of all women in manufacturing slightly exceeded that in domestic cleaning and Irish women were nearly four times as likely to work in manufacturing than in domestic cleaning. Birmingham offered more women employment outside a domestic environment; like Liverpool, more Irish women than indigenous women took up this work.

Lees⁵⁴ included the immediate cohabiting relatives in the Irish community, and her example is followed here. In London in 1851 skilled artisans and small workshops dominated employment - only 3% of industrial labour worked in places that had more than 100 workers⁵⁵. London was declining as a manufacturing centre and 61% of the employed worked in service industries. The presence of the Court and government led to demand for luxury goods, and its prominence as a port meant that shipping and transport of goods was important. Although manufacturing covered a wide range from ships to artificial flowers, with the greater use of machines and steam engines manufacturing industry was moving from central London to its suburbs, or to other towns.

Irish people in central London lacked the personal contacts and references that helped to find employment. Hence they were concentrated in the worst paid occupations⁵⁶, see Table 2.11. A major occupation for Irish men and women was street selling. Irish craftsmen were a minority, mostly in the clothing trades, with a few tanners and coopers. Irish people were more numerous in industries which either had a large proportion of unskilled jobs or which

⁵⁴ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, In the Appendix p. 252, Lees states that the basis for inclusion as an Irish household was the presence of an Irish-born member in the nuclear family of the head.

⁵⁵ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 88-91.

were experiencing worsening conditions. Amongst the latter Lees includes shoe making, tailoring and dress making, all "sweated" trades, that is paying low wages for very long hours. Dressmaking and domestic service made up the majority of employment available to all women in London⁵⁷.

Comparing my sample to Lees' Irish sample in 1851, see Tables 2.7 and 2.11, ten years later in Birmingham nearly the same proportion of sample men worked as general labourers, the most common occupation, and a similar proportion worked in the construction industry: 1851 London general labourers, 30.8%; employed in construction 12.8%; 1861 Birmingham general labourers 28.4%, employed in construction 14.1%. However, the high involvement in transport in London, 20.8%, was not replicated in Birmingham, where only 2% were employed in the sector. In Birmingham, work in metal and machinery, 26.7%, was more common than general labouring, whereas in London they were very minor employments, 2.5%. Overall, Irish men in Birmingham shared the experience of Irish men in London of being more likely to work in casual or irregular jobs, but work in metal and machinery replaced transport as a major occupation.

The differences between Irish women's occupations in Birmingham in 1861 and London in 1851 were more marked, see Tables 2.7 and 2.11. In London in 1851 more than 40% of Irish women were employed in service industries, and more than 15% in both the clothing and food industries. Ten years later in Birmingham a smaller percentage were employed in service industries (27.5%), and a larger percentage in clothing (24.7%), with a virtual absence of Irish women in food industries, less than 1%. Whereas service, clothing and food employed 75%

⁵⁶ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 91-97, quote p. 92/3.

⁵⁷ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 93, Table 4.1.

of London Irish women, they employed little more than half, 52.5%, of Birmingham Irish women. The majority of the remainder - more than 30% of the occupied - worked in metalworking and machinery. In Birmingham factory-work with metal and machinery replaced the food industry and supplanted domestic service and the clothing industry as the most common women's occupations.

In all four studies, patterns of Irish employment differed from the general pattern for the town. For men, this difference was manifest in greater representation in construction and in casual irregular employment as general labour. They were also more highly represented in low paid work specific to the town, in London's transport industry, York's agriculture and Birmingham's metalworking. For women the different Irish experience was manifest in their lower representation in service industries and greater representation in work available in other sectors, in York in agriculture, in London and Liverpool in retailing and hawking and some manufacturing, in Birmingham in metal manufacturing. Irish women were more likely to be in employment and in employment outside a domestic environment than was general for the population. The Irish in Birmingham shared a common experience of work with the Irish in York, London and Liverpool, with more women working outside a domestic environment and more men in casual irregular employment than was the case for the total population.

Greater representation in manufacturing does not represent greater acceptance by Birmingham society as a whole, since manufacturing included the "Trades which shortened life": brass founding and casting and pearl button making⁵⁸. Respiratory diseases were a major cause of premature death in working people due to the fumes and dust inhaled during metal and pearl

⁵⁸ Thomas Green, 'The Mortality of Birmingham compared with that of London and seven other Towns', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1857* (London: 1858), pp. 364-365.

button manufacture. The second major cause was so-called nervous disorders, attributed to the employment of married women, rather than to the dangerous chemicals such as lead and mercury which they handled at work⁵⁹.

[2.4] Wages in Birmingham in the 1860s

The following section looks at the occupations of the sample in greater detail, see Tables 2.3, 2.4 and 2.12, to find their wages and conditions. Studies of wages and conditions in the nineteenth century by Bowley⁶⁰, Neff⁶¹, Cadbury et al⁶², Burnett⁶³, Peters⁶⁴ and Behagg⁶⁵ were used, as was an influential contemporary source of information about metal based manufacturing in Birmingham edited by Samuel Timmins⁶⁶. Peters and Behagg discuss the reliability of contemporary sources of information. Peters⁶⁷ describes the dominant middle-class "domestic ideology" which defined women's role as homemakers for men and children, the private sphere, while the public sphere of work and politics was the domain of men. In this ideology criticisms of working women as unnatural, immoral, and failing in their duties as wives and mothers arose not because women worked, but because they worked outside

⁵⁹ W. C. Aitken, 'Brass and Brass Manufactures' in Samuel Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District* (London: 1866), pp. 363-367.

⁶⁰ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*.

⁶¹ Wanda F. Neff, *Victorian Working Women* (London: 1966) [first published 1929].

⁶² Edward Cadbury, Cécile Matheson and George Shann, *Women's Work and Wages* (London: 1909) [first published 1906].

⁶³ John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: a social history of diet in England from 1815 to the present day* (London: 1979) [first published 1966].

⁶⁴ Peters, *Women's Work 1840 - 1940*.

⁶⁵ Clive Behagg, 'Narratives of Control: Informalism and the Workplace in Britain, 1800 - 1900', in Ashton, Fryson and Roberts, eds., *The Duty of Discontent; essays for Dorothy Thompson* (London: 1995).

⁶⁶ Samuel Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District* (London: 1866).

⁶⁷ Peters, *Women's Work 1840 - 1940*, pp. 14-16.

"...their proper sphere....". This ideology was a certainly an "ideal" in Birmingham where the work of women and girls was essential: its loss "would annihilate many of the trades for which Birmingham has been celebrated"⁶⁸.

Just as the "domestic ideal" differed from reality, Behagg describes the compliant workforce sharing the owner's values as the nineteenth-century employer's "wish projection"⁶⁹. In contemporary descriptions "...the work-place stood as a metaphor for an ideally ordered society, and should be read within this wider context". Harriet Martineau's descriptions of factories were not those of an unbiased observer: "she was carefully guided by the manufacturers" around specially selected factories. The screw and pen factories Martineau and the *Morning Chronicle* described can be seen as "...representation[s] of an ideal society...", the women workers neat, clean, cheerful and in the case of Gillot's pen makers, absolutely silent. Whilst piece working and subcontracting fostered in workers an illusion of control over the manufacturing process, employers tried to control their employees inside and outside the workplace: "Gillot would sack a female worker, ' if the charge of immoral life is proved against her'...".

Bowley⁷⁰ found that information about wages in the nineteenth century was scarce and contemporary accounts unreliable, recording the highest wages as the average, ignoring "lost time", that is periods of unemployment and / or short time working, and not recording badly paid trades, while on the other hand newspaper accounts concentrated on the worst paid.

⁶⁸ Wright, 'On The Employment of Women', p. 538.

⁶⁹ Behagg, 'Narratives of Control', pp. 128-137; quotes p. 137 "wish projection" and "...the workplace stood...", p. 128 "she was carefully guided...", p. 130 "Gillot would sack...", p. 137 "representation[s]...".

⁷⁰ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, pp. 1-17, general discussion with quotes pp. 11 and 12; pp. 65-68 average wage 1866/7.

Bowley found that in England the average weekly male earnings for 1866/7, taking into account "lost time", was about 15s a week, with the highly skilled average weekly wage of just under £1 a week (£50 per year). It therefore appears impossible for the average male to have earned the minimum adequate family wage of 30s to 35s a week⁷¹.

Neff⁷² studied women in textile and clothing manufacture between 1832 and 1850 and Cadbury et al investigated women's work in Birmingham in the second half of the nineteenth century⁷³. The 1847 Factory Act which improved many women's working conditions applied only to textile factories. It was extended to other manufacturing industry between 1850 and 1880, but did not apply to Birmingham's factories and workshops until 1867, and then only to those which employed machinery and more than 50 people. Thus even after 1867 many workplaces in Birmingham did not have to conform to the legislation. The 1867 Factory Act limited hours to a maximum of 60 per week, at 10.5 hours per weekday and 7.5 hours on Saturday.

[2.5] Metal manufacturing

Metalworking and machinery are discussed together. They made up the largest proportion of the sample's employment, 28%, see Table 2.12. Timmins'⁷⁴ contributors give the impression

⁷¹ Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity*, pp. 32, 33.

⁷² Neff, *Victorian Working Women*, pp. 65-70. Neff minimised women's factory/mass production work but gives the statistics which illustrate her error, for example, pp. 95/6 "Pin-making, screw, steel and brass nail making, chain-making, the manufacture of steel pens, and of hooks and eyes all employed women, although the proportion of women and girls was small in most of these industries.", yet notes, p. 263: 232 of the total 327 people making steel pens were women or girls, 71% of the workforce. Therefore she was mistaken when she wrote, p. 97, that contemporary writers such as Harriet Martineau "exaggerated the importance of women" in these industries.

⁷³ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 21-27.

⁷⁴ Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, see individual contributors including Bunce, 'The Social and Economical Aspects of Birmingham', pp. 687-688.

that Birmingham was a harmonious manufacturing town, with regular, well-paid employment and few disputes between employer and employees. Like those criticised by Bowley, the contributors do not mention lay-offs or short time, both of which were endemic; the strikes referred to are all safely in the past. However, by stating the number of firms engaged in particular trades, the contributors indicate that concentration of production was taking place. They hint at the extent of outwork and subcontracting, and their comments on working women demonstrate the ambivalence of middle-class employers whose adherence to the domestic ideal was compromised by employing women outside the home. Outwork and homework⁷⁵ were extensive. Outwork was a species of subcontracting often carried out within the factory. The employer agreed a set price for a piece of work with a leading worker, and this leading worker was responsible for paying the wages of any assistants out of this set price. Employers used this to rebut criticism of the employment of women and children, blaming the leading worker. Homework, as the name implies, was and is work carried out in a home using materials supplied by the employer.

The wages stated by Timmins' contributors range from £5 (100s) a week for "best men" in brass casting, to 6d a week for girls making buttons⁷⁶. "Ordinary" men were said to earn from £3 (60s) a week, brass casting, to 8s a week in wire manufacture; boys from 17s a week making light fittings to 3s a week working in brass foundry; women from £1 a week making buttons or steel pens to 5s a week making hinges, whilst girls' highest wage was 12s a week, making steel pens. However, Timmins' contributors portrayed atypically high wages as general. Skilled men's wages tended to be the same throughout England and Ireland at this

⁷⁵ Peters, *Women's Work*, p. 40 definition of outwork, homework and sweating.

⁷⁶ Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 271, 285, 316, 352, 443, 612, 636, etc.

time and in Manchester engineering the most skilled - smiths, brass moulders and finishers and pattern makers - men's weekly wages were 28s to 34s in 1859 rising to 30s to 37s in 1871; labourers wages rose from 15s to 18s whilst smith's strikers' wages remained at about 18s a week⁷⁷. In the 1840s women screw-makers earned 5s to 12s, lacquering women 11s and button makers 6s a week⁷⁸. Their wages were no higher in the 1860s. In 1865 women pen makers earned 5s to 12s, occasionally £1 a week, and the highest girls' wage was 7s 6d in the lamp trade, and 5s in brass⁷⁹; girls were generally paid 1s to 2s a week⁸⁰. Furthermore, from Aitken's April 1866 wage bill⁸¹ the average weekly wage was 16s 7d if 52 weeks were worked. If 4 weeks short-time and lay-off time are allowed, the average weekly wage becomes 15s 4d a week⁸².

The Report on Children's Employment⁸³ contains many examples of boy's wages. Most were not paid as much as 5s a week, far from Timmins' 17s. The 22 boys employed by Pemberton and Sons, Livery Street, brass founders, using lead to make taps, had wages of 2s to 2s 6d a week. For further comparison, a 17-year-old brass caster's wage at the beginning of the twentieth century was 8s 6d to 9s 6d a week⁸⁴. Wages in Birmingham therefore were not

⁷⁷ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, pp. 50-52 and Table facing p. 123, Manchester Engineering wages.

⁷⁸ Neff, *Victorian Working Women*, pp. 97, 99.

⁷⁹ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 41.

⁸⁰ Wright, 'On The Employment of Women', p. 538.

⁸¹ Aitken, 'Brass and Brass Manufacturers', p. 361.

⁸² Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, p. 66, between 4 and 10 weeks lay-off "lost-time" was estimated; Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 189, allowed 4 to 6 weeks without work for sickness and lay-off time at the end of the nineteenth century.

⁸³ *Children's Employment Commission, 1862, Third Report of the Commissioners* (London: 1864), pp. 64-90, passim; p. 67 evidence of Henry Day, foreman, "The boys' wages average about 2s 6d or 2s a week."

⁸⁴ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 171-174.

higher than the average for England cited by Bowley⁸⁵. Perhaps "best men's" wages in Timmins were the price for the piece, out of which the man paid his subordinates, but in general if we half the wages stated in Timmins, we may arrive at a truer picture of the wages in Birmingham.

Machinery included tool making in general, engine making, arms manufacture, and steel pen, needle and pin making. Metalworking included all other manufacture in brass, tin, copper, zinc, and iron, including screw and nail making, and all smiths and their assistants. Within metalworking the most common occupations in the sample were brass and iron working. Birmingham brass was used to build locomotives for India, make rings and bracelets to exchange for palm oil in Ghana, and brass coils for local jewellers in Mozambique and Zimbabwe⁸⁶. Most of the copper used came from Chile, but was also mined in Ireland. Most of the zinc used came from France, but some was mined in Ireland. In Iron in the mid-1860s exports of Edge-tools, hatchets, hoes, etc. to Indian and Egyptian cotton plantations replaced those to pre-civil war USA⁸⁷. Hinges were exported to South America, India, Africa, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the Caribbean⁸⁸. Birmingham's manufacturing illustrates the global nature of the capitalist system in the mid-nineteenth century, dependent on raw materials imported from, and finished or half-finished products exported all round the world, supplanting indigenous manufacturing.

⁸⁵ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, pp. 65-68 average wage 1866/7.

⁸⁶ Aitken, 'Brass and Brass Manufacturers', pp. 229, 257, 261.

⁸⁷ Timmins, 'Heavy Edge Tools', in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 256-269.

⁸⁸ F. E. Martineau, 'Patent Wrought Iron Hinges', in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 610-612.

A smaller proportion of the Birmingham workforce was employed in brass manufacturing, 6.5%, than in iron manufacturing, 7.8%. In the sample, 4.5% worked in brass and nearly twice as many in iron, 9%. In Birmingham, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2, 6382 men and 2119 women were employed in brass manufacturing, a larger proportion, 6.5% of the workforce, than the sample's 4.5%, 77 men and 45 women, see Tables 2.3 and 2.4. The sample brass workers included 4 skilled burnishers, 1 brazier, 18 people working in brass casting and 17 in brass foundry. Most of the latter were young men and boys aged 20 and under, probably paid less than 8s a week.

Ten of the sample were stampers, including William Stanyard, of 4 Court, 6 House Edgbaston Street, age 23, from Cork and Michael Gammon of 6 Court, 6 House, John Street, age 28 from Galway. Brass stamping was done by hand⁸⁹, with a hammer weighing 112 lb. or more, raised by the manual labour of one stamper and two pullers. A large number of women were employed in stamping, presswork and piercing, and women worked large presses which required a great deal of strength. In Slaney Street, the Bryan family's Birmingham born daughters all worked at the press, as did Bridget Coolandwood from Cong in Mayo and Bridget Loftus also from Mayo; Ellen McNally junior of London Prentice Street was a stamper.

In brass factories the only light came from working near windows, or from furnaces and forges at night. Some stamping shops were situated in already damp cellars with pits without drainage sunk for the workers to stand in to gain height for the fall of the stamp⁹⁰. The Report

⁸⁹ Aitken, 'Brass and Brass Manufacturers', pp. 307, 309; Stampers' wages are given as 20s to 25s a week and pullers as 15s to 18s a week for piecework.

⁹⁰ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 29.

on Children's Employment contains some graphic descriptions of the dangers of brass working. The Inspector described pieces of hot metal the size of peas flying about, the children he interviewed described past injuries and illness, especially difficulties in breathing, and Frederick Clarke, aged 11, described working with "...acky and black bronze and phizz and pickle", all strong acids or alkalis, to earn 3s a week⁹¹.

A greater number of people were employed in iron working than in brass, 9,553 men and 1,684 women, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2, 7.8% of the workforce. In the sample more than 9% of the occupied, 138 men and 116 women, were employed in iron manufacturing, see Tables 2.3 and 2.4. The sample were over-represented in iron-working and under-represented in brass. Of the men, there were 51 blacksmiths or strikers, 29 making nails and another 58 in iron manufacture in general, and in the sample women, 57 made screws, 12 made nails and 47 were employed in iron manufacture in general. Strikers worked for a "foreman" in Edge tool manufacture, making axes, hatchets, hoes, shovels, pick axes, chisels and ploughs. Edge tool manufacture had moved to Birmingham to avoid paying the wages demanded by Sheffield's organised workforce, and wages, according to Timmins, were £2 a week for the blacksmith or foreman, £1 a week for the striker⁹². Amongst the strikers was Michael McNally of London Prentice Street. General iron manufacturing included hinge making, a comparatively new trade⁹³. Amongst the sample, young women and boys living in Green's Village and Weaman Street undertook this heavy and dirty work. Short-time, piece-work and subcontracting were prevalent, with principal men paying the boys.

⁹¹ *Children's Employment Commission*, pp. 72 and 72, introduction by the Inspector; p. 64, evidence of Frederick Clarke.

⁹² Timmins, 'Heavy Edge Tools', pp. 256-269.

Nail-making had two distinct production methods - machine or hand-made - and it is not possible to determine from the enumerations in which branch the sample worked. Less than 1% of Birmingham's workforce, 730 men and 295 women, were nail-makers, and 41 of the sample, including Alexander Stout of Park Lane, an employer with 4 employees. Machine nail-making was an expanding industry that relied on child labour⁹⁴. Skilled men "accustomed to superintending machinery" were said to earn 25s to 50s a week, labourers 15s to 20s a week, and women and boys between 10s and 15s a week. Although girls were employed their wages were not mentioned. In contrast to most nails, it was not possible to make horse nails by machine. The hand-made nail industry⁹⁵ had been in decline since the 1830s because of competition from machine-made nails. It consisted entirely of outwork: the nail maker collected iron from the nail master's warehouse and worked at home with his wife and children. Such outwork allowed the employers to disclaim responsibility for the employment of children, and claim that a Factory Act for the Midlands was a practical impossibility, since it would involve domestic visits⁹⁶. Men's wages were described as "...at the best of times..." 12s to 16s a week, women's as 6s to 8s a week, and children's as 3s to 5s a week.

The prevalence of adult workers suggests the sample hand-made nails but the absence of

⁹³ Martineau, 'Patent Wrought Iron Hinges', pp. 610-612.

⁹⁴ R. F. Martineau, 'Cut Nails', in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 613-616.

⁹⁵ Ephraim Ball, 'The Hand-Made Nail Trade', in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 110-116. The "Truck System", that is working for tokens which could only be exchanged in the employer's shop, was common as *Police Orders 19 January 1868 to 24 April 1871*, Police Archives, hereafter PA, p. 513, 9 December 1870 demonstrate: the police were ordered to record the number of truck shops, including "Any shop frequented by the workmen and which belongs to the owner of the works or in which the owners of the works have any interest.....Shops kept by contractors, gaffers, pettifoggers, overhands or butties should be particularly noticed....".

⁹⁶ Ball, 'The Hand-Made Nail Trade', and ed.'s note p. 114.

families contra-indicates hand-production. There were no families of nail makers apart from Roger and Henry Morogan in Weaman Street, father and young son. There were five small groups of adult nail-makers, most enumerated as Nail Cutters, including Margaret and John Curly in Allison Street and Patrick Kelly, Francis and Peter Loftus and Michael Moran at 8 London Prentice Street. Harry Feeney, aged 8, and Henry Morogan were the only nail-makers aged under 15. None of Alexander Stout's employees were Irish. There were 4 nail factories in Park Street, but none of the Irish in Park Street were nailers. Frances McCaffery of Edgbaston Street, from Tipperary, was a horse nail maker and may have earned 22s to 25s a week⁹⁷.

Screw and steel pen making was women's work, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2, explicitly enumerated in women's occupation tables, and absent from men's. The employers' descriptions⁹⁸ were remarkably similar to those in the *Morning Chronicle*⁹⁹ a decade earlier and those described by Behagg¹⁰⁰. Chamberlain¹⁰¹ said screw making conditions, including wages, had improved since the introduction of machinery in 1849, but gave no wage rates and hours were 60 a week. Women had been employed since 1849, with one woman working many machines. Timmins¹⁰² noted that Nettlefold and Chamberlain had monopolised the wood screw trade. In 1861, 894 women were screw makers or cutters, less than 1% of the workforce, and less than

⁹⁷ Ball, 'The Hand-Made Nail Trade', pp. 115, 116.

⁹⁸ Timmins, 'The Birmingham Steel-pen Trade' in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 633-637; Joseph Chamberlain, 'Manufacture of Iron Wood Screws' in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 604-609.

⁹⁹ P. E. Razzell and R. W. Wainwright, eds., *The Victorian Working-class - Selections from Letters to the Morning Chronicle* (London: 1973), pp. 297-299.

¹⁰⁰ Behagg, 'Narratives of Control', pp. 128-137.

¹⁰¹ Chamberlain, 'Manufacture of Iron Wood Screws', pp. 604-609.

¹⁰² Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, ed.'s footnote p. 609.

2% of occupied women, see Table 2.2. Fifty-eight of the sample made screws, fifty-seven women, the only man a "foreman in a screw factory". Just over 2% of the sample workers made screws, but more than 6% of the sample occupied women. Therefore Irish women were over-represented in screw-making. Not all were factory workers, for example, Mary Mitchell and Bridget Brown, both wood screw wormers, lived near and may have worked for Catherine Brown, wood screw wormer and licensed lodging house keeper of Park Street.

Steel pen making also employed less than 1% of Birmingham's workforce, 1224 women, 2.5% of occupied women, see Table 2.2. In the sample 57 women made pens, 4.7% of the total, 6.4% of the sample occupied women, see Table 2.4. Six of the sample men also made pens. The sample was again over-represented. Timmins¹⁰³ thought the trade employed more than 360 men and 2050 women in 12 factories in 1866, an average of 200 per factory and twice the numbers employed in 1861, see Table 2.2. Echoing Martineau's description of Gillot's factory¹⁰⁴, Timmins stated that conditions for the workers were "very satisfactory", with large airy workrooms and employers caring for their employees' "welfare and improvement". The hours, 52½ to 57 per week, were a source for congratulation; wages for girls were stated as from 2s 6d to 12s a week, for boys 4s to 16s a week, and for men 18s to £5. What he thought women should earn is obvious from his glowing description of women's wages: " ...some few of the older and more skilful women earn as much as 15s to 20s a week". Timmins exaggerated earnings again. In the Report on Children's Employment boys reported earning 2s 6d to 5s 6d and young women 6s to 7s 6d a week¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰³ Timmins, 'The Birmingham Steel-pen Trade', pp. 636-637.

¹⁰⁴ Behagg, 'Narratives of Control', pp. 128-130 for Martineau.

¹⁰⁵ *Children's Employment Commission*, p. 88.

Timmins' comfortable description of silent women in orderly rows contrasts with earlier descriptions of the girls employed in Birmingham's button, screw and pen factories as notorious thieves and as working to support three or four illegitimate children¹⁰⁶. Timmins also under-represented the hours worked. In Turner's pen factory girls worked at least 60 hours a 5½ day week¹⁰⁷. Fines and deductions from wages and a prurient interest in his women employees' home life were evident in Gillot's factory¹⁰⁸. Their portrayal as benefiting the workforce is an example of the employer "wish projection" described earlier¹⁰⁹. The pen trade became notorious for fines and deductions from wages and the practice was ended by Trade Union intervention in the late nineteenth century¹¹⁰.

Gun making was a very important part of Birmingham industry¹¹¹. In the sample 143 people were employed in gun making, 5.3% of the occupied, compared to Birmingham's total of 5844, 4% of the occupied, so Irish people were over-represented in gun-making. A strike in 1859 resulted in the employers forming an association to set wages. Between 1859 and 1866 production expanded to meet demand from the Union and Confederate armies in the civil war in the USA then contracted as the Confederate army was defeated and the USA expanded its home production. Gun barrel making required large plant, but "stockers, finishers, engravers, etc" were outworkers, employing their own assistants in separate establishments. The very skilled processes were barrel boring and setting, stocking, rifling, and lock filing. Of the

¹⁰⁶ Neff, *Victorian Working Women*, pp. 104/105, quoting from 1843 Parliamentary Paper.

¹⁰⁷ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ Razzell and Wainwright, eds., *The Victorian Working-class*, p. 298.

¹⁰⁹ Behagg, 'Narratives of Control', pp. 130, 137.

¹¹⁰ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 256-257.

¹¹¹ John D. Goodman, 'The Birmingham Gun Trade' in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 381-431; p. 391, outworkers; p. 394, skilled processes.

sample, 23 were employed in the skilled trades: 7 were browners, 4 were barrel borers, 11 filers, and 5 were stockers. It cannot be assumed that these skills were learnt in England, since Irish gunsmiths were forced to emigrate to seek work. Henry Stratford Persse¹¹² wrote to his sons in America: "Garvey the gunsmith wishes very much to know if he and his brother could make a livelihood at his trade in your neighbourhood. He is nearly starving here."

Goodman¹¹³ said that women were only employed in finishing the stocks, implying that they worked at home, and later that they were employed in the "dirty and laborious" work of polishing and barrel boring. The Report on Children's Employment described Irish women working: "Barrel smoothing is a slavish work, and done much by Irish women, some of them using a file 4lbs. or 5 lbs. in weight."¹¹⁴ The *Post* described browning as unfit work for women, like mining or brick making, the women standing outside in meal breaks covered in fine shavings from the stocks¹¹⁵. Browning was a process applied only to the "better sort" of gun barrel and there were only 50 browners in Birmingham in 1865¹¹⁶. If there was a similarly small number in 1861 the Irish browners, who included the brothers Martin and James Davit of Mayo, aged 16 and 20, living in London Prentice Street, and the sisters Catherine Cornell and Elizabeth Jordan of Longford, aged 23 and 21, living in Slaney Street, made up a significant proportion of them. Weekly wages were said to be "several pounds" for "best men", 15s to 25s for men and 5s to 10s for boys. The absence of women's wages and

¹¹² James L. Pethica and James C. Roy, eds., *To the Land of the Free from the Island of Slaves', Henry Stratford Persse's letters from Galway to America, 1821 - 1832* (Cork: 1998), p. 106.

¹¹³ Goodman, 'The Birmingham Gun Trade', pp. 391/2, women, quote p. 392.

¹¹⁴ *Children's Employment Commission*, P. 66.

¹¹⁵ Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester: 1988), p. 91.

¹¹⁶ Goodman, 'The Birmingham Gun Trade', p. 388, browning; p. 394, wages.

Goodman's contradictory statements about women's work again illustrate employers' ambivalence about their women employees.

In 1862 William Morris and Harry Feeny worked at Aston's Gun and Gun implement makers. William Morris, then aged 11, was "wretchedly pale and weak looking". He had been working at the forge for three years, with hours 6 am to 7 pm, sometimes 9 pm:

"[I] blow and strike...The work here is very hot and wets the shirt. Get 4s 6d a week; pay it to my mother...Can spell some words. Go to school Sundays."¹¹⁷

In 1861 William lived with his parents Mary and Thomas Morris and younger brother John, in 15 Court, 5 house, Edgbaston Street¹¹⁸. William and John had been born in Ramsey Fenn, Hunts, so it is likely that their parents were agricultural labourers before they moved to Birmingham. Harry Feeny gave his age as 13:

"[I] blow bellows at a forge....It's very hot, but I don't sweat much; am "hoast" (hoarse) and have been for a week...can't speak with it at times...The iron when being struck flies and burns the clothes, arms, and face, but not to hurt. This finger was cut in striking..."¹¹⁹.

Harry went to Catholic chapel and school on Sunday, but was too tired to learn anything. There is not a match for his age in the sample but a Harry Feeney then aged 8, lived with his parents John and Anne and two younger sisters in 14 Court, 4 House, Edgbaston Street in 1861.

Only Hannah Tomlinson of Railway Terrace, Allison Street, was enumerated as a percussion

¹¹⁷ *Children's Employment Commission*, p. 77, evidence of William Morris.

¹¹⁸ *1861 Census enumerations*, PRO No 2143, reel 15, enumeration district 19, entries for Harry Feeney and William Morris.

¹¹⁹ *Children's Employment Commission*, p. 76, evidence of Harry Feeny.

cap maker but Irish women were increasingly employed in this dangerous work. There had been several explosions in the 1850s¹²⁰. In December 1870 Ludlow's ammunition factory in Witton exploded. Twenty young women were killed and a further 50 injured. Rev. Greaney officiated at funerals for five of the dead¹²¹. At the funeral of Mary Ann Bradley, age 17, of Princip Street, Sarah McKenna, of London Prentice Street, and Mary Ann Cannon, aged 14, of Lichfield Street: "... the "coronach", a monotonous kind of song for the dead, was given by mourners..." The women relatives tried to throw themselves on the coffins and their cries could be heard almost throughout the cemetery grounds. At the funeral of Margaret Burns, aged 16, also of London Prentice Street, there was an impressive display of Catholic ceremony. Her funeral cortege was followed by 36 girls of the Sacred Heart Confraternity from St Michael's Church, dressed in black with white crosses and hoods. A procession of about 500 people walked to Witton, with members of St Michael's young men's society bringing up the rear. A fifth Irish victim, Margaret Ward, was buried in St. Joseph's cemetery. Two rituals co-existed, keening, and faith based solidarities; the young women travelled some distance to undertake dangerous work.

[2.6] General labour

After machinery and metalworking, the next largest area of employment was general labouring, see Table 2.12, and there is little specific information about this employment. Excluding the agricultural, builders' and bricklayers' labourers enumerated and discussed separately, nearly 20% of the sample workforce, 541 people, were general labourers, 28% of men and 2.5% of women, see Tables 2.3 and 2.4. In contrast only 4.5% of Birmingham's

¹²⁰ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 28-29, 31.

¹²¹ Rev. William Greaney, *Annual Report of St. Joseph's Mission for the Years 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872* (Birmingham: 1873), SCCA, p. 14; Rev. William Greaney, *Scrapbook of the Reverend William Greaney*.

male workforce and 0.05% of its female workforce were general labourers, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2. General labouring included a few factory workers and many whose occupation was recorded as labourer, sometimes qualified by general, jobbing or day. They could therefore have worked in any industry. The common labourer earned 15s to 17s a week in 1857 and 20s to 22s a week in 1885¹²². In the 1850s Irish labourers generally received lower wages than their English counterparts¹²³; Irish bricklayer's labourers' wages were typically 14s to 16s in contrast to 18s a week earned by the English as messengers and porters. There is no evidence to show this had changed.

[2.7] Service Industries

The service industry encompassed an immense range of occupations, from stockbroker to rag gatherer in dealing and selling, all domestic servants in private homes, public houses and institutions, as well as traders and dealers, wholesale and retail, in goods ranging from coal and timber to clothing, food and drink. It included people providing services such as cleaning and laundry, and publicans, hotel and lodging-house keepers. It employed more than 28,000 people in Birmingham, nearly 20% of the workforce, almost 40% of occupied women and 10% of occupied men, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2. A smaller proportion of the sample were employed in the sector, 125 men and 246 women, nearly 14% of the sample workforce, 27% of the women and 7% of the men, see Tables 2.3 and 2.4.

The service industry can be divided into dealing and domestic service, and more of the sample

1866-1867, SCCA, two newspaper clippings dated 10 December 1870 described the funeral of Mary Ann Bradley et al; one newspaper clipping dated 19 December 1870 describes Margaret Burns' funeral.

¹²² Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, p. 127.

¹²³ *Report from the Select Committee on Poor Removal, Minutes of Evidence*, [HoC 1854-55 (308) Vol XIII, pp. 1-22], P. 15 Corder's estimate of wages.

were engaged in the former than the latter. The most frequent male occupation was hawker, 32 men, with 16 general dealers, 13 commercial travellers, 10 marine store dealers and 8 lodging house keepers as well as drapers and hardware/ironmongers, clothes dealers, publicans and grocers, provision dealers, fishmongers and 1 bookseller, broker and butcher, see Table 2.3. The most common women's occupation was in general domestic service, 62 women, with 44 laundresses, 36 hawkers, 26 charwomen, 18 general dealers including marine store dealers, 17 housekeepers, and 12 lodging house keepers. There were also clothes dealers, greengrocers and rag gatherers, nursemaids and 1 fishmonger, furniture broker, shopkeeper, and cook, see Table 2.4.

The service occupations most often associated with Irish people are hawking and lodging house keeping¹²⁴. Hawking and dealing have been regarded together but the dealers' need for premises and the factors' need for capital make it unsatisfactory to regard them as equivalent to hawking¹²⁵. Hawking occupied 32 men and 36 women in the sample, only 2.5% of the sample workforce, but 20% of the total 340 hawkers in Birmingham. Middle-class commentators may have noticed Irish hawkers because they made up such a large proportion of hawkers. Burnett is unique in describing hawking as a new modern urban occupation providing goods to the shopless suburbs and hot convenient foods to town centre workers. Cooking food in the home on an open fire was difficult; breaks at work were short and conditions were dirty therefore hawkers and costermongers selling hot food were an essential service¹²⁶.

¹²⁴ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 96-97.

¹²⁵ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 68 recognises differences between hawkers and dealers.

¹²⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 185-189, 146.

The discussion of hawkers in other studies leans heavily on Mayhew's descriptions of 1850s London, when, Lees says, Mayhew estimated that 10,000 Irish people earned about 5s a week hawking the heaviest and least profitable goods, having drifted into the trade "for lack of an alternative..."¹²⁷. Turton¹²⁸, also relying on Mayhew, describes wages amounting to no more than 4s 3d a week, and these were earned by Irish women, reportedly more successful than Irish men in street trading because they aroused less hostility. Turton found a gender division in the goods sold, men selling "more varied produce, including vegetables and fish", women specialising in fruit. Few of the sample were enumerated hawking specific products and these do not illustrate a similar gender division: Ann Thurity of Park Street sold fire screens, Ann Kelly of Edgbaston Street sold silk, Margaret Hughes of Weaman Street sold cotton and tape and Patrick Mears also of Weaman Street sold clocks. The English-born William Elliott sold fish.

Hawkers were subject to police surveillance and licensing, but Police Orders give little indication of the goods sold. In June 1847 Police Orders¹²⁹ named coffee, ballads and cake when they instructed the police not to interfere with hawkers. Only oranges were mentioned in the 1852 Orders instructing police to stop hawkers obstructing town centre streets and no products are mentioned in the 1868 Orders instructing police to inspect hawkers' licenses. In 1863, Birmingham's hawkers' income was described as 1s to 1s 6d a day (6s to 9s a week), and hawkers as nearly indistinguishable from beggars¹³⁰. Although in the sample one hawker,

¹²⁷ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 96-97, 102.

¹²⁸ Jacqueline Turton, 'Mayhew's Irish: the Irish poor in mid nineteenth-century London' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain*, p. 133-134.

¹²⁹ *Police Orders 22 August 1846 to 6 May 1849*, p. 146, 28 June 1847; *Police Orders 7 March 1852 to 17 February 1855*, pp. 397 and 398, 25 and 27 February 1852; *Police Orders 21 June 1864 to 14 January 1868*, p. 159, 2 September 1865.

¹³⁰ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No. 2'.

Mary Harraty of Mayo and Park Street, had a servant, and another, William Elliott, described above, had sixteen lodgers, we may assume that, like London and York, hawkers in Birmingham gained an irregular and low income, with some few earning more than a "decent living"¹³¹.

Dealers and shop-keepers probably enjoyed a higher income. Some of them prospered and expanded¹³², at least until 1867, when many had their stock and stores destroyed by the Murphy rioters¹³³. Irish people were significantly involved in marine store dealing, which also attracted police surveillance. Marine stores bought goods unacceptable in pawnshops and were thus much used by the poor. There were only 67 enumerated in Birmingham, and 10 in the sample, plus 9 women, see Tables 2.1 and 2.3¹³⁴. Irish men made up 15% of the male marine store dealers in Birmingham and the Police collected information on them alongside brothels and beer houses¹³⁵. The Stipendiary Magistrate Sneyd-Kinnersley¹³⁶ alleged that marine stores were full of stolen property. Birmingham's Manufacturers combined in the Chamber of Commerce and represented by Spooner, MP for North Warwickshire, sponsored a bill in Parliament seeking to give the police powers to search the stores and inspect the books at any time. Sneyd-Kinnersley was disappointed the bill was

¹³¹ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 97.

¹³² See the Murphys in Park Street in Housing Chapter.

¹³³ See Policing Chapter.

¹³⁴ In Census Table 20 there was no separate women's occupation of marine store dealer. I have assigned the sample women marine store dealers to general dealers.

¹³⁵ *Police Orders 21 June 1864 to 14 January 1868*, for example, 19 September 1867, p. 486 "To be sent to this office [the Chief Superintendent's] The Sign, Street and No. of house Beer House,...Marine Store Dealers...Keepers of Brothels and Houses of Call...".

¹³⁶ T. C. Sneyd-Kinnersley, 'On a Marine Store Dealers' Bill', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1860* (London: 1861), pp. 461-464, quote p. 461-462.

unsuccessful. Another disappointed Birmingham resident¹³⁷ implied that domestic servants and marine store dealers colluded to defraud respectable householders. Marine store dealers included Patrick Flanagan and Una Saxon of Mayo and 47 London Prentice Street, and John Regan and his daughter Mary, of 47 Allison Street, born in Mayo and Galway respectively. With a further four marine stores in Allison Street, one more in London Prentice Street and one each in Park Street, Slaney Street, Weaman Street, Lichfield Street and John Street, it is evident that Irish people were engaged in trade in used goods which was popular and probably essential to the poor.

Irish people were important to pig and cattle dealing. There were 19 pig dealers in Birmingham, and 8 in the sample; 61 cattle and sheep dealers and drovers in Birmingham and 6 in the sample. In 17 Court Allison Street, the pig dealers who included John Hart and John O'Brien outnumbered the cattle dealer Edward Farrell. In 1865, 1500 pigs were sold in Birmingham every week, and two-thirds of them came from Ireland¹³⁸. In 1843, William Carleton¹³⁹ had ironically remarked on the fact that Ireland exported rather than consumed meat, saying "It is not surprising that we should repine a little on thinking of the good old times of sixty years since, when every Irishman could kill his own pig, and eat it when he pleased." He further suggested that Irish people might soon want to eat Irish Meat themselves, rather than export it to England. However, as the statistics of livestock exports

¹³⁷ Mrs William Baines, 'Marine Store Dealers', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1860* (London: 1861), pp. 558-559.

¹³⁸ Dr. Fleming, 'On the prevalence of Tapeworm in Birmingham, and its causes', *Report of the Proceedings at the Birmingham Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, (London, 1865), pp. 219-220 gives the number of Irish pigs sold in Birmingham. Four years earlier the value of pigs, bacon and pork exported from Ireland was between £3 and £4 million a year, and nearly 400,000 live pigs a year were exported to England, see J. A. Lawson, 'The Provision Trade of Ireland', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1861* (London: 1862), p. 708.

¹³⁹ William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry Volume I* (Gerrards Cross: 1990), [first published 1843], p. 410.

from Ireland show¹⁴⁰, this ambition was not achieved by the end of the nineteenth century: between 1850 and the 1870s, annual cattle exports rose from nearly 200,000 to half a million; pig exports rose from 134,000 in 1850-4 to 626,000 at the end of the nineteenth century.

Lodging provided income for established families and accommodation for new migrants¹⁴¹, but nineteenth and twentieth century observers equated lodgings with urban decay¹⁴². Irish people were over-represented in the sector and lodging was common in the streets discussed in the housing chapter. In Birmingham 190 lodging-house keepers were enumerated and 20 of them were in the sample, eight men and twelve women, nearly 11% of the total. Moreover taking in lodgers and boarders was more common than the census suggests, as the discussion of housing indicated. When the sample women aged 20 and over are investigated, and having at least 4 lodgers is taken to indicate an informal lodging-house, 67 "wives" who had no occupation listed had 4 or more lodgers, boarders or friends living in their house; 14 women "heads of households" with no occupation enumerated and 20 women with an occupation listed also had 4 or more lodgers. The 101 informal lodging-house keepers are 5 times the number enumerated. Of the "wives", five had 10 lodgers, one had 13 lodgers, one, the fish hawker's wife, had 16, and one had 23. These all lived in Thomas or London Prentice Streets, part of Birmingham's "Lodging House Area"¹⁴³. The extent of informal lodging-house keeping supports the view that women's work was under counted¹⁴⁴.

Keeping lodgers was primarily women's work, undertaken to gain an income in their own

¹⁴⁰ F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland Since The Famine* (London: 1973), p. 49.

¹⁴¹ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 115, 124.

¹⁴² Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work?', pp. 152, 156-157; John Rex and Robert Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict, a study of Sparkbrook* (London: 1967), pp. 20, 31, 38.

¹⁴³ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 15-17, Table 1.2 on p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work?', p. 154; Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census*, pp. 97, 98.

right and to supplement any income received from male relations; an existing base of income and organisation was needed to meet the demands of the role¹⁴⁵. Two aspects of mid-nineteenth century middle-class ideology combined to stigmatise lodging, the domestic ideology, discussed earlier, and the emphasis on private property. Lodging introduced the market into the domestic "private" sphere and lodgers were assumed to have no property; until the 1871 Lodger's Goods Protection Act all property in a house was presumed to belong to the head¹⁴⁶. No definition of a common lodging house was given in the 1850 Common Lodging Houses Act so inspection was arbitrary, but did not apply to private hotels and houses let to the upper and middle-class¹⁴⁷. Charges at the end of the century were 2s a week for a room and washing, with average earnings in the "poorer branches of the business" 9s 3d a week¹⁴⁸. Lodgings in London Prentice Street in 1863¹⁴⁹ cost 3d a night, or 1s 6d a week, 75% of the 1906 rate. We might estimate that income in 1860s was also 75% of the 1906 level.

Domestic Service alone provided 11% of Birmingham's employment. Nearly 15,000 women, 32% of occupied women, were employed, more than half of them as "Domestic Servants", see Table 2.2. A much smaller percentage of the sample was employed as servants, 6% of the workforce, 7% of working women. The word servant was used to describe all employees in the Master and Servants Act and all live-in employees in census enumerations. Only wages

¹⁴⁵ Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work?', pp. 151-153, 155, 167-175; 173 for disenfranchised.

¹⁴⁶ David Englander, *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain 1838-1918* (Oxford: 1983), p. 22; M. J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working-Class Housing 1850-1914* (London: 1983), p. 150 explains distraint.

¹⁴⁷ Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work?', pp. 156-157.

¹⁴⁸ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 173-175.

¹⁴⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 November 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No. 2'.

of live-in domestic servants are known: £9 to £10 per year in 1857 and £14 to £16 a year in 1885¹⁵⁰. Generally censuses over-recorded employment in domestic service and under-recorded shop workers¹⁵¹. Only 64, including 62 women, of the sample were servants, general, house or domestic, and half of them lived in their family home. Eighteen had servant as their relationship to the household head. However five of these lived in pubs and one in a shop, suggesting bar or shop work.

In Rochdale in 1871 a third of women with the occupation servant were live-in servants¹⁵². Higgs suggests that the other two-thirds were unemployed and living at home, or employed at home, on farms or in shops. In the sample there were 17 women live-in servants, 27% of women servants, a smaller proportion than that found in Rochdale. In general if other work was available, women did not choose to be servants¹⁵³. Moreover, in Birmingham "domestic servants were scarce and dear"¹⁵⁴. Hence the sample servants living at home or in lodgings were probably not temporarily out of work or domestic servants in private houses, but worked in pubs, shops, coffee houses etc. Some authorities have asserted that few women were employed in mid-nineteenth century shops. However, they appear to have investigated only large stores, where the shop-keeper employed male apprentices whose goal was to own their

¹⁵⁰ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, p. 127.

¹⁵¹ Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census* (London: 1989), p. 65; Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census*, pp. 66-67; 97-99, 165.

¹⁵² Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census*, p. 99.

¹⁵³ Peters, *Women's Work 1840 - 1940*, p. 32.

¹⁵⁴ Bray, Charles, 'The Industrial Employment of Women', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1857* (London: 1858), pp 544-548, quote p. 545; Wright, 'On The Employment of Women', p. 542.

own business¹⁵⁵. Such gender division may not have applied to the local shops in working-class areas described by Burnett¹⁵⁶ and Chinn¹⁵⁷. Philomena Grey, occupation labourer, lived and worked in a greengrocer's in Hospital Street, Ann MacRinauld worked in a shop in Lichfield Street.

All 17 housekeepers in the sample lived in the family home, although this category was intended to count living-in housekeepers employed by the affluent middle-class or by institutions¹⁵⁸. Few women were enumerated as charwomen and laundresses. In Birmingham, 673 women were charwomen, 1.4% of occupied women, and 2375 were laundresses, 5% of occupied women, see Table 2.2. In contrast in the sample there were 26 charwomen and 44 laundresses, 3% and 4.8% of sample occupied women respectively, see table 2.4. Irish women were therefore more likely to be charwomen and less likely to be laundresses than were women in general. Laundresses Mary Conway, of 2 Court, Old Inkleys and Bridget Kaffa, of 23 Court Slaney Street, were as likely to be engaged by their neighbours as by the more affluent, since factory workers had their sewing and washing done by others¹⁵⁹. Washing clothes was often undertaken in times of financial crisis¹⁶⁰. In the sample, more than half the laundresses were widows and most were aged 30 and over, supporting the view that washing and laundry was work which older women took up, to fit in with family

¹⁵⁵ Lee Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work* (Newton Abbot: 1973), pp. 103-104; Catherine Hall, 'The Butcher, The Baker, The Candlestickmaker: The Shop and the Family in the Industrial Revolution', in Morris and Rodger, eds., *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History 1820-1914* (Harlow: 1993), pp. 307-321.

¹⁵⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 54-57, 188.

¹⁵⁷ Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives*, p. 74.

¹⁵⁸ Edward Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth-Century Censuses', *History Workshop Journal*, 23 (Spring 1987), p. 71.

¹⁵⁹ Wright, 'On the Employment of Women', p. 543.

¹⁶⁰ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 173; Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 115.

commitments or for want of access to better paid work. The wash and charwomen in Birmingham courts in 1906 earned about 4s 2d a week, and earnings in the 1860s may have been 75% of that¹⁶¹.

[2.8] Clothing and footwear

Clothing and footwear manufacture included tailors, dress and shirt makers and milliners, shoe, hat and glove makers, button makers and umbrella makers and employed more than 20,000 people in Birmingham, 14% of the workforce, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2. This included 158 men and 221 women from the sample, also 14% of the occupied. Nearly half the sample men were shoe or boot makers, 76 men; 36 were tailors, 23 button makers and 18 made umbrellas, see Table 2.3; nearly half the women made buttons, 103 women, 19 were tailors, 42 were dressmakers with another 7 shirt or stay makers, 19 made shoes or boots and 26 made umbrellas, see Table 2.4. Five men were skilled cordwainers and dressmaking, tailoring and shoe making were skills likely to have been brought from Ireland, where in 1841 in rural Clare alone there were more than 3,000 people making clothes and 1,000 making shoes¹⁶².

Wages in these sectors were less than in construction and general labouring, and in Birmingham in 1861 and Liverpool in 1851 the same proportion of the town's workforce and the sample's worked in the sector. In England people making clothing and footwear worked the longest hours for the least pay. Shoe makers were included in 1863 in the "poorly paid industrial workers" who existed on less than agricultural labourers, see Table 2.13¹⁶³. In

¹⁶¹ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 173.

¹⁶² Ignatius Murphy, *Before The Famine Struck, Life in West Clare, 1834-1845* (Dublin: 1966), p. 36.

¹⁶³ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, p. 128 For Smith's study.

Warwickshire that would mean wages of less than 10s to 12s a week¹⁶⁴. A large proportion of Birmingham's workforce and of the Irish sample therefore worked for far less than the casual labourer. Boot and shoe making were subject to industrialisation before the clothing industry¹⁶⁵, but "sweating" was prevalent in the clothing industry in Birmingham before the introduction of factory production¹⁶⁶.

In the 1840s London dressmakers earned 6s to 9s a week for working extremely long hours, sometimes 18 to 20 hours a day in small workshops. Conditions did not improve in the second half of the century¹⁶⁷. After the 1867 Factory Act introduced regulation, large millinery establishments in Birmingham were repeatedly prosecuted for breaching the factory acts, but the majority of workers were employed in small workshops immune from legislation until the 1890s¹⁶⁸. In tailoring in general men carried out the cutting out and final making up of garments, with women employed as ancillary workers for example making buttonholes¹⁶⁹. London wages were 5s to 10s a week in 1906¹⁷⁰ and Birmingham wages appear to have been higher, 12s to 14s a week¹⁷¹. At 75% of the latter rate, Birmingham dressmakers may have earned 9s to 11s a week in the 1860s.

¹⁶⁴ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, p. 35 and Table Nominal Weekly Wages of Agricultural Labourers at end of book.

¹⁶⁵ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 87-88; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Harmondsworth: 1969), p. 163.

¹⁶⁶ Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives*, p. 86.

¹⁶⁷ Neff, *Victorian Working Women*, pp. 115-146.

¹⁶⁸ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, pp. 36, 102-103.

¹⁶⁹ Peters, *Women's Work 1840 - 1940*, p. 39.

¹⁷⁰ Peters, *Women's Work 1840 - 1940*, p. 40.

¹⁷¹ Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 91.

The largest single employment within the sector was button-making, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2. In 1861, 5,000 people were employed in button making, 3.5% of Birmingham's workforce, including 126 or 4.6% of the Irish workforce, who were therefore over-represented in button making. Like brass, its raw materials were imported from around the world, especially South America and India¹⁷². Pearl buttons made up half the product and their manufacture was a skilled hand-craft, but led to severe respiratory disease. Concentration of production was evident: by 1866 William Aston employed 700 to 800 people in one factory, and several other manufacturers were large.

Two thirds of employees were women and children, with average wages said to be 25s a week for men, 7s to 9s for women, down to only 1s 6d to 1s for girls and young children, employed from the age of 6. The worst wages and conditions were in small workshops but conditions for young children were equally bad in large factories. Turner despised the women he employed, stating that married women neglected their home and children "in order to jingle in their pockets the miserable balance of their earnings at the week's end"¹⁷³. Only fifteen of the sample made pearl buttons, six of them from the Brittin family in Livery Street, who had recently moved from Ireland. We may speculate that Irish people had moved from unhealthy pearl button making. They continued to be over-represented in low-paid button making in general.

[2.9] Construction

Irish people had been associated with the construction industry in Birmingham since the

¹⁷² John Turner, 'The Birmingham Button Trade', in Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 432-451.

¹⁷³ Turner, 'The Birmingham Button Trade', quotes p. 445.

1830s¹⁷⁴. A Conference of the Irish Labourers Union was held in Birmingham in 1834¹⁷⁵. In construction Irish labour was essential¹⁷⁶. The industry included railway and road making, architects, surveyors and civil engineers as well as the trades associated with house building - bricklayers, carpenters, gas fitters, bell hangers, slaters and tilers. It employed 8161 men and 46 women in Birmingham, 5.7% of the workforce and the male workforce, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2. It was nearly twice as important an occupation for the sample of whom 257 men and three women worked in construction, 9.6% of the occupied, 14% of male occupations, see Tables 2.3 and 2.4. The majority of the sample (160) were bricklayer's labourers and a significant proportion was skilled, as bricklayers (12 men), plasterers (9 men), carpenters (6 men), slaters and painters (10 men each).

The bricklayers, carpenters and slaters, the skilled men, were Irish-born and had probably learnt their skills in Ireland. Bowley¹⁷⁷ concluded that in Ireland skilled men's wages equalled those in England or Scotland since skilled men would "quickly emigrate to Glasgow or Liverpool...." if wages in Ireland were lower. However, this explanation disregards the economy of Ireland, where government policies encouraged rural depopulation and the consequent loss of home markets. Bowley also offered the more persuasive argument that demand for skilled labour in Ireland exceeded its supply, which would suggest that many skilled men did emigrate. Building work was seasonal, shorter or no hours were worked in

¹⁷⁴ Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 69.

¹⁷⁵ John Corbett, *History of Birmingham Trades Council* ([Birmingham]: 1966), pp. 20, 23 from www.btuc.org.uk/btuc/history.htm, 16 February 2003; see also Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, pp. 61, 62, for Irish labourers' internationalist banner 1833.

¹⁷⁶ 'State of the Irish Poor in Birmingham', Appendix G to the *Poor Law Commissioners Report* 1834, pp. 1-7.

¹⁷⁷ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, pp. 50-52.

winter, and winter was reckoned to last 12 weeks¹⁷⁸. Labourer's wages were 15s to 17s a week in 1857 and 20-22s a week in 1885, with the wages of a joiner, an "artisan" in the construction trade, more than half as much again, 27s a week in 1857 and 33s to 36s in 1885¹⁷⁹. In Manchester in the 1860s bricklayers' labourers earned about 17s a week, and skilled men, "artisans" such as carpenters and bricklayers, 50% more, 24s to 26s a week, see Table 2.14¹⁸⁰. Wages in Birmingham were lower, with labourers earning 15s a week in April 1863¹⁸¹.

The industry renowned for Irish workers experienced strenuous and successful disputes to improve pay and reduce hours. Strikes in London in 1859 and 1872 resulted in shorter hours and wage rises, to about 33s for "artisans" and 20s for labourers in 1859 and to 39s 4d a week for "artisans" in summer in 1872¹⁸². In April and May 1864 there was a successful strike in Birmingham which resulted in wage increases and shorter hours, although even after the strike wages were lower and hours longer than in London¹⁸³. Wages after the strike were labourers 18s, bricklayers 30s, carpenters / joiners 26s 6d to 27s a week, and hours 6am to 5.30 pm Monday to Friday, 6 am to 4 pm Saturday. The labourers' representatives were T Carroll and T Wynn. Carroll reportedly said that the labourers' request was so small "it was scarcely worth coming to "ax" in a public place...", the reporter's quotes a reference to

¹⁷⁸ Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity*, p. 53; Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, pp. 85/86.

¹⁷⁹ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, p. 127.

¹⁸⁰ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, p. 62: George Lord's Manchester rates, 1860 to 1883; p. 83: Crosby's Price Book 1854; Extracts from table facing p. 94, London Building Trades.

¹⁸¹ *The Birmingham Journal*, 30 April 1864, 7 May 1864, 14 May 1864, 28 May 1864, for wages pre and post strike.

¹⁸² Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, pp. 85-86.

¹⁸³ *The Birmingham Journal*, 30 April 1864, 7 May 1864, 14 May 1864, 28 May 1864. For progress of building workers strike.

Carroll's accent¹⁸⁴.

Several brick labourers were enumerated in Hospital Street, but this may have been the enumerator's shorthand for bricklayer's labourer. When Will Thorne was 9, in 1866, he worked at Bond's Brick works for 7 shillings a week, getting up at 6 in the morning, walking 4 miles to work, and working 12 hours a day¹⁸⁵. In the sample, Patrick Herbert, Benjamin Reily and Michael Lines were brick makers, all adult men, perhaps earning twice Thorne's income.

[2.10] Agricultural labour

Although few of the sample were agricultural labourers, see Tables 2.3 and 2.4, this occupation is stereotypically associated with Irish men. In Birmingham, see Tables 2.1 and 2.2, only 6 women and 468 men were agricultural labourers, 0.3% of the workforce. In the sample, 3 women and 37 men were farm or agricultural labourers, 1.5% of the occupied. In general, agricultural labourers earned about two thirds of the wages of a common labourer¹⁸⁶. In Warwickshire agricultural labourer's wages were 10s 9d a week in 1860 and about 12s a week in 1867/71¹⁸⁷. Throughout the 1860s agricultural wages in the North of England and Staffordshire were higher than those in Warwickshire, suggesting that their mining and manufacturing industries offered higher wages than were current in Birmingham and casting

¹⁸⁴ Corbett, *History of Birmingham Trades Council*, p. 25 names a later strike leader as William Carroll.

¹⁸⁵ Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (London: 1989), first published 1925, pp. 15-28; *Coroner's Court Roll 1839 - 1875*, BCL LSD, entry 365 for the year 1867: The inquest of Thomas Thorne adjourned from the 20th June to the 2 July, brought a verdict of manslaughter against William Fox on finding that Thomas Thorne was killed by a blow on the head and died in the General Hospital on 17 June 1867.

¹⁸⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, p. 127.

¹⁸⁷ Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom*, p. 35 and table "Nominal Weekly Wages of Agricultural Labourers" at end of book.

further doubt on Timmins' wage rates, since it would be reasonable to expect wages in other industries in the vicinity to be comparatively high in order to attract and keep workers. The agricultural labourers in the sample may have been regularly employed on farms near the town centre, since the census was taken in April, before seasonal agricultural labour was needed. Their wages may have been no higher than the Warwickshire rate of 10s to 12s a week.

[2.11] Standard of living

The sample men employed in construction and metalworking and machinery probably had higher wage rates than those employed in clothing and service industries. However very few had wage rates which met the minimum adequate family wage of 30s to 35s a week, and the work of women and children was essential to family survival. Furthermore short-time, lay-offs and unemployment were endemic¹⁸⁸. The regularity and availability of work, prices of food, clothing, heat and rent, and the number and age of family members all affect the standard of living¹⁸⁹.

Whilst the standard of living for the majority of people in England improved in the second half of the nineteenth century¹⁹⁰, this improvement was from a very low base. Up to 1851 the Industrial Revolution reduced the standard of living of the working population. Real wages, that is the purchasing power of money wages, fell dramatically in the 1830s to 1850s, and did not begin to rise until the 1860s; money wages were lower in the mid-nineteenth century than

¹⁸⁸ Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1984), p. 26; Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public', pp. 72-73; Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, p. 201.

¹⁸⁹ A. A. Hall, 'Wages, Earnings and Real Earnings in Teeside: a reassessment of the ameliorist interpretation of living standards in Britain, 1870 - 1914', *International Review of Social History*, 26 (1981), pp. 202-219.

¹⁹⁰ Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, p. 160.

they had been at the beginning of the century. Improvement from 1851 was due to more regular work, as an increasing demand for labour led to an increase in employment, and from 1873 to falling food prices which meant that those in work had increased spending power¹⁹¹. Bowley concluded that the cost of living fell moderately between 1860 and 1914¹⁹².

Mid-nineteenth century England was dependent on Scottish and Irish cattle, sheep and pigs. In the 1840s, oats, barley, beans, pigs and eggs were exported from rural Ireland to England¹⁹³. With the repeal of the Corn Laws and technological developments such as refrigerated ships, England's dependence on food imports increased. The working-class bought food at its most expensive "in dribs and drabs, daily, often meal by meal" from local shops which sold small quantities of bread and groceries on credit¹⁹⁴, and the truck system was common¹⁹⁵. Spending on food was 71% of working-class income in 1885 and food prices had fallen in the preceding decade. Therefore in the 1860s food required a larger share of working people's income, or was insufficient to maintain health.

Information on food prices is scanty¹⁹⁶, despite the fact that diet consisted of a few staples¹⁹⁷. In 1863 agricultural labourers and poorly paid industrial workers had a diet insufficient to maintain health and strength, see Table 2.14, whilst, in contrast to the ignominy heaped upon the Irish diet in the 1840s, "the Irish farm labourer was much the best fed of any in the United

¹⁹¹ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 51-52 and 123-125.

¹⁹² Bowley, *Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860* (Cambridge: 1937), pp. xi, 34-36, 47.

¹⁹³ Murphy, *Before The Famine Struck*, p. 24 exports from Kilrush, County Clare.

¹⁹⁴ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 128, 133-137, 145, 188, quote p. 188.

¹⁹⁵ *Police Orders 19 January 1868 to 24 April 1871*, p. 513, 9 December 1870.

¹⁹⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 20-28.

¹⁹⁷ Hall, 'Wages, Earnings and Real Earnings in Teeside' p. 213.

Kingdom..."¹⁹⁸. The Irish labourer's diet of potatoes, milk and Indian meal provided more nourishment than the bread, bacon and tea of the English diet. Finigan purchased potatoes in preference to bread for Irish people in 1837¹⁹⁹; the Irish in London in the 1850s preferred potatoes²⁰⁰ and it is likely that the Irish in Birmingham in the 1860s continued this preference. The sample greengrocers such as Edward Murphy in Park Street and Elizabeth Fennely in Lichfield Street probably provided for the taste of their compatriots.

Although taken from a few streets in the town centre, small employers and people engaged in the professions were represented in the sample. Alexander Stout, Nailor, of Park Lane, Henry McCreecy, ostrich feather manufacturer, and George Priest, hatter, of Livery Street, and John Neilus, grainer, of Park Street each employed 2 to 4 people. The publicans, greengrocers, dealers and drapers are also likely to have been employers. There were four teachers living in Slaney, Thomas, John or Park Streets, and twelve nurses, three of whom lived in Hospital Street, and four in Livery Street, both near the General Hospital. Outside the sample, William Dommery, a Corporation Messenger, lived with his wife and two sons at the top of Hill Street. It may have been Dommery whom the *Town Crier* satirised as "Donnery" in its reviews of council business, in which Donnery's role with a succession of Mayors and MPs was largely restricted to serving drinks and saying "Yis, yer honour..."²⁰¹. Opposite the Town Hall, the landed proprietor William Milton Haigh of Malton in Wicklow lived with his sister Grace and her husband the surgeon William Tarleton, both supporters of the Irish

¹⁹⁸ Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 129, 196, 197, quoting Dr Smith's Report to the Privy Council 1863.

¹⁹⁹ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 202/203, 15 December 1837.

²⁰⁰ Ruth-Ann M. Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland* (Iowa: 1994), p. 229 note 202.

²⁰¹ *1861 Census enumerations*, PRO No 2150, reel 16, enumeration district 10 for Dommery and Tarleton families; *Town Crier*, Volume VI, Number 10, May 1867 p. 10 and Number 11, June 1867 p. 4, 'Nights at Nock's'.

Church Missions²⁰².

The most influential Irish people in Birmingham at the start of the 1860s were probably Michael Maher and John Feeney, a Catholic and Protestant respectively. Michael Maher, a stationer and ink maker of New Street, and a journalist, had been a town councillor, a member of the Board of Guardians, and co-secretary of two charitable appeals to help the destitute in the 1850s²⁰³. A sometime member of the Board of Aston Park, he was prominent in organising the town's celebrations in 1858 to welcome Queen Victoria²⁰⁴. He died in 1862, described in one obituary as "honest and honourable in all his dealings"²⁰⁵. His sons represented some of the Irish people arrested in the Murphy Riots in 1867²⁰⁶, but the Irish community had no political representation in Birmingham after his death in 1862.

John Feeney, as the owner of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, was also in an influential position in the 1850s and early 1860s²⁰⁷. Educated as a journalist in Ireland, Feeney came to Birmingham in the 1830s, and bought the *Post's* predecessor, *The Journal*, in 1844²⁰⁸. Feeney's papers were associated with Birmingham's Liberals and supported tolerance for

²⁰² *Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics Birmingham and Edgbaston Association Report for 1861* (Birmingham: 1862), BCL LSD, p. 16.

²⁰³ Kaja Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham 1830 - 1970*, Ph. D. thesis, Birmingham University, 1989, pp. 123-128 for Maher & Feeney biographies; John Alfred Langford, *Modern Birmingham And Its Institutions Volume I* (Birmingham: 1873), pp. 427, 449.

²⁰⁴ *Visit to Birmingham of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria...June 15, 1858, Official Programme* (Birmingham: 1858), BCL LSD.

²⁰⁵ *The Town Crier*, Volume II Number 3, July 1862, p. 3.

²⁰⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 July 1867, p. 8 'The Fatal Affray in Dale End'; 'Birmingham Reminiscences 1843 to 1906' in *MacMillan Collection of Newspaper Cuttings*, BCL LSD, p. 110, Obituary of Thomas Maher.

²⁰⁷ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, pp. 123-128.

²⁰⁸ H. R. G. Whates, *The Birmingham Post 1857:1957* (Birmingham: 1957), pp. 18, 32-33, 79, 88-94, 109-112, 147-149, quote pp. 148-149.

Roman Catholics during the 1850s and 1860s. This led to rumours that the *Post* was controlled by Roman Catholics which the *Post* publicly denied. Feeney was described as a Churchman, that is Church of England. However, his brother Patrick was a Roman Catholic and educated his son Alfred at Catholic colleges in Cologne and Louvain. In 1857 John invited Alfred to Birmingham to work for the *Post*, and Alfred stayed at the *Post* until 1904. In what can be seen as a further effort to distance the *Post* from Roman Catholicism, Alfred was described as coming from a "collateral branch of the family", and his surname spelt Feeny. John Feeney largely retired from active interest in the *Post* in 1863 due to ill health and was succeeded by his son, John junior. The *Post's* association with the Liberal Party was strengthened by the appointment of Bunce as editor in 1862. John Feeney died in 1869. His son John junior endowed Birmingham Art Gallery; the *Post* continued its identification with the Liberal Party, eventually becoming, like John junior, "Chamberlainite, Unionist and Protectionist".

[3] Summary

This investigation of the occupations of the Irish community has found them over-represented compared to the general population in the casual irregular work of general labouring and construction work. This echoes their experience in Birmingham and other towns in England in 1851. Their representation in the least well-paid sector, clothing and footwear, was equivalent to that of the general population. Amongst the construction workers and factory workers, while a significant number followed skilled occupations, the majority worked long hours for low pay.

In the sample, men were as likely, and women more likely, to have an occupation than was the case for all Birmingham, see Table 2.6. The proportion of sample men with no recorded

occupation, 1.49%, was less than in Birmingham as a whole, 0.66%, but this is countered by the smaller percentage of male dependants in the sample and may be a reflection of the criteria applied to determining dependency. A smaller percentage of the sample were enumerated as children or scholars, 33%, compared to all Birmingham, 35%, see Table 2.6. If age difference alone was responsible for the higher proportion of "occupied" women, it should also have resulted in a higher proportion of "occupied" men.

Birmingham's manufacturers employed women and children in preference to men in order to reduce their wage bills²⁰⁹. Boys were laid off at the end of their teens, when they could ask for men's wages²¹⁰. This demand for cheap labour probably explains the high incidence of employment of Irish women in Birmingham's manufacturing. Furthermore they probably shared the general immigrant experience of women rousing less hostility than men, and gaining access to employment unobtainable by their male compatriots²¹¹. In contrast to Harris' assertion that Irish women "resisted factory work"²¹² in the sample Irish women were

²⁰⁹ Wright, 'On The Employment of Women', p. 538; Timmins, *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham*, pp. 271, 285, 316, 352, 443, 612, 636, etc., women's wages always considerably lower than men's.

²¹⁰ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 233, 237.

²¹¹ Turton, 'Mayhew's Irish', p. 133-134.

²¹² Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland*, p. 155 quote; also see Janet Nolan, *Ourselves Alone - Women's Emigration from Ireland 1885-1920* (Lexington, Kentucky: 1989), pp. 78, 79 for assertion that Irish women in America "chose" to be servants.

more likely to work in factories than were all women in Birmingham. The labour of women and young boys and girls in factories can be seen as maximising Irish community income in a situation where many of the men had only irregular work.

CHAPTER 3: POLICING

[1] Introduction

Swift described the nineteenth-century experience of the Irish in England Scotland and Wales as one of over-representation in prosecutions and in prison. Irish districts were often perceived as criminal, Irish people as a whole were regarded as subversive and were specifically targeted by the police¹. A mid-eighteenth century association of Irish people with crime and disorder had become by the mid-nineteenth century a widely held stereotype that Irish people were innately criminal. Local studies of York, Lancashire and Wolverhampton for various periods between 1850 and 1891 demonstrated that Irish people were over-represented in prosecutions: "Irish-born were almost three times as likely to face prosecution as their English neighbours" and these figures did not include the children of Irish immigrants, although their contemporaries saw these children as Irish.²

Between 1861 and 1901 Irish-born people on conviction were 5 times more likely to be sentenced to prison than their English neighbours. In 1861, 15% of all people sent to prison were Irish-born. This percentage reduced over the decades to 7% in 1901, but this reduction reflected the decrease in the number of Irish-born in Britain rather than a reduction in their over-representation in prison. Irish people were prosecuted and jailed for a limited range of minor offences, including drunkenness, disorderly behaviour, assault, petty theft and

¹ Roger Swift, 'The outcast Irish in the British Victorian city: problems and perspectives', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXV (1987), pp. 264-276, especially pp. 268-270. Also see Mary Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity* (Aldershot: 1995), pp. 72-83; Barbara Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public in Mid-Nineteenth Century Warwickshire', in Victor Bailey, ed., *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: 1981), p. 75; Barbara Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers in the late Victorian City: Birmingham, 1867-1877*, Ph. D. Thesis, Warwick University, 1981, pp. 20, 231.

² Roger Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth century Britain' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939* (London: 1989), pp. 163-165; quote p. 165.

vagrancy. These offences were mostly tried before local magistrates.³ In Wolverhampton the Irish area was more heavily policed than other working-class areas and after arrest Irish people were more likely to be convicted. Its Chief Constable Gilbert Hogg organised the police on a "paramilitary basis" and, although he was Irish, specifically attributed crime to the "Irish quarter".⁴

[2] Analysis

Floy⁵ described fights over territory between gangs of English and Irish youths in certain streets in Birmingham in the 1870s, and identified the Irish youths involved: "The Irish community lived in four or five of the streets thereby making it possible to identify gang members....". He accepted Weinberger's suggestion that Birmingham's police demonstrated anti-Irish prejudice by dispersing groups of Irish youths whilst other youths were ignored even when they engaged in gang warfare. Floy appears to have reluctantly accepted that the Birmingham police exhibited anti-Irish prejudice but dated this from the Murphy Riots in 1867. Arrests for breach of the peace in the area around Park Street, looted in the Murphy riots, peaked in 1867 and remained higher than the early 1860s throughout the 1870s. Assaults on the police were higher in the late 1860s than earlier, peaking in the late 1870s. Irish versus English gang fights took place continuously between 1867 and 1880, peaking in the year 1877/8.

³ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', pp. 165/166.

⁴ Swift, 'Crime and Ethnicity: The Irish in early Victorian Wolverhampton', *West Midlands Studies*, XIII (1980), pp. 1-5, p. 2, quote "Paramilitary basis..."; p. 4 quote "Irish quarter".

⁵ George Alan Floy, *Policing Birmingham: a study of a Borough Police Force, 1839 - 1914*, M Phil, Birmingham University, 1997, pp. 5, 114-117; p. 117 quote "The Irish community..".

Floy⁶ stated that 90% of all crime in Birmingham was dealt with by magistrates. Weinberger⁷ described Birmingham's magistracy as Tory and its Council as Liberal in the 1840s and 1850s. However, Bunce⁸ suggests that Liberals were well represented amongst Birmingham's magistracy from 1842. Swift⁹ described the magistracy responsible for Wolverhampton as Tory until the late 1840s when its landowner and Anglican clergy composition was altered by the appointment of bankers and manufacturers, most of whom were also Tory. Liberal manufacturers were increasingly appointed between 1849 and 1854. After its incorporation as a borough in 1848 Wolverhampton's magistracy was composed of local industrialists and bankers, both Liberal and Tory.

Swift described magistrates representing their class interest, ignoring offences against the Truck Act and, as more manufacturers became magistrates, increasing prosecutions for industrial larceny. He points out that, after incorporation, Wolverhampton's magistrates were also borough councillors and that through membership of the council Watch Committee they could direct police policy. In the 1850s they directed the police to suppress local popular leisure activities and mounted "...a crusade against drunkenness and disorderly behaviour, in part at the expense of the Irish community"¹⁰.

Swift has argued that Irish over-representation in prison "...cannot be explained in terms of a

⁶ Floy, *Policing Birmingham*, p. 112.

⁷ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 56-63; page 59 quote.

⁸ John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume I* (Birmingham: 1878), p. 170.

⁹ Roger Swift, 'The English magistracy and the administration of justice during the early nineteenth century: Wolverhampton, 1815-1860', *Midland History*, XVII (1992), pp. 75-92.

¹⁰ Swift, 'The English magistracy', p. 89 quote.

general prejudice by provincial magistrates against the Irish...”¹¹. However, since the magistracy were responsible for sentencing most of those arrested and Irish people were sent to prison out of proportion to their numbers arrested, it can be concluded that magistrates viewed Irish people as meriting prison sentences more often than the majority community. The magistrates demonstrated their targeting of Irish people, by handing down gaol sentences disproportionately.

Swift¹² divided disorderly behaviour into two categories: fights between Irish people, in which he included sectarian disorder, and fights with the majority community, with the police ignoring fights between Irish people if they were confined to Irish areas. He thought sectarian disorder was “confined to... Merseyside and Clydeside”, but his restriction of sectarian disorder to Irish people and Merseyside and Clydeside is disputed by other studies. Weinberger¹³ described sectarian fights in Birmingham and MacRaild¹⁴ has demonstrated that sectarian disorder was more widespread. Swift¹⁵ included fights with the police amongst fights with the majority community, with Irish districts “particularly vulnerable to police surveillance” after the setting up of the new police forces in the 1840s / 1850s. He quoted Weinberger's study which showed that in Birmingham 20% of those arrested for assaults on the police from 1832 to 1877 were Irish, who made up only 4% of the population. However, Swift was reluctant to conclude that the police were prejudiced against Irish people despite his

¹¹ Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villains?: The Irish, Crime and Disorder in Victorian England', *Albion*, 29 (3) (Fall 1997), pp. 399-421: quote p. 410.

¹² Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', pp. 169, 172, 174, quote p. 169.

¹³ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pages 173-176, 196, 229: 1870s.

¹⁴ Donald M. MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration The Irish in Victorian Cumbria* (Liverpool: 1998, especially Chapter 6; Roger Swift, 'Historians and the Irish: Recent Writings on the Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in MacRaild, ed., *The Great Famine and Beyond: Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Dublin: 2000), especially pp. 25-27.

¹⁵ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', pp. 169, 172, 174; quote p. 169.

accumulation of evidence of higher prosecution rates and jail sentences in so many different localities. Instead, Swift concluded that the Irish were a soft touch for the police, not as Irish people per se, but because they were a "vulnerable" section of the dangerous classes. This circuitous argument merely avoided the question, what made the Irish vulnerable?

Although Swift accepts individual police prejudice: "...instances of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment were undoubtedly displayed by individual policemen against Irish immigrants from time to time..."¹⁶, he points to the presence of a significant number of Irish people in nineteenth century English police forces as negating the possibility of concluding that the police as a whole were prejudiced¹⁷, in particular the fact that between 1839 and 1880 fourteen of the forty-seven Chief Constables appointed to English police forces had been in the Royal Irish Constabulary. This rationale has been ably criticised by Hickman¹⁸. The appointments may have been rewards for opposing majority Irish opinion. In Birmingham when Charles Rafter was appointed Chief Constable in 1899¹⁹ his experiences opposing nationalist campaigns in Ireland were specifically mentioned as factors ensuring his appointment, despite the fact that his experience of rural unrest had little obvious relevance in urban Birmingham. His successor, Moriarty, joined the RIC as an officer cadet in 1902, and served in Derry, Mayo, Longford, Clare and Offaly, before joining headquarters staff at Dublin Castle in 1913 and the Birmingham police in 1918²⁰. Chief Constables Rafter &

¹⁶ Swift, 'Heroes or Villains', quote p. 410.

¹⁷ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', p. 178; Swift, 'Heroes or Villains', p. 410.

¹⁸ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, p. 79

¹⁹ *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, BCL LSD, August 1899; Joseph McKenna, *The Irish in Birmingham*, unpublished manuscript, pp. 52-53; Kaja Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham 1830 - 1970*, Ph. D. thesis, Birmingham University, 1989, p. 146.

²⁰ *Birmingham Evening Mail*, 19 August 1935, cutting in *McKenna's Boxes*, BCL LSD.

Moriarty would be seen as Unionist, Rafter because of his experience in evictions in Galway & Tipperary, Moriarty because of his time in Dublin Castle 1916 to 1919. They are portrayed as successful Irishmen but their success in England resulted from their opposition to majority Irish sentiment²¹.

The development of the police force in Ireland preceded that in England²². The Peelers were formed in 1814 to police Dublin. In 1822 the Rural Constabulary was set up throughout the 32 counties of Ireland. All were armed with a variety of firearms and swords. In 1836 the Peelers and Rural Constabulary merged to form the Irish Constabulary. Its first task was, in conjunction with the army, to enforce the paying of tithes, a tax to maintain the established Anglican Protestant Church of Ireland, levied on all but spent on maintaining the religion of less than 10% of the population. The refusal to pay tithes, the "Tithe War", began in the 1820s and was a popular protest against British rule. Popular protests against Tithes and other injustices were counted as "outrages" in government statistics; activities which ranged from peaceful protest to killing a landlord all came under this heading. The famine years of the 1840s were the height of "outrage" occurrence.

Palmer²³ wrote of the RIC: "The Protestants were given the sop of officering a native police, with the officers' allegiance going to England...whereas the men in the increasingly Catholic rank and file were torn between loyalty to class, country and crown....". The RIC recruited officers from the Protestant Middle-class and trained them to lead a paramilitary police force,

²¹ Carl Chinn, ' "Sturdy Catholic emigrants" : The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin:1999), p. 54 Rafter was "acclaimed as a great citizen".

²² Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780-1850* (Cambridge: 1988), passim, and especially pp. 208/9, 248, 252, 269, 322 on Tithe War, 523, 542, 549.

²³ Palmer, *Police and Protest*, pp. 346, 363, 542; p. 522 quote.

which became the model for and trained the leaderships of later colonial police forces²⁴. Charles Rafter joined as a gentleman cadet in 1882 and after training his first appointment, as Inspector 3rd Class, was to Woodford, County Galway, in 1883²⁵. Ordinary recruits to the RIC came from all community backgrounds; they could not be promoted beyond the rank of sergeant. This might be an incentive to travel to England and join an English police force, where there were no such formal barriers to promotion.²⁶

English police forces were set up later than the Irish²⁷. The London Police force was set up in 1829; English borough police forces began to be set up in 1835 and County police forces in 1856. The Irish police carried firearms and Ireland was more heavily policed than England. In 1848 when Ireland's population was 6 million and England's 22 million, 30,000 British Army personnel were stationed in Ireland and the same number in England. In addition in Ireland there were 12,000 armed police. The Irish Constabulary became Royal in 1856 and continued to carry firearms and number 12,000 men through to the 1860s when its arms consisted of revolver, rifle and short sword. The English police numbered less than 20,000 in 1860, and did not usually carry firearms.

The ordinary recruits to Birmingham police have gone largely unresearched. Ziesler²⁸ quoted a list of 258 Police Constables dated 1851, of whom 23 (9%) had a "recognisably Irish name"

²⁴ Clive Emsley, 'Policing the Cities', *Themes in British and American History, a comparative approach: Focus Point 5 and 6 Essays, Citizenship, Equality and Industrialisation, 1830-1890, Cities and the Social Order, c1850-1970* (Milton Keynes: 1985), P. 92, footnote 1.

²⁵ Dave Cross, Curator, Birmingham Police Museum, unpublished biography of Rafter.

²⁶ Palmer, *Police and Protest*, pp. 528-539.

²⁷ Palmer, *Police and Protest*, pp. 3-30, 483, 530; Emsley, 'Policing the Cities', p. 93/4, suggests that the impetus for setting up English urban police forces was fear of Chartism.

²⁸ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, pp. 145-149 Irish in the Birmingham police force, 1853 and 1891.

although none were "specifically identified as Irish", and 1891 statistics of 32 Irish-born, or 5.9% of the Police force. Ziesler pointed out that these statistics suggest that most Irish recruitment occurred in mid century, with the percentage reducing as serving Irish men left and few Irish joined. Further statistics support Ziesler. Between 19 July 1854 and 12 May 1857, 199 men were accepted as police constables in Birmingham²⁹. Forty seven, nearly 25%, were Irish-born, see Table 3.1. More than half of the Irish-born recruits came from counties in Connacht, with nineteen counties represented in the recruits' birthplaces. As Hickman theorised³⁰, many of the Irish recruits had previous military or paramilitary experience: in the army, 6 recruits; in other English police forces 4 recruits; in the RIC 2 recruits; and in other Irish policing 2 recruits.

Most did not stay long; 55% left within one year and more than 80% left within five years. Eight were dismissed. Six died in the force. William Wilcox was promoted to Chief Clerk³¹ and later Deputy Chief Constable³² and Thomas Dillon retired on a pension. The majority resigned, 31 of the 47; 27 resigned within the first year of joining. The non-Irish left just as rapidly. This turnover was greater than was general in English police forces³³. From 1880/1³⁴ the nationality of Constables was recorded, see Table 3.2. In 1880/1, 10% of Constables were Irish-born, but this percentage reduced over the decade to 5.9% in 1888/9. The 1854/1857 recruitment figures and the 1880s statistics support Ziesler: most Irish

²⁹ *Birmingham Police Numerical Register Warrant Nos. 2902 - 3100: Borough of Birmingham Examination of Candidates 19 July 1854 - 12 May 1857*, PA.

³⁰ Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, p. 79.

³¹ *Birmingham Police Numerical Register*, see Table 3.1.

³² 'Birmingham Reminiscences 1843 to 1906' in *MacMillan Collection of Newspaper Cuttings*, p. 109.

³³ Palmer, *Police and Protest*, pp. 528 - 539.

³⁴ *Report of the Police Establishment and the State of Crime for the years 1881 to 1889*, BCL LSD, p. 5 except 1881 and 1883 pp. not numbered and 1885 p. 6.

recruitment occurred in mid-century when nearly 25% of recruits were Irish; few Irish joined the police in later decades.

Two Irish policemen lived in the sample streets. Patrick Grogan of 1 Court Water Street joined in 1856 and died in service in 1864; Michael Laydon of 121 Hospital Street also joined in 1856 and resigned in 1863. Atypically of the Irish who joined the police, these men stayed more than five years³⁵. An example of prejudice within the police occurred in 1867 when four fellow Police Constables, including P. C. Daniels, accused P. C. Michael Serridge of using seditious language. Chief Superintendent Glossop reported this to the disciplinary sub-committee of the Watch Committee and Serridge was imprisoned and dismissed from the force³⁶. The sub-committee reported that "...immediately after the murder of Sergeant Brett of the Manchester Police Force... Serridge had said it was a pity the Fenians didn't shoot all the police when they attacked the police van". Serridge denied this, saying he had been "taunted by the remarks that all the Irish should be shot or deserved shooting", with P. C. Daniels saying that they should "hang all the Irish."

The Mayor Thomas Avery, Stipendiary Magistrate Sneyd-Kinnersley, Glossop and Chair of the Watch Committee Alderman Brinsley endorsed the subcommittee's decision and expected the full Watch Committee to follow suit³⁷. However the full Watch Committee heard evidence from all Serridge's superiors and re-instated Serridge, demoting him to the lowest

³⁵ *Abstract of the Birmingham Police Force*, PA, contains PC's names, date of appointment, warrant number, date and reason for leaving in date of joining order within alphabetical order from 18 October 1839 to 1 June 1892.

³⁶ *Birmingham Journal*, 18 January 1868, p. 3 "A Birmingham Policeman Charged with Fenianism".

³⁷ *Borough of Birmingham Watch Committee Minutes*, BCL LSD, Volume IV, May 1866 to March 1868, pp. 265-269 - minutes of meetings held on 21 and 23 January 1868; Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 80.

rank and moving him to a different division³⁸. Serridge's punishment was harsh compared to that meted out in the same week to Thomas Driver, for assaulting a girl, a 10s fine; and to Charles Horne for neglect of duty, 1s fine³⁹. P. C. Daniels was later seconded to police the Workhouse⁴⁰, with implications for the treatment of Irish poor relief applicants which merit further investigation. Serridge remained in the Police until his death in February 1874. Irish-born people were more highly represented in the Police than in the population of Birmingham throughout the century, but this over-representation reduced over time. Moreover, Irish over-representation in the Police accompanied their over-representation in Prison.

Birmingham's Winson Green prison was built in 1849⁴¹. Its extraordinarily harsh regime soon caused local outrage and following a government enquiry the Governor was imprisoned and the surgeon dismissed⁴². Throughout the 1860s the regime in the prison was hard labour in solitary confinement⁴³. In 1862 another Gaol surgeon resigned after importuning a female attendant.⁴⁴ In 1868 a diet "generally insufficient to maintain health" was introduced⁴⁵. Annual Reports contain a count of prisoners by birth country and religion for 1859 and 1860,

³⁸ *Birmingham Police Record Books*, PA, for PC Serridge's disciplinary record: Book 1, p. 283, 16 August 1855 to May 1863; Book 2, p. 312, July 1863 to 13 January 1868; and p. 445, 23 January 1868 to 10 April 1871, entry for 13 January 1868; Book 3, p. 334, 23 Aug 1871 to death on 5th February 1874; *Police Orders 19 January 1868 to 24 April 1871*, PA, p. 2, 19 January and 23 January 1868.

³⁹ *Police Orders 19 January 1868 to 24 April 1871*, p. 6, 27 January 1868.

⁴⁰ *Police Orders 19 January 1868 to 24 April 1871*, p. 341, 28 September 1869.

⁴¹ Conrad Gill, *A History of Birmingham, manor and borough to 1865* (London: 1952), p. 277.

⁴² John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II* (Birmingham: 1885), p. 560; Walter Showell, *Dictionary of Birmingham* (Wakefield: 1969), [first published 1885], pp. 86, 173-174.

⁴³ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, BCLA, Volume D: 24 October 1859 to 14 April 1868 and Volume E: 7 July 1868 to 4 July 1876, entries for 24 October 1859 and 12 January 1869.

⁴⁴ *Borough of Birmingham Watch Committee Minutes*, Volume II, 4 March 1862 to 9 Feb 1864, Minutes of meeting on 23 September 1862.

⁴⁵ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, Volume E, 27 October 1868.

and the number of Roman Catholic prisoners from 1868 to 1875⁴⁶, the latter written into the reports by the Roman Catholic Chaplain who was formally appointed in 1867⁴⁷.

The national and religious make up of the prisoners in Winson Green is shown in Table 3.3. Where the annual number of Irish-born prisoners was not given, that is the Annual Reports 1868 to 1875, it has been calculated from the number of Roman Catholic prisoners, using Champ's estimate⁴⁸ that half the Roman Catholics in Birmingham were Irish-born and the 1861 Census of Ireland statistics⁴⁹ that 82% of Irish people were Roman Catholic⁵⁰. Throughout the 1860s to the mid 1870s at least 10% of prisoners were Irish, see Table 3.3, compared to their proportion of Birmingham Borough's population of 3.8% in 1861 and 2.6% in 1871⁵¹. Thus Irish people were over-represented in the prison population compared to their presence in Birmingham. With Ziesler's less conservative estimate that a third of Roman Catholics in Birmingham were Irish-born⁵², the Irish representation in Winson Green prison rises to more than 12%, reaching 15% in the mid 1870s⁵³.

⁴⁶ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, Volume D: 24 October 1859 to 14 April 1868, and Volume E: 7 July 1868 to 4 July 1876, Governor's Annual Reports for the year October to September were written into the minutes of the first meeting in October, 1859 to 1875.

⁴⁷ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, Volume D, Annual Report, 22 October 1867, Roman Catholic Chaplain's Report: he had been appointed 6 months earlier, that is April 1867.

⁴⁸ Judith Champ 'The Demographic Impact of Irish Immigration on Birmingham Catholicism, 1800-1850', in Sheils and Wood, eds., *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish, Studies in Church History Volume 25* (Oxford: 1989), p. 237.

⁴⁹ E. R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: 1968), p. 17.

⁵⁰ Irish-born = [(Roman Catholics/2) / 82%]

⁵¹ Percentage of Birmingham Borough population from 1861 and 1871 census, see Introduction.

⁵² Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 54.

⁵³ Apart from the years 1858/1859, 1859/1860 and census days 1861 and 1871, the percentage of Irish-born is based on the number of Roman Catholics. The calculation therefore does not take into account reduction in Irish-born consequent on reduced immigration.

Where figures for the Irish-born are available, Irish over-representation in prison was three times their presence in the population. In 1858/1859, there were 198 Irish-born (11.8%) amongst 1,682 prisoners. In 1859/1860, there were 191 Irish-born (12.7%) amongst 1,505 prisoners⁵⁴. On Census day in 1861 and 1871⁵⁵ none of the people concerned with running the prison were Irish-born. In April 1861 there were 36 Irish-born prisoners, 10.8% of the total of 332 prisoners. In April 1871 there were 33 Irish-born, 7.7% of all 430 prisoners.

The number of Roman Catholic prisoners was consistently high, never less than 16% of those imprisoned annually, see Table 3.3. In 1858/1859, there were 325 Roman Catholic (19%) of a total of 1,682 prisoners. In 1859/1860, there were 340 Roman Catholic (22%) out of a total of 1,505 prisoners⁵⁶. Furthermore although it appears from Table 3.3 that there were less Roman Catholic prisoners in the years 1868 to 1870 than there were in earlier and later years, prisoners were not registering as Roman Catholic⁵⁷ because Roman Catholic prisoners were only allowed to attend one service a week and thus had only one rest from their hard labour whereas Protestants enjoyed a daily service and thus daily relief from hard labour.

The number of people imprisoned trebled over the fifteen years 1859 to 1875, see Table 3.3, compared to an increase in Birmingham's population of 16%. The Irish imprisoned more than trebled over the same period whilst their representation as a proportion of Birmingham Borough's population decreased from 3.8 in 1861 to 2.6 in 1871. Irish people were therefore

⁵⁴ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions* Volume D, 24 October 1859, Governor's Report, Return of Prisoners by Birthplace and Returns of Prisoners by Religion; 8 October 1860, Governor's Annual Report, Return of Prisoners by Birthplace and Returns of Prisoners by Religion.

⁵⁵ *1861 and 1871 Census enumerations*, Winson Green Prison.

⁵⁶ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions* Volume D, 24 October 1859 and 8 October 1860.

⁵⁷ *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, Volume E, 27 October 1868, Roman Catholic Chaplain's Report.

considerably over-represented in Winson Green Prison, supporting Swift's descriptions⁵⁸ of the Irish experience in England as a whole.

Weinberger⁵⁹ described how a theory that part of the working-class was a dangerous criminal class was used to justify their neglect or exclusion by municipal authorities and employers. Local implementation of the theory took the form of designating certain geographical areas as ones which contained a high percentage of criminals. These areas were marked by a high percentage of unskilled casual labour; an "enforcement style of policing" was used and "wholly disproportionate numbers of defendants were taken to court". Weinberger identified three such areas in Birmingham in the late 1860s and 1870s: the "lodging house area", centred on Thomas Street; the "Irish area", centred on Park Street; and the "Canalside" brothel area centred on Wharf and Fordrough Streets.

These areas echo the Police collection of statistics of Mendicants, Irish and Prostitutes Lodging Houses in 1842⁶⁰ and two of the three areas were Irish. The "lodging house area" consisted of four of the most Irish streets in 1861, Thomas, John, London Prentice and Lichfield Streets. It was seen as housing a suspect population and since the police could search lodging houses without a warrant, the police went there first when looking for culprits. The "Irish area" was noted for confrontations with the police and gang warfare and continued to be criminalised. At the end of the nineteenth century, following widespread city centre

⁵⁸ Swift, 'Crime and the Irish', pp. 165-166.

⁵⁹ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 3-5, 8-15 for theory and local implementation; p. 16, note 25, source of Weinberger's data - *Birmingham Daily Gazette* reports of police court proceedings; pp. 17-22 for lodging, Irish and brothel areas.

⁶⁰ 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population with the Local Reports (England and Wales) 1837-1842, 1842 (HL-) Volume XXVII, Birmingham Report', in *IUP Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Health, General Volume 4* (Shannon: 1971), pp.841-84 for Mendicants, Irish and Prostitutes lodging houses.

demolition, Birmingham's "most poor" lived in the South East of the city "around the old Irish quarter" [Park Street] which "maintained its criminal reputation"⁶¹.

Floy's and Weinberger's findings and the statistics of Irish prisoners in the early 1860s suggest that the anti-Irish sentiment and prejudice of the 1870s which Weinberger described⁶² and which Floy⁶³ dated from the Murphy riots of 1867, in fact predated the riots. Targeting of the Irish in Birmingham was more like that found by Swift in Wolverhampton in the 1850s than has been hitherto recognised. The Murphy Riots in Birmingham made Murphy a "household word" in England⁶⁴ yet have not been adequately studied. A more thorough analysis of the events in Birmingham will demonstrate that whilst Birmingham people held a range of attitudes to Ireland and Irish people ranging from antipathy to support, the local authorities, police, council and magistracy were biased against the Irish. Murphy exploited pre-existing tensions⁶⁵. The riots in Birmingham were part of this trend. Murphy came to a town already "heated by strong religious partisanship", and "cast a match into a powder keg"⁶⁶.

William Murphy's origins are unclear. The generally accepted account⁶⁷ originates from one

⁶¹ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 17-22 for lodging, Irish and brothel areas; p. 19, Table 1.2 "Offenders Appearing in Court..." for the streets in the criminal areas; p. 21, Table 1.3 "Type of Offences..." Lodging, Irish and Canalside statistics; p. 87-88, enforcement style of policing quotes; p. 244, end of century.

⁶² Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public', p. 75; Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, pp. 230-231.

⁶³ Floy, *Policing Birmingham*, p. 114.

⁶⁴ Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in mid-Victorian England: Mr Newdegate and the Nuns* (Colombia and London: 1982), p. 92.

⁶⁵ Caroline Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The formation of English provincial police forces, 1856 - 1880* (London: 1984), p. 34.

⁶⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 4, column 4, Leader on the Murphy Riots. also see *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr. Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham. State of The Town Yesterday.", for Murphy "quickenened" antipathy.

⁶⁷ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 88 and note p. 237 gives the generally accepted version of Murphy's career to 1863. I repeat that here. The chapter on Murphy, pp. 8-107 and notes pp. 237-240 repeats Arnstein's

of his supporters. In this, Murphy was born in 1834 in Castletown-Conyers, Limerick. His father, Michael, was a national school teacher who converted to Protestantism with all his family. On this being discovered the family moved to Mayo where Michael taught at a Protestant school. In 1852 William went to Scripture training college in Ballinasloe and in 1854 began work as a missionary for the evangelical Protestant Irish Society, leaving in 1856 to work for the Irish Church Missions in Dublin.

The Irish Church Missions⁶⁸ was an evangelical proselytising group within the Church of Ireland which saw conversion to Protestantism as generating loyal British subjects. Between 1855 and 1857 their missionaries were found to be drunk, bribing converts and inciting violence. The Irish Church Missions obtained their funds from England and from 1858 onwards funds dwindled as the English interest turned to converting India. However contributions from Birmingham continued into the 1860s⁶⁹. In 1859 Murphy married and started to run a shoe shop and in 1862 he left Ireland for England⁷⁰. In England, he began work as an "anti-Catholic" lecturer for the Protestant Electoral Union (PEU) which was established in 1863. In its Constitution⁷¹ the PEU declared itself "Unsectarian alike in Religion and Politics" but its sectarian nature is shown in the next sentence: "In Politics they recognise only two classes, 'British Freeman and Papal Slaves'".

earlier article, 'The Murphy Riots: A Victorian Dilemma', *Victorian Studies*, XIX 1 (September 1975), pp. 51-71. Murphy in Birmingham in 1867 did not describe the family's move from Limerick as forced by Roman Catholic violence, see *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 1 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 267-268; Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 173-174 (note 95 to Chapter 1).

⁶⁸ Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800 - 1870* (Dublin: 1978), pp. 222-223, 239, 241-242, 295-296.

⁶⁹ *Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics Birmingham and Edgbaston Association Report for 1861* (Birmingham: 1862), p. 7.

⁷⁰ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 88

⁷¹ T. H. Aston *Truth versus Error: Facts About the Recent Riots in Birmingham* (Birmingham: 1867), Birmingham University Special Collection, Accession number 1007071, p. 7.

Murphy lectured throughout England from 1863 to 1871. From 1866 riots accompanied his appearances. Steedman, whose description of the Murphy riots⁷² remains germane, stated that Murphy and his supporters caused twenty five riots or near riots between June 1866 and April 1871, peaking in the summer and autumn of 1868. Between 1863 and 1866 Murphy lectured in Bristol, Cardiff, London, Bath and Plymouth⁷³. He was imprisoned in Bath for obstructing a Roman Catholic procession. In Plymouth in June 1866 he was protected by 50 Royal Marines. In February 1867 troops were called out to protect his lectures in Wolverhampton and he advertised his forthcoming appearance in Birmingham⁷⁴. He then lectured in Walsall, Great Bridge, Wednesbury, Warwick and Birmingham⁷⁵. He stayed in Birmingham for five weeks, from the 16th June to the 22nd July⁷⁶. After visiting Liverpool he returned to Birmingham and purchased a chapel in Wrotesley Street⁷⁷ which remained his base until his

⁷² Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 33-37, and notes p. 174: pp. 33-34 "Murphy was usually successful..." quote; p. 34 "violently held..." quote; p. 36 "...intent..." Quote. Steedman cites the Murphy Riots as an indication of central government policy to distinguish between riots, in which the police acted, and insurrection, in which the army acted. She says the army was called out frequently but only used once to disperse rioters, in Blackburn. She omits Birmingham from the list of places where troops were used and the police armed with cutlasses.

⁷³ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 90-91 for 1863 to 1867, Bristol, Cardiff, Bath, Plymouth, London, Wolverhampton.; Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 33-38 and notes p. 174; Patrick Quinlivan and Paul Rose, *The Fenians in England, 1856 - 1872* (London and New York: 1982), pp. 33-42: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 October 1867, p. 3, "Messrs Murphy and Houston at Blackburn".

⁷⁴ *The Seizure of the Confessional by the Magistrates and the Vindication of Civil and Religious Liberty by the Rate Payers of Wolverhampton* (London: [1867]), Birmingham University Special Collection.

⁷⁵ *Birmingham Journal*, 27 April 1867, p. 5, "Mr Murphy in Wednesbury"; *Birmingham Journal*, 8 June 1867, p. 7, "Great Bridge"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 1 March 1870 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 363-365 "Warwickshire Spring Assizes, Yesterday....Murphy v. Holland and Glossop": p. 364 lectured in Warwick, with police protection, 1867.

⁷⁶ Aston, *Truth versus Error*, p. 6 for duration of Murphy's lectures.

⁷⁷ Aston, *Truth versus Error*, p. 8 Mr Murphy "at his own cost purchased the chapel in Wrotesley street, which was opened on Sunday, September 8th. [1867]"; *1871 Census enumerations* Wrotesley Street Chapel Keeper Rupert Swain; *1871 Rates Books*, Volume 9, Market Hall Ward, p. 81: tenants of 18 Wrotesley Street Rupert Swain and William Murphy; owner William Murphy.

death in 1872⁷⁸.

He was unable to hire a hall in Blackburn in October 1867⁷⁹. In 1868 he "lectured" in Rochdale, Ashton under Lyne, Oldham, Bolton, Manchester, Stalybridge and Bacup⁸⁰. There were riots wherever he appeared. In Stalybridge and Oldham in January and February police and Irish people prevented attacks on Irish property. In Bacup police charged the Irish; in Ashton-under-Lyne the mob was able to attack Irish homes, demolish the church and move onto Stalybridge. In Bradford in June only 12 people turned up for his "lecture". There were riots in Bolton, Jarrow and Northshields⁸¹. In Preston, Manchester and Blackburn the mobs were prevented from attacking Irish areas; in Blackburn Dragoons dispersed the crowd⁸².

Local authorities, including Birmingham's, sought Home Office help to curb Murphy's activities. They were advised by Conservative ministers that legislation on inciting a breach of the peace could be used,⁸³ but failed to act on it. In 1869 under a Liberal government the Home Office advised local authorities to use a 1799 act for the "Suppression of Seditious and Treasonable Practices" to prevent Murphy's public appearances⁸⁴. Thereafter details of his activities are sparse. He lectured in Tynemouth, Northumberland, but could not hire a hall

⁷⁸ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 13 March 1872, p. 5 "Death of William Murphy".

⁷⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 October 1867, p. 3, "Messrs Murphy and Houston at Blackburn".

⁸⁰ Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 33-38 and notes p. 174.

⁸¹ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 40/41.

⁸² Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 33-38 and notes p. 174.

⁸³ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 91, Wolverhampton; Donald C. Richter, *Riotous Victorians* (Athens, Ohio: 1981), pp. 38, 40.

⁸⁴ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 100; Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, pp. 44/46.

elsewhere in the county. In 1870 he lectured in Woolwich but was banned from Greenwich⁸⁵. In 1871 he lectured in Whitehaven and was severely beaten up by Irish miners⁸⁶. In 1872 he died and was buried in Birmingham, his adopted home⁸⁷. His death was attributed to the injuries received in Whitehaven, but could equally have been from T.B.⁸⁸. His funeral procession was met by a cheering throng and the hearse and mourners had to be protected by a large police guard.⁸⁹

Murphy's lectures in Birmingham began on the 16th June 1867 and continued for five weeks. They were organised by an ad-hoc branch of the PEU⁹⁰ which included T H Aston, secretary of the Birmingham's Protestant Association (BPA)⁹¹, and J H Stuart, secretary of the Royal Albert Orange Lodge⁹². They resulted in violent disturbances and at least two deaths⁹³.

⁸⁵ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 105, Woolwich and Greenwich 1870.

⁸⁶ MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration*, pp. 179-183; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 105-106.

⁸⁷ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 106.

⁸⁸ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 14 March 1872, p. 8, "The Death of Mr. Murphy": Pemberton rejected the diagnosis of Tuberculosis (TB) because there was "no history in his family of any tendency to consumption". However, the symptoms are consistent with TB, see John MacLeod, ed., *Davidson's Principals and Practice of Medicine*.

⁸⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 March 1872, p. 8, "Funeral of Mr. W. Murphy. - Disgraceful Proceedings".

⁹⁰ *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 6, June 1867, p. 1, "Protestant Institutions", records the formation of the PEU in Birmingham; *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 8, August 1867, p. 1, "Birmingham Protestant Association"; *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 9, October 1867, p. 4, "Protestant Electoral Union" reports the dissolution of Birmingham PEU on 7 August 1867; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1867, p. 5, "Meeting of the Protestant Electoral Union." indicates its membership: Colonel Brockman, Dr Leslie, Mr Whalley MP, T H Aston, Clutterbuck, Martin, Stuart, Mason, Jones, John Henry, Edward Smith, J S Wilson, Plampin, Murphy.

⁹¹ *The Protestant Association of Birmingham and Neighbourhood First Annual Report, 1847*, Title page and p. 14, BPA was founded in 1847 to oppose the advance of Popery and advertise the benefits of the Protestant Constitution; *The Protestant Association of Birmingham and Neighbourhood 20th Annual Report, 1867*, in 1867 its secretary was T H Aston; an irregular journal, *The Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, was published.

⁹² *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 5 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 270, "Attack on Mr. Murphy": J H Stuart member of PEU; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 8 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 273, "Mr. W Murphy and the Orangemen of Birmingham": J H Stuart secretary of Albert Lodge of Loyal Orangemen.

Birmingham Borough Council had refused to let Murphy hire the Town Hall⁹⁴ and his supporters constructed a wooden "Tabernacle" in Carrs Lane able to hold 3,000 to 4,000 people⁹⁵. Carrs Lane was much nearer the Irish areas of Park Street and London Prentice Street than was the Town Hall. In the run-up to Murphy's appearance the BPA arranged a series of lectures that were attended by Irish Roman Catholics; Murphy's supporters knew likely disputants⁹⁶. Birmingham's Roman Catholic clergy advised their congregations to ignore the lectures and stay away from the Tabernacle⁹⁷.

Murphy's first appearance in most towns was characterised by a strong Irish presence in the hall, which sometimes prevented lectures taking place, by jeering and booing or because violence erupted⁹⁸. However, in Birmingham Irish people were prevented from entering the Tabernacle for the first lecture on Sunday afternoon and a large crowd collected outside⁹⁹. There were only six Borough police on duty¹⁰⁰. A plain-clothes policeman from Leicester

⁹³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Birmingham Daily Gazette* and *Birmingham Journal*, passim, 17 June to 23 July 1867, for Murphy's lectures in Birmingham.

⁹⁴ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, p. 34; Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham*, Volume II, p. 292.

⁹⁵ Aston, *Truth versus Error*, p. 4 states that Murphy paid for the Tabernacle; *Mercury*, 13 June 1885, "The Murphy Riots", in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 278, stated that "the Orangemen" built Murphy's wooden Tabernacle; *Mercury*, 13 March 1886, "The Murphy Riots", in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 278, stated that the Birmingham branch of the PEU built the Tabernacle.

⁹⁶ *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 6, June 1867, p. 3, "Meetings": 22 April, Murphy's forthcoming visit welcomed; 13 May, Aston lectured on Confession and Roman Catholic Mr Hill disputed with him; *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 7, July 1867, p. 4, "Lectures": 27 May, Aston again lectured on Confession and Thomas Cain and other Roman Catholics replied; 3 and 10 June, number of Roman Catholics present.

⁹⁷ *Birmingham Journal*, 8 June 1867, Supplement, p. 2, "Address to the Roman Catholics of Birmingham" dated 1 June 1867; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "In Custody".

⁹⁸ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 91 and 100.

⁹⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "The Afternoon Service" and "The Scene Outside The Tabernacle".

¹⁰⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "The Scene Outside The Tabernacle".

tried to make an arrest, and an ensuing melee developed into a fight between the police and the mostly Irish crowd. The police were armed with cutlasses and reinforced throughout the afternoon. Twenty-five people were arrested, see Table 3.4, and ten people, including three policemen, were injured. Most of the injuries were caused by police cutlasses; two men lost their elbow joints¹⁰¹.

The police eventually cleared Carrs Lane, but a huge crowd gathered in adjacent streets and a large number of English "roughs" assembled in Moor Street near the largely Irish area of Park and Freeman Streets and the nearby courts. Magistrates, clergy and Glossop walked round the area to calm the crowds, and magistrates escorted Murphy to his evening lecture in the Tabernacle¹⁰² which was guarded by the Pensioners¹⁰³. Disturbances and arrests continued¹⁰⁴. A crowd led by a man with a red flag broke the windows of the premises of Aston's father in Dale End and several other shop windows were smashed¹⁰⁵.

Early next morning, Monday 17th June, a huge English mob assembled on the fringes of Park and Freeman Streets and throughout the afternoon and evening fought the Irish residents.¹⁰⁶ In the evening the mob, aided by the police, destroyed Irish homes in Park Street, wrecked their contents and carried the broken remnants off as trophies. More than seventy Irish people were arrested, see Table 3.5, and most of those arrested were injured; the yard to which they

¹⁰¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "Persons Injured".

¹⁰² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham".

¹⁰³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham".

¹⁰⁴ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 22 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 260, "Mr. Wm. Murphy In Birmingham. - Serious Riots"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "The Scene Outside The Tabernacle".

¹⁰⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham".

¹⁰⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Results of Monday's Riot".

were taken looked like a slaughterhouse, its flagstones covered in blood. All the resident men were ordered from Park Street leaving only women, children, and old men in their ruined homes¹⁰⁷. Sarah Mortiboys of Lichfield Street was injured in the crush and died a few days later¹⁰⁸.

Park Street had been "laid utterly to waste" from the Bull Ring to Freeman Street, see Map 7, with Freeman Street, the upper parts of Bordesley and Allison Streets and all the adjoining courts and alleys in a similar condition¹⁰⁹. Destruction to property also occurred in John, Weaman, London Prentice, Lichfield and Allison Streets and Dale End, see Map 1. The musket bearing Pensioners guarded the Tabernacle and escorted Murphy to his evening lecture, where he rejoiced that the Mayor had been hit by a stone and described priests as murderers, cannibals, pickpockets and liars¹¹⁰. His threats to the Irish: "...it was right to use force in self-defence and if the Popish Lambs interfered they would drive them to Paddy's land, or to Dixey's land" were applauded. Thomas Kain attempted to reply to Murphy but couldn't be heard.

The *Post* unequivocally stated that an English mob supported by the police was responsible

¹⁰⁷ *Birmingham Journal*, 22 June 1867, Supplement, p. 3, "Mr Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham", on Monday night "...as a prevention against further disturbance the male part of the population of this locality were ordered to remove from the neighbourhood..."; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Yesterday's Proceedings.", "All the men had been removed - some injured, some in custody, others turned adrift penniless, often hatless and coatless, to seek shelter where they might".

¹⁰⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Persons Injured"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 8, bottom of column 1, Sarah Mortiboys faint hopes of recovery; *Coroner's Court Roll, 1839 - 1875*, Inquest Number 416, Sarah Mortiboys died on 26 June 1867, from bronchitis following compound fracture of the left leg.

¹⁰⁹ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 22 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 260/261, "Mr. Wm. Murphy in Birmingham. Serious Riots".

¹¹⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "The Evening Lecture in the Tabernacle".

for Monday's riot¹¹¹: The Irish had held the mob off until the police joined forces with it: "until the police coalesced with the so-called 'party of order' ". The police and the English mob charged the Irish but "did not succeed in conquering them till nine o'clock". When Park Street had been "Conquered"¹¹² and the police and their allies controlled the street, "a saturnalia" of looting began. The police at the scene, including the Superintendent in command, welcomed the mob's help. The police were seen throwing stones and breaking windows. They forced their way into houses and arrested all the Irish men "indiscriminately". The houses were "sacked", "every Irish man was maltreated.... chairs and tables were broken up and the fragments taken as weapons. Even the bedding was torn up and the strips used as ensigns by the 'orderly' party." Shops were broken into and the goods carried off or destroyed. The mob spared only premises they regarded as English.

After "sacking" the houses, the mob marched up and down the street singing "Glory Alleluia" and "John Brown's Body". Later, Superintendent Sullivan regretted that the police failed to control their allies¹¹³. The mob dispersed between 10 and 11 pm¹¹⁴. The *Journal* précised the disturbances of 16th and 17th June thus: "On Sunday ...the Irish broke the windows of certain houses; and next day a mob of English retorted by completely gutting a whole street inhabited by the Irish."¹¹⁵ In the following weeks and months and well into 1868 disturbances continued as Murphy's supporters spread their offensive to include the Synagogue, the

¹¹¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Results of Monday's Riot".

¹¹² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Results of Monday's Riot".

¹¹³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Results of Monday's Riot".

¹¹⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18th June 1867, p. 4, "Park Street In The Evening"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 July 1867, p. 4, "Claims for Compensation", Abigail Swingler's & James Farrow's evidence.

¹¹⁵ *Birmingham Journal* 22 June 1867 Supplement p. 4 "Topics of the Week".

Anglican High Church of St Albans, Liberal voters and eventually each other¹¹⁶.

In October 1867 two descriptions of the riot were published in Birmingham. Both attributed Monday's riot to an English mob. The *Narrative of the "Murphy" Riots* said that Sunday's disturbance was started by a dog fight and a drunk¹¹⁷. It described the huge crowd of "roughs" which collected on Sunday evening as English, and attributed "the destruction of Park Street" on Monday to an English mob. It stated that the police tried to "repress excesses on either side" and sided with the English mob. Its severest criticism was of Murphy and his supporters who were described as intolerant, bigoted and fanatical.

Truth versus Error, written by Aston, was a rebuttal of the *Narrative*¹¹⁸. It stated that the riots were "POPISH" yet admitted that the English "wrecked Park Street". Aston suggested that an attempt on Monday to make everyone in Freeman Street pay respect to "an immense WOODEN CROSS...decorated with *green* ribbons" was responsible for and justified the riot: "it in some way excuses the conduct of those Englishmen who wrecked Park Street...". Aston's rebuttal included the *Gazette*'s review of the *Narrative*¹¹⁹. This stated that the cause of the riots was "the fanaticism and ignorance of Irish Roman Catholics".

However, the appellation "Murphy Riots" is usually applied to the events on Sunday 16th

¹¹⁶ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 361, "Mr William Murphy in Birmingham. Yesterday's Proceedings", the attack on the synagogue. Attacks on St Albans, Liberals and each other are described later in the chapter.

¹¹⁷ Anon., *Narrative of the "Murphy" Riots and Demolition of Park Street, Birmingham, June 16th and 17th, 1867* (Birmingham: [1867]), BCL LSD, passim and quotes from pp. 5, 8, 9 and 14.

¹¹⁸ Aston, *Truth versus Error*, passim, and quotes from pp. 5, 10; italics, capitals in original.

¹¹⁹ The *Birmingham Daily Gazette* review of the *Narrative* is dated 2 October 1867.

June, with the Irish usually described as rioting¹²⁰. In Birmingham and amongst Murphy's supporters Monday's events were ignored. Very soon, the riots were attributed to Irish reaction to the arrest of a drunk¹²¹. The influential Birmingham historian Bunce wrote that the Irish rioted on the 16th June, provoked by the arrest of a drunken Irishman, and a mob of Englishmen "retaliated"¹²². Many historians have followed Bunce's description¹²³, minimised the riots¹²⁴ or ignored the riots completely¹²⁵. Arnstein¹²⁶ and Quinlivan and Rose¹²⁷ offer fairly accurate accounts of Sunday's events, but the major riot on Monday has not been adequately described. Arnstein's influential and inaccurate version¹²⁸ concentrates on events peripheral to the main riot. He repeats the *Times*' opinion that the Irish were responsible, minimises the length of Murphy's stay in Birmingham and does not mention the continued violence in the town¹²⁹.

Weinberger stated that it is "obvious" that the police sided with the anti-Irish rioters, and were

¹²⁰ Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II*, p. 292 "The solitary case of serious riot happened on the evening of the 16th of June, 1867..."; John Alfred Langford, *Modern Birmingham And Its Institutions Volume I* (Birmingham: 1873), pp. 299-301; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 107; Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, p. 39.

¹²¹ Langford, *Modern Birmingham*, pp. 299-301.

¹²² Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II*, p. 292.

¹²³ John W. Reilly, *Policing Birmingham: An Account of 150 Years of Police in Birmingham* (Birmingham: 1989), pp. 21-22.

¹²⁴ Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain* (London: 1999), p. 176.

¹²⁵ Eric Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town - Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution* (Stroud: 1998), no mention of the riots.

¹²⁶ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 92.

¹²⁷ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 34-35, describe Sunday afternoon's events taking place on Monday.

¹²⁸ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 92-93.

¹²⁹ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 95.

seen to do so by the local residents¹³⁰. Nonetheless she found Denvir's assertion that the police joined in attacking the Irish and stealing their goods was not "substantiated" by newspaper accounts¹³¹ whereas the *Post's* description of Monday's riot supports Denvir's assertion that the police joined in the rioting¹³². Furthermore, evidence given at the compensation claims hearings supports the *Post's* description of Monday's riot.

The partial accounts of the riots may have resulted from reliance on initial reports in the *Post* and *Gazette*, both of which used enduring stereotypes of Irish people. The *Gazette* immediately identified the Irish as Fenians whom it characterised as violent cowards. It described the hostile crowd outside the Tabernacle, the doormen being carried in with injuries, Murphy asking his audience if they were "willing to break heads", while the crowd outside ran away "like so many Fenians", only to rush back"... like more Fenians"¹³³. The English mob was not mentioned¹³⁴.

The *Post* initially proffered a different but no less violent stereotype of the Irish, that of savages who enjoyed casual irrational violence¹³⁵. On Tuesday 18th June it was following Glossop's official line to the Watch Committee, that the Irish had started Monday's riot in the

¹³⁰ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, p. 230: in the Murphy riots, the police sided with the anti-Irish rioters.

¹³¹ Weinberger, 'The Police and the Public', pp. 70/71.

¹³² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5 "Destruction of Park Street".

¹³³ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 17 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 247, "Disturbances Yesterday".

¹³⁴ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 22 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 260, "Mr. Wm. Murphy in Birmingham. Serious Riots."

¹³⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham. Park Street In The Evening". For Glossop's line see *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Watch Committee. The Riots - The Committee And The Magistrates".

evening on returning home from work. The Irish acted on "...the principles of Donnybrook Fair, breaking every head they came across...[it was] really amusing to note the demeanour of the semi savages after they were in custody...". The more reasoned analysis offered on 19 June 1867 was attributed to reliable respected eye-witnesses¹³⁶. The *Post*'s accounts of Murphy's lectures grew shorter very quickly. The *Gazette* continued to print full accounts of the lectures. It accepted contributions for Murphy's Protestant Hall¹³⁷ and very soon three cheers for the *Gazette* and three groans for the *Post* were nearly a standard part of the proceedings¹³⁸.

The local authorities failed to halt the disturbances¹³⁹ despite having experience of the effects of Murphy's lectures. Birmingham police had assisted the police in nearby Wolverhampton and Walsall in February and March during Murphy's lectures there. Glossop had ordered police armed with cutlasses to Walsall and told them to be prepared to fight¹⁴⁰. Early in June, he ordered the police to practise riot control¹⁴¹. Glossop was out to dinner and tea in Aston on the 16th June but had previously agreed with the magistrates that extra police would not be needed until the evening¹⁴². He ordered the night duty to report early with their cutlasses

¹³⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Results of Monday's Riot".

¹³⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 July 1867, p. 8, "Protestant Lecture Hall".

¹³⁸ *Birmingham Daily Gazette* in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 362, 20 June 1867, "The Evening Lecture"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 268-269, 4 July 1867, "Protestant Lecture Hall".

¹³⁹ *Mercury*, 29 June 1907, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 280, "The Murphy Riots. Burial of Lecturer's Widow. Police Unprepared".

¹⁴⁰ *Police Orders 21 June 1864 to 14 January 1868*, pp. 388/9, 30 March 1867.

¹⁴¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 June 1867, p. 3, "Police Drill at Aston".

¹⁴² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 7, "The Watch Committee and the Magistrates".

"...clean and in good order", presumably sharpened, and took Sunday off¹⁴³. His absence incurred little criticism¹⁴⁴.

On Monday morning, when an enormous crowd filled the streets near Carrs Lane, the Mayor and magistrates began to swear in Special Constables and asked the military stationed in Birmingham, the 8th Hussar Cavalry, for assistance¹⁴⁵. As the riot progressed the magistrates asked for further military assistance and police from neighbouring boroughs. However until late Monday evening the crowd was policed by 350 borough police armed with cutlasses and 450 Special Constables armed with truncheons who became subordinate to the mob¹⁴⁶. This is confirmed by Glossop's description of the end of the riot: the "respectable" part of the mob "formed up in front of the police and stoned the Irish with such force that the police became entire masters of the street...this charge suppressed the riot"¹⁴⁷. The Watch Committee's main concern was that it had been sidelined by the magistrates during the riot but was expected to meet the costs¹⁴⁸. Councillor Roberts criticised Glossop for keeping the majority of the police force inactive in Moor Street on Monday whilst "the roughs were sacking Park Street"¹⁴⁹ and

¹⁴³ *Police Orders 21 June 1864 - 14 January 1868*, p. 430, 16 June 1867.

¹⁴⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 7, "The Watch Committee and the Magistrates".

¹⁴⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham. Magistrates' Meeting".

¹⁴⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "The Military: Conflicts With The Police: Assault On The Mayor" and "Reading The Riot Act", Special Constables' violence against Irish people noted.

¹⁴⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Watch Committee...".

¹⁴⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 7, "The Watch Committee And The Magistrates"; *Borough of Birmingham Watch Committee Minutes, Volume IV. May 1866 to March 1868*, p. 184, 18 June 1867, Chief Superintendent's report approved except for part dealing with "the riot in the Borough", resolve to assist the magistrates if the magistrates request it; pp. 185-187, 25 June, 2 July, 9 July 1867, no mention of the riot; p. 196, 16 July 1867, resolve to ask magistrates for a copy of their report to the Home Office on the events of 16 and 17 June, to present to the Borough Council.

¹⁴⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Watch Committee. The Riots - The Committee And The Magistrates".

a minority of the committee deplored its subservience to the magistracy¹⁵⁰.

The Cavalry stationed in Birmingham reportedly took little part in quelling the riot. On Monday afternoon they rode down Park Street with the Mayor and magistrates and on Monday evening they escorted the Mayor and magistrates as the Mayor read the Riot Act in Park Street and the Bull Ring¹⁵¹. Further Military arrived late Monday night and early Tuesday morning and some were sent immediately to John and Allison streets but their actions went unreported¹⁵². On Tuesday morning there were about 1500 police and military on duty: 125 Cavalry, 200 Infantry, the 400 borough police, 180 police from Wolverhampton, Stafford, Warwick and Worcester, 400 Pensioners and more than 500 special constables¹⁵³. The cavalry were billeted immediately behind the Tabernacle, and the infantry camped in the Bull Ring¹⁵⁴. Military presence was reduced as the week progressed but was not entirely withdrawn until 24 June.

¹⁵⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Watch Committee. The Riots - The Committee And The Magistrates"; Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 37, distinguished between county and borough police forces by the type of relationship which existed between the police and their employers: in the boroughs the watch committee were the masters and the police the servants, the common employment arrangement; in the counties, the magistrates were the officers and the police the soldiers, a military arrangement. In Birmingham borough when the riots occurred the military arrangement prevailed; the magistrates took control and the Watch Committee was marginalised; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 7, "The Watch Committee And The Magistrates"; p. 8, "Mr Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham. The State Of The Town Yesterday".

¹⁵¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Results of Monday's Riot".

¹⁵² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "The Military: Conflicts With The Police: Assault On The Mayor" and "Reading The Riot Act".

¹⁵³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "The Party Of Order, Today", revised in *Birmingham Journal*, 22 June 1867, Supplement p. 3, "Mr. Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham".

¹⁵⁴ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 361, "Mr William Murphy in Birmingham. Yesterday's Proceedings"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 255, letter from "A Shopkeeper": complains that Murphy / Tabernacle is "nuisance in Carrs Lane" destroying trade, blocking thoroughfares and provoking retaliation and "to complete the laughable farce, the Irish Hussars" protect Murphy.

From Tuesday the police and military were largely engaged in cordoning off Park Street from the rest of the town and patrolling the streets between Park Street and the other areas of high Irish population around London Prentice Street and Slaney Street. On Tuesday morning, as crowds converged on Park, John and Weaman Streets, the magistrates decided to keep the connecting streets of Bull Street, High Street, Moor Street and Carrs Lane clear of people, to close off Park Street and to protect St Mary's Anglican Church. In Park Street most of the men not arrested returned home. Police with cutlasses, military with fixed bayonets and Pensioners with muskets cut Park Street off from the rest of the town. A vast crowd could be seen beyond the barriers, "dense, ever moving, apparently endless".¹⁵⁵

There were rumours of attacks on St Mary's by Catholics, on St Chad's by Protestants, and on gunmakers' premises near St Mary's. Police, military and magistrates responded to rumours that "Protestants intended to expel the Roman Catholics" from the Inkleys and reports of rioting in Barford Street. All except the attack on St Chad's proved groundless. In Barford Street five Irishmen broke the windows of the premises of John Parkinson, a "fighting man" who had taken "a prominent part on the Protestant side in the row in Park Street". Irish men and women protected Catholic premises throughout the town; in addition St Chad's for a short time was protected by a small detachment of police¹⁵⁶. Unguarded, the Synagogue in nearby Blucher Street was attacked and seriously damaged by 400 or 500 youths. In the Tabernacle the Rev. Cattell said that Birmingham's authorities had given in to "Their friends from the Emerald Isle" and threatened that the Protestants of England, once roused, would demolish

¹⁵⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Yesterday Forenoon." and "Last Evening"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "State Of The Town Yesterday"; *Birmingham Journal* 22 June 1867 Supplement p. 3, "Mr. Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham".

¹⁵⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Incidents Outside." And "Anticipated Attack Upon St. Mary's."; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 22 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 261, "Mr. Wm. Murphy in Birmingham. Serious Riots"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1867, p. 8, "State Of The Town, Yesterday".

the Oratory, Oscott and Nunneries. Murphy followed up the violent language and offered to be the leader in "war to the knife" against Popery. Augustin Gill attempted to correct Murphy, and was shouted down.¹⁵⁷

On Wednesday Park Street was still cut off from the rest of the town by the police and military¹⁵⁸; the *Gazette* stated that the magistrates had "very considerably" established the guard to prevent "meaningless idlers" looking at the "nakedness and misery" of its Irish residents¹⁵⁹. The *Post's* reporter discerned a new phenomenon amongst the Irish in Park Street, Protestant and Catholic Irish now distrusted their fellow countrymen of different religion¹⁶⁰. Most of the County police went home, special constables were dismissed and the remaining County police and the borough police, armed with cutlasses, made everyone in Park Street, Moor Street and Carrs Lane "move on"¹⁶¹. Father Sherlock launched a fund to compensate those who lost possessions in Monday's riot, and later a defence fund for those arrested. Contributions were acknowledged in letters to the *Post*.¹⁶²

If the local authorities failed to halt the riot, they were diligent in prosecuting those arrested.

¹⁵⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 254.

¹⁵⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "State Of The Town Yesterday".

¹⁵⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 361, "Mr. Murphy's Lecture Last Night".

¹⁶⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "State Of The Town Yesterday".

¹⁶¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "State Of The Town Yesterday".

¹⁶² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 8: letter from Fr Sherlock recording a donation from a "Protestant Working Man" to relieve the distress of Park Street's inhabitants, and announcing that he and Fr Power will receive and acknowledge donations; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 263 and *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 June 1867, p. 5: letter from Fr Sherlock acknowledging donations to his appeal and announcing the launch of a defence fund for those arrested on Monday 17th June.

As in Stockport in 1852¹⁶³, despite the fact that an English mob was responsible for Monday's riot, most of those arrested were Irish and the court proceedings provide further evidence of police exaggeration and bias, English incitement and magistrate prejudice. The police and well-known supporters of Murphy gave evidence for the prosecution and the magistrates sought prosecution for riot, which attracted harsher penalties than individual assaults. The *Post* named one hundred and two people arrested on Sunday and Monday, see Tables 3.4 and 3.5, and more were arrested over the following weeks.¹⁶⁴ Most of those arrested were not named again in the newspaper reports, and it may be assumed that they were found not guilty or fined 2s 6d and costs¹⁶⁵.

The twenty-six people arrested on Sunday 16th June appeared before the magistrates on Monday. The police and Murphy supporters, including Stuart, gave evidence for the prosecution¹⁶⁶. The first three cases, those against John Ranagan, John Morris and John Swift, and Michael O'Hanlon¹⁶⁷, were treated as individual assaults. During the fourth case, that of Michael McNally, the magistrates announced their decision to adjourn until the next day, instructing Mr Walter, the public prosecutor, to prepare charges of riot¹⁶⁸. McNally, described as a leader of the Irish, was remanded to the next day with twenty other defendants.

¹⁶³ Pauline Millward, 'The Stockport Riots of 1852' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London: 1985), pp. 211-212.

¹⁶⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "In Custody"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Persons in Custody".

¹⁶⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 8, "Further Proceedings Before The Magistrates" for general sentencing policy.

¹⁶⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Committal of the Rioters"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Magisterial Proceedings".

¹⁶⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Magisterial Proceedings", Hanlon was tried for throwing stones in the Bull Ring, no previous convictions, one month in prison. Hanlon said someone came up to him, asked him if he was a Catholic, and knocked him down.

On the next day Michael McNally, Thomas MacDonald, James Wynn, Patrick Condry, Michael Morris, Eliza Hayes, and James Day were charged with "acting in concert and causing a riot"¹⁶⁹; all pleaded not guilty. Mr Walter prosecuted; none of the prisoners were defended. Superintendent Shepherd started the prosecution evidence stating that on Sunday afternoon a crowd of about 500 or 600 people, men women and children, came up Carrs Lane from Moor Street, intent on destroying the Tabernacle. They stopped outside the Tabernacle and attacked it, throwing stones and shouting "pull it down". He armed the police with cutlasses and they repeatedly clashed with the crowd and eventually succeeded in clearing Carrs Lane. Shepherd named McNally as leading attempts to get into the Tabernacle. He did not see McNally throw a stone or strike anybody "but he was very noisy".

Successive police evidence reduced the numbers involved from Shepherd's five hundred to P C Jackson's two hundred "well-marshalled...inciting each other to go forward", down to P C Kelly's one hundred. There was no reference to the disturbances on Sunday evening. All seven defendants were committed to stand trial at the June Sessions the following week, Day charged with riot, the other six with riot and assault. Bail was refused.

Thomas Cain, accused of attacking Aston's shop, was also committed to stand trial at the Sessions. The witnesses against Cain were Stuart and Sergeant Willcox. Stuart said he knew Cain previously and identified him as leading the attack. Their previous acquaintance may have been at lectures organised by the BPA, since Stuart was a member and a Thomas Cain

¹⁶⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "Magisterial Proceedings", On the bench were Mr T C S Kynnersley, Mr Jaffray, and Mr Avery.

¹⁶⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Committal of the Rioters".

had attended¹⁷⁰. Walter Williams was discharged when the police stated that he had been arrested because of a complaint by Patrick Condry and that on their arrival at the police station, Williams had offered to help the police and Condry had been arrested¹⁷¹. The other defendants remanded from Monday were not mentioned by name, and it is assumed that they were discharged or fined 2/6d and costs.

Also on Tuesday the first of those arrested on Monday appeared before the magistrates¹⁷². John Barlow, of Park Street, charged with throwing stones at the police on Monday evening, was committed to trial at the June Sessions. Incidental to the riots, Thomas Taylor and John Pilkington, were charged with assaulting PC Frankcom in Freeman Street. Taylor and Pilkington had been pointed out to Frankcom as wanted men. As Frankcom tried to arrest them, they knocked him to the ground and cut him with his own cutlass. Frankcom was thought to be mortally injured, but recovered. The attack on Frankcom led to the magistrates' decision to seek military assistance from outside the town¹⁷³. Taylor and Pilkington were remanded in custody to stand trial at the Assizes¹⁷⁴.

On Wednesday Mary Keegan, William Harrow and William Albert Evans arrested on Monday, and Michael Welsh, Stephen Harrison and John Parker arrested on Tuesday, appeared in court. Keegan was charged with throwing stones at the police in Park Street and

¹⁷⁰ *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 7, July 1867, p. 4, "Lectures".

¹⁷¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Committal of the Rioters".

¹⁷² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Committal of the Rioters".

¹⁷³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 248, "Renewed Disturbances Yesterday".

¹⁷⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4: "Persons Injured"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "The Injured Policeman"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 8, "Further Proceedings Before The Magistrates".

fined 2/6d and costs, or 7 days in prison; Harrow was discharged; Evans was fined 1s, damages 20s and costs, or one month in prison. Welsh was sentenced to 14 days in prison; Harrison, charged with theft from Belman's on Monday, was committed to the Sessions, and Parker, charged with throwing stones on the railway near Park Street, was discharged.¹⁷⁵

The Stipendiary Magistrate's different treatment of two young men demonstrates his bias. Evans had been part of the English mob on Monday and, in the triumphal march behind the police singing "Glory Alleluia", confident of his immunity from the law, he had thrown stones and broken the windows of St Michael's Church in Moor Street in full view of Inspector Shepherd. Sneyd-Kynnersley expressed his sorrow at seeing "a decent youth like the prisoner committing an outrage". In contrast, Welsh had been arrested by Francis Westgate, a Special Constable, for throwing a stone at the closed shutters of Belman's shop in Lichfield Street. Westgate claimed that Welsh was "very drunk", at nine o'clock in the morning, and that when arrested, Welsh had said "I am an Irish man and will die for my country". Sneyd-Kynnersley said " he wished he could order the prisoner to be well flogged.....It was disorderly, idle vagabonds like him that had caused the disturbance..."¹⁷⁶. Police bias is evident in the cases of Walter Williams, described earlier, and James Drinkwater, arrested by a civilian on the 18th of June with a pocket full of stones intended "for the Catholics"¹⁷⁷. Drinkwater had earlier been stopped and commended by a police constable, and objected to being arrested because he was on the "Protestant side"¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 8, "Further proceedings before the Magistrates".

¹⁷⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 8, "Further proceedings before the Magistrates" - Welsh and Evans cases.

¹⁷⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Incidents Outside" and "In Custody".

¹⁷⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 July 1867, p. 4, 27 July 1867, p. 3, and 2 August 1867, p. 4, all "The Birmingham Riots Claims For Compensation".

On Friday many of those arrested on Monday appeared in court for the first time, charged with riot¹⁷⁹. These were Thomas McCale, Michael Coffee, Patrick Callaghan, Thomas Throne, Bernard McDermott, Robert Lewis, John Hastings, Michael Leonard, David McCale, John Robins, Owen Graham, John Heraghty, John Smith, Martin Maley, William Melville, William Lee, Patrick Kilroy and David Allcock. Some of the prisoners were represented by Mr Yeatman, instructed by Mr Maher, members of Birmingham's Roman Catholic middle-class¹⁸⁰. The police gave evidence that they were stoned by the defendants from the doors, windows and roofs of the defendants' houses, but that no police were injured. The English mob was not mentioned. Several "civilians" and the magistrate's clerk, Mr Hebbert, supported the police evidence. Robins was arrested in his bedroom on the evidence of Thomas Brown, "a civilian"; Hastings, Lewis, Smith, Maley, Kilroy, Lee and Heraghty were all arrested inside their houses.

Graham was said by another civilian, John Barton, to have thrown about fifty or sixty stones whilst leading a mob of seventy or eighty Irish people. However, Graham brought several witnesses who swore he was in bed at the time. The charge of riot was withdrawn but he was immediately rearrested for throwing stones earlier in the day. The prisoners all pleaded not guilty. Superintendent Shepherd's evidence conveyed the destruction carried out by the mob and exonerated those arrested: he could "not recognise any of the prisoners being present...". All except Graham were committed to stand trial for riot at the Sessions, although they had

¹⁷⁹ *Birmingham Journal*, 22 June 1867, p. 2, "Committal Of More Prisoners", and Supplement p. 4, "Committal Of More Prisoners".

¹⁸⁰ Maher was second generation Irish, the son of Michael Maher, see Work Chapter. Yeatman tried unsuccessfully to launch a political Catholic society, see Rev. Thomas Leith, *St Chad's Cathedral Records, Volume II*, SCCA, p. 87, 13 August 1867; 'Birmingham Reminiscences 1843 to 1906', p. 110, Obituary of Thomas Maher.

never been before a court before and many had been vouched for by their employers "as decent hard-working men". Bail was allowed, if they got a respectable person to stand surety for £5. John Moore was charged individually with assaulting the Mayor, and committed to the Sessions.¹⁸¹

During the next week, more people were sent to be tried at the October Sessions for riot, while those already committed for trial at the June Sessions had their hearings deferred until October¹⁸², see Table 3.6. Bryan or Benjamin Herraty and Patrick and Ann Luke were committed to the October Sessions¹⁸³. William Roach, aged 20, of 11 Vale Court, Allison Street was found guilty of throwing stones in Park Street on Sunday 16th June, and fined 40s and costs, or 6 weeks in prison¹⁸⁴. At the June Sessions Stephen Harrison was found guilty of stealing a pair of trousers from Belman's and sentenced to three months in prison¹⁸⁵.

The trials for riot were postponed at the prosecution's request, on the grounds that they would cause further disturbances¹⁸⁶. Yeatman, defending, agreed when bail was set at £5, describing the defendants as unable to realise a larger sum "having recently arrived in this country...". Despite the evidence given at earlier hearings that the police could not identify them as rioters, the Recorder presumed the defendants' guilt, advising them to be "peaceful and quiet

¹⁸¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 June 1867, 22 June 1867, p. 2, "Committal Of More Prisoners".

¹⁸² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 June 1867, p. 5, "The Borough Sessions"; 25 June 1867, p. 3, "The Murphy Riots. Further Magistrates Proceedings"; 26 June 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Quarter Sessions"; 27 June 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Borough Sessions. The Murphy Riots".

¹⁸³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 June 1867, p. 3, "The Murphy Riots. Further Magistrates Proceedings".

¹⁸⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 June 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Police Court, Monday".

¹⁸⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 June 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Quarter Sessions".

¹⁸⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 June 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Borough Sessions. The Murphy Riots". Charged with rioting on 16th June may be incorrect reporting rather than incorrect charge.

citizens", grateful to the prosecution for accepting such low Bail and thus allowing them to be at liberty, and grateful to the town authorities for postponing their trial to ensure it would be impartial. In the Tabernacle Murphy complained that "assassins" had been released.¹⁸⁷ In contrast to the 102 originally arrested of whom about a quarter lived in Park Street and the same proportion were labourers and metal workers, 60% of those charged with riot lived in Park Street and 40% were labourers.

Fights and arrests continued. On the 4th July John Fitzpatrick, Francis Keenan and Henry Lawford were imprisoned for assaulting Henry Wilcox, a "spectator" at the Park Street riot and the only witness for the prosecution¹⁸⁸. Patrick Kenny was sentenced to two months in prison for assaulting Anne Robinson in what she claimed was an attempt to clear the English from Nova Scotia Street.¹⁸⁹ Magistrates' tendency to sympathise with and believe English witnesses over Irish witnesses is evident in the above cases, as in those of Evans and Welsh described earlier. On the 6th July fighting occurred in Weaman Street after Irish residents were driven from the Cornwallis pub by the landlord armed with a revolver¹⁹⁰. The landlord, George Wilson, had been "prominent...on the Protestant side" on the 17th June¹⁹¹.

From 18th June until 15th July 50 police routinely protected Murphy's lectures¹⁹², yet Murphy

¹⁸⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 June 1867, p. 5, "Mr Murphy in Birmingham".

¹⁸⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 July 1867, p. 4, "Birmingham Police Court Yesterday".

¹⁸⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 July 1867, p. 4, "Birmingham Police Court Yesterday".

¹⁹⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 July 1867, p. 3, "The Murphy Disturbance in Weaman Street".

¹⁹¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 July 1867 p. 5, "Serious Incident in Park Street", Irish men had attacked Wilson's pub, the Cornwallis, in Weaman Street.

¹⁹² *Police Orders 21 June 1864 - 14 January 1868*, pp. 435, 438, 442-444, 29 June, 6 July, 13 to 16 July 1867. 50 PCs ordered to act as reserve force at Murphy's lecture.

continuously claimed he could not walk the streets in safety¹⁹³. On 7th July one of Birmingham's MPs, Mr Scholefield, died and electioneering started¹⁹⁴. Murphy's bodyguard dwindled¹⁹⁵, but the PEU took action to reverse this. To coincide with the 12th July, it placarded the town with posters saying that the "Popish rabble" of Birmingham and the Black Country intended to attack Murphy. Glossop believed this and allocated 200 police to close Carrs Lane and Moor Street and protect Murphy. In the Tabernacle Houston, one of Murphy's fellow lecturers, asked for 100 good men to protect Murphy, who was escorted to his hotel by a cheering crowd armed with "life preservers and other heavy weapons"¹⁹⁶. The next day Houston informed the audience in the Tabernacle that only 12 men were required to guard Murphy¹⁹⁷.

It was not Murphy but McNally who was killed. McNally was twenty four years old and lived with his mother Ellen in London Prentice Street¹⁹⁸. His two sisters Ellen and Bridget may still have lived in the family home. He had been arrested outside the Tabernacle on the 16th June and in reports of court proceedings was named as a leader of the Irish and as threatening to kill Murphy, although Superintendent Shepherd had stated that McNally was merely "noisy". He was released on bail to appear at the October Sessions alongside his

¹⁹³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "The Afternoon Service"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "The Evening Lecture"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 June 1867, p. 6, "Mr. Murphy's Services, Yesterday"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 11 July 1867, p. 5, "Protestant Lecture Hall"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 13 July 1867, p. 4, "The Confessional Unmasked"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 July 1867, p. 8, "Protestant Lecture Hall".

¹⁹⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 11 July 1867, p. 5, "The Late Mr. Scholefield"; p. 3, "Protestant Lecture Hall".

¹⁹⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 July 1867, p. 3, "Protestant Lecture Hall".

¹⁹⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 273 "Protestant Electoral Association. Mr Murphy's Lecture" and "Threatened Attack upon Mr. Murphy".

¹⁹⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 13 July 1867, p. 4, "The Confessional Unmasked".

¹⁹⁸ *1861 Census enumerations*: Michael McNally, aged 19, living with his mother Ellen, a widow, and two sisters Ellen and Bridget at 11 London Prentice Street. In the same house lived four members of the Hanen

fellow accused. On Tuesday 16th July he went to Morris Roberts' pub with two other young men, Edward Duffy and Patrick Carroll, where he was shot by Roberts¹⁹⁹. He did not die immediately, but lay on the ground in a pool of blood and died on the way to hospital. Duffy was badly beaten by Robert Davis, who worked for Roberts, and was taken to the General Hospital under police guard. Roberts and Davis appeared before the magistrates next day and were released on bail²⁰⁰. The police on standby to protect Murphy were moved and ordered to act at election meetings²⁰¹ and Murphy left town²⁰².

At McNally's Inquest his mother Ellen described her last sight of him at their home in London Prentice Street.²⁰³ The Coroner directed that it was obvious that Roberts had acted in self defence and the inquest found that Roberts had committed "justifiable homicide"²⁰⁴. Carroll was arrested as the Inquest concluded²⁰⁵. Later, at the magistrates' court, Roberts was again remanded on bail. Over the following three weeks Roberts, Davis, Carroll and Duffy appeared before the magistrates, Roberts and Davis on bail, but Duffy and Carroll remanded in custody unable to raise bail of £50 each²⁰⁶. Davis admitted assaulting Duffy yet was

family, Mary-Ann, Owen and John, born in Ireland, and Joseph, aged six, born in Birmingham, and an English-born widow, Mary Baubrook. Michael and his sisters are recorded as born in Birmingham.

¹⁹⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 July 1867, p. 8, "The Fatal Affray in Dale End. The Inquest". Michael McNally's first name was given as John in the early newspaper reports.

²⁰⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 July 1867, p. 7, "The Fatal Affray in Dale End".

²⁰¹ *Police Orders 21 June 1864 - 14 January 1868*, pp. 445-447, 17 and 21 July 1867.

²⁰² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 July 1867, "Birmingham Watch Committee. - The Late Murphy Riots".

²⁰³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 July 1867, p. 8, "The Fatal Affray in Dale End. The Inquest".

²⁰⁴ *Coroners Court Roll, 1839 - 1875*, Inquest Number 456, 1867. The Inquest was held at the Grand Turk Inn, Ludgate Hill, cause of death "a Revolver shot in his lungs". Michael McNally's address was incorrectly given as 4 Court 5 House John Street.

²⁰⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 August 1867, p. 4, "The Dale End Shooting Case".

²⁰⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1867, p. 7, "The Fatal Affray in Dale End"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 July 1867, p. 3, "The Tragedy in Dale End"

discharged²⁰⁷.

Duffy and Carroll were charged with assaulting Roberts. Glossop gave evidence that they were responsible for McNally's death and the magistrates' clerk joined in the prosecution²⁰⁸. They were found guilty and sentenced to 4 months and 2 months in jail respectively²⁰⁹. Carroll, alongside James Tremble, had earlier been found guilty and sentenced to six weeks in jail for threatening the licensee of the George and Dragon, Lichfield Street on the 16th July²¹⁰. This charge had included McNally, and appears to have been laid against Carroll, Tremble and McNally after Roberts killed McNally, in an attempt to ensure that McNally's young friends had criminal convictions.

McNally was buried on the 21st July at Witton cemetery, in a pauper's grave²¹¹. His funeral was not reported in the *Post* or *Gazette*; their attention was on election meetings²¹². Two weeks later, the local authorities being perfectly satisfied with the Inquest verdict, his mother Ellen pressed charges against Roberts and again described when she had last seen her son alive²¹³. Yeatman represented McNally's friends. Roberts and his witnesses stated that

²⁰⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1867, p. 7, "The Fatal Affray in Dale End".

²⁰⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 July 1867, p. 3, "The Tragedy in Dale End".

²⁰⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 August 1867, p. 4, "The Dale End Shooting Case"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 7 August 1867, p. 7, "The Attack upon Morris Roberts".

²¹⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 6 August 1867, p. 4, "Extorting Money during the Riots" and 7 August 1867, p. 7, "Extorting Money by Threats". June to August 1867: I found only one report of Irish people threatening pub landlords, and none of convictions apart from those of Carroll et al - *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, report that 20 or 30 Irish men had demanded protection money from Mrs Willetts, landlord's wife, the Nags Head, John St.

²¹¹ *Witton Burial Registers*, Witton Cemetery, Birmingham: Michael McNally's grave - Witton cemetery register no 21426, grave 119/17262.

²¹² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 and 23 July 1867, *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 22 and 23 July 1867.

²¹³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 August 1867, p. 4, "The Dale End Shooting Case".

McNally, Duffy and Carroll had thrown glasses at Roberts who, unable to escape the onslaught, shot McNally in self defence. Roberts had bought the pistol on the 17th June, the day the English mob wrecked Park Street, and kept it behind the bar. Apart from McNally, Duffy and Carroll, there were about 15 people in the bar. Counter evidence was given that Roberts had not been in danger when he shot McNally, that McNally was shot within a minute of entering the bar, that McNally, Duffy and Carroll had tried to leave the bar, Duffy and Carroll succeeding, but McNally prevented from doing so, and that other people in the bar had encouraged Roberts to shoot. Roberts was committed to stand trial by jury at Warwick Assizes and released on bail. On his release, Glossop ordered extra police to patrol the streets near Michael McNally's home, Lichfield Street from Thomas to John Street; Dale End from John to Stafford St and "Thomas, London Prentice, John etc [to] remove vagabonds"²¹⁴, demonstrating a determination to harass the neighbourhood.

Roberts was publicly associated with Murphy and Monday's riot, Leith noting that Roberts had paid men to take part in the riot²¹⁵. The windows of his bar had been broken on the 17th June.²¹⁶ We may assume that Roberts was the well-known pugilist described by the *Post*²¹⁷ and later by Bunce as leading the English mob²¹⁸. In the Tabernacle Roberts had denounced the *Post*'s reporter, complained he'd had to buy a revolver for his own protection, wept and described being fined for "retaliating a little" against the Irish²¹⁹. Roberts was a prominent

²¹⁴ *Police Orders 21 June 1864 to 14 January 1868*, p. 457, 3 August 1867.

²¹⁵ Leith, *St Chad's Cathedral Records*, p. 85, October 1867.

²¹⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Incidents Outside"; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 22 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 260/261, "Mr. Wm. Murphy in Birmingham. Serious Riots".

²¹⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 July 1867, p. 5, "Mr Murphy in Birmingham. Destruction of Park Street."

²¹⁸ Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II*, p. 292; Reilly, *Policing Birmingham*, p. 22.

²¹⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 5, "Protestant Lecture Hall". No report of court proceedings against Roberts for this retaliation has been found in the months June to August 1867.

member of the Orange Lodge and regularly attended St Martin's Church at the time he murdered McNally²²⁰. He was found not guilty of murder at his jury trial in Warwick, but "went on to become more and more degraded and incorrigible". He died a rich man with extensive property but "an unsavoury reputation". A bigamist, arrested for perjury, imprisoned for embezzlement, he was "well known in gaol and out".

Roberts' committal proceedings coincided with the hearings into claims for compensation for damage caused by the riot. Of more than 80 claims only 3 were allowed²²¹, see Table 3.7. Solicitors for the claimants, including Mr Yeatman, had to prove that the rioters intended to demolish the buildings. Evidence given at the hearings confirms that innocent people were arrested and the Irish targeted. Mary Dunn, owner of the lodging houses at numbers 6 and 82 Park Street, described how Robert Lewis, one of her lodgers who was among the people still awaiting trial, was dragged from his bed into the street by the mob, and then arrested. The tenants of numbers 72 and 73 Park Street stated that the mob halted its destruction when it found out they were English. Dugdale, for the local authorities, said this proved the mob had not intended to destroy property, their attack was on the man.

Steedman states that Riot Compensation legislation would have been swiftly changed if those affected by the Murphy Riots had belonged to "the main stream of urban ownership" rather than poor Irish people and the Roman Catholic Church. In Ashton, where the Roman Catholic Church was completely demolished, the same necessity to prove intent was used to

²²⁰ 'Birmingham Reminiscences 1843 - 1906', pp. 117-118, all quotes, Prison Warder Brown's Recollections.

²²¹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 263, "Damage Done By The Murphy Riots. Claims For Compensation"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 25 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 264, "Claims For Compensation"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 July 1867, p. 4, 27 July 1867, p. 3, 2 August 1867, p. 4, all "The Birmingham Riots Claims For Compensation". Claims allowed - William Abbott [?] 75 Park Street; Edward Wheeler for 69/70 Park Street and Mary Dunn of 6 & 82 Park Street.

prevent the Church and local Irish people from receiving compensation²²². However, the fact that similar claims were met after the Bull Ring riots in 1839, when the respectable tradesmen of Birmingham received compensation of £15,000²²³ suggests that the bench's sympathy, rather than legislation, was the determining factor in achieving compensation.

At the October Sessions²²⁴, twenty six people were charged with rioting on 17th of June, and one with assaulting the mayor, see Table 3.8. All pleaded guilty and were bound over, the defence and prosecution having agreed that guilty pleas would not result in fines or imprisonment. Leith had earlier claimed that their release demonstrated that the local authorities acknowledged that the Irish had been unfairly arrested and imprisoned²²⁵. However the local authorities made no such acknowledgement²²⁶. The outcome was accidental, the result of an oversight in not revising instructions given to the prosecutor in June²²⁷. Dugdale, the prosecuting barrister, stated that innocent men had not been encouraged to plead guilty. However Mayor Avery thought that guilty men had escaped punishment.

Many Birmingham residents criticised the rioters and supported the Irish. Correspondents to the papers, disputants in the Tabernacle, donors to the relief and defence funds and the employers and landladies who vouched for defendants gave support in a hostile

²²² Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 37.

²²³ Reilly, *Policing Birmingham*, p. 7.

²²⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 October 1867, p. 6, "The Park Street Riots".

²²⁵ Leith, *St Chad's Cathedral Records*, p. 85, October 1867.

²²⁶ *Birmingham Journal*, 23 November 1867, p. 6, "A Few Local Notes".

²²⁷ *Birmingham Journal*, 11 January 1868, p. 2, "Watch Committee. The Park Street Rioters".

environment²²⁸. This support continued. In Manchester in September 1867 Police Sergeant Charles Brett was accidentally killed when Fenians rescued Thomas Kelly and Timothy Deasy from a prison van²²⁹. In November some of Birmingham's liberal elite, including MP John Bright, supported calls for the remission of the death sentences on the men convicted of shooting Sergeant Brett: William Allen, Michael Larkin, Michael O'Brien and Edward Condon²³⁰. More than seven hundred people signed a petition for remission and on 20th November a public meeting in the town centre supported remission. However, after the meeting and on the following nights, English mobs tried to attack Irish areas and Catholic churches, but were driven off by Irish men and women who had been prepared for the assaults²³¹. Deprived of their Irish and or Catholic victims, the mob attacked the Anglican High Church of St Alban's²³² which became a focus for violence from Murphy's supporters and was seriously damaged²³³.

²²⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 7, letter from G, who'd seen the mob attack women children etc in Park Street, offering to donate to a relief fund and asking Murphy et al to leave town; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 June 1867, p. 6, letter from A Protestant who sympathises with her slandered Catholic sisters; letter from a Protestant Father, offering to contribute to a fund to stop Murphy's "stream of filth"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 28 June 1867, p. 3, "Mr Murphy in Birmingham", a glazier tried to object, was forcibly ejected; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 263, "Fund For The Relief Of Those Who Suffered By The Riot In Park Street", donors; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 29 June 1867, p. 3, "Mr. Murphy's Lecture", Protestant person in the hall said that the English were more impoverished than under Papism three hundred years earlier, that Roman Catholic Countries elsewhere were prosperous, was hit, threatened and forcibly ejected; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2 July 1867, p. 4, letter from C Gregory, saying he was the person ejected, above, he'd been threatened inside and outside and his wife "vilely insulted" by Murphy's bodyguards, he would have been maltreated if he'd not had a couple of friends with him.

²²⁹ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 43-75, especially pp. 43, 51.

²³⁰ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, p. 65; *Saturday Evening Post*, 23 November 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 192, "Disturbances in Birmingham" seven hundred signed the petition to Parliament.

²³¹ *Saturday Evening Post*, 23 November 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 192, "Disturbances in Birmingham", numbers at Wednesday's public meeting three to four thousand and Wednesday's English mob one to two thousand; Thursday night disturbances; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 23 November 1867, p. 5, "Anti-Fenian Disturbances", numbered Wednesday's public meeting attendance at 400 to 500, and English mob at 200 to 300 "roughs"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 November 1867, p. 8, "Continued Excitement in Birmingham".

²³² *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 23 November 1867, p. 5, "Anti-Fenian Disturbances", on Wednesday about 300 people attacked St Albans, on Friday a mob of about 2,000 was dispersed near St Albans.

²³³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 November 1867, p. 6, letter from "D", "The Riots: Saddle the right horse".

A service of remembrance was held in St Joseph's Churchyard, Nechells, for Allen, Larkin and O'Brien on the day after they were executed²³⁴. 2,500 Irish people assembled, men and women, most wearing green ribbons on their hats, watched by a huge crowd of respectful spectators. A young man led the people in a prayer for the dead. After the service about 2,000 people processed to the Old Square in the town centre where they were dispersed by more than a hundred police. This demonstration illustrates Irish organisation and Birmingham residents' support.

Murphy left Birmingham the day after McNally's death²³⁵ but returned to take part in election meetings. He left again on the 22nd July, returning on 21 August to the June level of policing his lectures: 50 police constables plus the 200 strong night duty in Carrs Lane / Moor Street.²³⁶ During his absence some of his former supporters had led a public argument in the Tabernacle and the local press about his honesty²³⁷. Money, where it went and who controlled it became a cause of controversy and "a split in the camp"²³⁸. Murphy had stated his intention to build a permanent Protestant Hall in Birmingham in June and began collecting

²³⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 November 1867, p. 8, "Demonstration in Birmingham".

²³⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 July 1867, "Birmingham Watch Committee. - The Late Murphy Riots".

²³⁶ *Police Orders 21 June 1864 to 14 January 1868*, p. 472, 21 August 1867.

²³⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 August 1867, p. 5, "A Split in the Camp" letter from John Henry; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 17 August 1867, p. 8, "Mr Henry's Attack on Mr Murphy"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 19 August 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 277, "The Protestant Lecture Hall", Houston defends Murphy against Raffles and Henry; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 26 August 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 278, "Houston's Defence of Murphy" against Raffles' criticism.

²³⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 August 1867, p. 5, "A Split In The Camp", letter from John Henry questioning Murphy and the PEU's honesty.

subscriptions immediately²³⁹. In July Houston stated that Murphy was not making any money from his activities²⁴⁰, yet the income from the lectures should have been considerable. The Tabernacle was rarely described as less than half full²⁴¹ and charges for admission ranged from 3d to 1s. The Tabernacle was always full for the Confessional Unmasked lectures, and only 2000 admissions at 6d would have raised £50²⁴².

In August the BPA distanced itself from responsibility for Murphy's lectures²⁴³. In November the *Gazette* used the continuing disorder emanating from his supporters to criticise the local authorities for encouraging them in June²⁴⁴. Decline in his support amongst Conservative leaders may be attributed to the continued violence in the town and to wider rapprochement between Tories and the Roman Catholic hierarchy over education²⁴⁵.

²³⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 1 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 267/268, "Mr. William Murphy in Birmingham. Yesterday's Services.", p. 268, the evening lecture - Murphy's hopes for a no-Popery building; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 2 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 268 "The Protestant Lecture Hall. St Patrick's Religion", Murphy appeals for funds; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 6 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 270/1 "Protestant Lecture Hall, Carr's Lane. The Confessional Unmasked", contributions can be given to Mr Aston, 20 Dale End; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 8 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 273 "Mr. W. Murphy and the Orangemen of Birmingham", the Albert Lodge (1,235) of Loyal Orangemen, secretary J H Stuart, agree to support Murphy's building.

²⁴⁰ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 13 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 275/276, "Protestant Lecture Hall. The Confessional Unmasked", p. 276.

²⁴¹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 6 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 270, "The Confessional Unmasked"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 July 1867, p. 6, "Mr Murphy's Address..."; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 95, the Times said that six thousand tickets were sold for the first lecture on the Confessional Unmasked.

²⁴² *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 17 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 246, "Public Announcements - Protestant Lecture Hall Carrs Lane" advertised Murphy's lectures, Platform and reserved seats, 6d; back seats, 3d, except for the lectures on the "Confessional Unmasked" for which seat prices doubled, Copies of the "Confessional Unmasked" cost 1s. For the latter lectures, the hall was always described as crowded, see below and *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 22 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 259/260, "Lecture On The Confessional", hall "excessively crowded"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 June 1867, p. 4, "The Lecture".

²⁴³ *The Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 8, August 1867, pp. 1-3, "Birmingham Protestant Association".

²⁴⁴ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, p. 196, cites *Birmingham Gazette*, 23 November 1867 article.

²⁴⁵ D. G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: 1992), p. 300; Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity*, pp. 185-191.

Aston asserted Murphy's honesty and remained loyal until 1868²⁴⁶. In late 1867 and early 1868, in bursts of anti-Fenian hysteria, towns throughout England enrolled hundreds of special constables. Early in 1868 newspapers carried long reports of the trials of Burke, Casey and Mullady for treason-felony, and of Thompson et al for the explosion at Clerkenwell²⁴⁷. Burke, Casey and Mullady had been seen at meetings in Birmingham. Burke had rented a house in Birmingham and bought arms from Kynoch & Company, representing himself as an envoy of the Chilean government²⁴⁸. Aston led a deputation of the Orange Institution of Birmingham to the Mayor, Thomas Avery, to request they be allowed to process through the town and enrol as a body²⁴⁹. The deputation argued that Lord Grey had armed the Orange Order in Ireland in 1848 and that "The Fenians were recruited by the Roman Catholics". The Mayor refused their request because he thought their procession would be viewed as aggressive; they were welcome to enrol individually in their wards. The Mayor "regarded the Fenians as common enemies, but believed there were few, if any, in Birmingham, and he believed the loyalty of the Roman Catholics in this town might be firmly relied upon."

²⁴⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 13 August 1867, p. 3, " 'A Split In The Camp?' Who Is Mr. John Henry", letter from Aston defending Murphy and stating that Henry had not attended a single BPA meeting. However Aston himself described Henry as honorary secretary of the PEU and Henry had chaired Murphy's first lectures, was on the committee of the BPA and had attended many of their meetings: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 7, "Mr Murphy's Lectures" letter from Aston "... J D Martin and J Henry are the honorary secretaries. I am simply a member of the committee [of the PEU]"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 20 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 362, "The Evening Lecture" - John Henry chaired Murphy's lecture; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 8 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 272 "The Birmingham Riots: Who is to blame?" Mr Henry presided; *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 6, June 1867, p. 3, "Meetings", 25 March, J H Stewart presided, "Lectures", 15 April, John Henry lectured; No. 7, July 1867, p. 3, "Lectures", 20 May, John Henry lectured.

²⁴⁷ *Birmingham Journal*, 4 January 1868, p. 3, "Fenianism", trial of Burke, Casey and Mullady, Corrigan's evidence; 11 January 1868, p. 2, "Fenianism"; 18 January 1868, p. 3, "Fenianism".

²⁴⁸ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 10, 92, 93 and 131.

²⁴⁹ *Birmingham Journal*, 18 January 1868, p. 3, "The Orangemen and the Fenians. Deputation to the Mayor.", Mr Caswell, Mr Burton and Mr Garmstone among Orange deputation.

Murphy and the Orange Order continued to act violently²⁵⁰. In April 1868 the Mayor, Holland, and Glossop prevented Murphy from attending a public meeting on the Irish Church Bill in the Town Hall²⁵¹. At the meeting about 6,000, mostly men, were present, and the platform was crowded. Opinion on the Irish Church Bill was divided on party political lines. Birmingham's MPs, most councillors, prominent Anglican churchmen, industrialists and intellectuals, including Bunce and Timmins, supported disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. In opposition were the local Conservatives, including Gem, Lloyd, Goodman, and Alderman Brinsley, several clerics and Morris Roberts. Orangemen got into the hall first and as the meeting began they set upon "Radicals" in their vicinity with short cudgels and loaded canes. Although 200 police were on duty, they only intervened to stop the violence after 30 minutes. Despite the violence, the meeting adopted a resolution to support disestablishment.

Aston's doubts about Murphy's honesty became public in June 1868 when the Loyal Garibaldi Orange Lodge met to discuss Murphy's claim that Roman Catholics had stoned his father to death²⁵². Aston, amongst others, wanted proof of the circumstances of Murphy's father's death other than Murphy's assurances and Murphy had declared that he did not have to provide proof to "every rag tag and bob tail". Aston stated that he no longer trusted Murphy. The Lodge supported Aston, but after the meeting Aston was attacked by a "large crowd of

²⁵⁰ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, p. 41 state that Murphy's meetings were forbidden in Birmingham in June and July 1869.

²⁵¹ *Birmingham Journal*, 25 April 1868, Supplement p. 3, "The Irish Church. Great Town Meeting. Liberal Triumph".

²⁵² Aston, *Truth versus Error*, p. 11, letter from Rev Crickmer dated 18 December 1865 demonstrates that Murphy had been claiming his father had been stoned to death by Roman Catholics for some time; *Birmingham Journal* 22 June 1867 Supplement p. 3, "Mr. Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham", Murphy said "...my father died from sticks and bludgeons and I am prepared to suffer the same fate..."; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 27 June 1868, p. 3, "Murphy's 'Martyred' Father".

Murphyites" and needed police protection to get home safely. Aston continued as Worshipful Master of the Lodge until 1870²⁵³. At Murphy's funeral, his remaining supporters acknowledged that his father had died from a heart attack²⁵⁴.

Murphy's lectures have been described as the pornography of the poor²⁵⁵, as demonstrating the "Victorian dilemma" of reconciling free speech and public order²⁵⁶ and as generating working-class support for the Tory party²⁵⁷. The ensuing riots have been described as attacks on authority by the poor²⁵⁸ and reactions to Fenian violence²⁵⁹. There is not space to develop a full argument here, but the events in Birmingham do not support these views. Murphy's "respectable" audience²⁶⁰ paid the cost of attending a concert²⁶¹ to be flattered and misled in the Tabernacle.

The lectures have been described as pornographic because they reiterated sexual themes still used in anti-Catholic rhetoric: the Roman Catholic Church was a sexually predatory woman,

²⁵³ *Monthly Reporter Of The Birmingham Protestant Association*, March 1870, p. 3, "Presentation to Mr. T. H. Aston": on his retirement as Worshipful Master. J M Brindley succeeded Aston.

²⁵⁴ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 March 1872, p. 8, "Funeral of Mr. W Murphy".

²⁵⁵ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 299.

²⁵⁶ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 107.

²⁵⁷ Neville Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism 1850-1870', in Kenneth Lunn, ed., *Hosts Immigrants and Minorities* (Folkestone: 1980), pp. 92-94; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 100; MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 177.

²⁵⁸ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, p. 197.

²⁵⁹ Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 32; MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 114 for Fenian/Murphy.

²⁶⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "The Evening Lecture", audience "a mixture of working men and many others of a higher class.", and a considerable number of women; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 262, "The Evening Service", a "respectable and attentive audience".

²⁶¹ *Town Crier*, May 1865, p. 2, Theatre Royal, Birmingham, Pit 1s, Gallery 6d; April 1868, back page, Prince of Wales Theatre, Birmingham, Pit 8d, Gallery 4d.

"a Babylonian whore"²⁶²; the Virgin Mary was a respectable married woman who did not approve of Nunneries, which were priests' brothels, their grounds full of babies' skeletons²⁶³. The most notorious and most popular lectures were those on Confession at which the pamphlet "The Confessional Unmasked" was sold. The pamphlet was described as obscene²⁶⁴, and Wolverhampton magistrates had ruled it obscene in March 1867²⁶⁵.

In the Tabernacle women were given no role outside marriage and were portrayed as especially vulnerable to suggestion, Roman Catholic women in Confession, and all women in general²⁶⁶. Murphy's fellow speakers, most of whom were Protestant dissenters²⁶⁷, played an

²⁶² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "The Evening Lecture in The Tabernacle", RC Church "mother of harlots"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 July 1867, p. 3, "Protestant Lecture Hall", Babylonian whore quote.

²⁶³ *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 20 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 362/3 "The Evening Lecture" on the Virgin Mary and marriage, nunneries; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 9 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 273 "Protestant Lecture Hall, Carrs Lane...." "Why don't they let us inspect the nunneries? Because they know that if they did we would find the bones of infants..."; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 11 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 274 "Protestant Lecture Hall, Carrs Lane..": Murphy: "...what are the names of the nunneries which are respectable brothels for the priests I can only say...ask Father Sherlock, or Father Buckley, or Father Poncia".

²⁶⁴ *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 6 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 270/1 "Protestant Lecture Hall, Carrs Lane. The Confessional Unmasked": "...passages which are wholly unfit for publication..."; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 9 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 273 "Protestant Lecture Hall, Carrs Lane....": "instructions to priests with regard to the baptism of children in utero. The passages are altogether unfit for publication".

²⁶⁵ *Birmingham Journal*, 23 March 1867, Supplement, p. 3, "The Murphy Controversy"; *The Seizure of the Confessional*.

²⁶⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 8, "The Lecture", women were men's "help-meet"; Murphy wanted to protect their wives and daughters; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 June 1867, p. 3, "Mr. Murphy on 'The Confessional' ": Murphy exposed the Confessional for the sake of their wives and daughters.

²⁶⁷ Some of the Protestant ministers who lectured with Murphy, all *Birmingham Daily Gazette* in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*: 17 June 1867, p. 246, Rev William Cattle [sic. should have been Cattell], Wesleyan Minister, Walsall to chair 18 June meeting; 1 July 1867, p. 267, Rev Mr Bullen, Constitution Hill Baptist Chapel; 4 July 1867, p. 268, Rev Prescott, Wesleyan Minister, Market Harborough; 5 July 1867, p. 269, Rev. Dr Armstrong, rector of Burslem, Rev. D A Owen, Smethwick, Rev Beekin, Walsall, Rev J P Turner, Baptist minister Wednesbury; 12 July 1867, p. 275, Rev. John Graham, Primitive Methodist, Darlaston; 6 July 1867, p. 270/1, Rev R C Nightingale, Spring Hill and Rev William Wright, Primitive Methodist, Birmingham.

important supporting role in heightening tension with abusive rhetoric²⁶⁸. Foucault theorised that discussion about sex was encouraged during the nineteenth century by the "Christian pastoral" which included confession, and by medical and philosophical theorists, including Malthus²⁶⁹. However Protestant England did not share the wider European experience of confession, part of the foundations on which Foucault's theory is predicated. Hence Murphy's lectures may have been part of a more limited English public discussion about sex.

The theory that Murphy's lectures gave rise to a "Victorian dilemma"²⁷⁰ of reconciling free speech and public order cannot be substantiated since Victorian governments often curtailed the free speech of their opponents. Victorian governments banned Chartist meetings and arrested Chartist leaders in the 1840s²⁷¹, arrested and imprisoned Daniel O'Connell in 1844²⁷² and banned Reform demonstrations in the 1860s²⁷³. Contemporary press cited the jailing of Daniel O'Connell as a precedent for dealing with Murphy's incitements to violence²⁷⁴. Birmingham's elite listened to a wide range of speakers in the Town Hall, but police harassed

²⁶⁸ for example: *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 25 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 264, "Mr. William Murphy in Birmingham. Lecture on the Confessional Last Night", Colonel Brockman; *Birmingham Journal*, 29 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 267, "Murphy's Lectures", Rev. Owen, Congregationalist Minister of Smethwick; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 233 "The Evening Lecture" 18 June Rev William Cattell, Wesleyan Minister, Walsall describes Puseyism.

²⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1, An Introduction* (London: 1990), first published 1976, pp. 25-26, 34-35.

²⁷⁰ Arnstein, 'The Murphy Riots: A Victorian Dilemma', pp. 51-71.

²⁷¹ Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists* (Aldershot: 1984), pp. 67-69, 307-327; George Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People: A History of the Labour Movement in Birmingham, 1650-1914* (Wolverhampton: 1989), pp. 81-87.

²⁷² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 June 1867, p. 7, "Opinions Of The Press" reprint of Pall Mall Gazette article.

²⁷³ Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, pp. 88-89.

²⁷⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 June 1867, p. 6, "Opinions Of The Weekly Press", extract from the *Solicitors Journal*.

and arrested local religious and political speakers²⁷⁵. The main proponent of the theory is Arnstein, who is an apologist for Murphy and his supporters, failing to notice their violence and insisting that the Irish instigated the riots²⁷⁶. Richter echoes Arnstein and unquestioningly propagates the myth that Murphy's father was stoned to death²⁷⁷.

If Murphy's lectures contributed to the growth of working-class support for the Conservative party in the North of England²⁷⁸, it is not obvious that this occurred in Birmingham. Murphy declared his own parliamentary ambitions²⁷⁹ but when the by-election was announced he supported Sampson Lloyd, the Conservative candidate²⁸⁰. Lloyd's supporters appeared on Murphy's platform²⁸¹, but Murphy was not allowed on Lloyd's²⁸². Murphy's supporters were responsible for "a bit of a fight"²⁸³ at a Liberal meeting and the uproar caused by his presence at a Conservative meeting made the hall so noisy that Lloyd could not be heard²⁸⁴. The *Post*

²⁷⁵ Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, p. 137; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Watch Committee. The Riots - The Committee And The Magistrates".

²⁷⁶ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 107.

²⁷⁷ Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, quotes p. 48, Murphy's background p. 35.

²⁷⁸ Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', pp. 92-94; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 100; MacRaid, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 177.

²⁷⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 28 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 266, "Lecture Last Night"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 6 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 270, "The Confessional Unmasked"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 11 July 1867, p. 5, "Protestant Lecture Hall".

²⁸⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 July 1867, p. 6, "Mr Murphy's Address To The Electors And Non-Electors".

²⁸¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 July 1867, p. 6, "Mr. Murphy's Address To The Electors And Non-Electors".

²⁸² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1867, p. 5, "Mr Lloyd's Meeting at the Town Hall"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 July 1867, p. 8, "Mr Lloyd's Candidature" and letters to the editor.

²⁸³ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 288-291, "Liberal Meeting In The Town Hall".

²⁸⁴ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 20 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 291-293, "Meeting Of Mr Sampson Lloyd's Friends"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1867, p. 5, "Mr Lloyd's Meeting at the Town Hall"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 July 1867, p. 8, "Mr Lloyd's Candidature" and letters to the editor.

and *Gazette* accused the opposition of paying "roughs" to disrupt meetings²⁸⁵; Nomination and Polling Days were marked by violence; the Liberal, Dixon, won the election²⁸⁶.

Murphy reportedly had more success in South Warwickshire, recruiting "a little knot of local 'Whalleys' " and helping a Tory pigeon-shooting nonentity become an anti-Maynooth ultra-Protestant MP²⁸⁷. However, this was attributing greater influence to Murphy than was warranted, since anti-Maynooth, ultra-Protestant MPs were the norm for Warwickshire²⁸⁸. Nonetheless, Birmingham's Liberals spoke in the Tabernacle to describe their candidate as a "true Protestant"²⁸⁹. Birmingham's Conservatives used Murphy's platform in their by-election campaign in 1867 but did not allow him on theirs²⁹⁰. Their general assessment of Murphy's usefulness is probably reflected in the *Gazette*'s condemnation of his supporters' violence in November 1867²⁹¹ and in Avery's insistence that Roman Catholics were loyal in 1868²⁹².

²⁸⁵ *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 22 July 1867, p. 5, "Meeting of Mr. Lloyd's Supporters", "roughs" were paid by friends of Dixon.

²⁸⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 23 July 1867, p. 6, "Representation of Birmingham. The Nomination Yesterday. A Tory Row", states Lloyd's "roughs" wore white colours; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 297, 298, "Representation of Birmingham"; *Town Crier*, August 1867, p. 6, "Shall the Prize Fighters Be Punished"; Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, p. 144.

²⁸⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1867, p. 5, letter from 'Fairplay'.

²⁸⁸ John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829 to 1860* (Oxford: 1991), pp. 263-280: local anti-Catholic MPs Spooner and Newdegate, MPs for North Warwickshire, Shirley MP for South Warwickshire; Spooner motivated anti-Catholic resolutions in the House of Commons almost annually and with declining support from 1848 to 1860; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, passim for Newdegate's career; David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: the Aristocracy and the Towns 1774-1967* (Leicester: 1980), pp. 136-142 and 149-152, Calthorpes and Spooner.

²⁸⁹ *Birmingham Journal*, 20 July 1867, p. 5, "Dixon's Meetings. Protestant Lecture Hall".

²⁹⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1867, p. 5, "Mr Lloyd's Meeting at the Town Hall"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 July 1867, p. 8, letter from Sander S J Chew, Murphy was bidden "be gone" when he tried to get on Lloyd's platform on 21 July.

²⁹¹ Weinberger, *Law breakers and law enforcers*, p. 196, cites *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 23 November 1867.

²⁹² *Birmingham Journal*, Saturday 18 January 1868, p. 3, "The Orangemen and the Fenians. Deputation to the Mayor."

As in Lancashire²⁹³, Birmingham's Murphy riots counter the view that the riots were attacks on authority by the poor. The rioters acted in concert with authority, the police force, in attacking the Irish²⁹⁴. The massing of the English mob on Monday morning suggests that violence against the Irish had been planned. The men known to be involved were not poor: Roberts and Wilson were publicans, Parkinson was a pugilist, Walter Williams was a wheelwright, Walter Albert Edwards was a gun stocker, and Henry Wilcox was a brass founder. Drinkwater travelled quite a distance in order to throw stones at the Irish²⁹⁵. In the poor Inkleys and Livery Street, where the Irish were a minority amongst English people, no arrests or unrest occurred. In John, Thomas and Lichfield Streets, "inhabited...by a very doubtful class", residents may have looted the local pawn-broker, but vigorously denied this, blaming strangers²⁹⁶.

MacRaild suggests that the Murphy riots were an English reaction to Fenian violence²⁹⁷. However Murphy's success as a rabble-rouser predated any Fenian violence in England²⁹⁸. Richter²⁹⁹ and MacRaild³⁰⁰ imagine Fenian terrorist campaigns in England in 1867 and 1868. The first Murphy Riot was in Plymouth in June 1866. The Fenian attempt to raid Chester Castle in February 1867 was abandoned. The Riots in Walsall, Wolverhampton and

²⁹³ Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', p. 82.

²⁹⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 July 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Watch Committee...The Riots. - The Committee And The Magistrates".

²⁹⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Incidents Outside".

²⁹⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867, p. 5, "Yesterday Forenoon".

²⁹⁷ MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 114.

²⁹⁸ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 16, 34.

²⁹⁹ Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, p. 27.

³⁰⁰ MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 175.

Birmingham all preceded the attacking of the van in Manchester and the Clerkenwell explosion. However, Fenian organisation was successful in England and Birmingham was an important Fenian Centre³⁰¹. Denvir considered the violence in Birmingham a reaction against the Irish self-confidence and organisation apparent in the Fenian movement and, based on the chronology of events, his argument that the riots were a reaction to Fenian organisation is more persuasive than MacRaild's suggestion that they were a reaction to Fenian violence.

Kirk suggestion that underlying ethnic tensions were manipulated by purposeful rabble-rousing³⁰² is also persuasive. The Birmingham riots took place amidst local economic distress and national debate about the franchise, Irish Land Acts and English Trade Unions³⁰³. However, similar distress in the 1850s and early 1860s did not result in anti-Irish riots³⁰⁴. Murphy's lectures blamed the Irish. The cost of Maynooth was exaggerated to £1,000 a day and £1,000,000 a year, paid by a penny on income tax and taxes on tea and sugar³⁰⁵; the Irish worked for lower wages because their religion allowed them to steal³⁰⁶; the English had magnanimously allowed the Irish to live amongst them, and instead of gratitude and

³⁰¹ Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 33/34, quoting Denvir; MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration*, p. 178 for powerful Fenian organisation led to English pathological fear of Irish people.

³⁰² Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', pp. 78-82, 90-95.

³⁰³ *Birmingham Journal*, 29 June 1867, p. 5, "Increase of Pauperism"; *Minutes of the Committee to look into the recent increase of pauperism, October 1866 to January 1867, and Minutes of the Committee to enquire into the increase of rates, May 1867 to November 1867*, BCLA; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 June 1867, p. 3, "Representation of Birmingham", p. 4, "Sheffield Trades Union Commission"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 6, "Sheffield Trades Union Commission", "Birmingham Reform League"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "The Reform Bill"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 June 1867, p. 3, "Representation of Large Towns", "The Sheffield Trades Union Commission"; *Birmingham Journal*, 29 June 1867, p. 3, "House of Commons, Monday, Land Tenure (Ireland) Bill"; *Birmingham Journal*, 20 July 1867, p. 3, "The Irish Land Question".

³⁰⁴ Langford, *Modern Birmingham*, pp. 427, 449; *Birmingham Poor Law Union Documents Board Minute Books*, BCLA, 20 June 1860 to 26 March 1862.

³⁰⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4 "The Evening Lecture in the Tabernacle", Mr Whalley MP.

³⁰⁶ *Birmingham Journal*, 22 June 1867, p. 4, "The Lecture"; Supplement p. 3, "Mr Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 June 1867, p. 3, "Mr Murphy On 'The Confessional'".

subservience, the English were receiving insult³⁰⁷; Irish people were superstitious, backward and ignorant, dirty, dishonest and disloyal; the fire hose should be used to clear them from the streets and give them a wash³⁰⁸. Young men were told not to marry Irish girls³⁰⁹.

MacRaild and Quinlivan and Rose noted Murphy's links with the Orange Order³¹⁰.

Murphy stated that he was "an Orangeman in heart and soul"³¹¹ but could not become a member because he had once been a Roman Catholic³¹². He publicly denied any links with the Orange Order³¹³ despite its role in organising his appearances. Orangemen, including Booth-Mason, Grand Master of the English Orange Association, facilitated his tour of Lancashire in 1868³¹⁴. Booth-Mason attended Murphy's funeral³¹⁵. In Birmingham the Orange Order was instrumental in organising Murphy's visit; Roberts and Stuart were

³⁰⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "The Evening Service"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 27 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 265 letter from Rev M Macfie, Congregationalist Church Moseley Road, text of his sermon in support of Murphy.

³⁰⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "The Lecture"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 257/258, "The Lecture";

³⁰⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 362/363, "The Evening Lecture"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 257/259, "The Lecture", p. 258.

³¹⁰ MacRaild, *Culture, Conflict and Migration*, pp. 143-144; MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, pp. 114-115; Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, p. 33.

³¹¹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 28 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 266, "Mr William Murphy in Birmingham - Lecture Last Night".

³¹² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 28 June 1867, p. 3, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham".

³¹³ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 28 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 266, "Mr William Murphy in Birmingham - Lecture Last Night"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 28 June 1867, p. 3, "Mr. Murphy in Birmingham"; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, p. 98 distinguished between "Murphyites and Orangemen" in Ashton under Lyne 1868.

³¹⁴ Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', p. 79.

³¹⁵ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 March 1872, p. 8, "Funeral of Mr. W Murphy".

members³¹⁶. One English response to successful Irish organisation was to increase support for the Orange Order³¹⁷ and the Order enjoyed a revival in Birmingham with Aston becoming Grand Master of the new 5th Garibaldi Loyal Orange Lodge in 1867³¹⁸.

Murphy's incitement to violence is evident in his inflammatory imagery of "war to the knife" and "driving the Irish to Paddy's land"³¹⁹. However, the newspapers did not fully describe the extent of the incitement. Four men armed with revolvers guarded Murphy in Birmingham³²⁰ and Murphy and his fellow lecturers Houston and Mackey flaunted their revolvers in the Tabernacle³²¹. Murphy was armed in Oldham and Accrington³²² and in Ashton-under-Lyne and Stalybridge he "swaggered into lecture halls holding aloft a revolver..."³²³. Mackey was eventually arrested for shooting a policeman³²⁴. Pleading vulnerability and demanding that local authorities protect him³²⁵, Murphy travelled with an armed entourage, was surrounded

³¹⁶ 'Birmingham Reminiscences 1843 to 1906', Prison Warder Brown's Recollections, pp. 117-118.; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 8 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 273, "Mr. W Murphy and the Orangemen of Birmingham": J H Stuart secretary of Albert Lodge of Loyal Orangemen.

³¹⁷ MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 180.

³¹⁸ *Birmingham Protestant Association Record*, No. 12, January 1868, p. 6, "Orangeism In Birmingham".

³¹⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 June 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 254, "The Evening Lecture"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4: "The Evening Lecture in the Tabernacle".

³²⁰ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 6 July 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 271 "Mr Murphy's Visit to Liverpool".

³²¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 1 March 1870, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 363/364, "Warwickshire Spring Assizes. Yesterday."

³²² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 1 March 1870, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 363/364, "Warwickshire Spring Assizes. Yesterday".

³²³ Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', p. 79 quote; Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, p. 38.

³²⁴ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 95-96; MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 177.

³²⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 June 1867, p. 4, "The Evening Lecture in The Tabernacle"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 257/259, "The Lecture"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "The Lecture"; *Birmingham Journal* 22 June 1867 Supplement p. 3, "Mr Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, pp. 262/263, "The Evening Service"; *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 8 July 1867 in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*,

by local prize-fighters and championed by Conservative politicians³²⁶.

We can assume that Murphy's safety from the law demonstrated a tacit approval of his activities. The full Council did not discuss the riots in 1867, the only reference in Council minutes is to the Tabernacle's lack of planning permission³²⁷. The Council's refusal to let Murphy hire the Town Hall enabled it to abrogate responsibility for the consequences of his lectures. Allowing them to proceed in a venue closer to Irish areas and further from the town's financial centre ensured that the middle-class elite would be unaffected and made it easier for the mob to attack Irish areas. Birmingham's local authorities were unwilling or unable to control their police force or the English mob. They expected unrest on Sunday evening, and stationed the police at the bottom of Carrs Lane to protect Murphy and the Tabernacle. They were negligent in not protecting Park Street on Monday, not calling for military or police assistance from outside the town until Monday afternoon and evening. They allowed the police to become subservient to the mob, then countenanced the sacking of Park Street by ordering all the male residents from the street. They continued to protect Murphy and the Tabernacle, used the military to cordon off Irish streets after the riots but continued to treat the Irish as the problem by implementing a heavy policing "move on" policy in Irish streets whilst vast crowds were allowed to collect outside the cordon. Magistrates' clerks' interventions in the riot hearings³²⁸, and Glossop's interventions in the

pp. 271/272 "Protestant Lecture Hall, Carrs Lane"; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 13 July 1867, p. 4, "The Confessional Unmasked"; Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 95-97, 101; Quinlivan and Rose, *The Fenians in England*, pp. 35, 39.

³²⁶ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic*, pp. 99-102.

³²⁷ *Birmingham Council Proceedings, 1865-1867*, BCL LSD, 2 July 1867, p. 353, minute number 6055.

³²⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 June 1867, magistrates' clerk intervention.

trial of Carroll and Duffy and the dismissal of Serridge³²⁹ suggest that an interest in prosecuting Irish people took precedence over correct procedure.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy began 1867 with an eulogy on Birmingham's respect for Roman Catholics³³⁰, and claimed that in the long term the riots affected only servant girls and factory workers, but in 1868 the annual Catholic Reunion and the fund-raising Grand Bazaar, which usually took place in the Town Hall, were cancelled³³¹. In June 1868, when St Joseph's School, next to the church in Nechells, was built, "it was thought necessary for the safety of the church..." for the priest to live in the school house³³². The feelings expressed at Murphy's funeral show that the effects of his lectures were long-felt³³³. Ziesler's conclusion that the Murphy Riots made the Irish "aware of their power to control their environment with physical force" is unrealistic³³⁴. That it made them aware of the necessity to protect the Catholic churches and schools is shown by their rapid organisation in November 1867 to prevent rioters from attacking Catholic institutions. However the destruction of Park Street must have made Irish people aware of their vulnerability, unable to protect themselves and their homes against an English mob supported by the police.

³²⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 July 1867, p. 3, "The Tragedy in Dale End", Glossop's intervention; *Birmingham Journal*, 18 January 1868, p. 3 "A Birmingham Policeman Charged with Fenianism": evidence given by Chief Superintendent Glossop.

³³⁰ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 16 January 1867, in *Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1*, p. 223/224, "Roman Catholic Demonstration in the Town Hall".

³³¹ Leith, *St Chad's Cathedral Records*, p. 85, October 1867; p. 90, 6 January 1868, cancellation of Reunion; p. 78, May 1867 Grand Bazaar; p. 98, May 1869 Grand Bazaar.

³³² Rev. William Greaney, *Annual Report of St. Joseph's Mission for the Years 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872* (Birmingham: 1873), SCCA, p. 12, 8 June 1868.

³³³ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 March 1872, p. 8, "Funeral of Mr. W Murphy".

³³⁴ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 103.

[3] Summary

Ziesler states that police behaviour during the 1860s led to general resentment against the police amongst Irish people.³³⁵ This study has detailed how, during the Murphy riots, the police sided with the anti-Irish rioters and the magistracy dealt more severely with Irish than with other defendants. However, this unequal treatment was not the result of special circumstances but part of the general trend in Birmingham. Anti-Irish attitudes existed before Murphy's arrival in Birmingham. Murphy had "quickened...rather than created" English antipathy towards the Irish³³⁶. The Irish in Birmingham in the 1860s were over-represented in prison, as they were in the 1850s and 1870s. They continued to be over-represented in arrests in the 1870s, and their over-representation in prison increased. They were also over-represented in the police force. Analysis of their over-representation in the police force shows that this reduced over the period 1850s to 1890s. The Irish in Birmingham shared the general experience of the Irish in England and Wales of over-representation in prosecutions and in prison.

³³⁵ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 103

³³⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham. State Of The Town Yesterday" for Murphy "quickened" antipathy.

CONCLUSION

This study has investigated three important aspects of life: work, housing and policing. It has found that the Irish experience in Birmingham was similar to that of the Irish in other towns in England. As in other towns it was commonplace for the professional elite, police and newspapers to blame the Irish for insanitary housing and crime¹. While Engels' and Kay's descriptions of the Irish in Manchester are perpetuated², Birmingham people's habit of keeping pigs in their houses has been forgotten³. Certain streets were associated with Irish people from the 1820s and by the mid 1870s this association would not need to have been explicit⁴.

In housing Irish people shared the experience of living at greater density than the average for the town and the immediate vicinity with the Irish in Manchester⁵ and Lancashire in general⁶. There was no one Irish quarter⁷ but several streets where the Irish made up the majority of the inhabitants or, as in Lancashire⁸ and Huddersfield⁹, were concentrated in one part of the

¹ John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume I* (Birmingham: 1878), p. 324; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 30th October 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No 1'.

² Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities* (London: 1992), 'Introduction' pp. 3, 4.

³ 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population with the Local Reports (England and Wales) 1837-1842, 1842 (HL-) Volume XXVII, Birmingham Report', in *IUP Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Health, General Volume 4* (Shannon: 1971), pp. 830-861 for Committee of Physicians and Surgeons.

⁴ *Birmingham Landlords and Ratepayers Mutual Protection Association Speech of Henry Hawkes, Esq, JP, 29 May 1878, and Annual Report* (Birmingham: 1878), BCL LSD, pp. 3-19.

⁵ Busteed, Hodgson and Kennedy, 'The Myth and Reality of Irish Migrants in mid Nineteenth Century Manchester: a preliminary study', in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities* (London: 1992), pp. 37, 38.

⁶ Ruth-Ann M. Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland* (Iowa: 1994), pp. 165, 172-176 quotes Lowe's studies of Lancashire in the 1860s.

⁷ Kaja Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham 1830 - 1970*, Ph. D. thesis, Birmingham University, 1989, p. 28.

⁸ John Belchem, 'Nationalism, republicanism and Exile: Irish Emigrants and the Revolutions of 1848', *Past and Present*, 146 (1995), p. 134; Neville Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism 1850-1870', in Kenneth Lunn, ed., *Hosts Immigrants and Minorities* (Folkestone: 1980), p. 88.

street. There was continuity and stability amongst residents from the 1850s to the 1860s, illustrated by the 242 families with children studied. In 143 families all the children were Birmingham born and of these 31 families had children aged 15 and over born in Birmingham. Several families were resident in the same street in 1851 and 1861.

However, in nineteenth-century cities, moving was more usual¹⁰, if often involuntary. The Birmingham streets associated with Irish people from the 1820s were demolished during local authority "improvement" schemes in the 1870s and 1880s. Two of the five small areas of Irish concentration, where the Irish-born and their immediate family made up half the areas' population, were subject to demolition¹¹. In a less official clearance, Park Street Irish were unhoused by an English mob in 1867. The association of Irish people with Park Street and Woodgate Street in the 1880s suggests that they moved into contiguous areas¹².

Lodging was common and was described in both housing and work. Finnegan and Herson¹³ found that the presence of an Irish area encouraged settlement. The importance of family,

⁹ Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1984), pp. 223-234.

¹⁰ Eric Monkkonen, 'Residential Mobility in England and the United States, 1850-1900', *Themes in British and American History, a comparative approach: Focus Point 5 and 6 Essays, Citizenship, Equality and Industrialisation, 1830-1890, Cities and the Social Order, c1850 -1970* (Milton Keynes: 1985), pp. 77-83.

¹¹ Carl Chinn, *Homes for People: Council Housing and Urban Renewal in Birmingham, 1849 - 1999* (Studley: 1999), p. 5, discussing Birmingham's slum clearances; Carl Chinn, ' "Sturdy Catholic emigrants" : The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin:1999), p. 62; John Thackray Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II* (Birmingham: 1885), pp. 82-84.

¹² Woodgate Street - probably misprint of Woodcock Street, east of London Prentice Street; *Irish in Birmingham Scrapbook 1643-1989*, Cutting from *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 15 November 1894, "Birmingham Sons of Erin".

¹³ Frances Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', in M Clancy, J. Cunningham and A. MacLochlainn, eds., *...the emigrant experience...* (Galway: 1991), pp. 39, 40; John Herson, 'Irish Migration and Settlement in Victorian England', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939* (London: 1989), p. 93; John Herson, 'Migration, "community" or integration? Irish Families in Victorian Stafford', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin: 1999), pp. 160-164.

ethnicity and neighbourhood in helping new immigrants¹⁴ is endorsed by Lees' description of lodging as providing an income for existing residents and a familiar cultural setting, a source of information and a home for newcomers¹⁵. In Birmingham the study suggests that while Irish people may have benefited from the income and information exchange ideally associated with lodging, the prevalence of families of lodgers indicates that Irish families found it difficult to rent houses. Sharing accommodation demonstrated the absence of class segregation, two of the four teachers in the sample shared with labourers and one with a brass caster. Unlike York¹⁶, there was no evidence to suggest that the Irish displaced brothels in Birmingham. There were Irish-run brothels in Thomas Street in the 1830s¹⁷ and prostitutes in Irish streets in the 1860s¹⁸.

Birmingham's employers portrayed it as a harmonious manufacturing town, with good pay and good relations between employer and employee. However, their descriptions of wages and conditions were inaccurate. Birmingham's was a low wage economy. As in other towns the Irish in Birmingham were accused of lowering wages, but their employment in construction was acknowledged as essential from the 1830s. Patterns of Irish employment in Birmingham in the 1860s shared characteristics with those in other towns in the 1850s. For men, there was greater representation in construction, in the casual irregular employment of general labour and in low paid work specific to the town, in London's transport industry, York's agriculture and Birmingham's metalworking. Irish women were more likely to be

¹⁴ Monkkonen, 'Residential Mobility in England and the United States', p. 83.

¹⁵ Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, (New York: 1979), pp. 124 and 133.

¹⁶ Finnegan, 'The Irish in Victorian York', pp. 39, 40, 45.

¹⁷ Thomas Augustine Finigan, *Journal of Thomas Augustine Finigan*, 1837/8, p. 135, entry for 9 October 1837.

¹⁸ *Birmingham Daily Gazette* 27 June 1867 in *Osborne's Cuttings* p. 265, "Stealing a copy of the "Confessional Unmasked" ".

employed, and employed outside a domestic environment, than was general for the towns. They were less represented in service industries and more likely to work in other sectors, in York in agriculture, in London and Liverpool in retailing and hawking and some manufacturing, in Birmingham in metal manufacturing.

Holmes' summary¹⁹ that by the 1870s the majority of Irish men worked in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, as agricultural and other labourers, with few landlords, publicans and pawnbrokers and the majority of Irish women worked in textile mills, laundry and domestic service did not hold true for Birmingham, although Birmingham's factories may be equivalent to Holmes' textile mills. Less than half of men worked as general, agricultural or construction labourers and a significant number were dealers. Harris' assertion that Irish women "resisted factory work"²⁰ was disproved; in the sample Irish women were more likely to work in factories and less likely to work in domestic service than were all women in Birmingham. The occupations of the sample, when considered in detail, suggested that the Irish in Birmingham were moving from the "the ranks of unskilled labour" into "the various trades for which Birmingham is famous" as Denvir described.²¹

I have not assumed that the Irish were unskilled; current employment in an unskilled occupation may reflect available job opportunities and wages as much as skill²². I have pointed out where Irish people are likely to have brought skills with them from Ireland.

¹⁹ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island* (London: 1988), pp. 37/38.

²⁰ Harris, *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland*, p. 155.

²¹ John Denvir, *The Irish in Britain from the Earliest times to the Fall and Death of Parnell* (London: 1892), p. 259.

²² David Fitzpatrick, ' "A Peculiar Tramping People": the Irish in Britain, 1801-70' in Vaughan, ed., *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland Under the Union, I, 1801-70* (Oxford: 1989), P. 640.

However, greater presence in manufacturing does not imply greater acceptance in Birmingham, since the occupations were often dirty and heavy, and manufacturers employed women and children in preference to men in order to reduce their wage bills²³. This demand for cheap labour probably explains the high incidence of employment of Irish women in Birmingham's manufacturing. The labour of women and young boys and girls in factories maximised Irish community income in a situation where many of the men had only irregular work. Some occupations in which the Irish were heavily involved attracted police surveillance²⁴. Hickman argued that the Roman Catholic Church's domination of the Irish in England led to the low profile of Irish people's concern for Irish and Irish national issues.²⁵ This argument limits the role of the British State to supporting its agent, the Roman Catholic Church. However, state surveillance was as powerful a weapon in the imposition of a low profile as any the Church wielded. Many Irish people were watched and counted merely because of where they lived and worked.

In policing an overview of the general experience of the Irish in Birmingham was supplemented by an analysis of the Murphy Riots. In the 1820s and 1830s Irish people were portrayed as having inferior morals to the English²⁶ and in the 1860s theft and prostitution

²³ J. S. Wright, 'On The Employment of Women in the Factories in Birmingham', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1857* (London: 1858), pp. 538-544, see p. 538; Samuel Timmins, ed., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District* (London: 1866), passim.

²⁴ police surveillance: hawking, marine store dealing, lodging houses, discussed in Work Chapter.

²⁵ Mary Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain: a critique of the segregation / assimilation model', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain*, pp. 247-252; Mary Hickman, *Religion Class and Identity* (Aldershot: 1995), pp. 199-200, 250-252.

²⁶ John Darwell, 'Observations on the Medical Topography of Birmingham and the Health of the Inhabitants', *Midland Medical and Surgical Reporter*, I (II) (November 1828), pp 106-122 especially pp. 108-109, 111; 'State of the Irish Poor in Birmingham', Appendix G to the *Poor Law Commissioners Report 1834*, pp. 1-7.

were described as cancers originating in Irish streets and infecting all the town²⁷. The association of the Irish with criminality in Birmingham was accompanied by a thirty year history of organised anti-Catholicism²⁸. The study was limited by an absence of statistics on the nationality of prisoners for all but a few years, but demonstrated that the Irish in Birmingham shared the general experience of the Irish in England and Wales of over-representation in prosecutions and in prison. The Irish in Birmingham were also over-represented in the police force. Analysis of the police force showed that recruitment of Irish men peaked in the 1850s, with those leaving not being replaced, and suggested that high-profile Irish policemen were recruited because of their opposition to majority Irish sentiment.

Accounts of the Murphy Riots in Birmingham continue to omit the deaths and minimise the extent of the destruction they caused²⁹, therefore a longer account of the riots was undertaken than had been intended. The riots demonstrated similarities with the 1852 riots in Stockport³⁰, with police, local authorities and magistracy prosecuting the Irish whose homes had been destroyed. Magistrate bias against Irish defendants was noted, alongside the partisan role of Chief Superintendent Glossop, who allowed the police to become subordinate to the English mob and personally gave evidence against Irish defendants. However, this unequal treatment was not the result of special circumstances but part of the general trend in Birmingham where Murphy "quickened...rather than created" English antipathy towards the Irish³¹.

²⁷ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 30th October 1863, 'The Night Side of Birmingham No 1'.

²⁸ D. G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: 1992), p. 257.

²⁹ Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain* (London: 1999), p. 176.

³⁰ Pauline Millward, 'The Stockport Riots of 1852' in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City*, pp. 209-212, 219-220.

³¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21 June 1867, p. 4, "Mr Murphy's Lectures in Birmingham. State Of The Town Yesterday".

The analysis of the Murphy riots in Birmingham suggested that they were provoked by purposeful rabble-rousing. Kirk's study of Lancashire towns led him to conclude that English working-class discontent was purposefully channelled into ethnic conflict³². Rioting was not simply a reaction to lowering living standards or rising unemployment, but demonstrated an unfounded fear of "alien domination"³³. However, these unfounded fears can be seen as racist stereotypes which had been part of English culture since the thirteenth century³⁴, their importance waxing and waning with English policy in Ireland. MacRaild emphasised the longevity of ethnic violence and its association with increased Irish involvement in politics in England³⁵.

The study has been constrained by a lack of critical general histories of Birmingham. The myths about nineteenth-century Birmingham which were assiduously cultivated by its nineteenth-century Liberal historians have been little challenged by twentieth-century ones. For example, the Borough Council's opportunistic use of the Artisan's Dwelling Act to build a Parisian Boulevard and its purchase of the gas and water companies to finance corporation borrowing and keep rates down have been described as municipal socialism³⁶. Birmingham's conversion to Unionism and later the Conservative party has been attributed to a Chamberlain personality cult rather than its economic base, when, as this study demonstrated,

³² Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', p. 90.

³³ Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism', p. 91.

³⁴ Liz Curtis, *Nothing But The Same Old Story* (London: 1984); Roy Douglas, Liam Harte and Jim O'Hara, *Drawing Conclusions* (Belfast: 1998); London Irish Women's Centre, 'Anti-Irish Racism', in *Roots and Realities a profile of Irish Women in London 1993* (London: 1993), pp. 3-5.

³⁵ Donald M. MacRaild, ed., *The Great Famine and Beyond Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Dublin: 2000), introduction pp. 2, 3.

³⁶ George Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People: A History of the Labour Movement in Birmingham, 1650-1914* (Wolverhampton: 1989), pp. 225-231.

Birmingham's manufacturing was dependant on imports from and exports to imperial possessions, colonies and financial dependencies by the mid 1860s³⁷.

This study is a "contribution" to the history of the Irish diaspora and is located in the context of Irish Studies, where assessments of Irish "mobility", "overcrowding" and "clustering" have been investigated in isolation from the general experience of the indigenous community and that of other immigrant communities. Only in the case of immigrants does moving next to kin or "clustering" become problematic.

The study challenges those who posit a great difference in material conditions and acceptance by the indigenous population between pre-Famine and Famine and Catholic and Protestant immigrants.³⁸ Finigan's dismissal³⁹, Ziesler and Chinn's studies⁴⁰ and this study demonstrate a continuity of Irish experience shared by both Catholic and Protestant, pre-Famine, Famine and post-Famine immigrants in the area centred on London Prentice Street. Inability to accept that racism existed led some scholars to leave only biological determinism as an explanation for the Irish experience, for example Fitzgerald's insistence that Irish over-representation in prison was too high to be a result of either poverty or prejudice⁴¹. Insulation from wider immigrant studies has enabled some scholars to insist that comic stereotypes of Irish people in England differ in kind from the discredited comic stereotypes of black people in the United

³⁷ see also Perry Anderson, *English Questions* (London, 1992), p. 147; T. A. Jackson, *Ireland Her Own* (London: 1971), p. 261.

³⁸ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p. 223.

³⁹ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. {103}-{109}, 2 to 4 May 1838.

⁴⁰ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 123; Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants.

⁴¹ David Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain 1815 -1939* (London: 1989), p. 25.

States of America⁴².

The prejudices of earlier authorities continue. Redford's description of migrant routes remains authoritative but his description of Irish people trying to escape the Famine as a horde of starving vagrants attacking England and over-running it in a "terrible racial invasion" was racist⁴³. Like a nineteenth century employer⁴⁴, he commodified the Irish, describing the Irish children used as strike-breakers in Preston in 1854 as "imported" from Belfast and "shipped back to Dublin as paupers"⁴⁵. Fitzpatrick⁴⁶ described them as " 'knobsticks' imported from a Belfast workhouse...". Studies continue to exploit the children to demonstrate that the Irish broke strikes.

It is not only in Irish Studies that unacknowledged underlying theories ⁴⁷ exist. With households and occupancy, theorists criticised aspects of nineteenth-century ideology but failed to acknowledge their persistence⁴⁸. Michael Anderson demonstrated class-determinism: the working-class, having failed to develop their "super-ego", calculated the return on their support for family members while the middle-class, with super-egos, had

⁴² Sheridan Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1789-1900', in Colin Holmes, ed., *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London: 1978).

⁴³ Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England 1800 - 1850* (Manchester: 1964), quote p. 156.

⁴⁴ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. 161.

⁴⁵ Redford *Labour Migration in England*, p. 162.

⁴⁶ Fitzpatrick, 'A Peculiar Tramping People', p. 644.

⁴⁷ Hickman 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain', pp. 237-239; O'Sullivan, *The Irish in the New Communities*, Introduction pp. 7-8.

⁴⁸ Edward Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth-Century Censuses', *History Workshop Journal*, 23 (Spring 1987), p. 60.

internalised morals and were altruistic⁴⁹.

O'Sullivan has pointed out that the roots of many analyses lie in American theories of sociology and urban geography⁵⁰, yet until his series this unacknowledged internationalism produced a series of determinedly British studies. Connections between North America and Britain are evident in the shared nineteenth-century anti-Catholic polemic, Murphy's references to North American publications and Dixie and his supporters singing John Brown's Body⁵¹. USA anti-Catholicism was modelled on the English in the 1830s and by the 1840s shared publications, phraseology and the identification of Catholic with immigrant foreigners⁵². Across the USA from Boston to Los Angeles anti-Irish hostility plus community ties produced urban Irish neighbourhoods, although they were never exclusively Irish: "Even the archetypal Irish Slum, Five Points in New York, had a substantial non-Irish population"⁵³. Comparisons between North America and Britain can be extended post-1939, when the Irish in America had Tyrone Power and Grace Kelly, and the Irish in England had DORA and NINA⁵⁴.

The study concentrates more on the economic base of the Irish in Birmingham than was

⁴⁹ Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (London: 1971), pp. 108-109.

⁵⁰ O'Sullivan, ed., *The Irish in the New Communities*, 'Introduction' pp. 7-8.

⁵¹ Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860, a Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Chicago: 1964), pp. 354-356, "Popish Cannibals..." and "High and Low Mass". Dixey-land and John Brown's Body - perhaps Murphy and his supporters were trying to associate Irish people with support for Slavery and the Southern USA. This will have become untenable as many Fenian leaders Union army experience became known.

⁵² Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860*, pp. 95, 354-355.

⁵³ Patrick Blessing, 'Irish Emigration to the United States, 1800-1921: an overview' in P. J. Drudy, ed., *The Irish in America; Emigration, Assimilation and Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 27.

originally intended because carrying out and collating the primary research on the census, housing and work was time-consuming. It would be enhanced by extending the discussion of cultural practices barely mentioned in this study and investigating others found in primary sources. Finigan wrote of wakes and funeral rites in the 1830s⁵⁵. Irish carpenters employed in the Saltley Railway Carriage Works carved intricate church pews in their spare time⁵⁶. Dion de Boucicault's plays were produced in Birmingham⁵⁷ and it would have been profitable to consider their content and audience.

Another profitable area of enquiry would be Irish political involvement. The small areas of high Irish concentration in the 1860s were scattered north south and east of the town centre and divided between five wards, so that they could have little electoral impact in council and parliamentary elections, yet the Tory leader Goodman described the working men in St. Thomas Ward "as the scum of society and for the most part Fenians"⁵⁸. In the late 1860s the Catholic Church hierarchy opposed and the Irish supported Fenians⁵⁹ but in the 1880s the Irish were able to force Catholic School Board candidates to support Home Rule, despite the fact that many prominent Birmingham Catholics were Tories⁶⁰. Support for Home Rule and

⁵⁴ DORA - Defence of the Realm Act: Irish people in England had to report to the police weekly, 1839 to 1845; NINA: No Irish Need Apply: Irish acronym for notices posted on factory gates, lodging houses in England in 1940s and 1950s.

⁵⁵ Finigan, *Journal*, pp. 137/138, entry for 11 October 1837.

⁵⁶ Rev. William Greaney, *Annual Report of St. Joseph's Mission for the Years 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872* (Birmingham: 1873), SCCA, p. 10: Messrs Hill, McKenna, Corrigan, Tuohey and Fagan.

⁵⁷ *Town Crier*, Volume 7 Number 9, April 1868, end cover page, "Arrah na Pogue". De Boucicault wrote "The Wearing of the Green (new version)", the old version dates from 1798, see Coiste Foillseacháin Náisiúnta, *Songs And Recitations of Ireland* (Cork: 1971), p. 30 and Walton Songs, *The Tri coloured Ribbon* (Dublin: 1966), pp. 33, 34.

⁵⁸ Kathleen Tiller, *The Working-class and Political Organisation in Birmingham in the 1860s*, B. A. Dissertation, Birmingham University, 1970.

⁵⁹ Ziesler, *The Irish in Birmingham*, p. 88.

⁶⁰ Monica Taylor, *Sir Bertram Windle, A Memoir* (London: 1932), p. 31.

Irish independence were manifest even in Unionist Birmingham in the early twentieth century⁶¹.

The study has undermined some existing stereotypes, for example that of lodgers as young single men, and supported some general criticisms of nineteenth century censuses such as their undercounting of some women's work. From an English perspective, the 1851 Census is the first under the regime of registration districts and thus has continuity with modern censuses⁶². However from an Irish perspective 1851 is so soon after the Great Famine and its enormous physical and emotional dislocation that its census must reflect a community in crisis. The study of work in 1861 census may reflect gains made by a more confident Irish community over the intervening decade, with Birmingham continuing to attract Irish immigrants. However, in the 1860s immigration into Birmingham largely ceased. The violent Murphy riots will have marred its liberal reputation and its low-wage economy made it a less attractive destination than northern towns with expanding industries.

⁶¹ *Birmingham Post*, 20 November 1913, cutting in *McKenna's Boxes*, Mr Redmond's speech in Birmingham.

⁶² Edward Higgs, *A Clearer sense of the Census: Victorian censuses and historical research* (London: 1996), p. 11.

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Table 1: Total Emigration from the regions of Ireland, 1851 to 1880.

Region	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880
Leinster	233,331	149,794	111,046
Munster	430,409	306,063	180,868
Ulster	336,265	201,984	240,299
Connacht	136,111	114,059	86,290

Source: Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York and Oxford: 1985), p. 570, Table 2.

Table 2: Total population and Irish-born population of selected towns in England, 1861.

City or Borough	Total population	Irish born population	% Irish born
London	2,803,989	106,879	3.8
Manchester & Salford	460,428	52,076	11.3
Liverpool	443,938	83,940	18.9
Birmingham Borough	296,076	11,332	3.8
Leeds Borough	207,165	10,333	4.9
Sheffield	185,172	6,134	3.3
Bristol	154,093	4,363	2.8
Plymouth & Devonport	113,039	3,468	3.0
Newcastle-Upon-Tyne	109,108	6,596	6.0
Bradford Borough	106,218	6,176	5.8
Preston Borough	82,985	6,974	8.4
Sunderland Borough	78,211	4,169	5.3
Bolton Borough	70,395	5,540	7.9
Wolverhampton Borough	60,860	3,530	5.8
Stockport Borough	54,681	6,164	11.3
York City	40,433	1,956	4.8
Halifax Borough	37,014	2,062	5.6
Macclesfield	36,101	1,804	4.9
Huddersfield	34,877	1,367	3.9
Tynemouth Borough	34,021	1,312	3.9
Gateshead Borough	33,587	2,299	6.8
Chester City	31,110	1,912	6.1
Carlisle City	29,417	1,968	6.7
Colchester Borough	23,809	1,204	5.1
Newport Borough	23,249	2,163	9.3

Source: Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III, General Report, Appendix to the Report (*London: 1863*), p. 160, Table 126: 'Comparative Population and Number of Natives of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Colonies and Foreign Parts enumerated in the Principal Towns of England and Wales, 1851, 1861'.

Table 2a: Population of Birmingham Borough, 1861.

Residents of Birmingham Registration District	212,621
Residents of parts of Aston	70,548
Residents of Edgbaston (part of King's Norton Registration District)	12,907
Population of Birmingham Borough	296,076

Source: *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume I, Population Tables, Summary Tables and Part I* (London: 1862), p. 132, Birmingham Municipal Borough.

Table 2b: Irish born population of Birmingham Borough, 1871.

	Males under 20	Males 20 and over	Females under 20	Females 20 and over	Total
Total in Borough	80,471	87,165	81,295	94,856	343,787
Irish born	365	4,068	367	4,276	9,076
Percentage Irish born					2.64

Source: *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III, General Report, Appendix to the Report* (London: 1863), Population Abstracts; Age, Civil Condition, Occupation and Birthplaces of the People, p. 342, Table 21: Birthplaces of the Inhabitants of the Principal Towns, data for Birmingham Borough.

Table 3: The Ten Towns with highest Irish-born populations in England and Wales, 1851, 1861 and 1871.

1851				1861				1871			
Town	Number	Town	%	Town	Number	Town	%	Town	Number	Town	%
London	108,548	Liverpool	22.3	London	106,879	Liverpool	18.9	London	91,171	Liverpool	15.6
Liverpool	83,813	Manchester	13.1	Liverpool	83,940	Manchester	11.3	Liverpool	76,761	Middlesboro'	9.2
Manchester	52,504	Newport	10.7	Manchester	52,076	Stockport	11.3	Manchester	34,066	Manchester	9.0
Birmingham	9,341	Stockport	10.6	Birmingham	11,332	Newport	9.3	Leeds	10,128	Newport	8.4
Bradford	9,279	Bradford	8.9	Leeds	10,333	Preston	8.4	Birmingham	9,076	Stockport	7.5
Leeds	8,466	Gateshead	8.6	Preston	6,974	Bolton	7.9	Bradford	8,381	Gateshead	6.8
Newcastle	7,124	Newcastle	8.1	Newcastle	6,596	Gateshead	6.8	Newcastle	6,904	Merthyr Tydfil	6.6
Stockport	5,701	Carlisle	8.0	Bradford	6,176	Carlisle	6.7	Sheffield	6,082	Bolton	6.5
Preston	5,122	Preston	7.4	Stockport	6,164	Chester	6.1	Bolton	5,383	Chester	5.9
Bristol	4,761	Chester	7.3	Sheffield	6,134	Newcastle	6.0	Preston	4,646	Bradford	5.8

Sources:
Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III, General Report, Appendix to the Report (London: 1863), p. 160, Table 126: 'Comparative Population and Number of Natives of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Colonies and Foreign Parts enumerated in the Principal Towns of England and Wales, 1851, 1861'; Colin 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* (London: 1989), pp. 66-67, Tables 2.1 and 2.2; 1,611,304 Irish born people had emigrated to and lived in America at this time, see *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III, General Report, Appendix to the Report*, p. 84, Table 8, "Summary, showing the Birth-places of the Born Subjects of Great Britain, &c, residing in the United States."

Table 4: Most often mentioned sites, St Joseph's Burial Registers, 1860, 1861.

Site	1860	1861	1860 & 1861
Workhouse	34	38	72
Hospitals	11	11	22
Park Street and Park Lane	19	20	39
Allison Street, Wells Lane & Vale Court	23	13	36
Slaney Street	18	14	32
London Prentice Street & Rope Walk	16	13	29
Old and New Inkleys	10	14	24
John Street	9	13	22
Lichfield Street	11	11	22
Edgbaston Street	9	10	19
Weaman Street	7	12	19
Hospital Street	9	9	18
Dale End	7	10	17
Livery Street	4	13	17
New Summer Street	7	7	14
Green's Village including Myrtle Row	8	5	13
Moor Street including Carey's Court	6	7	13
Thomas Street	9	4	13
Steelhouse Lane	1	11	12
Cheapside	7	3	10
Digbeth	6	4	10
Summer Lane	5	5	10
Water Street	4	6	10
Total	240	253	493

Source: '[St Joseph's] Burials 1850-1864', *Birmingham Nechells Volume 13*, on microfilm, SCCA.

Table 5: Streets of highest Irish population in Birmingham, 1851.

Street	Total Population	Irish born Population	% Irish
Edgbaston Street	574	214	37.50
Green's Village	372	189	51.00
Henrietta Street	466	131	28.00
John Street	748	261	35.00
Livery Street	1592	394	25.00
London Prentice Street	768	357	46.50
Myrtle Row	150	118	78.50
Old Inkleys	708	228	32.00
Park Street	842	388	46.00
Slaney Street	688	356	51.50
Water Street	451	117	26.00

Source: Carl Chinn, ' "Sturdy Catholic emigrants": The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin:1999), p. 59, Table 1: Streets of Irish population in Birmingham, 1851.

Table 6: Streets with highest Irish populations in Birmingham, 1861.

Street	Total Population	Irish born	% Irish born
Green's Village including Myrtle Row	335	159	47.5
London Prentice Street & Rope Walk	671	304	45.3
Slaney Street	760	323	42.5
Park Street and Park Lane	1226	386	31.5
Allison Street, Wells Lane & Vale Court	1143	334	29.2
John Street	731	204	27.9
Edgbaston Street	670	173	25.8
Old and New Inkleys	1205	295	22.5
Henrietta Street	314	69	22.0
Livery Street	984	214	21.7
Weaman Street	948	188	19.8
Lichfield Street	942	154	16.3
Thomas Street	607	99	16.3
Water Street	566	92	16.3
Hospital Street	2264	250	11.0
Total population	13366	3244	

Source: *1861 Census enumerations*, BCL LSD.

Table 7: Irish community presence in selected Birmingham streets, 1861.

Street	Total Population	Irish born	Irish community	% Irish born	% Irish community
Green's Village including Myrtle Row	335	159	306	47.5	91.3
London Prentice Street, & Rope Walk	671	304	527	45.3	78.5
Slaney Street	760	323	527	42.5	69.3
Park Street and Park Lane	1226	386	621	31.5	50.7
John Street	731	204	359	27.9	49.1
Allison Street, Wells Lane & Vale Court	1143	334	514	29.2	45.0
Edgbaston Street	670	173	297	25.8	44.3
Old and New Inkleys	1205	295	474	24.5	39.3
Henrietta Street	314	69	115	22.0	36.6
Livery Street	984	214	343	21.7	34.9
Weaman Street	948	188	298	19.8	31.4
Thomas Street	607	99	179	16.3	29.5
Water Street	566	92	164	16.3	29.0
Lichfield Street	942	154	245	16.3	26.0
Hospital Street	2264	250	413	11.0	18.2
Total population	13366	3244	5382	24.3	40.3

Source: *1861 Census enumerations*, BCL LSD.

Table 8: Roman Catholic Mortality in selected Birmingham streets, 1861.

Street	Total Pop-ulation	% Irish born	% Irish comm-unity	RC deaths	% RC deaths in comm-unity	% RC deaths in street
Allison Street, including Wells Lane and Vale Court	1143	29.2	45.0	13	2.53	1.14
Edgbaston Street	670	25.8	44.3	10	3.37	1.49
Green's Village including Myrtle Row	335	47.5	91.3	5	1.63	1.49
Henrietta Street	314	22.0	36.6	3	2.61	0.96
Hospital Street	2264	11.0	18.2	9	2.18	0.40
John Street	731	27.9	49.1	13	3.62	1.78
Lichfield Street	942	16.3	26.0	11	4.49	1.17
Livery Street	984	21.7	34.9	13	3.79	1.32
London Prentice Street, including Rope Walk	671	45.3	78.5	13	2.47	1.94
Old and New Inkleys	1205	24.5	39.3	14	2.95	1.16
Park Street and Park Lane	1226	31.5	50.7	20	3.22	1.63
Slaney Street	760	42.5	69.3	14	2.66	1.84
Thomas Street	607	16.3	29.5	4	2.23	0.66
Water Street	566	16.3	29.0	6	3.66	1.06
Weaman Street	948	19.8	31.4	12	4.03	1.27
Total population	13366			160	2.97	1.20

Sources: *1861 Census enumerations*, BCL LSD; Thomas Green, 'Report on the Health and Mortality of Birmingham', *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences 1862* (London: 1863), p. 542, mortality in Birmingham parish was 25.94 per thousand in 1861

Table 1.1: Irish-born population in three Birmingham streets, 1851, 1861.

Street	1851			1861		
	Total Pop-ulation	Irish-Born Pop-ulation	% Irish born	Total Pop-ulation	Irish-Born Pop-ulation	% Irish born
Hospital Street				2,264	247	10.91
London Prentice Street	768	357	46.50	568	251	44.19
Park Street	842	388	46.00	1,226	386	31.48

Sources: *1861 Census enumerations*, BCL LSD; Carl Chinn, ' "Sturdy Catholic emigrants": The Irish in early Victorian Birmingham', in Swift and Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin:1999), p. 59, Table 1: Streets of Highest Irish population in Birmingham, 1851.

Table 1.2: Irish community in three Birmingham streets,1861.

Street	Total Population	Irish born Population	% Irish born	Non Irish- born in Irish households	Irish presence	% Irish
Hospital Street	2,264	247	10.91	156	403	17.80
London Prentice Street	568	251	44.19	189	440	77.46
Park Street	1,226	386	31.48	235	621	50.65

Sources: 1861 Census enumerations, BCL LSD.

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number		Tenant	Owner	Description	Estimated Rent £/s/d
front	back				
SUMMER LANE					
1		Richard Turley	Richard Turley	H&P	12/-/-
3		John Downes	Richard Turley	H&P	7/16/-
4		Richard Wilkes	Richard Turley	H&P	7/16/-
5		Thomas Ford		H&P	8/9/-
6		John Cregan	Blews for Earp & Wynn	H&P	7/16/-
Court 1	1		Pitt for Maria Acton	H&P	5/4/-
Court 1	2		Pitt for Maria Acton	H&P	5/4/-
Court 1	3		Pitt for Maria Acton	H&P	5/4/-
Court 1	4		Blews for Earp & Wynn	H&P	5/4/-
Court 1	5		Blews for Earp & Wynn	H&P	5/4/-
Court 1	6		Blews for Earp & Wynn	H&P	5/4/-
Court 1	7		Blews for Earp & Wynn	H&P	5/4/-
7		George Cooke		Rs & P	9/2/-
[8]			Charles for Thomas Corfield	H&P	10/8/-
Court 2	1		Pitt for Maria Acton	H&P	7/3/-
Court 2	2		Pitt for Maria Acton	H&P	7/3/-
9		JosephCarver	Pitt for Maria Acton	Rs Bakeh H&P	15/12/-
10		James Meakin	tenant	Rbeerh, Brewh & P	21/-/-
Court 3	1		Smith for Mary Robins	H&P	5/4/-
Court 3	[2]		Smith for Mary Robins	H&P	5/17/-
Court 3	[3]		Smith for Mary Robins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 3	[4]		Smith for Mary Robins	H&P	2/12/-
11		William Joyce	Smith for Mary Robins	H&P	8/9/-
12		Joseph Vick	tenant	SEM & P	
13			James for A George & Brookes	H&P	10/8/-
Court [4]	2		James for A George & Brookes	H&P	6/10/-
Court [4]	3		James for A George & Brookes	H&P	6/10/-
Court [4]	4		James for A George & Brookes	H&P	6/10/-
Court [4]	5		James for A George & Brookes	H&P	
Court [4]	6		James for A George & Brookes	H&P	7/16/-
Court [4]	[7]		James for A George & Brookes	H&P	3/18/-
14			James for A George & Brookes	H Rs & P	16/-/-
[15]			Grimshaw	Ss & P	18/-/-
[16]			Grimshaw	Y Sheds & P	3/18/-
Court 6	1		Grimshaw	H&P	7/3/-
Court 6	2		Grimshaw	H&P	9/2/-
Court 6	3		Grimshaw	H&P	7/3/-
Court 6	4		Grimshaw	H&P	5/10/-
Court 6	[5]		Grimshaw	Ss & P	5/4/-
17		Thomas Young	Lewis	H&P	8/9/-
18		Thos Robinson	Lewis	H&P	9/2/-
19		Joseph Morris	Lewis	H&P	9/2/-
Court 7	1		Lewis	H&P	7/3/-
Court 7	2		Lewis	H&P	7/3/-
Court 7	3		Lewis	H&P	7/3/-
Court 7	4		Lewis	H&P	7/3/-
Court 7	5		Lewis	H&P	7/3/-
Court 7	6		Lewis	H&P	7/16/-
Court 7	7		Lewis	H&P	7/16/-
Court 7	8		Lewis	H&P	7/16/-
Court 7	9		Lewis	H&P	7/16/-
20		Michael Rogers	Lewis	H&P	9/2/-

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number	Tenant		Owner	Description	Estimated
front	back				Rent £/s/d
21		John Loughton	Lewis	H&P	9/2/-
22		John Tidmarsh	William Brinsley	H&P	9/5/-
23		Henry Abbott	William Brinsley	H&P	9/5/-
Court [8]	1	Thomas Smith	William Brinsley	H&P	7/15/-
Court [8]	2		William Brinsley	H&P	7/15/-
Court [8]	3	Thos Thomson	William Brinsley	H&P	7/15/-
Court [8]	4	Riley	William Brinsley	H&P	7/15/-
Court [8]	5	Patrick Doody	William Brinsley	H&P	7/3/-
Court [8]	6	Thomas Rafter	William Brinsley	H&P	7/3/-
Court [8]	7	John Morris	William Brinsley	H&P	7/3/-
Court [8]	[8]		William Brinsley	Ss & P	3/-/-
24			William Brinsley	Ss & P	9/5/-
25		Charles Hadland	William Brinsley	H&P	9/5/-
26		William Fox	William Brinsley	H&P	9/5/-
26	BACK		Potter for Sarah Farquhar	Ss & P	2/12/-
27		Thomas Brookes	Potter for Sarah Farquhar	H Rs & P	10/8/-
28		William Mullin	Potter for Sarah Farquhar	H Rs & P	10/8/-
29		Rosannah Taylor	tenant	R Beerh Brewh Ss & P	22/-/-
WILLIAM STREET NORTH					
30		William Lees	Sarah Lowe for T Bourne Dicken	H Rs & P	16/-/-
30A		John Moreton	Sarah Lowe for T Bourne Dicken	H Rs & P	16/-/-
30B		Solomon Haines	Sarah Lowe for T Bourne Dicken	H&P	11/14/-
31		George Swalkins	John Rawlins	H&P	9/2/-
32		Fred Harper	John Rawlins	H&P	9/2/-
Court 9	12	John Fisher	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	13	Phillip Baker	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	14	William Fox	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	15	Peter Rooney	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	16	Ed Hinsley	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	17	JosephKeeley	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	18		John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 9	19	Sam Lowe	John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 9	20	Thos Saunders	John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 9	21		John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 9	[22]		John Rawlins	Ss & P	5/17/-
33			John Rawlins	H Rs & P	11/14/-
34			John Rawlins	H&P	9/2/-
Court 10	1	James Welsh	John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 10	2	George Furniss	John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 10	3	William Brookes	John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 10	4	William Coffy	John Rawlins	H&P	7/16/-
Court 10	5	James Chatwin	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	6	William Lawley	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	7		John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	8	Thomas Watkins	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	9	James Turner	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	10	Meredith Evans	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	11	James Mellitt	John Rawlins	H&P	7/3/-
Court 10	[12]		John Rawlins	Ss & P	5/4/-
35			John Rawlins	H&P	9/2/-
36		John Clowry	John Rawlins	H&P	9/2/-
37		James Evans	John Rawlins	H&P	9/2/-

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number		Tenant	Owner	Description	Estimated Rent £/s/d
	front	back			
38			Buncher for Limister	H Rs & P	16/-/-
39			tenant	H Rs Ss Bakeh & P	22/-/-
40			Buncher for Limister	H&P	12/6/-
41			Buncher for Limister	H&P	8/9/-
42		Hy Mee	tenant	Licensed Ph Brewh M & P	30/-/-
NEW CHURCH STREET					
43			Robert Evans	H Rs & P	12/6/-
44			Robert Evans	H&P	9/2/-
45			Hy Jones	H&P	9/2/-
Court 11	1	William Smit	Hy Jones	H&P	7/16/-
Court 11	2	John Tomkinson	Hy Jones	H&P	7/16/-
Court 11	3		Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
Court 11	4	Stephen North	Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
Court 11	5	Thomas Stanton	Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
Court 11	6	William Fowler	Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
Court 11	7	George Kerry	Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
Court 11	8	Thomas Johnson	Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
Court 11	9	William Lockley	Hy Jones	H&P	7/3/-
46		John Tomkinson	Hy Jones	H Rs & P	11/1/-
47		James Darrell	tenant	H Rs Cowh Ss Slaughterhouse	46/16/-
48		Willi Packwood	tenant	H Rs W & P	30/10/-
48BACK	[1]	Thomas Roberts	Hall for Hoopers	Ss & P	9/2/-
48BACK	[2]	Abraham Ford	Hall for Hoopers	H&P	8/9/-
48BACK	[3]		Hall for Hoopers	H&P	8/9/-
48BACK	[4]	T & G Hooper	Hall for Hoopers	Ss SEM & P	31/14/-
48BACK	[5]	T & G Hooper	Hall for Hoopers	Cowh & P	3/18/-
49		Sam Briggs	Hall for Hoopers	H&P	9/2/-
50 & 49 back		Ben Smallwood	Hall for Hoopers	H Coaly & P	13/-/-
Court 16	1	John Simmons	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	2	Thos Simmons	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	3	William Wilkes	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	4	Thomas Boden	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	5	George Weale	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	[5A]		Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	[5B]		Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	6	JosephBennett	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	7	Thos Hardwood	Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	8		Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	9		Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	10		Alsager & Neville	H&P	7/16/-
Court 16	11	Sam Beech	Alsager & Neville	H&P	10/8/-
Court 16	12	James Dolphin	Alsager & Neville	H&P	9/2/-
Court 16	13	John Askey	Richardson	H&P	10/8/-
Court 16	14	Joseph Dugwood	Richardson	H&P	10/8/-
Court 16	15		Richardson	H&P	10/8/-
Court 16	[16]		Alsager & Neville	Ss & P	3/18/-
Court 16	[17]		Alsager & Neville	Ss & P	3/18/-
51		Thomas Paine	Lowe	H&P	9/2/-
52		Crompton	Lowe	H&P	9/2/-
53		William Cross	Lowe	H&P	9/2/-
54			Lowe	H&P	11/14/-

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number front		Tenant back	Owner	Description	Estimated Rent £/s/d
55			Edmonds	H&P	8/9/-
56		James Cooper	Edmonds	H&P	7/16/-
57		Henry Smith	Edmonds	Ss & P	5/4/-
57A			Edmonds	H&P	9/2/-
58			Edmonds	H&P	7/16/-
59			Edmonds	H&P	7/16/-
60		Ch Yates	Edmonds	H Rs & P	13/-/-
61		Fred Lockett	Edmonds	H&P	11/1/-
TOWER STREET					
62			Humphreys	H&P	6/10/-
63		John Hadfield	Longmore	H&P	14/6/-
64		Ch Farmer	Longmore	H&P	9/2/-
65		JosephWilshaw	Longmore	H&P	9/2/-
66		John Ivesbury	Longmore	H&P	9/2/-
67		Richard Ward	Longmore	H&P	9/2/-
68		JosephBaker	Longmore	H&P	9/2/-
69		Fred Hart	Longmore	H&P	13/-/-
70			John Powers	H&P	9/2/-
Court 18	1		John Powers	H&P	7/3/-
Court 18	2	Joseph Dugmore	John Powers	H&P	7/3/-
Court 18	[3]		John Powers	H&P	7/16/-
Court 18	[4]		John Powers	Ss & P	3/5/-
71		James Tumbelty	John Powers	H&P	9/2/-
72		William Slater	Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	11/14/-
Court 19	1		Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	7/3/-
Court 19	2	Nath Wheeler	Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	7/3/-
Court 19	3		Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	7/3/-
Court 19	4	James Charnock	Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	7/3/-
Court 19	5		Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	7/3/-
Court 19	6		Cox for Sarah Mercer	H&P	7/3/-
73		Joseph Sims	John Coley	H Rs & P	10/8/-
74/5		John Watson	John Coley	H Rs & P	16/-/-
76		Alf Talbot	John Coley	H&P	9/15/-
77			John Coley	H&P	9/2/-
78		Hy Palmer	John Coley	H Rs & P	16/-/-
ST GEORGE STREET					
79		James Davis	Susanah Watkins	H&P	9/2/-
80		James Burford	Susanah Watkins	H&P	9/2/-
81			Susanah Watkins	H&P	9/2/-
Court[20]	1	William Hy Taylor	Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	2	Richard Crump	Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	3	Thomas Turner	Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	4	Thomas Lowe	Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	5		Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	6	Thomas Waldron	Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	7	Joseph Asbury	Susanah Watkins	H&P	7/16/-
Court[20]	[8]		Susanah Watkins	Ss & P	5/4/-
Court[20]	[9]		Susanah Watkins	Ss & P	3/5/-
82		John Joynes	Susanah Watkins	H&P	9/2/-
83		James Bragg	Susanah Watkins	H Rs & P	10/8/-
84		Thomas Jones	Ben Oakley	H&P	9/15/-
85		Henry Gough	Ben Oakley	H&P	9/15/-
Court 21	1	William Herbert	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number		Tenant	Owner	Description	Estimated
front	back				Rent £/s/d
Court 21	2	James Jones	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	3	Edward Bailey	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	4	Hy Rotherham	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	5	Thomas Roberts	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	6	William Davis	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	7	JosephJames	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	8	Ed Wilkes	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	9	Ben Oakley	Ben Oakley	H&P	8/9/-
Court 21	10	Thomas Tufley	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/3/-
Court 21	[11]		Ben Oakley	Ss & P	5/17/-
86		James Ethell	Ben Oakley	H&P	11/1/-
87		William Guy	Ben Oakley	H&P	9/15/-
88		William Price	Ben Oakley	H&P	9/15/-
Court 22	1	James Shaw	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court 22	2	Thomas Jones	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court 22	[3]	Thomas Bingle	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court 22	[4]	William Clifford	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
89		James Shaw	Ben & John Chandler	H&P	10/8/-
89.5			Ben & John Chandler	H&P	7/16/-
90		John Munro	Ben & John Chandler	H&P	9/2/-
91		J A Patrick	tenant	H Ss W Coaly & P	20/-/-
BUCKINGHAM STREET					
[92]		JA Thomas Ede	tenant	H&P	25/-/-
[93]			tenant	H&P	20/-/-
[94]		P Reynolds	tenant	H&P	20/-/-
[95]		Ben Barratt	tenant	H&P	21/-/-
101		Sam Reedy	Ben Oakley	Rs & P	11/1/-
102		T Bradbury	Ben Oakley	Rs & P	16/-/-
103		William Stevens	Ben Oakley	Rs & P	10/8/-
Court[25]	1	Ben Oakley	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	2		Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	3	John Dovey	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	5	Crump	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	[6]	JosephJohnson	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	[7]	JosephStevens	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	[8]		Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	[9]	JosephGahan	Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	[10]		Ben Oakley	H&P	7/16/-
Court[25]	[11]		Ben Oakley	H&P	7/3/-
Court[25]	[12]		Ben Oakley	H&P	6/10/-
104		Hugh Adams	Ben Oakley	H&P	11/1/-
105		Ben Wolf Coster	Ben Oakley	H&P	11/1/-
106		John Mitchell	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	9/2/-
107		JosephWoodham	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	9/2/-
108			Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	10/8/-
Court[26]	1		Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	2	William Lowrey	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	3	Thomas Hester	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	4	Matthew Nevill	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	5		Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	6	William Wilcox	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	7		Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-
Court[26]	8	John Cain	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P	7/16/-

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number	Tenant	Owner	Description	Estimated
front	back			Rent £/s/d
Court[26]	9	Prendergast	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P 7/16/-
Court[26]	10	John Taylor	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P 7/16/-
Court[26]	11	John Peplow	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P 7/16/-
Court[26]	[12]		Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P 7/16/-
109		William Fairfield	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P 10/8/-
110		James Hughes	Barrs for Jubal Hughes	H&P 9/2/-
LENCH'S TRUST ALMSHOUSES				
111			Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 14/10/-
111	BACK		Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 7/5/-
Court 27	1		Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 6/10/-
Court 27	2	P Farraher	Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 6/10/-
Court 27	3	Michael Nowlan	Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 6/10/-
Court 27	4	George Rigby	Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 6/10/-
Court 27	5	John Trimble	Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 6/10/-
Court 27	6		Hannah Lefevre's Executors	H&P 6/10/-
Court 27	8		William Blews	H&P 5/17/-
Court 27	9	P Kearney	William Blews	H&P 5/17/-
Court 27	10	Owen Regan	William Blews	H&P 5/17/-
Court 27	11	James Maguire	William Blews	H&P 5/17/-
Court 27	12	Mich Kearney	William Blews	H&P 5/17/-
113			James Hyde	H&P 10/8/-
114			James Hyde	H&P 10/8/-
Court 30	1		James Hyde	H&P 7/3/-
Court 30	2	John Blower	James Hyde	H&P 7/3/-
Court 30	3	George Warner	James Hyde	H&P 6/10/-
Court 30	4	George Clunn	James Hyde	H&P 7/3/-
Court 30	5	William West	James Hyde	H&P 7/3/-
Court 30	6		James Hyde	H&P 7/3/-
Court 30	7		James Hyde	H&P 8/9/-
Court 30	[8]	P Pownell	James Hyde	H&P 7/16/-
Court 30	[9]	Thomas Egginton	James Hyde	H&P 7/16/-
Court 30	[10]	Thomas Connor	James Hyde	H&P 7/16/-
Court 30	[11]	William Edge	James Hyde	H&P 7/16/-
Court 30	[12]		James Hyde	H&P 7/16/-
Court 30	[13]		James Hyde	Ss & P 4/11/-
115		John Attwood	John Attwood	H&P 10/8/-
116		JosephBall	Sam Grigg	H&P 9/2/-
117			Sam Grigg	H&P 9/2/-
Court 31	1		Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	2		Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	3		Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	4	Eli Salt	Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	5		Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	6		Sam Grigg	H&P 5/17/-
Court 31	7		Sam Grigg	H&P 4/11/-
Court 31	8	Isaac Pearce	Sam Grigg	H&P 7/16/-
Court 31	9		Sam Grigg	H&P 7/16/-
Court 31	10	Hja Bird	Sam Grigg	H&P 7/16/-
Court 31	[11]		Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	[12]		Sam Grigg	H&P 6/10/-
Court 31	[13]		Sam Grigg	H&P 3/8/-
118		James Davenport	tenant	Licensed Ph Brewh 30/-/-
				Stable Sheds & P

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Number		Tenant	Owner	Description	Estimated Rent £/s/d
front	back				
119			Palmer & Murcott	H Rs & P	13/-/-
Court 32	1	James Burns	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	2		Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	3	P Farrington	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	4	George Hill	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	5		Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	6		Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	7		Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	5/17/-
Court 32	8		Palmer & Murcott	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	9	Wilmott	Palmer & Murcott	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	10		Palmer & Murcott	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	11	Nicholas Cline	Palmer & Murcott	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	12	James Rothwell	Palmer & Murcott	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	13	Thomas Maguire	Palmer & Murcott	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	14	John Buckley	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	6/10/-
Court 32	[15]		Palmer & Murcott	Ss & P	1/10/-
120			Palmer & Murcott	H Rs & P	14/-/-
121		Michael Layden	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	9/2/-
122		Phillpot	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	9/2/-
123		John Frost	Sam Ball	H W Ss & P	16/-/-
Court 33	2	Rob Green	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	5/4/-
Court 33	3	Nathaniel Stirk	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	7/3/-
Court 33	4	David Woodcock	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	7/3/-
Court 33	5	John Hopkins	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	7/3/-
Court 33	6	Ed Hope	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	7/3/-
Court 33	7	Richard Newman	Mary Richards for G Collett	H&P	7/3/-
124		John Woodwifs		H&P	1/1/-
124	BACK		Sam Ball	Ss & P	4/15/-
125		Caroline Brown	tenant	H Ss Shed & P	23/-/-
126		JosephHeath	tenant	H Ss Brewh & P	18/-/-
127		Sam Potter	tenant	H Ss Brewh & P	26/-/-
128		Thomas Bailey	tenant	licensed Ph Brewh M & P	26/-/-
129		Thomas Rooney	Birch & Rawlings for Ackroyd	Rs & P	13/10/-
130		William Bales	Birch & Rawlings for Ackroyd	Rs & P	13/10/-
SUMMER LANE					

Key to Descriptions

Bakeh	Bakehouse	P	Premises
Brewh	Brewhouse	Ph	Public House
Coaly	Coal Yard	R	Retail (in conjunction with Beerhouse)
Cowh	Cowhouse	Rs	Retail Shop
H	house(in conjunction with coach, brew, malt etc)	S(s)	Shop(s) as in workshop
H	House (residence)	SEM	Steam Engine Machinery
H&P	House and Premises	W	Warehouse
M	Maltroom	Y	Yard
O	Offices		

Table 1.3: Hospital Street from the 1860 Rates Books.

Source: *1860 Rates Book*, Volume 4, St George's Ward, BCLA, pp. 140-143, Hospital Street.

The Rates Book has two Courts 21, hence the renumbering of one of them as Court [20], and Courts [25] [26] were not numbered and have been assigned consecutive numbers based on their position relative to numbered courts. There were no Courts 5, 12 to 15 inclusive, 17, 23, 24, 28 or 29.

Table 1.4: Rents in Hospital Street Front Houses, 1860.

Front house Number	Family name	Head's occupation	Number in family / in household	Rent per week	Ground area sq. feet
<i>Summer Lane</i>					
5	Costelloe	Tailor	6 / 6	3s 3d	138
6	Rafter	Iron galvanizer	3 / 3	3s	225
7	Grey	Greengrocer	2 / 6	3s 6d	198
8	Brown	Laundress	1 / 1	4s	174
17	Young	Porter	3 / 5	3s 3d	
<i>William Street North</i>					
36	Clowsy	Cooper	5 / 7	3s 6d	267
<i>New Church Street</i>					
<i>Tower Street</i>					
71	Tumbelty	Bricklayer	6 / 8	3s 6d	
<i>St. George Street</i>					
80	Binford	Coppersmith	3 / 3	3s 6d	
<i>Buckingham Street</i>					
94	Reynolds	Clothier, draper	6 / 6	7s 8d	216
110	Hughes	Carpenter	2 / 2	3s 6d	198
<i>Almshouses</i>					412
111	Belford	Cab driver	6 / 6	5s 7d	540
121	Laydon	Police constable	6 / 7	3s 6d	250
<i>Summer Lane</i>					

Sources: *1860 Rates Books*, Volume 4, St George's Ward, pp. 140-143, Hospital Street; Smith, J Piggott, C.E. [*Survey of Birmingham*] 1:528 [c. 1850-1855] (Birmingham: c1855), BCL LSD, Sheets 63, 64, 77, 78, scale 1" = 44 foot; *1861 Census enumerations*.

Table 1.5: Rents paid in Hospital Street Courts, 1860.

Court number	Minimum rent	Maximum rent	Number of houses in court	Number of Irish households	Ground area square feet	
Summer Lane						
1	2s	2s	7	5	165 - 189	
2	2s 9d	2s 9d	2	0		
3	1s	2s 9d	4	0		
[4]	2s 6d	3s	6	0		
6	2s 1d	3s 6d	4	0		
7	2s 9d	3s	9	2		
[8]	2s 9d	3s	7	4		
William Street North						
9	2s 9d	3s	10	5	190-214	
10	2s 9d	3s	11	5	150-240	
New Church Street						
11	2s 9d	3s	9	0	226-240	
16	3s	4s	17	0		
Tower Street						
18	2s 9d	3s	3	0		
19	2s 9d	2s 9d	6	1		
St. George's Street						
[20]	3s	3s	7	0		
21	3s 3d	3s 3d	10	0	181-265	
22	3s	3s	4	0		
Buckingham Street						
[25]	2s 6d	3s	11	3		
[26]	3s	3s	12	8		
27	2s 3d	2s 6d	11	11		
30	2s 6d	3s 3d	12	4		
31	1s 9d	3s	13	0		
32	2s 3d	2s 6d	14	10	181-265	
33	2s	2s 9d	6	1		
Summer Lane						

Sources: 1860 Rates Books, Volume 4, St George's Ward, pp. 140-143 Hospital Street; Smith, Survey, Sheets 63, 64, 77, 78; 1861 Census enumerations.

Table 1.6: Rents in London Prentice Street Front Houses, 1860.

House number	Irish Household Head	Head's occupation	Number in family/ household	Rent per week	Ground area, sq. ft.
John Street, north side of London Prentice Street					
1				3s	
2	Michael McDermott	Labourer & 10 lodgers	4/14	5s	
3	Mary Rooney	Widow	7/7	3s 10d	272
4				3s 10d	272
5	Thomas Hyland	Agricultural labourer & 5 lodgers	5/10	3s	238
6	Bridget Gray	Lodging House Keeper, 12 lodgers	1/13	3s 9d	272
7		Retail Shop		10s	
8	John Pugh	Cooper & Packing box maker & 4 lodgers	6/10	6s 2d	
9	Bridget Kelly	Laundress	2/2	2s 6d	
10	Patrick Davit	Marine Stores & 8 lodgers	5/13	3s 6d	378
11	Ellen McNally	5 lodgers	4/9	2s 6d	312
12	Bridget Driscoll	Widow	5/5	3s 6d	
13				3s 6d	
[14]		Pub & Brewery "The Old King's Arms"		9s 11d	642
16	Catherine Cain	Widow	9/9	2s 9d	210
17	Michael Groak	Iron pot brazier & 4 lodgers	2/6	2s 9d	208
18	Augustine Megham	Mat maker	5/5	2s 6d	250
19	Dennis Kennedy	Agricultural labourer & 1 lodger	7/8	2s 2d	166
20	Anne McNulty	Widow	5/5	4s 7d	270
21				4s 7d	208
[22]	John Gallagher	Labourer & 4 boarders	4/8	2s 8d	208
[23]	John Loman	Sawyer & 2 lodgers	6/8	4s 3d	
[23A]				1s 6d	
[24]				2s 9d	
[25]				2s 9d	
[26]-[30]		Coach houses and stables			
Cross London Prentice Street - south side of street					
St Peter's School					
31	John Burke	Tallow chandler	3/3	3s 6d	
Rope Walk					
32	Thomas Caral	Bricklayer's labourer & 10 lodgers	2/12	4s 7d	
33				3s 9d	
34	Cornelius Molick	Labourer & 9 lodgers	5/14	4s 3d	
St John's RC School					
40	empty			3s 10d	
41				3s 10d	
42	Peter Barratt	Labourer & 4 lodgers	2/6	2s 6d	
[43]				5s 4d	
44	Martin Carroll	Labourer	8	3s	
45	Patrick McDermott	Bricklayer's labourer & 8 lodgers	6/14	3s	
46		Pub and Brewery		10s	
47	Patrick Flanagan	Marine Stores & 4 lodgers	5/9	3s 6d	
John Street					

Sources: 1860 Rates Books, Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, pp. 28-32, London Prentice Street; Smith, Survey, sheet 111; 1861 Census enumerations.

Table 1.7: Rents in London Prentice Street Courts, 1860.

Court Number (Rates Book)	Minimum Rent (Rates Books)	Maximum Rent (Rates Books)	Houses in Court (Rates Book)	Irish Households (Census)	Area Sq. ft
10	2s 3d	2s 9d	9	9	130-330
11	2s 3d	2s 6d	6	4	154-165
12	1s 4d approx.	2s 6d	6	8	136-245
[13] in census			0	5	
3	1s 6d	2s	5	0, all uninhabited	
14	2s 6d	2s 9d	3	0, all uninhabited	189-207
4½	1s 6d	2s	4	4	
5	2s	2s 6d	6	5, 1 uninhabited	
6	2s	2s 6d	4	4	
			43	39	

Sources: *1860 Rates Books*, Volume 5, St Mary's Ward, pp. 28-32, London Prentice Street; Smith, *Survey*, Sheet 111; *1861 Census enumerations*.

Table 1.8: Park Street premises with annual rents of £20 and over, 1860.

Number	Name of Tenant / Owner	Source	Rent in 1860 £
Digbeth			
01	Birmingham Corporation, Office, Sheds, Stables and Yard	1860 Rates Book	114
02	"Phoenix" Public House, Sam Carless	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Directory, 1889 Map	72
09	A Beerhouse, Thomas Corbett - brewhouse and manufactory	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Census & Directory	27
[10]	William Shaw, Nail Mf.	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Census & Directory, 1889 Map Brush Works	94
14/15	Beerhouse & lodging house, Thomas Green	1860 Rates Book	33
16/17	Beer house, lodging house, Stables, Yard, Private house - John McDonald	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Directory	41
18	Henry Shaw, Offices, Nail workshops, Warehouse & Retail Shop	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Directory 1889 Map Nail & Rivet Works	85
GWR Line			
20	Four Railway arches, etc	1860 Rates Book	25
29	"Duke of Cumberland" Public House, Anne Watts	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Directory 1889 Map	45
31	Lodging house, German head William Beck	1860 Rates Book	27
32/33	Lodging House, Dennis Coughlan	1860 Rates Book	22
Bordesley Street, Burial Ground and Masshouse Lane			
[37]	Private House, Free Grammar School	1860 Rates Book	118
48	Private House, Thomas Gifford	1860 Rates Book	20
49/50	House, Warehouse, Stables - Sarah Auster	1860 Rates Book	66
Freeman Street and LNWR Line			
68/69	Henry Shaw, Nail Manufacturer & Lodging house keeper	1860 Rates Book	49
Shut Lane and GWR Line			
79	Marine Store, John Murphy	1860 Rates Book	20
84	"Chequers" Public House, Thomas Baker	1860 Rates Book, 1861 Directory, 1889 Map	70
94	A Beerhouse, Patrick Hawkins	1860 Rates Book	20
99	Bakehouse, John Delaney	1860 Rates Book	20
100/101	Shop, Stables, Beerhouse, Edgar Dunn	1860 Rates Book	56
Digbeth			

Sources: *1860 Rates Books* Volume 9, St Martin's Ward, pp. 47-51, Volume 8, St Peter's Ward, pp. 63-69; *Corporation General and Trades Directory of Birmingham, 1861* (Birmingham:1861); *Warwickshire 1:500, Birmingham and its environs*, (Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton: 1889), BCL LSD, sheets XIV.5.8, XIV.5.13, XIV.5.18.

Table 1.9: Rents in Park Street Courts, 1860.

Court number	Minimum rent	Maximum rent	Houses in court	Irish households	Ground area Sq. ft.
DIGBETH					
2	2s	2s	10	3	
3	2s 6d	2s 6d	2	1	
[3A]	2s	2s	7	5	
4 "Park Place"	3s	3s 3d	7	5	166 -272
Park Lane					
6	1s 7d	2s 2d	5	0 - not in census	
8	2s	2s 6d	9	3	
Bordesley Street and Burial Ground					
Masshouse Lane and Duddeston Row					
9	2s 6d	2s 6d	2, 0 occupied	0	
Albert Street					
13	2s	3s	4	0	
Freeman Street					
15	1s 3d	1s 3d	3	1	
16	1s 9d	3s	7	5	
Shut Lane					
18	1s 9d	2s 3d	8	8	151 - 227
20	2s	3s 3d	12, 9 occupied	9	136 - 227
21	2s 3d	2s 3d	13, 9 occupied	5	146 - 291
[22]	2s 6d	3s	6	6	227 - 272
23	2s 6d	3s	10	4	102 - 250
DIGBETH			105, 96 occupied	55	

Sources: 1860 Rates Book Volume 9, St Martin's Ward, pp. 47-51; Volume 8, St Peter's Ward, pp. 63-69; Smith, *Survey*, sheets 111, 127, 146; 1861 *Census enumerations*.

Table 1.10: Small areas of Irish concentration in Birmingham, 1861.

Street	Area	Total Pop.	Irish born	Irish	% Irish born	% Irish
Green's Village & Myrtle Row	a	335	159	306	47.5	91.3
Old and New Inkleys	a	1205	295	474	24.5	39.3
Area A		1540	454	780	29.5	50.6
Henrietta Street	b	314	69	115	22	36.6
Livery Street	b	984	214	343	21.7	34.9
Water Street	b	566	92	164	16.3	29.0
Area B		1864	375	622	20.1	33.4
John Street	c	731	204	359	27.9	49.1
Lichfield Street	c	942	154	245	16.3	26.0
London Prentice Street, including Rope Walk	c	671	304	527	45.3	78.5
Thomas Street	c	607	99	179	16.3	29.5
Area C		2951	761	1310	25.8	44.4
Slaney Street	d	760	323	527	42.5	69.3
Weaman Street	d	948	188	298	19.8	31.4
Area D		1708	511	825	29.9	48.3
Allison Street, Wells Lane and Vale Court	e	1143	334	514	29.2	45.0
Park Street and Park Lane	e	1226	386	621	31.5	50.7
Area E		2369	720	1135	30.4	47.9
Total population		13366	3244	5382	24.3	40.3

Source: *1861 Census enumerations.*

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
AG1	8	1	agricultural labourer	49	419	468			
AG1	8	1	farm bailiff	0	9	9			
AG1	8	1	farm servant (in door)	5	3	8			
AG1	8	1	farmer, grazier	1	72	73			
AG1	8	1	farmer's son, brother, grandson	4	8	12			
AG1	8	1	others in agriculture	0	1	1			
AG1	8	1	shepherd (out door)	0	1	1			
AG1	8	2	woodman	0	5	5			
AG1	8	3	gardener	12	610	622			
AG1	8	3	nurseryman	0	19	19			
AG3	9	1	cattle, sheep dealer	3	25	28			
AG3	9	1	drover	5	28	33			
AG3	9	1	farrier, veterinary surgeon	5	86	91			
AG3	9	1	horse breaker	0	6	6			
AG3	9	1	horse dealer	1	27	28			
AG3	9	1	horsekeeper, groom, jockey	26	322	348			
AG3	9	1	others about animals	0	18	18			
AG3	9	1	pig merchant, dealer	1	18	19			
AG3	9	1	vermin destroyer	0	1	1			
AG4	9	1	fisherman	0	2	2	1792	1.87	1.24
B1	3	9	civil engineer	3	34	37			
B1	8	1	land surveyor, estate agent	3	49	52			
B1	10	14	architect	16	48	64			
B1	10	14	builder	20	232	252			
B1	10	14	surveyor	4	33	37			
B1	15	3	road contractor, etc	0	9	9			
B2	10	4	others wood carving	11	59	70			
B2	10	4	wood carver	12	33	45			
B2	10	14	bricklayer	106	1743	1849			
B2	10	14	carpenter, joiner	150	1942	2092			
B2	10	14	marble mason	3	37	40			
B2	10	14	mason, pavior	33	315	348			
B2	10	14	others in houses and building	13	56	69			
B2	10	14	paperhanger	10	77	87			
B2	10	14	plasterer	19	282	301			
B2	10	14	plumber, painter, glazier	209	1264	1473			
B2	10	14	slater, tiler	10	97	107			
B2	14	4	Thatcher	0	0	0			
B2	15	13	gas fitter	181	367	548			
B2	15	13	locksmith, bell hanger	45	223	268			
B3	15	3	excavator, navvy	5	107	112			
B3	15	3	plate layer	2	32	34			
B3	15	3	railway labourer	19	192	211			
B3	15	3	road labourer	0	56	56	8161	8.53	5.67
D01	15	2	coal heaver, labourer	23	193	216			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
D01	15	2	coal merchant, dealer	23	349	372			
D02	11	1	woolstapler	0	8	8			
D02	12	2	corn merchant, dealer	10	95	105			
D02	12	2	flour dealer, agent	0	4	4			
D02	12	2	seed merchant, seedsman	2	15	17			
D02	14	2	timber merchant, dealer	6	89	95			
D02	14	2	wood dealer	1	7	8			
D02	14	4	hay and straw dealer	0	26	26			
D03	11	1	worsted manufacture	0	6	6			
D03	11	2	silk mercer	0	3	3			
D03	11	4	Manchester warehouseman	1	4	5			
D04	11	4	draper, mercer	163	581	744			
D04	11	5	clothes dealer, outfitter	8	68	76			
D04	11	5	hosier, haberdasher	30	96	126			
D05	12	1	butcher, meat salesman	238	829	1067			
D05	12	1	cheesemonger	2	19	21			
D05	12	1	cowkeeper, milk seller	27	285	312			
D05	12	1	fishmonger	17	154	171			
D05	12	1	others, food dealers	3	8	11			
D05	12	1	poulterer, game dealer	4	51	55			
D05	12	1	provision curer, dealer	16	271	287			
D05	12	2	greengrocer, fruiterer	35	331	366			
D05	12	2	others, food	1	11	12			
D05	12	2	potato merchant	2	36	38			
D05	12	3	grocer, tea dealer	217	738	955			
D05	14	1	oil and colourman	0	8	8			
D06	12	3	tobacconist	10	81	91			
D07	5	1	beerseller	1	121	122			
D07	5	1	innkeeper, hotelkeeper	0	52	52			
D07	5	1	publican	2	596	598			
D07	12	3	cellarman	4	35	39			
D07	12	3	others, stimulants	3	69	72			
D07	12	3	wine merchant	1	64	65			
D08	5	1	coffee-house keeper	2	41	43			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper	1	23	24			
D08	5	1	others in boarding etc	2	22	24			
D09	6	2	pawn broker	9	120	129			
D09	10	15	furniture broker	4	91	95			
D10	3	2	law stationer	7	12	19			
D10	10	1	bookseller, publisher	10	92	102			
D10	10	1	newspaper agent	8	47	55			
D10	10	1	others in publications	5	4	9			
D10	14	5	stationer (not law)	22	81	103			
D11	15	4	earthenware, glass dealer	4	70	74			
D11	15	13	hardwareman, dealer	13	111	124			
D11	15	13	ironmonger	33	140	173			
D12	6	2	general dealer, costermonger	14	163	177			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
D12	6	2	hawker, pedlar	11	184	195			
D12	6	2	marine store dealer	2	65	67			
D12	6	2	other general dealers	0	5	5			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper	0	43	43			
D12	12	2	fruit, flower, vendor	1	6	7			
D12	14	5	rag gatherer, dealer	1	20	21			
D12	16	2	shopman	7	20	27			
D13	6	1	agent, factor	33	250	283			
D13	6	1	auctioneer, appraiser, valuer	5	42	47			
D13	6	1	broker	2	42	44			
D13	6	1	coal, colliery agent	1	34	35			
D13	6	1	commercial traveller	10	298	308			
D13	6	1	iron merchant, agent	3	33	36			
D13	6	1	merchant	9	130	139			
D13	6	1	salesman	3	25	28			
D13	6	1	ship broker, agent	0	2	2			
D13	6	1	stock broker etc	0	9	9			
D13	10	14	house agent	6	54	60			
DS1	5	2	domestic service, general	144	190	334			
DS1	5	2	hospital nurse, etc	1	22	23			
DS1	5	2	inn servant	82	203	285			
DS1	5	2	others in general domestic service	0	8	8			
DS2	5	2	coachman	2	55	57			
DS2	5	2	gardener	6	34	40			
DS2	5	2	groom	27	62	89			
DS2	9	1	gamekeeper	0	1	1			
DS3	5	1	cook (not domestic service)	1	5	6			
DS3	11	5	hairdresser, wig maker	65	216	281			
DS3	15	2	chimney sweeper	17	76	93	9877	10.32	6.86
IS1	6	1	accountant	7	121	128			
IS1	6	1	banker	0	3	3			
IS1	6	1	commercial clerk	412	1152	1564			
IS1	6	1	insurance, benefit society officer	3	51	54			
IS1	6	1	other mercantile men	0	15	15	1764	1.84	1.23
IS2	16	1	labourer	367	3942	4309	4309	4.50	2.99
M1	15	1	coal miner	5	22	27			
M1	15	1	copper miner	0	0	0			
M1	15	1	iron miner	0	0	0			
M1	15	1	lead miner	0	1	1			
M1	15	1	others in mines	5	40	45			
M2	15	3	limestone quarrier, burner	0	8	8			
M2	15	3	slate quarrier	0	0	0			
M2	15	3	stone cutter, polisher	4	38	42			
M2	15	3	stone quarrier	0	5	5			
M3	15	3	brick maker, dealer	68	257	325			
M3	15	3	clay labourer	0	3	3			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
M3	15	3	others in stone and clay	2	36	38			
M4	15	6	others in salt	0	7	7			
M4	15	6	salt manufacture	0	1	1			
M4	15	7	others in waterworks	0	25	25			
M4	15	7	waterworks service	2	30	32	559	0.58	0.39
MF01	10	7	others, weights & measure making	49	138	187			
MF01	10	7	Weight & measure maker	121	367	488			
MF01	10	10	engine and machine maker	404	1560	1964			
MF01	10	10	others in tools, machines	326	1013	1339			
MF01	10	16	millwright	8	85	93			
MF01	10	16	other implement makers	6	72	78			
MF01	13	1	comb maker	3	21	24			
MF01	15	13	boiler maker	20	154	174			
MF02	10	9	gun smith, gun manufacture	1670	3437	5107			
MF02	10	9	others in gun making	83	310	393			
MF02	10	10	blade maker, forger	0	1	1			
MF02	10	10	cutler	9	33	42			
MF02	10	10	file maker	71	194	265			
MF02	10	10	knife maker	1	4	5			
MF02	10	10	needle manufacture	2	14	16			
MF02	10	10	saw smith, maker	11	46	57			
MF02	10	10	scissors maker	0	1	1			
MF02	10	10	tool maker, dealer	229	860	1089			
MF02	15	12	type founder	1	0	1			
MF03	10	13	block, oar, mast maker	1	0	1			
MF03	10	13	boat, barge builder	8	67	75			
MF03	10	13	others in boat building	0	0	0			
MF03	10	13	sailmaker	1	9	10			
MF03	10	13	shipbuilder, ship wright	3	4	7			
MF03	15	13	keel manufacture	36	62	98	191	0.20	0.13
MF04	15	13	anchor, chain, smith	7	39	46			
MF04	15	13	black smith	254	1525	1779			
MF04	15	13	iron manufacture	590	1514	2104			
MF04	15	13	nail manufacture	242	488	730			
MF04	15	13	others in iron	1086	2147	3233			
MF04	15	14	grinder	19	87	106			
MF04	15	14	others about metals	404	1151	1555			
MF05	15	8	silver plated ware, man	234	734	968			
MF05	15	9	copper manufacture	22	47	69			
MF05	15	9	copper smith	34	84	118			
MF05	15	9	others in copper	1	1	2			
MF05	15	10	others in tin	2	10	12			
MF05	15	10	tin manufacture	2	13	15			
MF05	15	10	tinman, tinker	138	322	460			
MF05	15	10	tinplate worker	85	234	319			
MF05	15	11	zinc manufacture	21	53	74			
MF05	15	12	lead manufacture	39	60	99			
MF05	15	12	others in lead	3	24	27			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF05	15	13	brass founder manufacture	2379	3836	6215			
MF05	15	13	brazier	44	123	167			
MF05	15	13	white smith	39	226	265			
MF05	15	13	wire drawer, maker	192	582	774			
MF05	15	13	wire worker, weaver	99	229	328			
MF06	15	8	goldsmith, jeweller	1534	2254	3788			
MF06	15	8	others in gold	285	431	716	23969	25.04	16.65
MF07	15	4	earthenware manufacture	8	39	47			
MF07	15	4	others in earthenware	0	3	3			
MF07	15	5	glass manufacture	372	951	1323			
MF07	15	5	other workers in glass	15	35	50	1423	1.49	0.99
MF08	15	2	coke burner, dealer	0	9	9			
MF08	15	2	gas works service	19	188	207			
MF08	15	2	others in coal	0	2	2			
MF09	10	17	dye, colour manufacturer	2	19	21			
MF09	10	17	manufacturing chemist, labourer	4	67	71			
MF09	10	17	others in chemicals	5	28	33	343	0.36	0.24
MF10	11	5	furrier	1	1	2			
MF10	13	2	currier	35	212	247			
MF10	13	2	fellmonger	3	18	21			
MF10	13	2	others in dead animal bits	77	204	281			
MF10	13	2	skinner	1	4	5			
MF10	13	2	tanner	3	16	19			
MF11	13	1	others in grease	96	307	403			
MF11	13	1	sheep boiler	2	27	29			
MF11	13	1	tallow chandler	21	60	81			
MF12	13	3	brush, broom maker	115	315	430			
MF12	13	3	hair, bristle manufacture	22	39	61			
MF12	13	3	others in hair, bristle	0	2	2	1581	1.65	1.10
MF13	14	2	cooper	40	237	277			
MF13	14	2	hoop maker, bender	6	24	30			
MF13	14	2	jump, hurdle maker	0	4	4			
MF13	14	2	lath maker	8	20	28			
MF13	14	2	others, wood	40	218	258			
MF13	14	2	sawyer	41	375	416			
MF13	14	2	turner	102	340	442			
MF13	14	3	cork cutter, manufacture	11	47	58			
MF13	14	3	others, cork	0	0	0			
MF13	14	4	basket maker	21	145	166			
MF13	14	4	others, hay and traw	5	30	35			
MF13	16	2	apprentice	31	0	31			
MF14	10	15	bedstead, mattress maker	191	343	534			
MF14	10	15	cabinet maker, upholsterer	185	835	1020			
MF14	10	15	carver, gilder	36	101	137			
MF14	10	15	chair maker	35	115	150			
MF14	10	15	others in furniture	7	32	39			
MF14	10	15	picture frame maker	22	48	70			
MF14	10	15	undertaker	1	10	11			
MF14	14	1	French polisher	18	56	74			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF14	14	2	bow maker	6	29	35			
MF15	10	11	coachmaker	118	691	809			
MF15	10	11	others in coachmaking	67	271	338			
MF15	10	12	saddler, harness maker	174	537	711			
MF15	10	12	whip maker	44	158	202			
MF15	10	16	wheelwright	24	243	267	6142	6.42	4.27
MF16	14	5	other workers in paper	22	98	120			
MF16	14	5	paper manufacture	6	57	63			
MF16	14	5	paper stainer	1	4	5			
MF17	14	1	Japanner	53	333	386	574	0.60	0.40
MF18	11	1	carpet, rug, manufacture	0	9	9			
MF18	11	1	felt manufacture	2	3	5			
MF18	11	1	flannel manufacture	0	0	0			
MF18	11	1	stuff manufacture	0	1	1			
MF18	11	1	woollen cloth manufacture	1	11	12			
MF19	11	2	others in silk	4	13	17			
MF19	11	2	ribbon manufacture	1	12	13			
MF19	11	2	silk manufacture	3	24	27			
MF19	11	3	cotton manufacture	1	9	10			
MF19	11	3	fustian manufacture	0	0	0			
MF19	11	4	weaver (undefined)	0	8	8			
MF19	11	5	shawl manufacture	1	2	3			
MF20	11	3	flax, linen manufacture	0	10	10			
MF20	11	6	mat maker, seller	2	8	10			
MF20	11	6	others, hemp	34	93	127			
MF20	11	6	rope, cord maker	36	107	143			
MF20	11	6	sailcloth manufacture	0	0	0			
MF21	11	1	others, mixed fabrics	0	11	11			
MF21	11	3	lace manufacture	1	11	12			
MF21	11	3	others, mixed fabrics	3	18	21			
MF21	11	3	thread manufacture	0	1	1			
MF21	11	6	canvas maker, dealer	0	0	0			
MF22	10	17	dyer, calenderer	8	29	37			
MF22	11	1	fuller	0	0	0			
MF22	11	1	wool, woollen dyer	0	0	0			
MF22	11	2	silk dyer, printer	2	12	14			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton dyer	0	0	0			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton printer	1	0	1	492	0.51	0.34
MF23	10	6	others, pattern design	65	141	206			
MF23	10	6	pattern designer	3	13	16			
MF23	10	10	razor maker	0	1	1			
MF23	11	1	clothier	0	2	2			
MF23	11	5	glover, leather etc	0	5	5			
MF23	11	5	hatter, hat manufacture	9	116	125			
MF23	11	5	hose manufacture	2	9	11			
MF23	11	5	others providing dress	95	215	310			
MF23	11	5	patten, clog maker	8	41	49			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker	358	2801	3159			
MF23	11	5	straw hat, bonnet, maker	1	13	14			
MF23	11	5	straw plait manufacture	0	1	1			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF23	11	5	tailor	135	1497	1632			
MF24	11	5	button maker	550	1526	2076			
MF24	11	5	umbrella, stick maker	145	132	277	7884	8.24	5.48
MF25	12	2	miller	18	213	231			
MF25	12	3	sugar refiner	3	4	7			
MF25	14	1	oil miller, refiner	0	1	1			
MF25	14	1	others, oil	22	58	80			
MF26	12	2	baker	124	634	758			
MF26	12	2	confectioner, pastry cook	44	218	262			
MF27	12	3	brewer, etc	20	758	778			
MF27	12	3	distiller, rectifier	0	2	2			
MF27	12	3	ginger beer, soda water maker	6	34	40			
MF27	12	3	maltster	8	206	214			
MF28	12	3	tobacco, snuff manufacture	10	52	62			
MF28	15	4	tobacco pipe maker	6	58	64	2499	2.61	1.74
MF29	10	2	musical instrument maker, dealer	4	44	48			
MF29	10	2	others musical instruments	3	14	17			
MF29	10	5	bow, bat, tackle maker, dealer	9	25	34			
MF29	10	5	toy maker, dealer	3	16	19			
MF29	10	7	optician	63	205	268			
MF29	10	7	watch, clock maker	93	389	482			
MF29	10	8	others in surgical instruments	2	6	8			
MF29	10	8	surgical instrument maker	8	16	24			
MF30	10	1	book binder	24	84	108			
MF30	10	1	printer	308	413	721			
MF30	10	3	lithographer, lithographic printer	44	87	131			
MF30	10	3	others in prints	49	165	214	1174	1.23	0.82
MF31	16	2	mechanic	13	58	71	12295	12.85	8.54
PO	1	2	Magistrates	0	13	13			
PO	7	4	ship owner	0	0	0			
PO	8	1	land proprietor	1	41	42			
PO	10	14	house proprietor	0	144	144			
PO	17	1	annuitant	0	35	35			
PO	17	1	gentlemen	0	104	104	338	0.35	0.23
PP01	1	1	Civil Service not revenue	0	26	26			
PP01	1	1	Customs	0	1	1			
PP01	1	1	Govt messengers, workmen	0	3	3			
PP01	1	1	Inland revenue	0	45	45			
PP01	1	1	Post Office	7	130	137			
PP01	1	3	east India & Colonial service	0	4	4			
PP01	7	6	telegraph service	23	16	39			
PP02	1	2	Local board Officer	0	4	4			
PP02	1	2	other local officer	3	45	48			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
PP02	1	2	Union & parish Officer	3	51	54			
PP02	3	2	officer of law court	2	22	24			
PP03	15	3	dust collector	0	0	0			
PP03	15	3	scavenger	0	34	34	419	0.44	0.29
PP04	2	1	Army half-pay officer	0	5	5			
PP04	2	1	Army officer	2	25	27			
PP04	2	1	Chelsea pensioner	0	161	161			
PP04	2	1	militia	0	4	4			
PP04	2	1	others	0	6	6			
PP04	2	1	Soldier	28	290	318			
PP05	2	2	Greenwich pensioner	0	24	24			
PP05	2	2	navy half-pay officer	0	1	1			
PP05	2	2	navy officer	0	2	2			
PP05	2	2	other	0	0	0			
PP05	2	2	royal marine	0	5	5			
PP05	2	2	seaman, RN	2	5	7			
PP06	1	2	police	1	382	383			
PP06	1	2	prison officers	0	31	31	974	1.02	0.68
PP07	3	2	barrister	0	7	7			
PP07	3	2	law clerk	68	140	208			
PP07	3	2	law student	6	3	9			
PP07	3	2	other lawyers	0	3	3			
PP07	3	2	solicitor	0	125	125			
PP08	3	3	dentist	6	26	32			
PP08	3	3	druggist	62	225	287			
PP08	3	3	medical student, ast	21	40	61			
PP08	3	3	others in medicine	0	2	2			
PP08	3	3	physician	0	19	19			
PP08	3	3	surgeon, apothecary	0	153	153	906	0.95	0.63
PP09	3	5	artist, painter	11	96	107			
PP09	3	5	engraver	151	214	365			
PP09	3	5	others in fine art	0	0	0			
PP09	3	5	photographic artist	6	35	41			
PP09	3	5	sculptor	1	9	10			
PP10	3	6	musician	56	187	243			
PP10	3	7	actor	0	30	30			
PP10	3	7	in theatre, exhibitions	6	26	32			
PP11	3	4	author, editor, writer	0	12	12			
PP11	3	4	others in literature	1	12	13	853	0.89	0.59
PP12	3	9	other scientific persons	0	7	7	7	0.01	0.00
PP13	3	6	music master	1	62	63			
PP13	3	8	other teacher	0	4	4			
PP13	3	8	Prof. Of mathematics	1	3	4			
PP13	3	8	schoolmaster	3	113	116			
PP13	3	8	teacher (general)	75	14	89			
PP13	3	8	teacher of dancing	0	9	9			
PP13	3	8	teacher of languages	0	18	18	303	0.32	0.21
PP14	3	1	clergyman	0	64	64			
PP14	3	1	other church officers	0	29	29			
PP14	3	1	other religious teachers	0	43	43			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
PP14	3	1	parish clerk	1	5	6			
PP14	3	1	protestant minister	0	48	48			
PP14	3	1	roman catholic priest	0	25	25	215	0.22	0.15
T1	1	1	Dockyard artificers	0	0	0			
T1	7	4	dock servant, labourer	0	6	6			
T1	7	4	others	0	4	4			
T1	7	4	wharfinger	0	7	7			
T1	7	5	others in storage	19	160	179			
T1	7	5	warehouseman (not Manchester)	77	404	481			
T1	7	6	messenger, porter, errand boy	1080	948	2028			
T1	7	6	others in messages	0	2	2			
T1	11	4	others in storage	0	6	6			
T1	11	4	packer and presser	7	41	48			
T2	7	4	boatman on seas	0	0	0			
T2	7	4	pilot	0	0	0			
T2	7	4	seaman (merchant service)	1	35	36			
T3	7	3	bargeman, waterman	73	348	421			
T3	7	3	canal & river service	8	66	74			
T3	7	3	others	0	1	1			
T4	7	1	others in railways	0	3	3			
T4	7	1	rail, engine driver	38	253	291			
T4	7	1	railway officer	76	217	293			
T4	7	1	railway police	0	53	53			
T4	7	1	railway servant	45	679	724			
T5	7	2	cabman, flyman	8	248	256			
T5	7	2	carman, carrier, carter, drayman	92	716	808			
T5	7	2	coach, omnibus , cab owner	0	72	72			
T5	7	2	coachman (not domestic service)	5	125	130			
T5	7	2	livery stable keeper	0	7	7			
T5	7	2	others	0	7	7			
T5	7	2	toll collector	1	8	9	5946	6.21	4.13
			total identified occupation	20651	74339	94990	94990	99.24	65.97
Z3	16	2	others of indefinite occupation	158	570	728	728	0.76	0.51
			total occupied	20809	74909	95718	95718	100.00	66.47
Z1	4	3	son, grandson, brother, nephew	26112	75	26187			18.19
Z2	4	4	scholar	21120	16	21136			14.68
Z4	18	1	dependent on relatives	0	3	3			
			total dependents	47232	94	47326			32.87
Z5	18	1	almsperson, no stated occupation	0	0	0			

Table 2.1: Occupations of Men and Boys in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all males	total Order	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
Z5	18	1	lunatic, no stated occupation	6	31	37			
Z5	18	1	others, no occupation	0	53	53			
Z5	18	1	pauper, no stated occupation	27	9	36			
Z5	18	2	prisoner, no stated occupation	1	1	2			
Z5	18	3	gypsy	0	2	2			
Z5	18	3	vagrant, beggar	1	2	3			
Z6			others, no stated occupation/condition	34	764	798			
Z7			visitor, no stated occupation	2	19	21			
			total no occupation	71	881	952			0.66
Total males				68112	75884	143996			100.00

Source: *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume I, (London: 1863), Population Tables*, pp. 508-512, 'Table 19 Occupations of males under 20 and 20 years and upwards in principal towns', data for Birmingham borough. To these I added the occupation code from Armstrong, see below, making up codes for "wives", "widows", "Children" and "scholars" and so on where Armstrong offered none- W. A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information about Occupation", in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth Century Society* (London:1972), Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
AG1	8	1	agricultural labourer	1	5	6			
AG1	8	1	farm servant (in door)	1	3	4			
AG1	8	1	farmer, grazier	0	12	12			
AG1	8	1	farmer's daughter, etc	8	20	28			
AG1	8	1	farmer's wife	0	31	31			
AG1	8	3	gardener	0	2	2			
AG1	8	3	others in horticulture	0	0	0			
AG3	9	1	others about animals	0	1	1			
AG4	9	1	fisherwoman	0	0	0	84	0.18	0.06
B2	10	14	others in houses and building	7	14	21			
B2	10	14	plumber, painter, glazier	6	19	25	46	0.10	0.03
D01	15	2	coal heaver, labourer	0	2	2			
D01	15	2	coal merchant, dealer	1	34	35			
D02	12	2	flour dealer, agent	0	1	1			
D02	14	2	wood dealer	0	2	2			
D03	11	1	worsted manufacture	3	9	12			
D04	11	4	draper, mercer	40	145	185			
D04	11	5	clothes dealer, outfitter	4	47	51			
D04	11	5	hosier, haberdasher	34	130	164			
D05	12	1	butcher, meat salesman	9	32	41			
D05	12	1	butcher's wife	1	348	349			
D05	12	1	cheesemonger	0	2	2			
D05	12	1	cowkeeper, milk seller	7	70	77			
D05	12	1	fishmonger	2	25	27			
D05	12	1	poulterer, game dealer	2	11	13			
D05	12	1	provision curer, dealer	6	185	191			
D05	12	2	greengrocer, fruiterer	7	159	166			
D05	12	2	others, food	3	21	24			
D05	12	3	grocer, tea dealer	7	124	131			
D06	12	3	tobacconist	7	31	38			
D07	5	1	beerseller	0	61	61			
D07	5	1	innkeeper, hotelkeeper	5	59	64			
D07	5	1	innkeeper's wife	0	117	117			
D07	5	1	publican	5	111	116			
D07	5	1	publican' s wife	0	459	459			
D07	12	3	others, stimulants	5	18	23			
D07	12	3	wine merchant	0	10	10			
D08	5	1	coffee-house keeper	0	25	25			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper	0	158	158			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper's wife	0	8	8			
D08	5	1	Officer of institution	0	11	11			
D08	5	1	others in boarding etc	1	12	13			
D09	6	2	pawn broker	21	90	111			
D09	10	15	furniture broker	7	42	49			
D10	3	2	law stationer	0	0	0			

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Under 20	20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
D10	10	1	bookseller, publisher	0	10	10			
D10	10	1	others in publications	1	34	35			
D10	14	5	stationer (not law)	15	50	65			
D11	15	4	earthenware, glass dealer	4	25	29			
D11	15	14	ironmonger	3	15	18			
D12	6	2	general dealer, costermonger	2	76	78			
D12	6	2	hawker, pedlar	8	137	145			
D12	6	2	other general dealers	3	26	29			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper	3	178	181			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper's wife	0	6	6			
D12	12	2	fruit, flower, vendor	1	7	8			
D12	14	5	rag gatherer, dealer	1	5	6			
D12	16	2	shopwoman, assistant	39	70	109			
DS1	5	2	cook	29	660	689			
DS1	5	2	domestic service, general	4222	4223	8445			
DS1	5	2	housekeeper	7	641	648			
DS1	5	2	housemaid	312	559	871			
DS1	5	2	inn servant	78	201	279			
DS1	5	2	laundrymaid	2	8	10			
DS1	5	2	nurse	476	301	777			
DS3	5	2	charwoman	14	659	673			
DS3	5	2	others in general domestic service	1	37	38			
DS3	11	5	laundress	73	2302	2375	18260	38.16	12.01
IS1	6	1	mercantile pursuits	2	82	84	84	0.18	0.06
IS2	16	1	labourer	4	21	25	25	0.05	0.02
M1	15	1	in minerals	1	0	1			
M3	15	3	brick maker, dealer	5	5	10			
M3	15	3	others in brick making	2	4	6			
M4	15	6	salt makers and dealers	1	0	1			
M4	15	7	waterworks service	0	1	1	19	0.04	0.01
MF01	10	7	others, in watches, clocks	38	44	82			
MF01	10	10	others in tools, machines	70	80	150			
MF01	10	16	implement makers	0	1	1			
MF01	13	1	comb maker	1	7	8			
MF02	10	6	medals	2	2	4			
MF02	10	9	arms manufacture	120	224	344			
MF02	10	10	cutler	0	1	1			
MF02	10	10	file maker	0	2	2			
MF02	10	10	needle manufacture	1	8	9			
MF02	10	10	scissors maker	0	2	2			
MF02	10	10	steel pen maker	538	686	1224			
MF02	15	13	pin manufacture	82	70	152			
MF04	15	14	anchor, chain smith	14	15	29			
MF04	15	14	blacksmith	1	1	2			
MF04	15	14	iron manufacture	20	39	59			

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Under 20	20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF04	15	14	nail manufacture	99	196	295			
MF04	15	14	others in iron	229	176	405			
MF04	15	14	screw cutter, maker	321	573	894			
MF05	10	5	toy maker, dealer	136	131	267			
MF05	15	9	workers, dealers in copper	2	2	4			
MF05	15	10	others in tin	63	56	119			
MF05	15	10	tin manufacture	84	70	154			
MF05	15	12	lead manufacture	1	3	4			
MF05	15	13	in brass etc	725	988	1713			
MF05	15	13	lacquerer	179	227	406			
MF06	15	8	goldsmith, jeweller	290	308	598			
MF06	15	8	others in gold	504	437	941	5890	12.31	3.87
MF07	15	4	earthenware manufacture	9	22	31			
MF07	15	4	others in earthenware	0	1	1			
MF07	15	5	glass manufacture	56	94	150			
MF07	15	5	other workers in glass	15	13	28	210	0.44	0.14
MF08	15	2	others in coal	0	2	2			
MF09	10	17	others in chemicals	9	10	19	21	0.04	0.01
MF10	11	5	furrier	0	8	8			
MF10	13	2	currier	2	8	10			
MF10	13	2	others in dead animal bits	44	42	86			
MF11	13	1	others in grease	35	24	59			
MF11	13	1	tallow chandler	0	2	2			
MF12	13	3	brush, broom maker	54	107	161			
MF12	13	3	hair, bristle manufacture	69	50	119			
MF12	13	3	others in hair, bristle	1	6	7	452	0.94	0.30
MF13	14	2	others, wood	68	95	163			
MF13	14	3	workers in bark	0	0	0			
MF13	14	4	basket maker	6	15	21			
MF13	14	4	others, hay and straw	0	6	6			
MF14	10	15	cabinet maker, upholsterer	30	148	178			
MF14	10	15	chair maker	15	31	46			
MF14	10	15	others in furniture	54	91	145			
MF14	14	1	French polisher	151	284	435			
MF14	14	2	box maker	79	61	140			
MF15	10	11	carriage maker	5	18	23			
MF15	10	12	saddler, harness maker	87	193	280			
MF15	10	12	whip maker	18	51	69	1506	3.15	0.99
MF16	14	5	envelope maker	0	3	3			
MF16	14	5	other workers in paper	82	77	159			
MF16	14	5	paper box maker	154	143	297			
MF16	14	5	paper manufacture	26	44	70			
MF16	14	5	paper stainer	33	69	102			
MF17	14	1	Japanner	143	320	463	1094	2.29	0.72
MF18	11	1	carpet, rug manufacture	1	4	5			
MF18	11	1	Knitter	1	13	14			

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Under 20	20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF18	11	1	others in wool	0	1	1			
MF18	11	1	woollen cloth manufacture	1	14	15			
MF19	11	1	berlin wool dealer, worker	0	11	11			
MF19	11	2	others in silk	5	15	20			
MF19	11	2	ribbon manufacture	1	25	26			
MF19	11	2	silk manufacture	10	59	69			
MF19	11	3	cotton manufacture	8	24	32			
MF19	11	3	fustian manufacture	0	3	3			
MF19	11	3	others in cotton, calico	1	5	6			
MF19	11	4	others in trimmings	11	22	33			
MF19	11	4	weaver (undefined)	7	15	22			
MF19	11	5	fancy worker	55	106	161			
MF20	11	3	flax, linen manufacture	0	1	1			
MF20	11	6	mat maker, seller	0	4	4			
MF20	11	6	net maker	2	3	5			
MF20	11	6	others, hemp	10	33	43			
MF20	11	6	rope, cord maker	2	5	7			
MF21	10	4	artificial flower maker	6	12	18			
MF21	10	4	others in artificial flowers	1	1	2			
MF21	11	3	lace manufacture	6	46	52			
MF21	11	3	tape manufacture, dealer	1	1	2			
MF21	11	3	thread manufacture	0	2	2			
MF21	11	4	embroiderer	9	23	32			
MF21	11	4	trimming maker	3	7	10			
MF22	10	17	dyer, calenderer	10	26	36			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton printer	0	1	1	633	1.32	0.42
MF23	11	1	clothier	0	1	1			
MF23	11	3	muslim embroiderer	0	1	1			
MF23	11	5	bonnet maker	14	69	83			
MF23	11	5	cap maker	13	79	92			
MF23	11	5	glove knitter	0	1	1			
MF23	11	5	glover, leather etc	5	22	27			
MF23	11	5	hatter, hat manufacture	6	22	28			
MF23	11	5	hose manufacture	0	7	7			
MF23	11	5	milliner, dressmaker	857	3731	4588			
MF23	11	5	others in clothes	34	60	94			
MF23	11	5	shirt maker, seamstress	145	775	920			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker	187	617	804			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker's wife	12	1340	1352			
MF23	11	5	stay maker	85	361	446			
MF23	11	5	straw hat, bonnet, maker	9	105	114			
MF23	11	5	straw plait manufacture	0	6	6			
MF23	11	5	tailor	85	508	593			
MF24	11	5	button maker	1300	1703	3003			
MF24	11	5	umbrella, stick maker	244	176	420	12580	26.29	8.27

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Under 20	20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF25	12	2	miller	1	2	3			
MF25	14	1	others, oil	18	41	59			
MF26	12	2	baker	6	51	57			
MF26	12	2	confectioner, pastry cook	43	99	142			
MF27	12	3	brewer, etc	1	28	29			
MF28	12	3	tobacco, snuff manufacture	9	4	13			
MF28	15	4	tobacco pipe maker	6	37	43	346	0.72	0.23
MF29	10	2	in musical instruments	0	1	1			
MF29	10	5	bow, bat, tackle maker, dealer	2	3	5			
MF29	10	7	watch, clock maker	6	8	14			
MF29	10	8	surgical instrument maker	2	3	5	2004	4.19	1.32
MF30	10	1	book binder	84	62	146			
MF30	10	1	printer	18	18	36			
MF30	10	3	maps, pictures	10	10	20	202	0.42	0.13
PO	8	1	land proprietor	0	83	83			
PO	10	14	house proprietor	0	312	312			
PO	17	1	annuitant	4	323	327			
PO	17	1	gentlewoman	1	144	145	867	1.81	0.57
PP01	1	1	Post Office	0	5	5			
PP02	1	2	other local officer	0	1	1			
PP02	1	2	Union & parish Officer	0	8	8	14	0.03	0.01
PP06	1	2	prison officers	0	7	7	7	0.01	0.00
PP08	3	3	druggist	2	6	8			
PP08	3	3	midwife	0	30	30			
PP08	3	3	others in medicine	0	13	13			
PP08	5	2	hospital nurse, etc	1	70	71			
PP08	5	2	nurse (not domestic service)	2	314	316	438	0.92	0.29
PP09	3	5	artist, painter	15	24	39			
PP09	3	5	others in fine art	6	15	21			
PP10	3	6	musician	10	41	51			
PP10	3	7	actor	4	13	17			
PP10	3	7	in theatre, exhibitions	2	5	7			
PP11	3	4	in literature	1	2	3	138	0.29	0.09
PP12	3	9	scientific persons	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00
PP13	3	6	music mistress	13	27	40			
PP13	3	6	others in music	1	0	1			
PP13	3	8	governess	44	314	358			
PP13	3	8	other teacher	1	5	6			
PP13	3	8	schoolmistress	27	400	427			
PP13	3	8	teacher (general)	139	86	225			
PP13	3	8	teacher of languages	0	8	8	1065	2.23	0.70
PP14	3	1	other church officers	0	1	1			
PP14	3	1	pew openers	0	13	13			
PP14	3	1	religious teachers	1	10	11	25	0.05	0.02
T1	7	5	others in storage	1	1	2			

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Under 20	20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
T1	7	5	warehouse woman	741	969	1710			
T1	7	6	messenger, porter, errand girl	29	5	34			
T3	7	3	bargewoman	0	0	0			
T4	7	1	railway attendant	0	0	0			
T5	7	2	carman, carrier, carter, drayman	0	3	3			
T5	7	2	coach, omnibus , cab owner	0	2	2			
T5	7	2	toll collector	0	0	0	1751	3.66	1.15
			total identified occupation	14672	33089	47761	47761	99.80	31.41
Z3	16	2	others of indefinite occupation	43	53	96	96	0.20	0.06
			total occupied	14715	33142	47857	47857	100.00	31.47
Z1	4	3	children and relatives	30973	2827	33800			
Z2	4	4	scholars (so described)	22692	13	22705			
Z4	18	1	dependent on relatives	0	37	37			
			total dependents	53665	2877	56542	56542		37.18
Z8	4	1	wives (not other description)	384	42052	42436	42436		27.90
Z9	4	2	widows (not other description)	1	3654	3655	3655		2.40
Z5	18	1	almsperson, no stated occupation	0	90	90			
Z5	18	1	lunatic, no stated occupation	1	18	19			
Z5	18	1	pauper, no stated occupation	30	147	177			
Z5	18	1	others	0	3	3			
Z5	18	2	others of criminal class	13	4	17			
Z5	18	2	prisoner, no stated occupation	1	18	19			
Z5	18	3	gypsy	2	2	4			
Z5	18	3	vagrant, beggar	0	1	1			
Z6			others-no stated occupation/condition	50	720	770			
Z7			visitor, no stated occupation	137	353	490			
			total no occupation	234	1356	1590	1590		1.05
			total females	68999	83081	152080			100.00

Table 2.2: Occupations of Women and Girls in Birmingham, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Under 20	20 and over	all females	total Order	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
Notes									
Wives and daughters with other descriptions therefore included in occupied groups									
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker's wife	12	1340	1352			
D05	12	1	butcher's wife	1	348	349			
D07	5	1	innkeeper's wife	0	117	117			
AG1	8	1	farmer's wife	0	31	31			
AG1	8	1	farmer's daughter	8	20	28			
D07	5	1	publican' s wife	0	459	459			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper's wife	0	8	8			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper's wife	0	6	6			
			total	21	2329	2350		4.91	

Source: *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume II*, pp. 512-514, 'Table 20 Occupations of females under 20 and 20 years and upwards in principal towns' data for Birmingham borough. To these I added the occupation code from Armstrong, see below, making up codes for "wives", "widows", "Children" and "scholars" and so on where Armstrong offered none - Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
AG1	8	1	agricultural labourer	1	36	37			
AG1	8	1	farm bailiff			0			
AG1	8	1	farm servant (in door)			0			
AG1	8	1	farmer, grazier			0			
AG1	8	1	farmer's son, brother, grandson			0			
AG1	8	1	others in agriculture			0			
AG1	8	1	shepherd (out door)			0			
AG1	8	2	woodman			0			
AG1	8	3	gardener			0			
AG1	8	3	nurseryman			0			
AG3	9	1	cattle, sheep dealer		2	2			
AG3	9	1	drover		4	4			
AG3	9	1	farrier, veterinary surgeon			0			
AG3	9	1	horse breaker			0			
AG3	9	1	horse dealer			0			
AG3	9	1	horsekeeper, groom, jockey		2	2			
AG3	9	1	others about animals		1	1			
AG3	9	1	pig merchant, dealer		8	8			
AG3	9	1	vermin destroyer			0			
AG4	9	1	fisherman		1	1	55	3.01	2.00
B1	3	9	civil engineer			0			
B1	8	1	land surveyor, estate agent			0			
B1	10	14	architect			0			
B1	10	14	builder			0			
B1	10	14	surveyor			0			
B1	15	3	road contractor, etc			0			
B2	10	4	others wood carving			0			
B2	10	4	wood carver			0			
B2	10	14	bricklayer	2	181	183			
B2	10	14	carpenter, joiner		7	7			
B2	10	14	marble mason	2	5	7			
B2	10	14	mason, pavior			0			
B2	10	14	others in houses and building	1	16	17			
B2	10	14	paperhanger			0			
B2	10	14	plasterer		9	9			
B2	10	14	plumber, painter, glazier	3	7	10			
B2	10	14	slater, tiler		10	10			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
B2	14	4	Thatcher			0			
B2	15	13	gas fitter	4		4			
B2	15	13	locksmith, bell hanger		2	2			
B3	15	3	excavator, navvy		2	2			
B3	15	3	plate layer			0			
B3	15	3	railway labourer		6	6			
B3	15	3	road labourer			0	257	14.08	9.36
D01	15	2	coal heaver, labourer		1	1			
D01	15	2	coal merchant, dealer			0			
D02	11	1	woolstapler			0			
D02	12	2	corn merchant, dealer		1	1			
D02	12	2	flour dealer, agent			0			
D02	12	2	seed merchant, seedsman			0			
D02	14	2	timber merchant, dealer			0			
D02	14	2	wood dealer			0			
D02	14	4	hay and straw dealer			0			
D03	11	1	worsted manufacture			0			
D03	11	2	silk mercer			0			
D03	11	4	Manchester warehouseman			0			
D04	11	4	draper, mercer		5	5			
D04	11	5	clothes dealer, outfitter		4	4			
D04	11	5	hosier, haberdasher			0			
D05	12	1	butcher, meat salesman		1	1			
D05	12	1	cheesemonger			0			
D05	12	1	cowkeeper, milk seller		1	1			
D05	12	1	fishmonger		2	2			
D05	12	1	others, food dealers			0			
D05	12	1	poulterer, game dealer			0			
D05	12	1	provision curer, dealer		3	3			
D05	12	2	greengrocer, fruiterer		4	4			
D05	12	2	others, food			0			
D05	12	2	potato merchant			0			
D05	12	3	grocer, tea dealer			0			
D05	14	1	oil and colourman			0			
D06	12	3	tobacconist			0			
D07	5	1	beerseller			0			
D07	5	1	innkeeper, hotelkeeper			0			
D07	5	1	publican		4	4			
D07	12	3	cellarman			0			
D07	12	3	others, stimulants			0			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
D07	12	3	wine merchant			0			
D08	5	1	coffee-house keeper			0			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper		8	8			
D08	5	1	others in boarding etc			0			
D09	6	2	pawn broker			0			
D09	10	15	furniture broker			0			
D10	3	2	law stationer			0			
D10	10	1	bookseller, publisher		1	1			
D10	10	1	newspaper agent			0			
D10	10	1	others in publications			0			
D10	14	5	stationer (not law)			0			
D11	15	4	earthenware, glass dealer			0			
D11	15	13	hardwareman, dealer		3	3			
D11	15	13	ironmonger		2	2			
D12	6	2	general dealer, costermonger		13	13			
D12	6	2	hawker, pedlar	2	30	32			
D12	6	2	marine store dealer		10	10			
D12	6	2	other general dealers		3	3			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper			0			
D12	12	2	fruit, flower, vendor		1	1			
D12	14	5	rag gatherer, dealer		3	3			
D12	16	2	shopman		2	2			
D13	6	1	agent, factor			0			
D13	6	1	auctioneer, appraiser, valuer			0			
D13	6	1	broker	1		1			
D13	6	1	coal, colliery agent			0			
D13	6	1	commercial traveller		13	13			
D13	6	1	iron merchant, agent			0			
D13	6	1	merchant			0			
D13	6	1	salesman			0			
D13	6	1	ship broker, agent			0			
D13	6	1	stock broker etc			0			
D13	10	14	house agent			0			
DS1	5	2	domestic service, general	1	1	2			
DS1	5	2	hospital nurse, etc			0			
DS1	5	2	inn servant		2	2			
DS1	5	2	others in general domestic service			0			
DS2	5	2	Coachman			0			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
DS2	5	2	gardener		3	3			
DS2	5	2	groom			0			
DS2	9	1	gamekeeper			0			
DS3	5	1	cook (not domestic service)			0			
DS3	11	5	hairdresser, wig maker			0			
DS3	15	2	chimney sweeper			0	125	6.85	4.55
IS1	6	1	accountant			0			
IS1	6	1	banker			0			
IS1	6	1	commercial clerk			0			
IS1	6	1	insurance, benefit society officer			0			
IS1	6	1	other mercantile men			0	0	0.00	0.00
IS2	16	1	labourer	28	491	519	519	28.44	18.91
M1	15	1	coal miner		2	2			
M1	15	1	copper miner			0			
M1	15	1	iron miner			0			
M1	15	1	lead miner			0			
M1	15	1	others in mines			0			
M2	15	3	limestone quarrier, burner			0			
M2	15	3	slate quarrier			0			
M2	15	3	stone cutter, polisher	1	8	9			
M2	15	3	stone quarrier			0			
M3	15	3	brick maker, dealer		15	15			
M3	15	3	clay labourer			0			
M3	15	3	others in stone and clay			0			
M4	15	6	others in salt			0			
M4	15	6	salt manufacture			0			
M4	15	7	others in waterworks			0			
M4	15	7	waterworks service		2	2	28	1.53	1.02
MF01	10	7	others, in weights & measure making			0			
MF01	10	7	Weight & measure maker			0			
MF01	10	10	engine and machine maker		6	6			
MF01	10	10	others in tools, machines			0			
MF01	10	16	millwright			0			
MF01	10	16	other implement makers	8	2	10			
MF01	13	1	comb maker			0			
MF01	15	13	boiler maker	1	1	2			
MF02	10	9	gun smith, gun manufacture	76	52	128			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
MF02	10	9	others in gun making			0			
MF02	10	10	blade maker, forger	4	2	6			
MF02	10	10	cutler		1	1			
MF02	10	10	file maker	8	3	11			
MF02	10	10	knife maker			0			
MF02	10	10	needle manufacture	2	6	8			
MF02	10	10	saw smith, maker			0			
MF02	10	10	scissors maker			0			
MF02	10	10	tool maker, dealer	8	5	13			
MF02	15	12	type founder			0			
MF03	10	13	block, oar, mast maker			0			
MF03	10	13	boat, barge builder			0			
MF03	10	13	others in boat building			0			
MF03	10	13	sailmaker			0			
MF03	10	13	shipbuilder, ship wright			0			
MF03	15	13	keel manufacture			0	0	0.00	0.00
MF04	15	13	anchor, chain, smith			0			
MF04	15	13	black smith	5	46	51			
MF04	15	13	iron manufacture	18	34	52			
MF04	15	13	nail manufacture	11	18	29			
MF04	15	13	others in iron	1	1	2			
MF04	15	14	grinder		1	1			
MF04	15	14	others about metals	1	2	3			
MF05	15	8	silver plated ware, man	10	14	24			
MF05	15	9	copper manufacture			0			
MF05	15	9	copper smith		2	2			
MF05	15	9	others in copper			0			
MF05	15	10	others in tin			0			
MF05	15	10	tin manufacture			0			
MF05	15	10	tinman, tinker	1	2	3			
MF05	15	10	tinplate worker		5	5			
MF05	15	11	zinc manufacture		1	1			
MF05	15	12	lead manufacture		1	1			
MF05	15	12	others in lead			0			
MF05	15	13	brass founder manufacture	53	24	77			
MF05	15	13	brazier		1	1			
MF05	15	13	white smith		2	2			
MF05	15	13	wire drawer, maker	5	3	8			
MF05	15	13	wire worker, weaver	7	9	16			
MF06	15	8	goldsmith, jeweller	5	10	15			
MF06	15	8	others in gold			0	293	16.05	10.67

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
MF07	15	4	earthenware manufacture			0			
MF07	15	4	others in earthenware			0			
MF07	15	5	glass manufacture	5	2	7			
MF07	15	5	other workers in glass		1	1	8	0.44	0.29
MF08	15	2	coke burner, dealer			0			
MF08	15	2	gas works service		1	1			
MF08	15	2	others in coal			0			
MF09	10	17	dye, colour manufacturer			0			
MF09	10	17	manufacturing chemist, labourer			0			
MF09	10	17	others in chemicals		2	2	3	0.16	0.11
MF10	11	5	furrier			0			
MF10	13	2	currier			0			
MF10	13	2	fellmonger			0			
MF10	13	2	others in leather			0			
MF10	13	2	skinner			0			
MF10	13	2	tanner		1	1			
MF11	13	1	others in grease			0			
MF11	13	1	sheep boiler		2	2			
MF11	13	1	tallow Chandler		1	1			
MF12	13	3	brush, broom maker	5	8	13			
MF12	13	3	hair, bristle manufacture			0			
MF12	13	3	others in hair, bristle		1	1	18	0.99	0.66
MF13	14	2	cooper	2	7	9			
MF13	14	2	hoop maker, bender			0			
MF13	14	2	jump, hurdle maker			0			
MF13	14	2	lath maker			0			
MF13	14	2	others, wood		1	1			
MF13	14	2	sawyer		4	4			
MF13	14	2	turner	1	1	2			
MF13	14	3	cork cutter, manufacture			0			
MF13	14	3	others, cork			0			
MF13	14	4	basket maker		3	3			
MF13	14	4	others, hay and traw			0			
MF13	16	2	apprentice			0			
MF14	10	15	bedstead, mattress maker	1	1	2			
MF14	10	15	cabinet maker, upholsterer	1	4	5			
MF14	10	15	carver, gilder			0			
MF14	10	15	chair maker		1	1			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
MF14	10	15	others in furniture			0			
MF14	10	15	picture frame maker			0			
MF14	10	15	undertaker			0			
MF14	14	1	French polisher	1		1			
MF14	14	2	box maker			0			
MF15	10	11	coachmaker	3	17	20			
MF15	10	11	others in coachmaking			0			
MF15	10	12	saddler, harness maker	2	6	8			
MF15	10	12	whip maker		2	2			
MF15	10	16	wheelwright		1	1	59	3.23	2.15
MF16	14	5	other workers in paper			0			
MF16	14	5	paper manufacture	1	1	2			
MF16	14	5	paper stainer			0			
MF17	14	1	Japanner	2	5	7	9	0.49	0.33
MF18	11	1	carpet, rug, manufacture		1	1			
MF18	11	1	felt manufacture			0			
MF18	11	1	flannel manufacture			0			
MF18	11	1	stuff manufacture			0			
MF18	11	1	woollen cloth manufacture			0			
MF19	11	2	others in silk			0			
MF19	11	2	ribbon manufacture			0			
MF19	11	2	silk manufacture			0			
MF19	11	3	cotton manufacture			0			
MF19	11	3	fustian manufacture			0			
MF19	11	4	weaver (undefined)		1	1			
MF19	11	5	shawl manufacture			0			
MF20	11	3	flax, linen manufacture			0			
MF20	11	6	mat maker, seller		2	2			
MF20	11	6	others, hemp			0			
MF20	11	6	rope, cord maker		3	3			
MF20	11	6	sailcloth manufacture			0			
MF21	11	1	others, mixed fabrics			0			
MF21	11	3	lace manufacture			0			
MF21	11	3	others, mixed fabrics			0			
MF21	11	3	thread manufacture			0			
MF21	11	6	canvas maker, dealer			0			
MF22	10	17	dyer, calenderer			0			
MF22	11	1	fuller			0			
MF22	11	1	wool, woollen dyer			0			
MF22	11	2	silk dyer, printer		1	1			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton dyer			0			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton printer			0	8	0.44	0.29
MF23	10	6	others, pattern design			0			
MF23	10	6	pattern designer			0			
MF23	10	10	razor maker			0			
MF23	11	1	clothier		2	2			
MF23	11	5	glover, leather etc			0			
MF23	11	5	hatter, hat manufacture		3	3			
MF23	11	5	hose manufacture			0			
MF23	11	5	others providing dress			0			
MF23	11	5	patten, clog maker			0			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker	9	67	76			
MF23	11	5	straw hat, bonnet, maker			0			
MF23	11	5	straw plait manufacture			0			
MF23	11	5	tailor	2	34	36			
MF24	11	5	button maker	18	5	23			
MF24	11	5	umbrella, stick maker	14	4	18	158	8.66	5.76
MF25	12	2	miller	1		1			
MF25	12	3	sugar refiner			0			
MF25	14	1	oil miller, refiner			0			
MF25	14	1	others, oil			0			
MF26	12	2	baker	1	2	3			
MF26	12	2	confectioner, pastry cook		1	1			
MF27	12	3	brewer, etc		2	2			
MF27	12	3	distiller, rectifier			0			
MF27	12	3	ginger beer, soda water maker		1	1			
MF27	12	3	maltster			0			
MF28	12	3	tobacco, snuff manufacture	1		1			
MF28	15	4	tobacco pipe maker		1	1	10	0.55	0.36
MF29	10	2	musical instrument maker, dealer			0			
MF29	10	2	others musical instruments			0			
MF29	10	5	bow, bat, tackle maker, dealer			0			
MF29	10	5	toy maker, dealer			0			
MF29	10	7	optician	1	3	4			
MF29	10	7	watch, clock maker		1	1			
MF29	10	8	others in surgical instruments			0			
MF29	10	8	surgical instrument maker	1		1			
MF30	10	1	book binder			0			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
MF30	10	1	printer	4	6	10			
MF30	10	3	lithographer, lithographic printer	1	1	2			
MF30	10	3	others in prints			0	12	0.66	0.44
MF31	16	2	mechanic	2	1	3	194	10.63	7.07
PO	1	2	Magistrates			0			
PO	7	4	ship owner			0			
PO	8	1	land proprietor			0			
PO	10	14	house proprietor			0			
PO	17	1	annuitant			0			
PO	17	1	gentlemen			0	0	0.00	0.00
PP01	1	1	Civil Service not revenue			0			
PP01	1	1	Customs			0			
PP01	1	1	Govt messengers, workmen			0			
PP01	1	1	Inland revenue			0			
PP01	1	1	Post Office			0			
PP01	1	3	east India & Colonial service			0			
PP01	7	6	telegraph service			0			
PP02	1	2	Local board Officer			0			
PP02	1	2	other local officer			0			
PP02	1	2	Union & parish Officer			0			
PP02	3	2	officer of law court			0			
PP03	15	3	dust collector			0			
PP03	15	3	scavenger		1	1	1	0.05	0.04
PP04	2	1	Army half-pay officer			0			
PP04	2	1	Army officer			0			
PP04	2	1	Chelsea pensioner		4	4			
PP04	2	1	militia			0			
PP04	2	1	others			0			
PP04	2	1	Soldier		2	2			
PP05	2	2	Greenwich pensioner			0			
PP05	2	2	navy half-pay officer			0			
PP05	2	2	navy officer			0			
PP05	2	2	other			0			
PP05	2	2	royal marine			0			
PP05	2	2	seaman, RN		2	2			
PP06	1	2	police		2	2			
PP06	1	2	prison officers			0	10	0.55	0.36
PP07	3	2	barrister			0			
PP07	3	2	law clerk			0			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class	Occupation						
PP07	3	2	law student			0			
PP07	3	2	other lawyers			0			
PP07	3	2	solicitor		1	1			
PP08	3	3	dentist			0			
PP08	3	3	druggist			0			
PP08	3	3	medical student, ast			0			
PP08	3	3	others in medicine			0			
PP08	3	3	physician			0			
PP08	3	3	surgeon, apothecary			0	1	0.05	0.04
PP09	3	5	artist, painter			0			
PP09	3	5	engraver			0			
PP09	3	5	others in fine art			0			
PP09	3	5	photographic artist	1	1	2			
PP09	3	5	sculptor			0			
PP10	3	6	musician		8	8			
PP10	3	7	actor			0			
PP10	3	7	in theatre, exhibitions	1		1			
PP11	3	4	author, editor, writer			0			
PP11	3	4	others in literature			0	11	0.60	0.40
PP12	3	9	other scientific persons			0	0	0.00	0.00
PP13	3	6	music master		1	1			
PP13	3	8	other teacher			0			
PP13	3	8	Prof. Of mathematics			0			
PP13	3	8	schoolmaster		2	2			
PP13	3	8	teacher (general)			0			
PP13	3	8	teacher of dancing			0			
PP13	3	8	teacher of languages			0	3	0.16	0.11
PP14	3	1	clergyman			0			
PP14	3	1	other church officers			0			
PP14	3	1	other religious teachers			0			
PP14	3	1	parish clerk			0			
PP14	3	1	protestant minister			0			
PP14	3	1	roman catholic priest			0	0	0.00	0.00
T1	1	1	Dockyard artificers			0			
T1	7	4	dock servant, labourer			0			
T1	7	4	others			0			
T1	7	4	wharfinger			0			
T1	7	5	others in storage			0			
T1	7	5	warehouseman (not Manchester)	2	1	3			
T1	7	6	messenger, porter, errand boy	13	12	25			

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
T1	7	6	others in messages			0			
T1	11	4	others in storage			0			
T1	11	4	packer and presser			0			
T2	7	4	boatman on seas			0			
T2	7	4	pilot			0			
T2	7	4	seaman (merchant service)			0			
T3	7	3	bargeman, waterman			0			
T3	7	3	canal & river service			0			
T3	7	3	others			0			
T4	7	1	others in railways			0			
T4	7	1	rail, engine driver			0			
T4	7	1	railway officer			0			
T4	7	1	railway police			0			
T4	7	1	railway servant			0			
T5	7	2	cabman, flyman		1	1			
T5	7	2	carman, carrier, carter, drayman	2	5	7			
T5	7	2	coach, omnibus , cab owner			0			
T5	7	2	coachman (not domestic service)			0			
T5	7	2	livery stable keeper			0			
T5	7	2	others			0			
T5	7	2	toll collector			0	36	1.97	1.31
			total identified occupation	368	1450	1818	1818	99.62	66.23
Z3	16	2	others of indefinite occupation	1	6	7	7	0.38	0.26
			total occupied	369	1456	1825	1825	100.00	66.48
Z1	4	3	son, grandson, brother, nephew	648	3	651			23.72
Z2	4	4	scholar	225		225			8.20
Z4	18	1	dependent on relatives		3	3			
			total dependents	873	6	879			32.02
Z5	18	1	almsperson, no stated occupation						
Z5	18	1	lunatic, no stated occupation						
Z5	18	1	others, no occupation						
Z5	18	1	pauper, no stated occupation						
Z5	18	2	prisoner, no stated occupation						

Table 2.3: Occupations of Sample Men and Boys, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all males	group total	% of occupied	% of males
	Order	Class							
Z5	18	3	gypsy						
Z5	18	3	vagrant, beggar						
Z6			others of no stated occupation or condition	0	37	37			
Z7			visitor, no stated occupation	2	2	4			
			total no occupation	2	39	41			1.49
			Total males	1244	1501	2745			100.00
Notes									
AG3			includes cattle and pig dealers and drovers, as Booth. This is the same category as grooms. However, they would fit better in D05, with food dealers in particular, dealers in general.						
B2	10	14	are builder's labourers						
D05	12	1	cowkeeper, milk seller						
D12	6	2	includes 1 Chandler						
MF01	10	16	is bellows makers						
MF02	10	10	is pin and pen makers						
MF04	15	13	Blacksmith includes smiths, strikers, smith's labourers:						
MF04	15	13	iron manufacture:						
			includes hammermen, hinge makers, strikers, press worker, moulders, steel polisher						
MF04	15	14	others is screws						
MF05	15	8	silver plated ware includes gilt/steel toys, spoon polishers						
MF05	15	13	brass founder manufacture:						
			includes lamp makers, polishers, metal rollers, metal stamper, metal drawer, metal healer, stamper.						
MF20	11	6	includes jute makers						

Source: 1861 census enumerations; Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all females	group total	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
AG1	8	1	agricultural labourer		3	3			
AG1	8	1	farm servant (in door)			0			
AG1	8	1	farmer, grazier			0			
AG1	8	1	farmer's daughter, etc			0			
AG1	8	1	farmer's wife		1	1			
AG1	8	3	gardener			0			
AG1	8	3	others in horticulture			0			
AG3	9	1	others about animals		1	1			
AG4	9	1	fisherwoman			0	5	0.56	0.19
B2	10	14	others in houses and building		2	2			
B2	10	14	plumber, painter, glazier	1		1	3	0.34	0.11
D01	15	2	coal heaver, labourer			0			
D01	15	2	coal merchant, dealer			0			
D02	12	2	flour dealer, agent			0			
D02	14	2	wood dealer			0			
D03	11	1	worsted manufacture			0			
D04	11	4	draper, mercer			0			
D04	11	5	clothes dealer, outfitter		7	7			
D04	11	5	hosier, haberdasher			0			
D05	12	1	butcher, meat salesman			0			
D05	12	1	butcher's wife			0			
D05	12	1	cheesemonger			0			
D05	12	1	cowkeeper, milk seller		1	1			
D05	12	1	fishmonger		1	1			
D05	12	1	poulterer, game dealer			0			
D05	12	1	provision curer, dealer			0			
D05	12	2	greengrocer, fruiterer	1	3	4			
D05	12	2	others, food			0			
D05	12	3	grocer, tea dealer			0			
D06	12	3	tobacconist			0			
D07	5	1	beerseller			0			
D07	5	1	innkeeper, hotelkeeper			0			
D07	5	1	innkeeper's wife			0			
D07	5	1	publican			0			
D07	5	1	publican' s wife			0			
D07	12	3	others, stimulants			0			
D07	12	3	wine merchant			0			
D08	5	1	coffee-house keeper			0			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper		12	12			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper's wife			0			
D08	5	1	Officer of institution			0			
D08	5	1	others in boarding etc			0			
D09	6	2	pawn broker			0			
D09	10	15	furniture broker		1	1			
D10	3	2	law stationer			0			
D10	10	1	bookseller, publisher			0			

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all females	group total	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
D10	10	1	others in publications			0			
D10	14	5	stationer (not law)			0			
D11	15	4	earthenware, glass dealer			0			
D11	15	14	ironmonger			0			
D12	6	2	general dealer, costermonger		7	7			
D12	6	2	hawker, pedlar	1	35	36			
D12	6	2	other general dealers	3	8	11			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper		1	1			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper's wife			0			
D12	12	2	fruit, flower, vendor		0	0			
D12	14	5	rag gatherer, dealer	1	3	4			
D12	16	2	shopwoman, assistant	1	1	2			
DS1	5	2	cook		1	1			
DS1	5	2	domestic service, general	21	41	62			
DS1	5	2	housekeeper		17	17			
DS1	5	2	housemaid			0			
DS1	5	2	inn servant	2	5	7			
DS1	5	2	laundrymaid			0			
DS1	5	2	nurse	2		2			
DS3	5	2	charwoman		26	26			
DS3	5	2	others in general domestic service			0			
DS3	11	5	laundress [none in DS1]	1	43	44	246	27.49	9.33
IS1	6	1	mercantile pursuits			0	0	0.00	0.00
IS2	16	1	labourer	6	16	22	22	2.46	0.83
M1	15	1	in minerals			0			
M3	15	3	brick maker, dealer			0			
M3	15	3	others in brick making			0			
M4	15	6	salt makers and dealers			0			
M4	15	7	waterworks service			0	0	0.00	0.00
MF01	10	7	others, in watches, clocks			0			
MF01	10	10	others in tools, machines			0			
MF01	10	16	implement makers	1	4	5			
MF01	13	1	comb maker			0			
MF02	10	6	medals			0			
MF02	10	9	arms manufacture	5	10	15			
MF02	10	10	cutler			0			
MF02	10	10	file maker			0			
MF02	10	10	needle manufacture			0			
MF02	10	10	scissors maker			0			
MF02	10	10	steel pen maker	29	28	57			
MF02	15	13	pin manufacture	1		1			
MF04	15	13	anchor, chain smith			0			
MF04	15	13	blacksmith			0			
MF04	15	13	iron manufacture	14	21	35			
MF04	15	13	nail manufacture	3	9	12			
MF04	15	13	others in iron	8	4	12			
MF04	15	14	screw cutter, maker	19	38	57			
MF05	10	5	toy maker, dealer	1	4	5			

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all females	group total	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF05	15	9	workers,dealers in copper			0			
MF05	15	10	others in tin	8	10	18			
MF05	15	10	tin manufacture	4	6	10			
MF05	15	12	lead manufacture	1		1			
MF05	15	13	in brass etc	18	26	44			
MF05	15	13	lacquerer		1	1			
MF06	15	8	goldsmith, jeweller	6	3	9			
MF06	15	8	others in gold			0	204	22.79	7.74
MF07	15	4	earthenware manufacture			0			
MF07	15	4	others in earthenware			0			
MF07	15	5	glass manufacture	1	5	6			
MF07	15	5	other workers in glass		1	1	7	0.78	0.27
MF08	15	2	others in coal			0			
MF09	10	17	others in chemicals	3	4	7	7	0.78	0.27
MF10	11	5	furrier			0			
MF10	13	2	currier			0			
MF10	13	2	others in leather	1	1	2			
MF11	13	1	others in fat, rendering		1	1			
MF11	13	1	tallow chandler			0			
MF12	13	3	brush, broom maker	1	1	2			
MF12	13	3	hair, bristle manufacture			0			
MF12	13	3	others in hair, bristle			0	5	0.56	0.19
MF13	14	2	others, wood		2	2			
MF13	14	3	workers in bark			0			
MF13	14	4	basket maker			0			
MF13	14	4	others, hay and straw			0			
MF14	10	15	cabinet maker, upholsterer			0			
MF14	10	15	chair maker			0			
MF14	10	15	others in furniture	1	1	2			
MF14	14	1	French polisher	2	7	9			
MF14	14	2	box maker			0			
MF15	10	11	carriage maker			0			
MF15	10	12	saddler, harness maker	2	1	3			
MF15	10	12	whip maker		1	1	17	1.90	0.64
MF16	14	5	envelope maker			0			
MF16	14	5	other workers in paper	2		2			
MF16	14	5	paper box maker	2	1	3			
MF16	14	5	paper manufacture		2	2			
MF16	14	5	paper stainer			0			
MF17	14	1	Japanner	3	17	20	27	3.02	1.02
MF18	11	1	carpet, rug manufacture			0			
MF18	11	1	knitter			0			
MF18	11	1	others in wool		1	1			
MF18	11	1	woollen cloth manufacture		1	1			
MF19	11	1	berlin wool dealer, worker			0			
MF19	11	2	others in silk			0			
MF19	11	2	ribbon manufacture			0			
MF19	11	2	silk manufacture			0			

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all females	group total	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF19	11	3	cotton manufacture	1	1	2			
MF19	11	3	fustian manufacture			0			
MF19	11	3	others in cotton, calico			0			
MF19	11	4	others in trimmings			0			
MF19	11	4	weaver (undefined)			0			
MF19	11	5	fancy worker			0			
MF20	11	3	flax, linen manufacture			0			
MF20	11	6	mat maker, seller		2	2			
MF20	11	6	net maker			0			
MF20	11	6	others, hemp			0			
MF20	11	6	rope, cord maker			0			
MF21	10	4	artificial flower maker			0			
MF21	10	4	others in artificial flowers			0			
MF21	11	3	lace manufacture		1	1			
MF21	11	3	tape manufacture, dealer			0			
MF21	11	3	thread manufacture			0			
MF21	11	4	embroiderer			0			
MF21	11	4	trimming maker			0			
MF22	10	17	dyer, calenderer			0			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton printer			0	7	0.78	0.27
MF23	11	1	clothier		1	1			
MF23	11	3	muslim embroiderer			0			
MF23	11	5	bonnet maker	1	2	3			
MF23	11	5	cap maker			0			
MF23	11	5	glove knitter			0			
MF23	11	5	glover, leather etc		1	1			
MF23	11	5	hatter, hat manufacture			0			
MF23	11	5	hose manufacture			0			
MF23	11	5	milliner, dressmaker	8	34	42			
MF23	11	5	others in clothes			0			
MF23	11	5	shirt maker, seamstress		4	4			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker	4	15	19			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker's wife			0			
MF23	11	5	stay maker		3	3			
MF23	11	5	straw hat, bonnet, maker			0			
MF23	11	5	straw plait manufacture			0			
MF23	11	5	tailor	1	18	19			
MF24	11	5	button maker	48	55	103			
MF24	11	5	umbrella, stick maker	22	4	26	221	24.69	8.38
MF25	12	2	miller			0			
MF25	14	1	others, oil			0			
MF26	12	2	baker			0			
MF26	12	2	confectioner, pastry cook			0			
MF27	12	3	brewer, etc		1	1			
MF28	12	3	tobacco, snuff manufacture			0			
MF28	15	4	tobacco pipe maker		2	2	3	0.34	0.11
MF29	10	2	in musical instruments			0			

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all females	group total	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF29	10	5	bow, bat, tackle maker, dealer			0			
MF29	10	7	watch, clock maker	1	3	4			
MF29	10	8	surgical instrument maker			0	82	9.16	3.11
MF30	10	1	book binder	1	1	2			
MF30	10	1	printer		1	1			
MF30	10	3	maps, pictures			0	3	0.34	0.11
PO	8	1	land proprietor			0			
PO	10	14	house proprietor		1	1			
PO	17	1	annuitant			0			
PO	17	1	gentlewoman			0	1	0.11	0.04
PP01	1	1	Post Office			0			
PP02	1	2	other local officer			0			
PP02	1	2	Union & parish Officer			0	0	0.00	0.00
PP06	1	2	prison officers			0	0	0.00	0.00
PP08	3	3	druggist			0			
PP08	3	3	midwife			0			
PP08	3	3	others in medicine			0			
PP08	5	2	hospital nurse, etc			0			
PP08	5	2	nurse (not domestic service)	3	9	12	12	1.34	0.46
PP09	3	5	artist, painter			0			
PP09	3	5	others in fine art			0			
PP10	3	6	musician	1	3	4			
PP10	3	7	actor			0			
PP10	3	7	in theatre, exhibitions			0			
PP11	3	4	in literature			0	4	0.45	0.15
PP12	3	9	scientific persons			0	0	0.00	0.00
PP13	3	6	music mistress			0			
PP13	3	6	others in music			0			
PP13	3	8	governess			0			
PP13	3	8	other teacher			0			
PP13	3	8	schoolmistress		1	1			
PP13	3	8	teacher (general)			0			
PP13	3	8	teacher of languages			0	1	0.11	0.04
PP14	3	1	other church officers			0			
PP14	3	1	pew openers			0			
PP14	3	1	religious teachers			0	0	0.00	0.00
T1	7	5	others in storage			0			
T1	7	5	warehouse woman	6	9	15			
T1	7	6	messenger, porter, errand girl	1		1			
T3	7	3	bargewoman			0			
T4	7	1	railway attendant			0			
T5	7	2	carman, carrier, carter, drayman			0			
T5	7	2	coach, omnibus , cab owner			0			
T5	7	2	toll collector			0	16	1.79	0.61
total identified occupation				274	619	893	893	99.78	33.86

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged under 20	Aged 20 & over	all females	group total	% of occupied	% of females
	Order	Class	Occupation						
Z3	16	2	others of indefinite occupation		2	2	2	0.22	0.08
total occupied				274	621	895	895	100.00	33.94
Z1	4	3	children and relatives	618	35	653			24.76
Z2	4	4	scholars (so described)	237	1	238			9.03
Z4	18	1	dependent on relatives	1	9	10			0.38
total dependents				856	45	901	901		34.17
Z8	4	1	wives (not other description)	2	687	689	689		26.13
Z9	4	2	widows (not other description)		115	115	115		4.36
Z5	18	1	almsperson, no stated occupation			0			
Z5	18	1	lunatic, no stated occupation			0			
Z5	18	1	pauper, no stated occupation		1	1			
Z5	18	1	others			0			
Z5	18	2	others of criminal class			0			
Z5	18	2	prisoner, no stated occupation			0			
Z5	18	3	gypsy			0			
Z5	18	3	vagrant, beggar			0			
Z6			others of no stated occupation or condition	3	18	21			
Z7			visitor, no stated occupation	5	10	15			
total no occupation				8	29	37	37		1.40
total females				1140	1497	2637			100.00
Notes									
AG1	8	1	1 farmer's wife included in occupied group						
B2			various builder's, slater's etc wives I have put in wives category						
D12	6	2	includes marine store dealers, and factor & traveller D13 but no entry in table						
DS1			2 housewives put in housekeeper						
DS3	11	5	All laundresses are in this category; none are in DS1						
IS2	16	1	includes "factory" workers, whom Armstrong puts with textile manufacture						
MF01	10	16	Implement makers includes 3 thimble makers, MF02; 1 mechanic MF31						
MF05	10	5	includes steel toys although it is a gendered category for glass and gilt toys. Steel toys are in MF29 in Men's occupations						
MF05	15	10	includes spoon makers, polisher, plated ware, for want of a better category						
MF05	15	13	in brass etc. includes wire workers						
contd									

Table 2.4: Occupations of Sample Women and Girls, 1861.

Notes continued			
MF14	10	15	others in furniture is bedstead makers
MF17	14	1	Jappaner includes oil cloth workers; more than 14 are jappaners
MF19	11	4	Armstrong has factory worker here. I have put them in IS2
MF29	10	7	2 watch glass, 1 spectacle and 1 photographic case maker

Source: *1861 census enumerations*; Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class	Occupation						
AG1	8	1	agricultural labourer	36	3	39			
AG1	8	1	farm bailiff		0	0			
AG1	8	1	farm servant (in door)		0	0			
AG1	8	1	farmer, grazier		0	0			
AG1	8	1	farmer's wife, son, daughter etc		1	1			
AG1	8	1	others in agriculture		0	0			
AG1	8	1	shepherd (out door)		0	0			
AG1	8	2	woodman		0	0			
AG1	8	3	gardener		0	0			
AG1	8	3	nurseryman		0	0			
AG1	8	3	others in horticulture			0			
AG3	9	1	cattle, sheep dealer	2	0	2			
AG3	9	1	drover	3	0	3			
AG3	9	1	farrier, veterinary surgeon		0	0			
AG3	9	1	horse breaker		0	0			
AG3	9	1	horse dealer		0	0			
AG3	9	1	horsekeeper, groom, jockey	2	0	2			
AG3	9	1	others about animals	1	1	2			
AG3	9	1	pig merchant, dealer	7	0	7			
AG3	9	1	vermin destroyer		0	0			
AG4	9	1	fisherman	1	0	1	57	2.52	1.76
B1	3	9	civil engineer		0	0			
B1	8	1	land surveyor, estate agent		0	0			
B1	10	14	architect		0	0			
B1	10	14	builder		0	0			
B1	10	14	surveyor		0	0			
B1	15	3	road contractor, etc		0	0			
B2	10	4	others wood carving		0	0			
B2	10	4	wood carver		0	0			
B2	10	14	bricklayer	182	0	182			
B2	10	14	carpenter, joiner	7	0	7			
B2	10	14	marble mason	6	0	6			
B2	10	14	mason, pavior	0	0	0			
B2	10	14	others in houses and building	16	2	18			
B2	10	14	paperhanger		0	0			
B2	10	14	plasterer	9	0	9			
B2	10	14	plumber, painter, glazier	8	0	8			
B2	10	14	slater, tiler	10	0	10			
B2	14	4	Thatcher		0	0			
B2	15	13	gas fitter	1	0	1			
B2	15	13	locksmith, bell hanger	2	0	2			
B3	15	3	excavator, navvy	2	0	2			
B3	15	3	plate layer		0	0			
B3	15	3	railway labourer	6	0	6			
B3	15	3	road labourer		0	0	251	11.12	7.74
D01	15	2	coal heaver, labourer		0	0			
D01	15	2	coal merchant, dealer		0	0			

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth	Census			Aged	Aged	All	Total	% of	% of
Code	Order	Class	Occupation	Under 20	20 & over	Irish- born	Order	occup- ied	Irish- born
D02	11	1	woolstapler		0	0			
D02	12	2	corn merchant, dealer	1	0	1			
D02	12	2	flour dealer, agent		0	0			
D02	12	2	seed merchant, seedsman		0	0			
D02	14	2	timber merchant, dealer		0	0			
D02	14	2	wood dealer		0	0			
D02	14	4	hay and straw dealer		0	0			
D03	11	1	worsted manufacture		0	0			
D03	11	2	silk mercer		0	0			
D03	11	4	Manchester warehouseman		0	0			
D04	11	4	draper, mercer	5	0	5			
D04	11	5	clothes dealer, outfitter	4	7	11			
D04	11	5	hosier, haberdasher		0	0			
D05	12	1	butcher, meat salesman		0	0			
D05	12	1	cheesemonger		0	0			
D05	12	1	cowkeeper, milk seller		1	1			
D05	12	1	fishmonger	2	1	3			
D05	12	1	others, food dealers		0	0			
D05	12	1	poulterer, game dealer		0	0			
D05	12	1	provision curer, dealer	3	0	3			
D05	12	2	greengrocer, fruiterer	4	4	8			
D05	12	2	others, food		0	0			
D05	12	2	potato merchant		0	0			
D05	12	3	grocer, tea dealer		0	0			
D05	14	1	oil and colourman		0	0			
D06	12	3	tobacconist		0	0			
D07	5	1	beerseller		0	0			
D07	5	1	innkeeper, hotelkeeper		0	0			
D07	5	1	publican	3	0	3			
D07	12	3	cellarman		0	0			
D07	12	3	others, stimulants		0	0			
D07	12	3	wine merchant		0	0			
D08	5	1	coffee-house keeper		0	0			
D08	5	1	lodging, boarding house keeper	8	12	20			
D08	5	1	others in boarding etc		0	0			
D09	6	2	pawn broker		0	0			
D09	10	15	furniture broker		1	1			
D10	3	2	law stationer		0	0			
D10	10	1	bookseller, publisher		0	0			
D10	10	1	newspaper agent		0	0			
D10	10	1	others in publications		0	0			
D10	14	5	stationer (not law)		0	0			
D11	15	4	earthenware, glass dealer		0	0			
D11	15	13	hardwareman, dealer	3	0	3			
D11	15	13	ironmonger	2	0	2			
D12	6	2	general dealer, costermonger	13	7	20			
D12	6	2	hawker, pedlar	27	33	60			

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class	Occupation						
D12	6	2	marine store dealer	10	11	21			
D12	6	2	other general dealers	3		3			
D12	6	2	shopkeeper		1	1			
D12	12	2	fruit, flower, vendor	1		1			
D12	14	5	rag gatherer, dealer	2	3	5			
D12	16	2	shopman / woman	2	2	4			
D13	6	1	agent, factor		0	0			
D13	6	1	auctioneer, appraiser, valuer		0	0			
D13	6	1	broker		0	0			
D13	6	1	coal, colliery agent		0	0			
D13	6	1	commercial traveller	13	0	13			
D13	6	1	iron merchant, agent		0	0			
D13	6	1	merchant		0	0			
D13	6	1	salesman		0	0			
D13	6	1	ship broker, agent		0	0			
D13	6	1	stock broker etc		0	0			
D13	10	14	house agent		0	0			
DS1	5	2	cook		1	1			
DS1	5	2	housekeeper		16	16			
DS1	5	2	domestic service, general	2	52	54			
DS1	5	2	hospital nurse, etc		0	0			
DS1	5	2	inn servant	2	6	8			
DS1	5	2	others in general domestic service		0	0			
DS1	5	2	charwoman		24	24			
DS2	5	2	coachman		0	0			
DS2	5	2	gardener	3	0	3			
DS2	5	2	groom		0	0			
DS2	9	1	gamekeeper		0	0			
DS3	5	1	cook (not domestic service)		0	0			
DS3	11	5	hairdresser, wig maker		0	0			
DS3	11	5	laundress		42	42			
DS3	15	2	chimney sweeper		0	0	337	14.92	10.39
IS1	6	1	accountant		0	0			
IS1	6	1	banker		0	0			
IS1	6	1	commercial clerk		0	0			
IS1	6	1	insurance, benefit society officer		0	0			
IS1	6	1	other mercantile men		0	0	0	0.00	0.00
IS2	16	1	labourer	509	21	530	530	23.47	16.34
M1	15	1	coal miner	2	0	2			
M1	15	1	copper miner		0	0			
M1	15	1	iron miner		0	0			
M1	15	1	lead miner		0	0			
M1	15	1	others in mines		0	0			
M2	15	3	limestone quarrier, burner		0	0			
M2	15	3	slate quarrier		0	0			
M2	15	3	stone cutter, polisher	9	0	9			
M2	15	3	stone quarrier		0	0			

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class	Occupation						
M3	15	3	brick maker, dealer	15	0	15			
M3	15	3	clay labourer		0	0			
M3	15	3	others in stone and clay		0	0			
M4	15	6	others in salt		0	0			
M4	15	6	salt manufacture		0	0			
M4	15	7	others in waterworks		0	0			
M4	15	7	waterworks service	2	0	2	28	1.24	0.86
MF01	10	7	others, in weights & measure making		0	0			
MF01	10	7	Weight & measure maker		0	0			
MF01	10	10	engine and machine maker	6	0	6			
MF01	10	10	others in tools, machines		0	0			
MF01	10	16	millwright		0	0			
MF01	10	16	other implement makers inc 3 women thimble makers	5	4	9			
MF01	13	1	comb maker		0	0			
MF01	15	13	boiler maker	1	0	1			
MF02	10	9	gun smith, gun manufacture	86	0	86			
MF02	10	9	others in gun making		0	0			
MF02	10	9	arms manufacture	0	14	14			
MF02	10	10	blade maker, forger	3	0	3			
MF02	10	10	cutler	1	0	1			
MF02	10	10	file maker	7	0	7			
MF02	10	10	knife maker		0	0			
MF02	10	10	needle manufacture	7	0	7			
MF02	10	10	saw smith, maker		0	0			
MF02	10	10	scissors maker		0	0			
MF02	10	10	tool maker, dealer	9	0	9			
MF02	10	10	steel pen maker		36	36			
MF02	15	12	type founder		0	0			
MF03	10	13	block, oar, mast maker		0	0			
MF03	10	13	boat, barge builder		0	0			
MF03	10	13	others in boat building		0	0			
MF03	10	13	sailmaker		0	0			
MF03	10	13	shipbuilder, ship wright		0	0			
MF03	15	13	keel manufacture		0	0	0	0.00	0.00
MF04	15	13	anchor, chain, smith		0	0			
MF04	15	13	black smith	43	0	43			
MF04	15	13	iron manufacture	45	23	68			
MF04	15	13	nail manufacture	19	11	30			
MF04	15	13	others in iron		7	7			
MF04	15	14	grinder	1	0	1			
MF04	15	14	screw cutter, maker	0	43	43			
MF04	15	14	others about metals	2	0	2			
MF05	10	5	toy maker, dealer		4	4			
MF05	15	8	silver plated ware, man	21	0	21			
MF05	15	9	copper manufacture		0	0			
MF05	15	9	copper smith	1	0	1			
MF05	15	9	others in copper		0	0			

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class	Occupation						
MF05	15	10	others in tin		14	14			
MF05	15	10	tin manufacture		9	9			
MF05	15	10	tinman, tinker	2	0	2			
MF05	15	10	tinplate worker	5	0	5			
MF05	15	11	zinc manufacture	1	0	1			
MF05	15	12	lead manufacture	1	0	1			
MF05	15	12	others in lead		0	0			
MF05	15	13	brass founder manufacture	43	33	76			
MF05	15	13	brazier	1	0	1			
MF05	15	13	white smith	1	0	1			
MF05	15	13	wire drawer, maker	4	0	4			
MF05	15	13	wire worker, weaver	9	0	9			
MF06	15	8	goldsmith, jeweller	13	3	16			
MF06	15	8	others in gold		0	0	359	15.90	11.07
MF07	15	4	earthenware manufacture		0	0			
MF07	15	4	others in earthenware		0	0			
MF07	15	5	glass manufacture	1	4	5			
MF07	15	5	other workers in glass	1	1	2	7	0.31	0.22
MF08	15	2	coke burner, dealer		0	0			
MF08	15	2	gas works service	1	0	1			
MF08	15	2	others in coal		0	0			
MF09	10	17	dye, colour manufacturer		0	0			
MF09	10	17	manufacturing chemist, labourer		0	0			
MF09	10	17	others in chemicals	2	6	8	9	0.40	0.28
MF10	11	5	furrier		0	0			
MF10	13	2	currier		0	0			
MF10	13	2	fellmonger		0	0			
MF10	13	2	others in leather		2	2			
MF10	13	2	skinner		0	0			
MF10	13	2	tanner	1	0	1			
MF11	13	1	others in fat, rendering		1	1			
MF11	13	1	sheep boiler	1	0	1			
MF11	13	1	tallow chandler	1	0	1			
MF12	13	3	brush, broom maker	12	2	14			
MF12	13	3	hair, bristle manufacture		0	0			
MF12	13	3	others in hair, bristle	1	0	1	21	0.93	0.65
MF13	14	2	cooper	6	0	6			
MF13	14	2	hoop maker, bender		0	0			
MF13	14	2	jump, hurdle maker		0	0			
MF13	14	2	lath maker		0	0			
MF13	14	2	others, wood	1	2	3			
MF13	14	2	sawyer	4	0	4			
MF13	14	2	turner	2	0	2			
MF13	14	3	cork cutter, manufacture		0	0			
MF13	14	3	others, cork		0	0			
MF13	14	4	basket maker	3	0	3			
MF13	14	4	others, hay and traw		0	0			
MF13	16	2	apprentice		0	0			

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth	Census			Aged	Aged	All	Total	% of	% of
Code	Order	Class	Occupation	Under 20	20 & over	Irish-born	Order	occupied	Irish-born
MF14	10	15	bedstead, mattress maker	1	0	1			
MF14	10	15	cabinet maker, upholsterer	3	0	3			
MF14	10	15	carver, gilder		0	0			
MF14	10	15	chair maker	1	0	1			
MF14	10	15	others in furniture		1	1			
MF14	10	15	picture frame maker		0	0			
MF14	10	15	undertaker		0	0			
MF14	14	1	French polisher		6	6			
MF14	14	2	box maker		0	0			
MF15	10	11	coachmaker	16	0	16			
MF15	10	11	others in coachmaking		0	0			
MF15	10	12	saddler, harness maker	4	0	4			
MF15	10	12	whip maker	2	1	3			
MF15	10	16	wheelwright		0	0	53	2.35	1.63
MF16	14	5	other workers in paper		3	3			
MF16	14	5	paper manufacture	2	2	4			
MF16	14	5	paper stainer		0	0			
MF17	14	1	Japanner	4	16	20	27	1.20	0.83
MF18	11	1	carpet, rug, manufacture		0	0			
MF18	11	1	felt manufacture		0	0			
MF18	11	1	flannel manufacture		0	0			
MF18	11	1	stuff manufacture		0	0			
MF18	11	1	woollen cloth manufacture		1	1			
MF18	11	1	others in wool	0	1	1			
MF19	11	2	others in silk		0	0			
MF19	11	2	ribbon manufacture		0	0			
MF19	11	2	silk manufacture		0	0			
MF19	11	3	cotton manufacture		2	2			
MF19	11	3	fustian manufacture		0	0			
MF19	11	4	weaver (undefined)	1		1			
MF19	11	5	shawl manufacture		0	0			
MF20	11	3	flax, linen manufacture		0	0			
MF20	11	6	mat maker, seller	2	2	4			
MF20	11	6	others, hemp		0	0			
MF20	11	6	rope, cord maker	3	0	3			
MF20	11	6	sailcloth manufacture		0	0			
MF21	11	1	others, mixed fabrics		0	0			
MF21	11	3	lace manufacture		0	0			
MF21	11	3	others, mixed fabrics		0	0			
MF21	11	3	thread manufacture		0	0			
MF21	11	6	canvas maker, dealer		0	0			
MF22	10	17	dyer, calenderer		0	0			
MF22	11	1	fuller		0	0			
MF22	11	1	wool, woollen dyer		0	0			
MF22	11	2	silk dyer, printer	1	0	1			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton dyer		0	0			
MF22	11	3	calico, cotton printer		0	0	13	0.58	0.40
MF23	10	6	others, pattern design		0	0			
MF23	10	6	pattern designer		0	0			

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth	Census			Aged	Aged	All	Total	% of	% of
Code	Order	Class	Occupation	Under 20	20 & over	Irish-born	Order	occup-ied	Irish-born
MF23	10	10	razor maker		0	0			
MF23	11	1	clothier	2	1	3			
MF23	11	5	glover, leather etc		0	0			
MF23	11	5	hatter, hat manufacture	2	0	2			
MF23	11	5	hose manufacture		0	0			
MF23	11	5	others providing dress		3	3			
MF23	11	5	patten, clog maker		0	0			
MF23	11	5	shoe maker, boot maker	63	14	77			
MF23	11	5	straw hat, bonnet, maker		1	1			
MF23	11	5	straw plait manufacture		0	0			
MF23	11	5	tailor	33	15	48			
MF23	11	5	milliner, dressmaker		35	35			
MF23	11	5	shirt maker, seamstress		4	4			
MF24	11	5	button maker	18	72	90			
MF24	11	5	umbrella, stick maker	8	13	21	284	12.58	8.75
MF25	12	2	miller		0	0			
MF25	12	3	sugar refiner		0	0			
MF25	14	1	oil miller, refiner		0	0			
MF25	14	1	others, oil		0	0			
MF26	12	2	baker	1	0	1			
MF26	12	2	confectioner, pastry cook		0	0			
MF27	12	3	brewer, etc	2	0	2			
MF27	12	3	distiller, rectifier		0	0			
MF27	12	3	ginger beer, soda water maker	1	0	1			
MF27	12	3	maltster		0	0			
MF28	12	3	tobacco, snuff manufacture		0	0			
MF28	15	4	tobacco pipe maker	1	1	2	6	0.27	0.18
MF29	10	2	musical instrument maker, dealer		0	0			
MF29	10	2	others musical instruments		0	0			
MF29	10	5	bow, bat, tackle maker, dealer		0	0			
MF29	10	5	toy maker, dealer		0	0			
MF29	10	7	optician	2	0	2			
MF29	10	7	watch, clock maker		3	3			
MF29	10	8	others in surgical instruments		0	0			
MF29	10	8	surgical instrument maker	1	0	1			
MF30	10	1	book binder		0	0			
MF30	10	1	printer	7	0	7			
MF30	10	3	lithographer, lithographic printer	2	0	2			
MF30	10	3	others in prints		0	0	9	0.40	0.28
MF31	16	2	mechanic	2	0	2	187	8.28	5.76
PO	1	2	Magistrates		0	0			
PO	7	4	ship owner		0	0			
PO	8	1	land proprietor		0	0			
PO	10	14	house proprietor		1	1			
PO	17	1	annuitant		0	0			
PO	17	1	gentlemen		0	0	1	0.04	0.03

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census			Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class	Occupation						
PP01	1	1	Civil Service not revenue		0	0			
PP01	1	1	Customs		0	0			
PP01	1	1	Govt messengers, workmen		0	0			
PP01	1	1	Inland revenue		0	0			
PP01	1	1	Post Office		0	0			
PP01	1	3	east India & Colonial service		0	0			
PP01	7	6	telegraph service		0	0			
PP02	1	2	Local board Officer		0	0			
PP02	1	2	other local officer		0	0			
PP02	1	2	Union & parish Officer		0	0			
PP02	3	2	officer of law court		0	0			
PP03	15	3	dust collector		0	0			
PP03	15	3	scavenger		0	0	0	0.00	0.00
PP04	2	1	Army half-pay officer		0	0			
PP04	2	1	Army officer		0	0			
PP04	2	1	Chelsea pensioner	2	0	2			
PP04	2	1	militia		0	0			
PP04	2	1	others		0	0			
PP04	2	1	Soldier	2	0	2			
PP05	2	2	Greenwich pensioner		0	0			
PP05	2	2	navy half-pay officer		0	0			
PP05	2	2	navy officer		0	0			
PP05	2	2	other		0	0			
PP05	2	2	royal marine		0	0			
PP05	2	2	seaman, RN	1	0	1			
PP06	1	2	police	2	0	2			
PP06	1	2	prison officers		0	0	7	0.31	0.22
PP07	3	2	barrister		0	0			
PP07	3	2	law clerk		0	0			
PP07	3	2	law student		0	0			
PP07	3	2	other lawyers		0	0			
PP07	3	2	solicitor		0	0			
PP08	3	3	dentist		0	0			
PP08	3	3	druggist		0	0			
PP08	3	3	medical student, ast		0	0			
PP08	3	3	others in medicine		0	0			
PP08	3	3	physician		0	0			
PP08	3	3	surgeon, apothecary		0	0	0	0.00	0.00
PP08	5	2	nurse (not domestic service)		10	10	10	0.44	0.31
PP09	3	5	artist, painter		0	0			
PP09	3	5	engraver		0	0			
PP09	3	5	others in fine art		0	0			
PP09	3	5	photographic artist	1	0	1			
PP09	3	5	sculptor		0	0			
PP10	3	6	musician	5	4	9			
PP10	3	7	actor		0	0			
PP10	3	7	in theatre, exhibitions	1	0	1			
PP11	3	4	author, editor, writer		0	0			
PP11	3	4	others in literature		0	0	11	0.49	0.34

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class							
PP12	3	9	other scientific persons		0	0	0	0.00	0.00
PP13	3	6	music master	1	0	1			
PP13	3	8	other teacher		0	0			
PP13	3	8	Prof. Of mathematics		0	0			
PP13	3	8	schoolmistress / master	2	1	3			
PP13	3	8	teacher (general)		0	0			
PP13	3	8	teacher of dancing		0	0			
PP13	3	8	teacher of languages		0	0	4	0.18	0.12
PP14	3	1	clergyman		0	0			
PP14	3	1	other church officers		0	0			
PP14	3	1	other religious teachers		0	0			
PP14	3	1	parish clerk		0	0			
PP14	3	1	protestant minister		0	0			
PP14	3	1	roman catholic priest		0	0	0	0.00	0.00
T1	1	1	Dockyard artificers		0	0			
T1	7	4	dock servant, labourer		0	0			
T1	7	4	others		0	0			
T1	7	4	wharfinger		0	0			
T1	7	5	others in storage		0	0			
T1	7	5	warehouseman (not Manchester)	3	11	14			
T1	7	6	messenger, porter, errand boy	17	0	17			
T1	7	6	others in messages		0	0			
T1	11	4	others in storage		0	0			
T1	11	4	packer and presser		0	0			
T2	7	4	boatman on seas		0	0			
T2	7	4	pilot		0	0			
T2	7	4	seaman (merchant service)		0	0			
T3	7	3	bargeman, waterman		0	0			
T3	7	3	canal & river service		0	0			
T3	7	3	others		0	0			
T4	7	1	others in railways		0	0			
T4	7	1	rail, engine driver		0	0			
T4	7	1	railway officer		0	0			
T4	7	1	railway police		0	0			
T4	7	1	railway servant		0	0			
T5	7	2	cabman, flyman	1	0	1			
T5	7	2	carman, carrier, carter, drayman	6	0	6			
T5	7	2	coach, omnibus , cab owner		0	0			
T5	7	2	coachman (not domestic service)		0	0			
T5	7	2	livery stable keeper		0	0			
T5	7	2	others		0	0			
T5	7	2	toll collector		0	0	38	1.68	1.17
			total identified occupation	1554	695	2249	2249	99.60	69.33
Z3	16	2	others of indefinite occupation	7	2	9	9	0.40	0.28
			total occupied	1561	697	2258	2258	100.00	69.61

Table 2.5: Occupations of Sample Irish-born, 1861.

Booth Code	Census		Occupation	Aged Under 20	Aged 20 & over	All Irish- born	Total Order	% of occup- ied	% of Irish- born
	Order	Class							
Z1	4	3	daughter, son, brother, neice etc.	49	80	129			3.98
Z2	4	4	scholar	23	26	49			1.51
Z4	18	1	dependent on relatives	3	8	11			0.34
			total dependents	75	114	189			5.83
Z8	4	1	wives (not other description)	0	617	617			19.02
Z9	4	2	widows (not other description)	0	112	112			3.45
Z5	18	1	almsperson, no stated occupation	0		0			
Z5	18	1	lunatic, no stated occupation	0		0			
Z5	18	1	others, no occupation	0		0			
Z5	18	1	pauper, no stated occupation	0	1	1			
Z5	18	2	prisoner, no stated occupation	0		0			
Z5	18	3	gypsy	0		0			
Z5	18	3	vagrant, beggar	0		0			
Z6			others, no stated occupation or condition	35	20	55			
Z7			visitor, no stated occupation	1	11	12			
			total no occupation	36	32	68			2.10
			TOTAL IRISH-BORN	1672	1572	3244		100.00	100.00

Source: 1861 census enumerations; Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.6: "occupied", dependent and unoccupied, Birmingham and the sample, 1861.

	B'ham Women	Sample Women	B'ham men	Sample men	All B'ham	All Sample
N=	152,080	2,637	143,996	2,745	296,076	5,382
%	51.37	49.00	48.63	51.00	100.00	100.00
"Occupied":						
Age under 20	9.68	10.39	14.45	13.44	12.00	11.95
Age 20 and over	21.79	23.55	52.02	53.04	36.49	38.59
Total "occupied"	31.47	33.94	66.47	66.48	48.49	50.54
<hr/>						
Wives	27.90	26.13	0	0	14.33	12.80
Widows	2.40	4.36	0	0	1.23	2.14
Dependants:						
Children	22.23	24.76	18.19	23.72	20.26	24.23
Scholars	14.93	9.03	14.68	8.20	14.81	8.60
Others	0.02	0.38	0	0.11	0.01	0.24
Total dependants	37.18	34.17	32.87	32.03	35.08	33.07
<hr/>						
No occupation	1.05	1.4	0.66	1.49	0.87	1.45
<hr/>						
number aged under 20	68999	1140	68112	1244	137111	2384
% aged under 20	23.30	21.18	23.00	23.11	46.31	44.30

Source: abridged from Tables 2.1 to 2.4, above

Table 2.7: Distribution of occupations by sex, Birmingham, 1861.

Industrial Group	Booth categories	total population		Sample	
		M	F	M	F
		N=95,718	47,857	1,825	895
Agriculture	AG1 - AG6	1.87	0.18	3.01	0.56
Construction	B1 - B3	8.53	0.10	14.08	0.34
Metalworking	MF04 - MF06	25.04	12.31	16.05	22.79
Machinery	MF01, MF02, MF29, MF31	12.85	4.19	10.63	9.16
Shipbuilding	MF03	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gas and fuel	MF08, MF09	0.36	0.04	0.16	0.78
Glass	MF07	1.49	0.44	0.44	0.78
Textiles	MF18 - MF22	0.51	1.32	0.44	0.78
Clothing	MF23, MF24	8.24	26.29	8.66	24.69
Leather	MF10 - MF12	1.65	0.94	0.99	0.56
Wood	MF13 - MF15	6.42	3.15	3.23	1.90
Paper	MF16, MF17	0.60	2.29	0.49	3.02
Printing	MF30	1.23	0.42	0.66	0.34
Food	MF25 - MF28	2.61	0.72	0.55	0.34
Transport	T1 - T5	6.21	3.65	1.97	1.79
Service	DS1 - DS3 & D01 - D13	10.32	38.16	6.85	27.49
General labour	IS2	4.50	0.05	28.44	2.46
Administration	PP01 - PP03	0.44	1.84	0.05	0.00
Commerce and finance	IS1	1.84	0.18	0.00	0.00
Military and police	PP04 - PP06	1.02	0.01	0.55	0.00
Professions	PP07, PP08, PP12, PP14	1.13	0.97	0.05	1.34
Art, education, entertainment	PP09 - PP11 & PP13	1.21	2.52	0.77	0.56
Other and unknown	M1 - M4, PO & Z3	1.69	0.24	1.92	0.34
tally		99.96	100.01	99.99	100.02

Source: abridged from Tables 2.1 to 2.4 above.

Table 2.8: Occupations of the Irish in Birmingham, 1851 and 1861

1851			1861	
N=5231			N=2258	
Occupations	Number	% of occupied	Number	% of occupied
Labourers	1,769	33.82	569	25.20
Metal trades	697	13.32	522	23.12
Servants, charwomen, laundresses, housekeepers and washerwomen	616	11.78	136	6.02
Manufacturing, various	450	8.60	146	6.47
Selling	292	5.58	189	8.37
Clothes making	290	5.54	117	5.18
Button trade	246	4.70	90	3.99
Shoemaking	191	3.65	77	3.41
Building trade	163	3.12	251	11.12
Soldiers and police officers	152	2.91	7	0.31
Miscellaneous trades	115	2.20	21	0.93
Others	250	4.78	133	5.89
Tally	5,231	100	2,258	100

Sources: 1851 data from Chinn, 'Sturdy Catholic emigrants', p. 68, Table 3; 1861 data from Table 2.5 above; Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.8: Occupations of the Irish in Birmingham, 1851 and 1861

Notes:

Booth/Armstrong categories used

Occupations	Booth/Armstrong
Labourers	IS1 & AG
Metal trades	MF01-5+31
Servants, charwomen, laundresses, housekeepers and washerwomen	DS1, DS3
Manufacturing, various	MF06-22
Selling	D01-13
Clothes making	MF23-24 minus buttons & shoes
Button trade	Part of MF24
Shoemaking	Part of MF23
Building trade	B
Soldiers and police officers	PP04-6
Miscellaneous trades	MF25-30, M, DS except for Servants etc
Others	PO, PP except for soldiers, police, T

Table 2.9 : The occupations of women in Liverpool, 1851.

	Occupation	Booth categories	Liverpool women		Irish sample		
			N=50012		Protestants	Catholics	All women
			Number	%	N=41 %	N=186 %	N=227 %
1	Dressmaking & Sewing	MF23 - MF24	11461	23.0	24.4	22.0	22.5
2	Domestic Cleaning	part of DS1, DS3	21406	42.8	14.6	15.6	15.4
3	Cleaning clothes	part of DS1, DS3	2768	5.5	9.8	5.9	6.6
4	Housekeeping	part of DS1	2586	5.2	14.6	12.9	13.2
5	Cooking	part of DS1	1219	2.4	0.0	0.5	0.4
6	Childcare / teaching	PP13, part of DS1	2210	4.4	0.0	1.6	1.3
7	Miscellaneous non-manual	IS1, PO, PP01 - PP12, PP14, Z3	670	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
8	Manufacturing	IS2, MF01 - MF22, MF29-MF31	1673	3.4	17.0	5.4	7.5
9	Retailing / hawking	D01 - D07, D09 - D13, MF25 - MF28	5575	11.1	19.5	36.0	33.0
10	Other	AG, B, D08, M, T	444	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Total		50012	100	99.9	99.9	99.9
	Total Domestic employment	rows 2 to 6 above		60.3	39	36.5	36.9

Sources: Lynda Letford and Colin Pooley, 'Geographies of Migration and Religion: Irish Women in mid-nineteenth century Liverpool' in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *Irish Women and Irish Migration* (Leicester: 1995), p. 101, Table 4.4 "The occupations of women in Liverpool in 1851"; Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Appendix E, pp. 284-310 for Occupation codes.

Table 2.10: The occupations of women in Birmingham, 1861.

Occupation		Booth categories	Birmingham women		Irish born Women		All sample women	
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	Dressmaking & Sewing	MF23 - MF24	12580	26.3	158	22.7	221	24.7
2	Domestic Cleaning	part of DS1, DS3	10306	21.5	82	11.8	95	10.6
3	Cleaning clothes	part of DS3, DS1	2385	5.0	42	6.0	44	4.9
4	House-keeping	part of DS1	648	1.4	16	2.3	17	1.9
5	Cooking	part of DS1	689	1.4	1	0.1	1	0.1
6	Childcare / teaching	PP13, part of DS1	1842	3.8	1	0.1	3	0.3
7	Miscellaneous non-manual	IS1, PO, PP01-PP12, PP14, Z3	1669	3.5	17	2.4	19	2.1
8	Manufacturing	IS2, MF01-MF22, MF29-MF30	12037	25.2	278	39.9	381	42.6
9	Retailing / hawking	D01-D07, D09-D12, MF25-MF28	3586	7.5	72	10.3	78	8.7
10	Other	AG, B, D08, M, T	2115	4.4	30	4.3	36	4.0
Tally			47857	100	697	100	895	100
Total Domestic employment, rows 2 to 6 above			15870	33.2	142	20.4	160	17.9

Source: condensed from Tables 2.2, 2.4 and 2.5 above.

Table 2.11: Distributions of occupations by sex, London, 1851.

Lees Industrial Group	Booth Categories	total population		Irish sample	
		M	F	M	F
				N=1,260	N=750
Agriculture	AG1 - AG6	3.1	0.4	1.7	0.9
Construction	B1 - B3	9.5	0.0	12.8	0.4
Metalworking	MF04 - MF06	4.8	0.2	1.1	0.1
Machinery	MF01, MF02, MF29, MF31	3.6	0.1	1.4	0.1
Shipbuilding	MF03	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Gas and fuel	MF08, MF09	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.3
Glass	MF07	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.0
Textiles	MF18 - MF22	3.2	4.0	0.8	0.9
Clothing	MF23, MF24	9.0	25.6	7.2	17.2
Leather	MF10 - MF12	1.8	0.3	0.6	0.7
Wood	MF13 - MF15	4.8	0.8	1.1	0.5
Paper	MF16, MF17	2.0	1.2	1.9	2.0
Printing	MF30	2.9	0.7	0.5	0.7
Food	MF25 - MF28	9.6	3.6	7.3	15.1
Transport	T1 - T5	12.3	0.1	20.8	0.4
Service	DS1 - DS3 & D01 - D13	5.5	50.7	1.8	42.7
General labour	IS2	7.3	2.8	30.8	0.9
Administration	PP01 - PP03	1.8	0.2	0.3	0.0
Commerce and finance	IS1	6.3	1.6	3.8	8.1
Military and police	PP04 - PP06	3.4	0.0	0.5	0.0
Professions	PP07, PP08, PP12, PP14	3.2	0.0	0.5	0.0
Art, education, entertainment	PP09 - PP11 & PP13	1.5	3.2	0.5	0.1
Other and unknown	M1 - M4, PO, & Z3	1.9	4.2	3.5	8.8
Tally		99.9	100.0	99.6	99.9

Source: Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin* (New York: 1979), p. 93, Table 4.1

Table 2.12: Distribution of Occupations in Birmingham, 1861.

Industrial Group	Booth categories	Birmingham		Sample	
		number	%	number	%
Agriculture	AG1 - AG6	1876	1.3	60	2.2
Construction	B1 - B3	8207	5.7	260	9.6
Metalworking	MF04 - MF06	29859	20.8	497	18.3
Machinery	MF01, MF02, MF29, MF31	14299	10.0	276	10.1
Shipbuilding	MF03	191	0.1	0	0.0
Gas and fuel	MF08, MF09	364	0.3	10	0.4
Glass	MF07	1633	1.1	15	0.6
Textiles	MF18 - MF22	1125	0.8	15	0.6
Clothing	MF23, MF24	20464	14.3	379	13.9
Leather	MF10 - MF12	2033	1.4	23	0.8
Wood	MF13 - MF15	7648	5.3	76	2.8
Paper	MF16, MF17	1668	1.2	36	1.3
Printing	MF30	1376	1.0	15	0.6
Food	MF25 - MF28	2845	2.0	13	0.5
Transport	T1 - T5	7697	5.4	52	1.9
Service	DS1 - DS3 & D01 - D13	28137	19.6	371	13.6
General labour	IS2	4334	3.0	541	19.9
Administration	PP01 - PP03	433	0.3	1	0.0
Commerce and finance	IS1	1848	1.3	0	0.0
Military and police	PP04 - PP06	981	0.7	10	0.4
Professions	PP07, PP08, PP12, PP14	1591	1.1	13	0.5
Art, education, entertainment	PP09 - PP11 & PP13	2359	1.6	19	0.7
Other and unknown	M1 - M4, PO & Z3	2607	1.8	38	1.4
tally		143575	100.0	2720	100.0

Source: abridged from Tables 2.1 to 2.4 above.

Table 2.13: The weekly diet of English Adult workers, 1863.

	Agricultural labourers	Indoor workers
Bread	12½ lb.	9½ lb.
Sugar and treacle	7½ oz.	8 oz.
Butter, dripping, suet	5½ oz.	5 oz.
Bacon and meat	1 lb.	13½ oz.
Milk	1½ pints	1 pint
Cheese	5½ oz.	-
Tea	½ oz.	¾ oz.

Source: John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: a social history of diet in England from 1815 to the present day* (London: 1979), p. 129, Smith's 1863 table.

Table 2.14: Wages in the London and Manchester Building Trades, 1854-1883.

Year	London Rates				Manchester Rates			
Trade	1854	1867	1871	1880	1860	1870	1877	1883
Bricklayer	29s 2d	37s 8d	37s 8d	42s 4d	26s	32s	43s	38s 7d
Bricklayer's labourer	18s 9d				17s	20s 5d	23s 10d	25s
Carpenter	29s 2d			39s 4d	24s	27s	38s 7d	36s 4d
Plasterer	28s 4d							
Plumber	30s			33s 4d				
Slater	29s 2d							
Slater's labourer	18s 2d							
Painter		36s 4d	36s 4d					
Masons		37s 8d	37s 8d	40s				

Source: Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge: 1900), pp. 81-95, building trade wages. I have used the summer wage where there was a choice. The rates in the builders' price books were the day rates charged, and Bowley said they were one sixth higher than the rates paid to the workers, therefore to arrive at the summer weekly wage I have multiplied the day rate by 5.

Table 3.1: Irish-born recruits to Birmingham police, 1854 to 1857.

Name	Date of joining	Date of leaving	years in service	Reason for leaving	Where from	Previous experience
McCauley, Peter	May 1855	Jan. 1856	0	Resigned	Carrickmacross, Monaghan	
Hamilton, Myles	May 1855	July 1856	1	Dismissed	Westport, Mayo	
Green, Edmond	May 1855	Oct. 1855	0	Dismissed	Donareald, Cork	
Nolan, John	June 1855	July 1855	0	Resigned	Kells, Meath	
McAdam, Hugh	June 1855	June 1855	0	Resigned	Drumlian, Cavan	69th Regt, 9 years, no pension
O'Donnell, Patrick	June 1855	Oct. 1855	0	Resigned	Kilcoran, Roscommon	
Gibbons, Thomas	June 1855	Sept. 1861	6	Resigned	Kilmana, Mayo	
Kelly, John	July 1855	Aug. 1856	1	Resigned	Stradbally, Laois	
Morris, John	July 1855	July 1856	1	Resigned	Ballingarry, Tipperary	
Mooney, James	July 1855	Jan. 1856	0	Resigned	Aughagallow, Antrim	
Mylotte, James	Aug. 1855	June 1856	0	Resigned	Ballinrobe, Mayo	
Serridge, Michael	Aug. 1855	Feb. 1874	13	Died in service	Castlerea, Roscommon	
Callaghan, Thomas	Aug. 1855	May 1856	0	Resigned	Loughlinn, Roscommon	
O'Donell, Martin	Sept. 1855	May 1857	1	Resigned	Loughlinn, Roscommon	
Collins, James	Sept. 1855	Dec. 1856	1	Resigned	Ballivarry, Mayo	
Cunningham, Thomas	Oct. 1855	Jan. 1856	0	Resigned	Cong, Mayo	
O'Hare, Michael	Nov. 1855	Feb. 1866	0	Died in service	Newry, Down	
Lynn, Joseph	Nov. 1855	Dec. 1855	0	Resigned	Kiltoon, Roscommon	Manchester Police
Jennings, William	Dec. 1855	Sept. 1878	23	Died in service	Cong, Mayo	
Smith, Henry	Dec. 1855	April 1856	0	Resigned	Kilbride, Roscommon	
Laydon, Michael	March 1856	Sept. 1863	8	Resigned	Ballinakill, Galway	
McGuire, Thomas	March 1856	Nov. 1858	2	Resigned	Moville, Donegal	Revenue Police, Donegal
Crawley, James	June 1856	Sept. 1857	1	Dismissed	Castlerea, Roscommon	
Gaston, James	June 1856	Nov. 1856	0	Resigned	Ballimoney, Antrim	Wolverhampton Police
Garvey, James	July 1856	Aug. 1857	1	Resigned	Ballintubber, Roscommon	
Hartt, Michael	Aug. 1856	Jan. 1867	11	Dismissed	Navan, Meath	
Connor, John	Oct. 1856	July 1867	11	Died in service	Middleton, Armagh	77th Regt, 7 years, no pension

Table 3.1: Irish-born recruits to Birmingham police, 1854 to 1857.

Name	Date of joining	Date of leaving	years in service	Reason for leaving	Where from	Previous experience
Murray, Lewis	Oct. 1856	April 1857	0	Dismissed	Kilbride, Roscommon	
Hunt, Austin	Oct. 1856	April 1857	0	Resigned	Ballyhauness, Mayo	
Wilcox, William	Oct. 1856	Blank	50	Promoted... Chief Clerk 1871	Limerick	Government Valuers, Ireland
Doyle, James	Nov. 1856	Jan. 1857	0	Resigned	Dublin	82nd Regt. 13 years, no pension
McMahon, John	Nov. 1856	Jan. 1857	0	Resigned	Newmarket, Clare	41st Regt 8 years, no pension
Grogan, Patrick	Dec. 1856	Dec. 1864	8	Died in service	Tuam, Galway	
Dillon, Thomas	Dec. 1856	March 1872	15	Superannuated	Oran, Roscommon	Birmingham Police
Lynch, Peter	Dec. 1856	Feb. 1857	0	Resigned	Dublin	
Belford, Frances	Jan. 1857	Oct. 1857	0	Resigned	Derrylinn, Fermanagh	
Cooney, George	Jan. 1857	July 1858	1	Resigned	Ballyhaunis, Mayo	
Noone, David	Jan. 1857	Sept. 1858	1	Resigned	Kiltullagh, Roscommon	
Roberts, Thomas	Jan. 1857	Feb. 1859	2	Resigned	Ballaghadereen, Roscommon	Wolverhampton Police
Powell, Daniel	Jan. 1857	May 1857	0	Resigned	Ballintubber, Roscommon	
Kelly, John	Feb. 1857	Nov. 1857	0	Dismissed	Stradbally, Laois	
Healy, Michael	Feb. 1857	March 1857	0	Dismissed	Dublin City	
Johnstone, Robert	Feb. 1857	Aug. 1857	0	Resigned	Sligo	30th Regt 3 years, no pension
Pettit, Michael	April 1857	Feb. 1858	0	Resigned	Kilmalord, Limerick	Irish Constabulary
Duncan, James	April 1857	Aug. 1859	2	Died in service	Birr, Offaly	
Bolton, John	May 1857	June 1857	0	Dismissed	Frenchpark, Roscommon	91st Foot, 8 years, no pension
McVee, John	May 1857	Aug. 1857	0	Resigned	Ballyroon, Laois	Irish Constabulary

Source: *Birmingham Police Numerical Register Warrant Nos. 2902 - 3100: Borough of Birmingham Examination of Candidates 19 July 1854 - 12 May 1857, PA..*

Table 3.2: Nationality of Birmingham police, 1881 to 1889.

Nationality	Number								
	1880/1	1881/2	1882/3	1883/4	1884/5	1885/6	1886/7	1887/8	1888/9
English	452	453	485	Not given	476	485	490	501	506
Irish	52	48	44	Not given	43	41	40	33	33
Scotch	7	6	7	Not given	6	7	9	6	6
Welsh	5	9	5	Not given	9	10	12	11	11
Dutch	1	1	1	Not given	1	1	1	1	1
Canadian	1			Not given					
German	1	1	1	Not given	1	1	2	2	2
Total	519	518	543	N/a	536	545	554	554	559
%Irish	10.02	9.27	8.10	N/a	8.02	7.52	7.22	5.96	5.90

Source: *Report of the Police Establishment and the State of Crime*, 1881 to 1889, BCL LSD, statistics on nationality given on p. 5 except 1881 and 1883 pp. not numbered and 1885 - p. 6.

Table 3.3: Irish Prisoners in Winson Green Prison, 1859 to 1875.

Year end September	Total Prisoners	RC Prisoners	Irish Prisoners	% RC Prisoners	% Irish Prisoners
1859	1682	325	198	19	12
1860	1505	340	191	23	13
1868	3119	555	339	18	11
1869	3288	568	347	17	11
1870	3459	566	346	16	10
1871	3242	634	387	20	12
1872	3663	720	440	20	12
1873	4061	930	568	23	14
1874	4730	1071	655	23	14
1875	4727	1088	665	23	14
Census Day					
1861	332		36		11
1871	430		33		8

Source: *Borough of Birmingham Minutes of Gaol Sessions*, BCL Archives, Volume D: 24 October 1859 to 14 April 1868, and Volume E: 7 July 1868 to 4 July 1876, Governor's Annual Reports, written into the minutes of the first meeting in October, 1859 to 1875.

1868 to 1875 %Irish-born calculated from the number of RCs given in the Governor's Annual reports, as Irish Catholics = 1/2 Catholics; Irish-born = Irish Catholics x 11/9.

Table 3.4: People arrested on Sunday 1 June 1867.

Name	Address	Occupation
John Moore / Morris	53 Cheapside	labourer
John Swift	6 London Prentice St	labourer
Michael Hanlon		labourer
Michael McNally	6 London Prentice St	striker
Thomas MacDonald	4 Court Oxford St	labourer
James Wynne	4 Court John St	stamper
Thomas March	Grosvenor St	founder
Walter Williams	53 Sherlock St	wheelwright
Patrick Condry	Gt. Hampton St	labourer
Bridget Maklin	Lancaster St	
Michael Morris	16 Allison St	labourer
William Smith	17 Court Digbeth	brass founder
Ann Grady	3 Court Edgbaston St	
Thomas Cain	Montague St	labourer
Eliza Hayes	11 Park Lane	
James Quilter	50 Howard's Place	labourer
Ellen O'Donnell	3 Court Water St	
Patrick O'Donnell	3 Court Water St	labourer
Catherine Grady	Water St	
Robert Lake	Baker St	wire drawer
James Armstrong	Cheapside	shoe maker
Thomas Mahoney	26 Loveday St	
Thomas Decklin	34 Bradford St	
James Day	Bordesley St	
Patrick Ford.	19 Allison St	

Source: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1867, p. 8, "In Custody"

Table 3.5: People arrested on Monday 17 June 1867.

Time	Name	Age	Address	Occupation	Charge	Arresting Officer
Noon	John Handley	30	14 Court Allison St	labourer	assaulting PC Hudson with stones in Park Street	PC 61 Hudson
12.50	John O'Brien	30	Park Street	Hawker	Drunk, disorderly & using obscene language in Moor St	PSgt Fletcher
1.10	Caroline Welch	17	2 Ct Water Street	jeweller	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	Supt Spear
	Mary Dent	39	Gt Brook Street	brass polisher	assaulting PCs Knight and Wait in Park Street	PCs 266 Keight
	John Bruce	35	Deritend	wire drawer	disorderly and throwing stones in Park Street	PC Price
	Thomas Jukes	33	Baskerville Row	gun nipple maker	throwing stones at police in Freeman St	PC 241 Haycock
3.40	Michael Boucher	17	West Bromwich	grinder	throwing stones at police	PC Clayton
4.10	Michael Flanagan	36	3 Freeman Street	mattress maker	throwing stones at the police in Freeman S	PC Butcher
	George Holland	22	17 Park Street	zinc worker	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	PC Edwards
	Brigid Farrington	24	Dale End	herring curer	same charge	PC Withey
	Mary Keegan	40	Park Street	no occupation	same charge	PC Gwillain
	William Hillyard	36	17 Park St	striker	same charge	PC Bishton
	Mary Hawkrige	24	17 Park St	no occupation	same charge	PC Wiltshire
4.45	James Hawkrige	36	17 Park Street	Confectioner	same charge	P C Woodward
5.00	James Moore*	21	Edgbaston Street	gun screwer	throwing stones at the Mayor in Park St	P C Harris
	Thomas Taylor	20	16 Court Holt Street	glass blower	violently assault PC Fearham in Freeman St	P C Cope
5.40	John Pilkington	20	15Ct 2H Staniforth St	brass caster	same charge	P C Bishop
	Edward Clarke	22	Aston New Town	spoon polisher	throwing stones at police in Freeman St	P C Shakespeare
	Thomas Bynion	16	Northwood Street	caster	same charge	PC Corfield
	Owen Flanagan	26	4 Ct Lichfield St	gun maker	same charge	PC Merrett
6.00	Mary Allen Fleming	15	6 Ct Stafford St	cloth cutter	disorderly and throwing stones in Moor St	PC Day
	Thomas Callaghan	17	John Street	Gun barrel smoother	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	PC Ashby
	William Woodbridge	27	12Ct Bartholomew St	Hawker	throwing stones at police Bartholomew Street	PC Roberts
	James Shea		Moor St	caster	drunk and throwing stones in Freeman Street	P C Mayon
6.15	William O'Brien	30	15 Court Allison St	labourer	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	PC Millard
	Brigid Caney	22	Hospital St	enameller	assaulting a man in Moor St	PC Golden

Table 3.5: People arrested on Monday 17 June 1867.

Time	Name	Age	Address	Occupation	Charge	Arresting Officer
	Michael Joyce	54	Digbeth	chair maker	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	PC Price
	John Smith	36	John Street	shoemaker	throwing stones & assaulting the police charging in Freeman St	PC Harvey
	John Barlow*†	24	31 Park St	pearl grinder	same charge	PC Lenton
6.30	Chris Brampton	31	12Ct Bartholomew St	labourer	throwing stones at police in Freeman St	P C Gwilliam
	Michael Clyone	30	2 Court Water St	gun barrel maker	same charge	PC Pointon
6.40	William Harrow	14	Gt Coventry St	gas fitter	throwing stones in Bordesley Street	PC Wild
	John Grayley	30	Staniforth Street	filer	throwing stones at the police in Freeman St	PC Hudson
	Martin Davitt	20	Park Lane	gun barrel borer	drunk & throwing stones at the police in Bordesley St	PC Smith
7.20	Thomas Kettell	16	6 Ct Mosley St	caster	throwing stones at police in Freeman Street	P C Parr
	Timothy Fallow†	36	33 Park Street	labourer	throwing stones at police in Park Street	PC Mayon
	James Owen	36	Park Street	comb maker	same charge	PC Ward
	William Wolfe	65	32 Leek Street	boot maker	same charge	PC Timmins
7.30	George Irons	26	7 Norfolk Street	hammer man	throwing a stone at the police in Park Lane	P C Thomas
	Thomas Throne*	23	back166 Aston St	Smith	throwing stones at 8th Hussars in Park Street	PC Day
	Bernard McDermott*	44	23 Court Park Street	labourer	throwing a stone at the police in Park Street	P C Prosser
	Robert Lewis*†	27	6 Park Street	striker	same charge	PC Hawkes
	John Hastings*	35	23 Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Haycock
	Thomas McCale*	24	Park Street	stamper	same charge	PC Withey
	Thomas Kelly	30	Park Street	riveter	same charge	PC Price
	Alfred Parks	40	Moor St	no occupation	drunk & assaulting the police charging in Moor St	PC Cooksley
7.45	Michael Coffee*	43	no fixed residence	labourer	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	P C Burton
	Patrick Callaghan*	29	Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Smith
	William Costello	18	Cox Street	labourer	PC Price	
8.15	Michael Leonard*	51	98 Park Street	labourer	throwing stones at the police in Park Street	PC Bishton
	David McCale*	54	Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Knight
	William Coley	20	Park Street	striker	throwing stones at the police in the Bull Ring	PC Shepherd
9.00	Eliza Coley†	28	6 Park Street	no occupation	throwing a brick at the police in Park Street	PC Brooks

Table 3.5: People arrested on Monday 17 June 1867.

Time	Name	Age	Address	Occupation	Charge	Arresting Officer
	Ann Jones	18	no fixed residence	glove maker	same charge	PC Salmon
	Patrick Kilroy*	64	92 Park St	labourer	same charge	PC 109
	John Robbins*	47	Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Jenkins
	John Finn†	17	Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Haskow
	James Donohoe	12	Coleman St	spring maker	same charge	PC Day
9.20	John Bryne	28	back 86 Bath Street	Electro-plater	same charge	PC Parr
	John Smith*	37	Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Fletcher
	Martin Maley*	24	Drury Lane	shoemaker	same charge	PC West
	John Heraty*†	66	91 Park St	shoe black	same charge	PC Feasey
	Luke Smith	19	170 Coventry Street	gun barrel maker	same charge	Inspector Wilson
	Owen Graham	27	90 Wood-cock St	Iron place worker	same charge	PC Smith
10.00	William Lee*	36	Park Street	Hawker	same charge	P Sgt Prosser
	William Melville*	25	Meriden St	Hawker	same charge	PC Buckley
	William Grice	20	back 85 Branston St	lamp maker	same charge	P C Brooks
11.00	Walter Albert Edwards		Phillips St Aston	gun Stocker	breaking a window in New Meeting St.	Supt Shepherd
	Thomas Park		Edgbaston Street	labourer	throwing stones in Park Street	PC Gwilliam
	David Allcock*	23	Park Street	traveller	same charge	PC Poynton
	Amieron Hillsey	30	Hospital St	gun maker	same charge	
	Thomas Lynch	40	Park Street	labourer	same charge	PC Jackson
	John Noon	22	Well Lane	chandelier maker	same charge	PC?
	Thomas Owen	17	Steelhouse Lane		throwing stones at the police in Dale end	PC Feasey
Mid-night	James Foy	26	Rea Street	labourer	throwing stones at the police in Moor St	PC Carlisle
	Edward Meehan	36	Summer Lane	labourer	throwing stones at the police in John Street	PC Price
	Thomas Grailey	22	Tanter St	caster	same charge	PC Brooks

Source: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18th June 1867, p. 4, "Persons in Custody" - Time is time of arrest.
* these and Patrick & Ann Luke were eventually tried at the October 1867 Sessions.
† made compensation claims.

Table 3.6: People Charged with riot at June 1867 Sessions.

Arrested	Name	Age	Address	Occupation	Original Charge
16 June	Michael McNally	24	London Prentice Street	Striker	No details, arrested in Carrs Lane
16 June	Thomas MacDonald		4 Court Oxford St	Labourer	No details, arrested in Carrs Lane
16 June	James Wynn		4 Court John St	Stamper	No details, arrested in Carrs Lane
16 June	Patrick Condry		Gt. Hampton St	Labourer	No details, arrested in Carrs Lane
16 June	Eliza Hayes		11 Park Lane		No details, arrested in Carrs Lane
16 June	James Day		Bordesley Street		No details, arrested in Carrs Lane
17 June	John Barlow	24	31 Park Street	pearl grinder	throwing stones & assaulting the police charging in Freeman St
17 June	Thomas Throne	23	back of 166 Aston St	Smith	Throwing stones at officers of 8th Hussars in Park St
17 June	Bernard McDermott	44	23 Court Park Street	Labourer	Throwing a stone at the police in Park Street
17 June	Robert Lewis	27	6 Park Street	Striker	Same charge
17 June	John Hastings	35	23 Park Street	Labourer	Same charge
17 June	Thomas McCale	24	Park Street	Stamper	Same charge
17 June	Michael Coffee	43	no fixed residence	Labourer	Throwing stones at the police in Park Street
17 June	Patrick Callaghan	29	Park Street	Labourer	same charge
17 June	Michael Leonard	51	98 Park Street	Labourer	same charge
17 June	David McCale	54	Park Street	Labourer	same charge
17 June	Patrick Kilroy	64	92 Park Street	Labourer	throwing a brick at the police in Park Street
17 June	John Robbins	47	Park Street	Labourer	same charge
17 June	John Smith	37	Park Street	Labourer	same charge
17 June	Martin Maley	24	Drury Lane	Shoemaker	same charge
17 June	John Heraty	66	91 Park Street	shoe black	same charge
17 June	William Lee	36	Park Street	Hawker	same charge
17 June	William Melville	25	Meriden Street	Hawker	same charge
17 June	David Allcock	23	Park Street	Traveller	throwing stones in Park Street
24 June	Bryan Heraghty	22	Allison Street		Rioting on 16 June
Tried for individual offences:					
17 June	James Moore	21	Edgbaston Street	gun screw	Throwing stones at the Mayor in Park Street
16 June	Thomas Cain	23	Montague Street	Labourer	Attacking Aston's premises

Source: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 June 1867, p. 7, "Birmingham Borough Sessions. The Murphy Riots". Charged with rioting on 16th June may be incorrect reporting rather than incorrect charge.

Table 3.7: Compensation Claimants.

Name		Address	Occupation	Claim
Keyle	William	?	Landlord	Under £30
Clark	John	Allison St		£10
O'Hagan	Lawrence	Allison St, 3		Over £30
Doust	Chas	Barford Street, 145		£6. 5s
Couch	Elizabeth	Bath St, 38	Widow	£5
Burn	Luke	Bull Ring, 3		£5
Farrow	James A L	Bull Ring/Park Street	Licensed Victualler	£28/-/-
Harriot	Henry	Bull St, 1		Under £30
Blood	William T	Dale End Royal Exchange		£7.15s
Good	Samuel	Dale End Star Inn	Licensed Victualler	£4.10s
Roberts	Morris	Dale End The Bell	Licensed Victualler	£29
Unwin	Samuel	Dale End, 19		£4
Jannion	Joseph	Dale End, 49	Licensed Victualler	£1
Stych	William	Dale End, 76	Confectioner	Over £30
Green	Richard	Digbeth		£16
Madeley	Charles	Freeman St (?)		Over £30
Read	Silvester	Freeman St Fox Inn		£29
Paget	John Edwin	Freeman St, 05	Labourer	29/-/-
Haynes	Elizabeth	Freeman St, 18		£5
Wall	Richard	John St, 26	Publican	5/10/-
Smallwood	Isaac	Lichfield St Rose & Crown	Licensed Victualler	£11
Bellman	Nathan	Lichfield St, 111	Pawn broker	£230
Mansell	Charles	Lichfield St, 111 premises		£29/17/-
Sherlock	John	Moor St	RC Priest	5/8/-
Spanton	Sarah	Moor St, Dingley's Hotel,		£3.12s
Moxham	Caroline	New John St, 67		£50
Nock	Nath.	Park Lane		50s
Egginton	Elizabeth	Park Lane (Leamington)		£1.10s
Green	Ann	Park Lane, 14 & 15		Over £30
Probert	Edward	Park Lane, 21		£27. 10s
Colbett	Thomas	Park St	Retail brewer	Under £30
Foster	Lamert	Park St		Under £30
Mills	Thomas	Park St		£30

Table 3.7: Compensation Claimants.

Name		Address	Occupation	Claim
Platt	Thomas	Park St		£15
Shaw	Henry	Park St		£60
Saxton	Emma	Park St 02 Court		£4 ?
Mahon	John	Park St 03 Court 7H	Labourer	£4.12.8d
Chambers	Thomas	Park St 15 Court 2H	Labourer	25s
Manning	Mary	Park St 20 Court 10H	Widow	19s11d
Finn	Anne	Park St, 01		£30
York-Madeley	John	Park St, 03, Phoenix Inn		Over £30
Ralph	W C	Park St, 03, Phoenix Public H		£30
Finn	John	Park St, 04	Labourer	£20.9.6d
Turner	Jabez	Park St, 04 & 5		Under £30
Butler	Thomas	Park St, 05		£87.10s
Butler	Alice	Park St, 05		£4
Dunn	Mary	Park St, 06, 82 & 86		£75 approx
Kilroy	Patrick	Park St, 07	Labourer	£6 ?
Kesterton	William	Park St, 08	Grocer	Under £30
Smith	John	Park St, 08	Labourer	£9
Handley	Alfred	Park St, 11	Grocer	£2/4/11
Quincey	William	Park St, 14	Labourer	£4 ?
Corless	Archibald	Park St, 15	Labourer	Under £30
Graham	John	Park St, 15	Labourer	£6/4/6d
Haukridge	James	Park St, 17		£2/15/6
Beck	William	Park St, 31	Lodging house keeper	88s
Lawless	Patrick	Park St, 32		£5.17.3d
Fallon	Patrick	Park St, 33	Labourer	£15
Schinder	Peter	Park St, 34	Musician	£12
Cohen	Symon Ben.	Park St, 50		50s
Manning	Julia	Park St, 68		£1.4s
Wheeler	Edward	Park St, 69		£30
Wheeler	Ann	Park St, 70	Widow	£15
Wheeler	Edward	Park St, 70	Butcher	£5
Abbott	William	Park St, 70 (Whittal St)	Brassfounder	£15
Kemp	Abraham	Park St, 72 and 73		£14. 10s

Table 3.7: Compensation Claimants.

Name		Address	Occupation	Claim
Davitt	Patrick	Park St, 81		£11.12.6d
Brown	Catherine	Park St, 85	Widow	£9.1.6d
Heaven	George	Park St, 85 to 89 inc.		£15
Collins	Edward	Park St, 86		£5
Livingstone	John	Park St, 90	Labourer	£5
Brown	Catherine	Park St, 91		£2.1.6d
Hughes	William	Park St, 93	Labourer	Under £30
Nichols	Henry	Park St, 94, Rising Sun		£21.14.7d
Carren	Mary Ann	Park St, 95 to 99 inc.		£90
Leonard	Michael	Park St, 96	Labourer	£7.6s
Baynham	William	Park St, 97		Under £30
Haddock	Thomas	Shut Lane		£6.12s
Langley	Thomas	Shut Lane, 1 & 2		£10
Mansell	Charles	Shut Lane, 1 to 7		£26/17/6
Smith	Richard	Shut Lane, 3	Confectioner	£5
Hodson	Elizabeth	Shut Lane, 4		£12
Gough	John	St Martin's, to fencing & Burial ground	Churchwarden	Under £30
Jackson	Jabez	Steelhouse Lane, 26		£2
Griffiths	Joseph	Weaman St (Small Heath)	Gentleman	£5
Jephcoat	William	Weaman St, 29 & 1 Sand St	Labourer	Under £30
Burn	Charles	Weaman St, 61	Gun implement maker	£5
Griffiths	Charles	Whittall St Kings Arms		Over £30

Source: *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 & 25 June 1867 in Birmingham Scrapbook Volume 1 p. 263, "Damage Done By The Murphy Riots. Claims For Compensation", and p. 264, "Claims For Compensation".

A few house numbers have been added from *Birmingham Daily Post*, 29 June 1867, p. 3, "The Late Riots. Complete List Of Claims For Compensation".

Table 3.8: People charged with riot at October 1867 Sessions

Arrested	Name	Age	Address	Occupation
16 June	Thomas MacDonald	44	4 Court Oxford St	Labourer
16 June	James Wynn	17	4 Court John Street	Stamper
16 June	Patrick Condry	27	Great Hampton Street	Labourer
16 June	Eliza Hayes	36	11 Park Lane	No trade
16 June	James Day	30	Bordesley Street	Tailor
16 June	Thomas Cain	23	Montague Street	Labourer
17 June	John Barlow	24	31 Park Street	pearl grinder
17 June	Thomas Throne	23	back of 166 Aston St	Smith
17 June	Bernard McDermott	44	23 Court Park Street	cabman
17 June	Robert Lewis	27	6 Park Street	striker
17 June	John Hastings	35	23 Park Street	labourer
17 June	Thomas McCale	24	Park Street	Labourer
17 June	Michael Coffee	43	no fixed residence	cabman
17 June	Patrick Callaghan	29	Park Street	labourer
17 June	Michael Leonard	51	98 Park Street	labourer
17 June	David McCale	54	Park Street	labourer
17 June	Patrick Kilroy	64	92 Park Street	labourer
17 June	John Robbins	47	Park Street	labourer
17 June	John Smith	37	Park Street	labourer
17 June	Martin Maley	24	Drury Lane	shoemaker
17 June	John Heraty	16	91 Park Street	Fitter
17 June	William Lee	25	Park Street	Labourer
17 June	William Melville	25	Meriden Street	Hawker
17 June	David Allcock	23	Park Street	Labourer
24 June	Bryan Heraghty	22	Allison Street	
24 June	Patrick Luke	24	Lichfield Street	Gun finisher
24 June	Ann Luke	23	Lichfield Street	No trade
Charged separately with assaulting the Mayor:				
17 June	James Moore	21	Edgbaston Street	gun screw

Source: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 October 1867, "The Park Street Riots"; ages and addresses see earlier court appearances. Bryan Heraghty failed to appear and was sentenced to one month in prison in January 1868, source: *Birmingham Journal*, 11 January 1868, p.2, "Birmingham Borough Sessions The Last of the Park Street Rioters"

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

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Photograph 3.1



3-storey court houses, Hospital Street, c. 1920.
Source: *Warwickshire Photographic Survey* (1922), WK/B11/2018, BCL LSD.

Photograph 3.2



2-storey court houses, Hospital Street, c1920.

Source: *Warwickshire Photographic Survey* (1922), WK/B11/2014, BCL LSD.

Photograph 3.3



Numbers 3 to 6 London Prentice Street, c. 1874.
 Source: *Improvement Scheme Photos*, Print number 74, BCL LSD.

Photograph 3.4



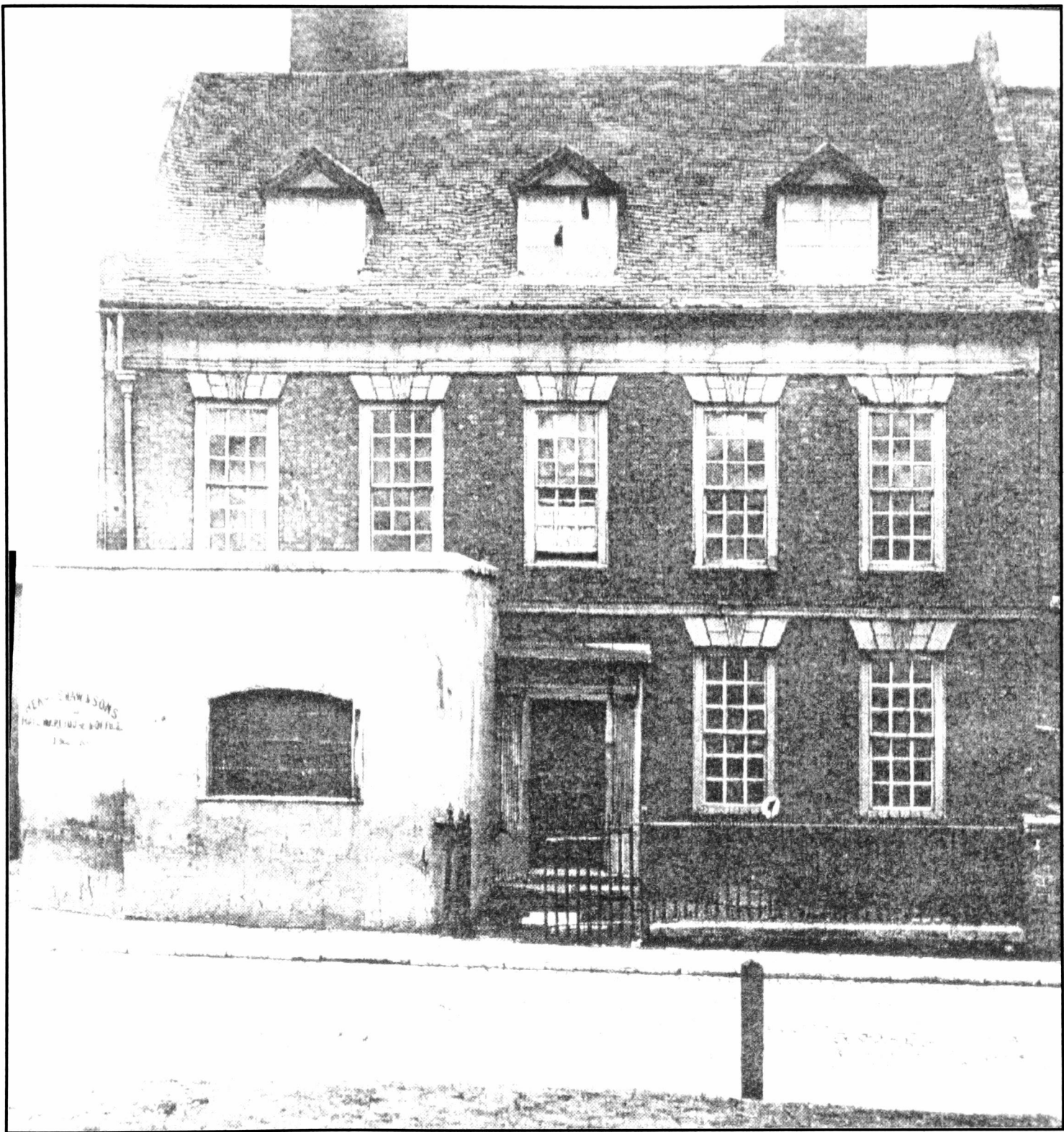
Rear of numbers 16 to 20 London Prentice Street, c. 1874.
Source: *Improvement Scheme Photos*, Print number 75, BCL LSD.

Photograph 3.5



Numbers 2 to 10 Park Street, Phoenix Inn to William Shaw's Manufactory, 1867
Source: Keith Turner, *Birmingham Pubs* (Stroud: 1999), p. 40.

Photograph 3.6



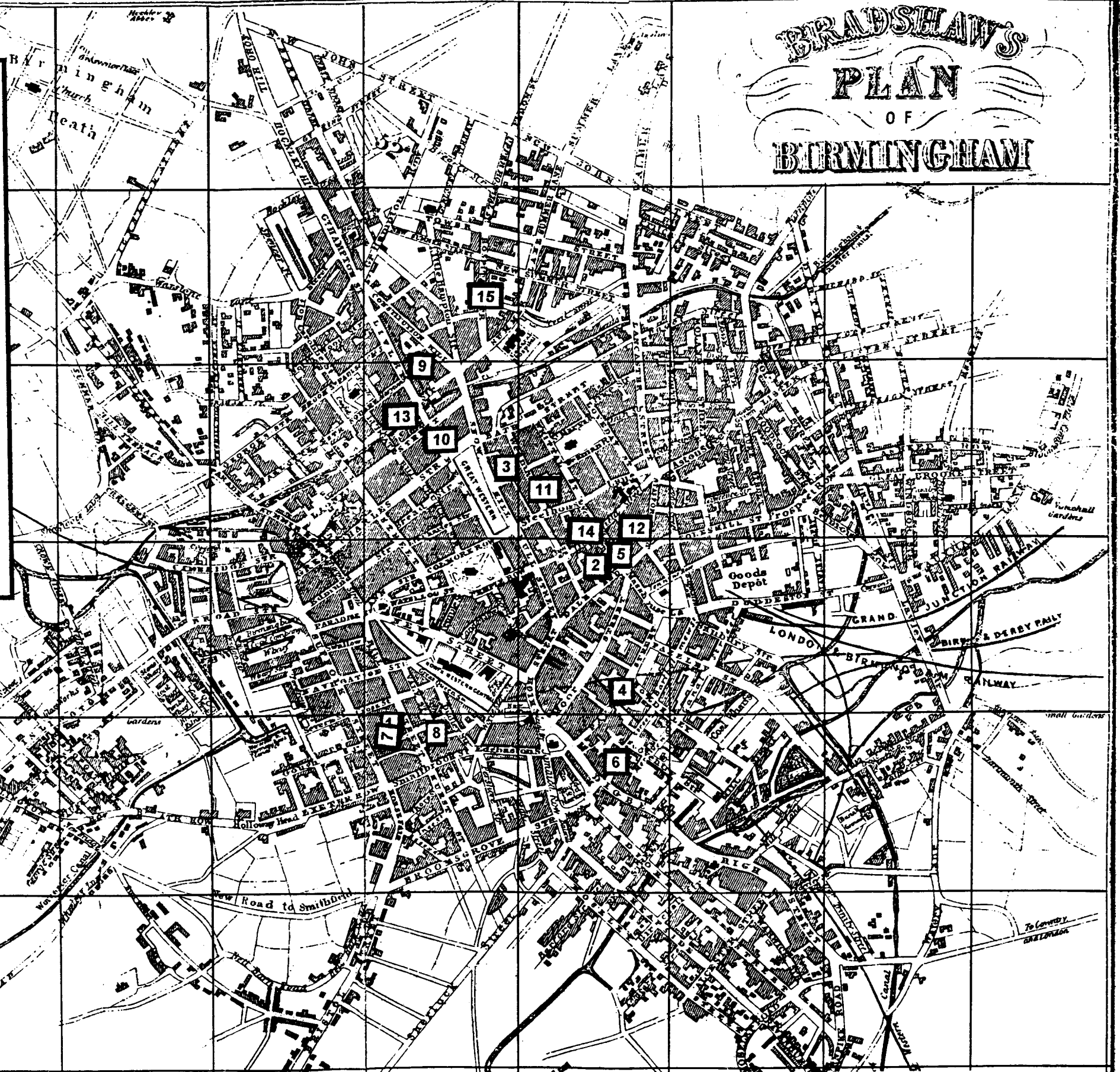
Henry Shaw's Offices and Warehouse, Number 18 Park Street.
Source: Keith Turner, *Central Birmingham 1870-1920* (Bath: 1994), p. 35.

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Plan 3.1	New court houses, Bradford Street, Digbeth, 1842	321

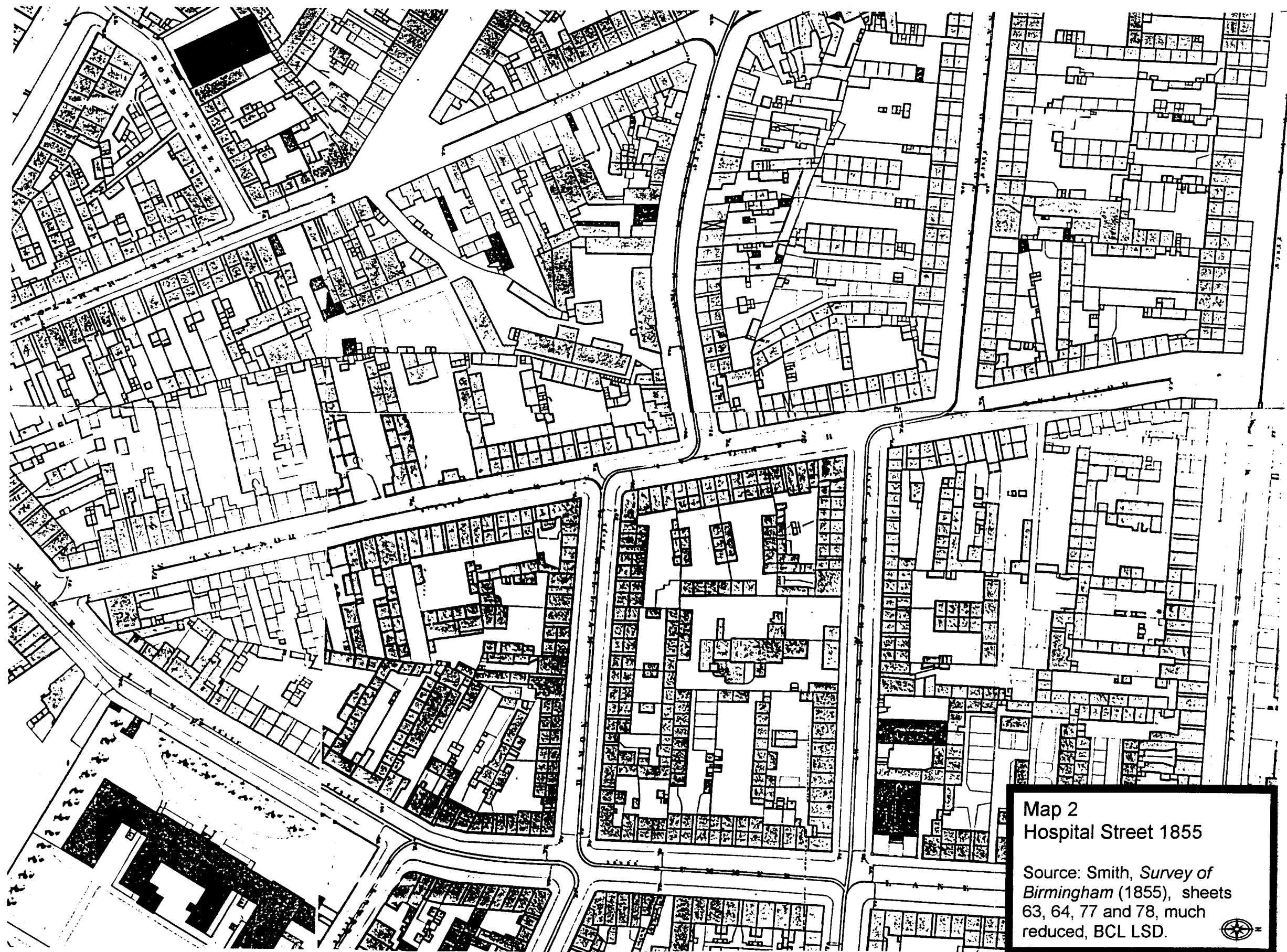
Location of Streets

- 1 Green's Village & Myrtle Row
- 2 London Prentice Street
- 3 Slaney Street
- 4 Park Street
- 5 John Street
- 6 Allison Street
- 7 Edgbaston Street
- 8 Old & New Inkleys
- 9 Henrietta Street
- 10 Livery Street
- 11 Weaman Street
- 12 Thomas Street
- 13 Water Street
- 14 Lichfield Street
- 15 Hospital Street



MAP 1
Source: McKenna, *Birmingham Street Names*,
 page 39.

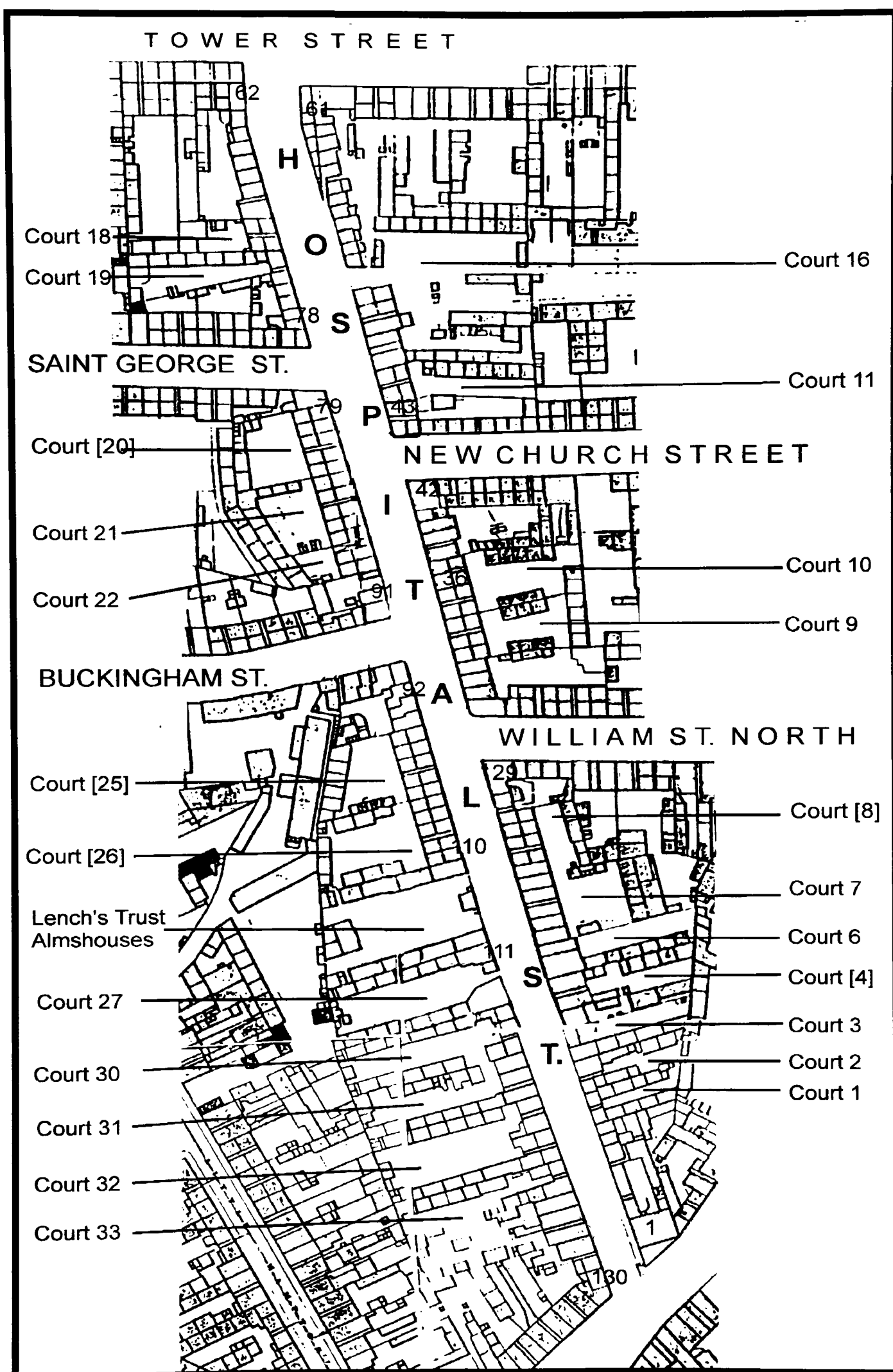
BRADSHAW'S PLAN OF BIRMINGHAM c.1840



Map 2
Hospital Street 1855

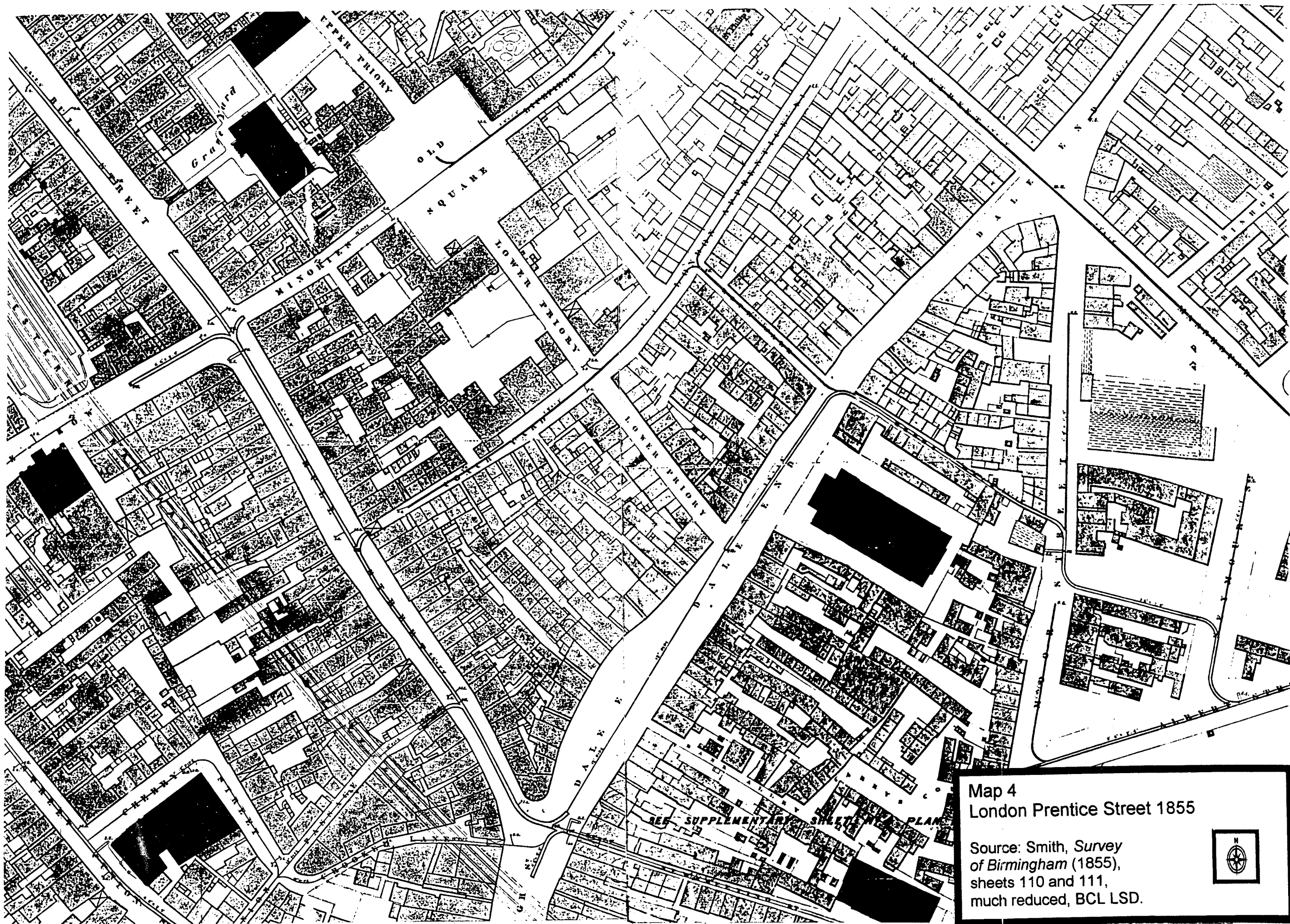
Source: Smith, *Survey of Birmingham* (1855), sheets 63, 64, 77 and 78, much reduced, BCL LSD.





MAP 3: Hospital Street 1861

drawn from Map 2, 1860 Rates Book, 1861 Census enumerations and contemporary directories



Map 4
London Prentice Street 1855

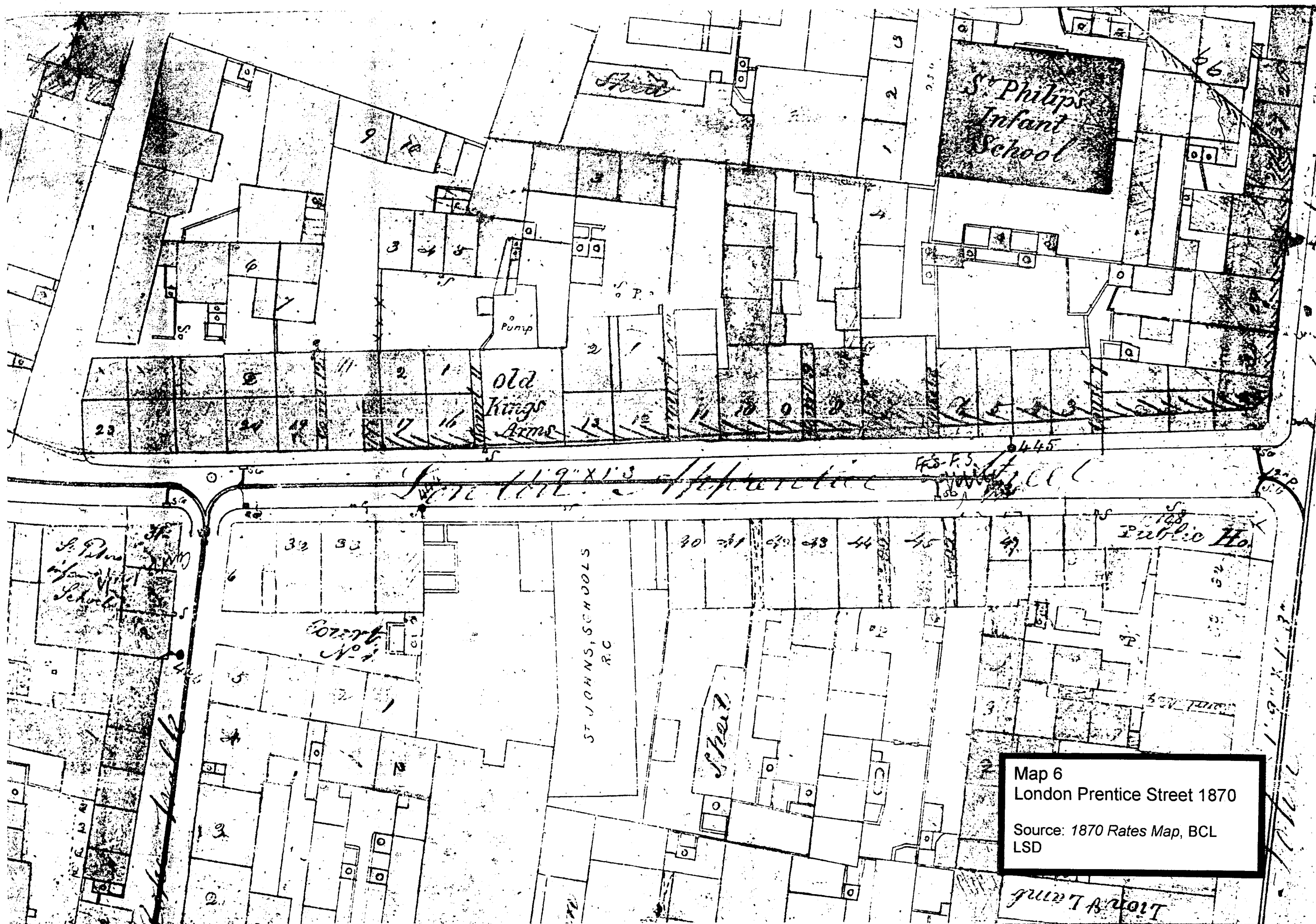
Source: Smith, *Survey of Birmingham* (1855), sheets 110 and 111, much reduced, BCL LSD.



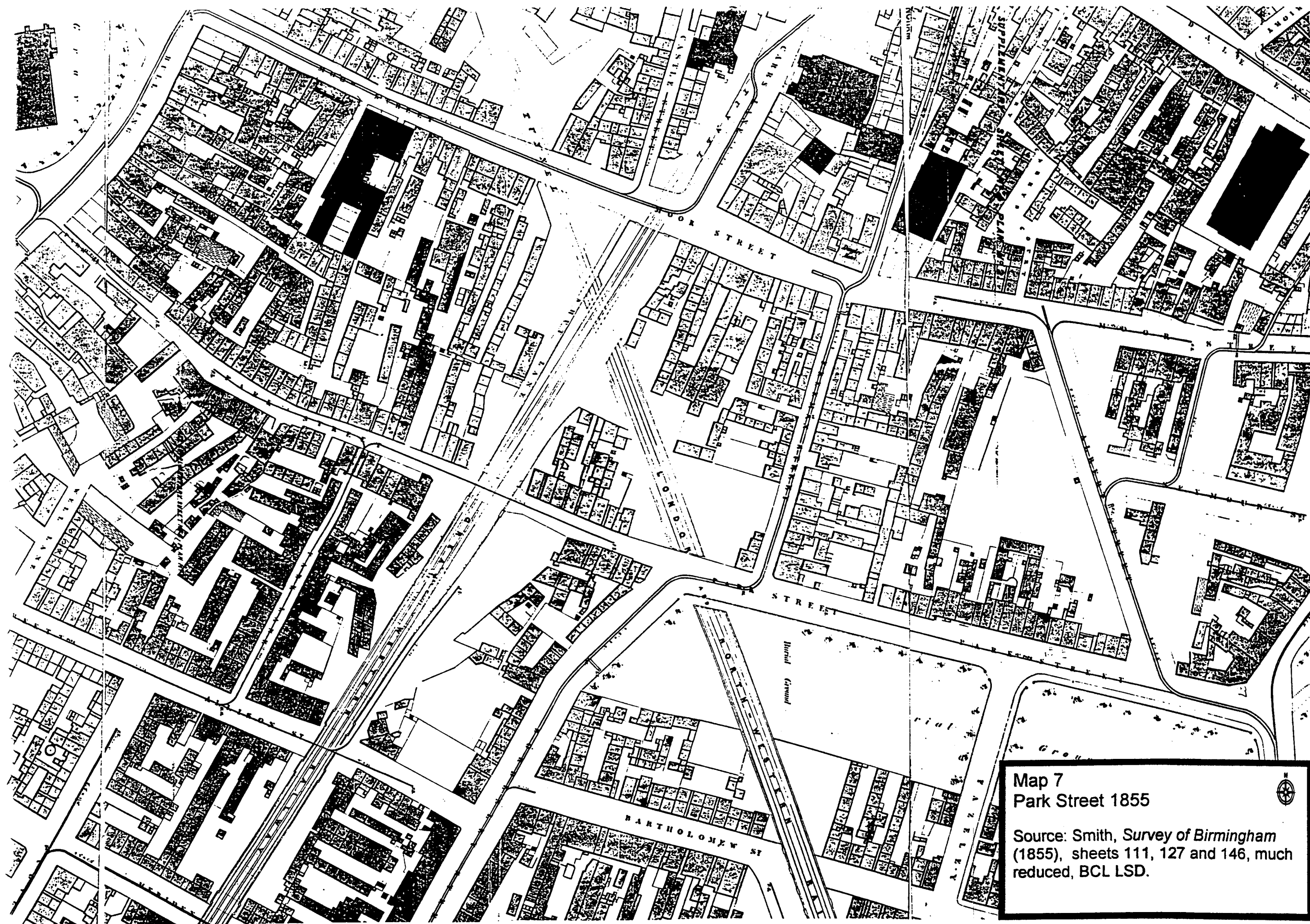


MAP 5: London Prentice Street 1861

Drawn from Map 4, *1860 Rates Book*, *1861 Census enumerations* and contemporary directories

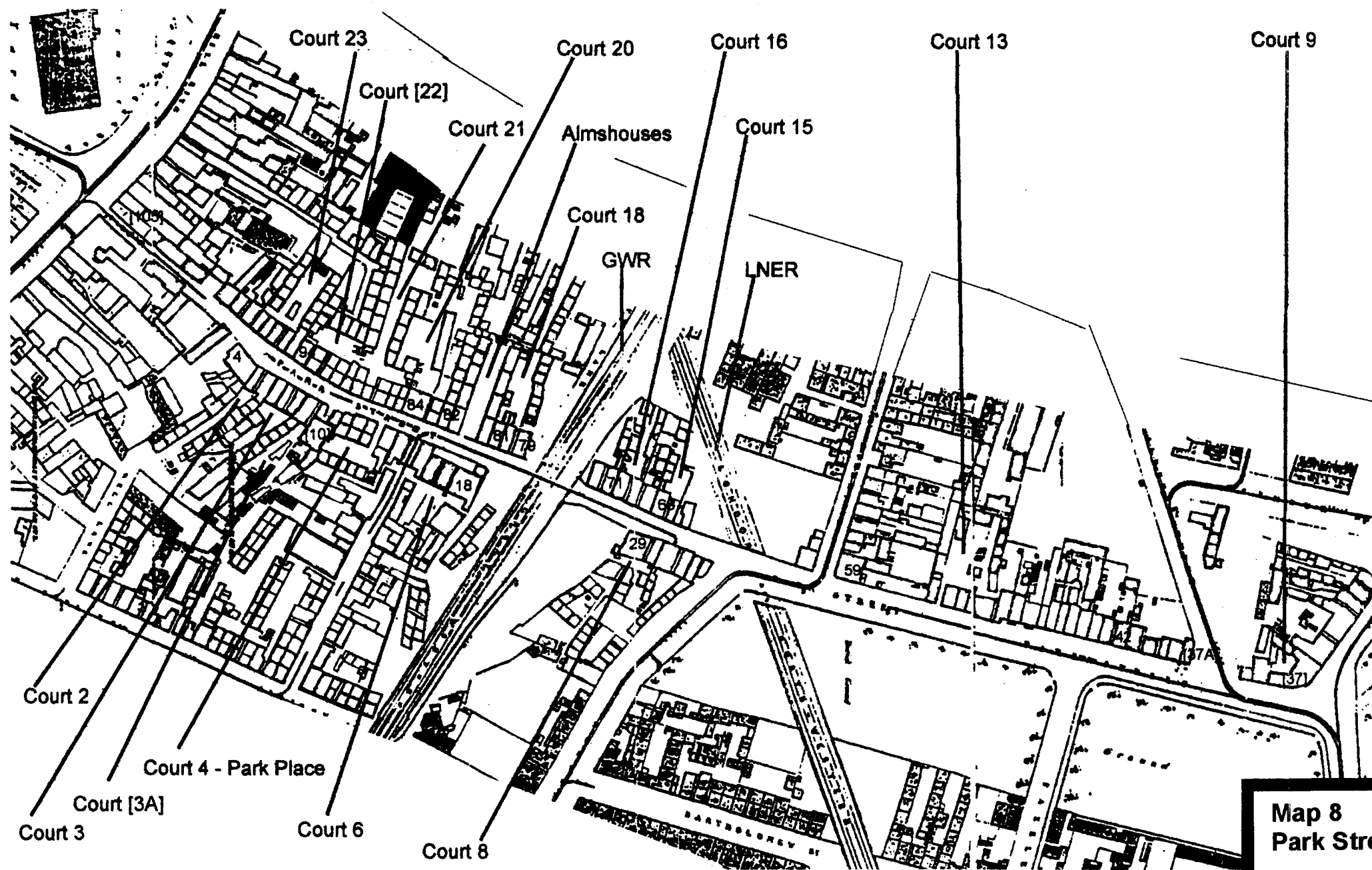


Map 6
London Prentice Street 1870
Source: 1870 Rates Map, BCL
LSD



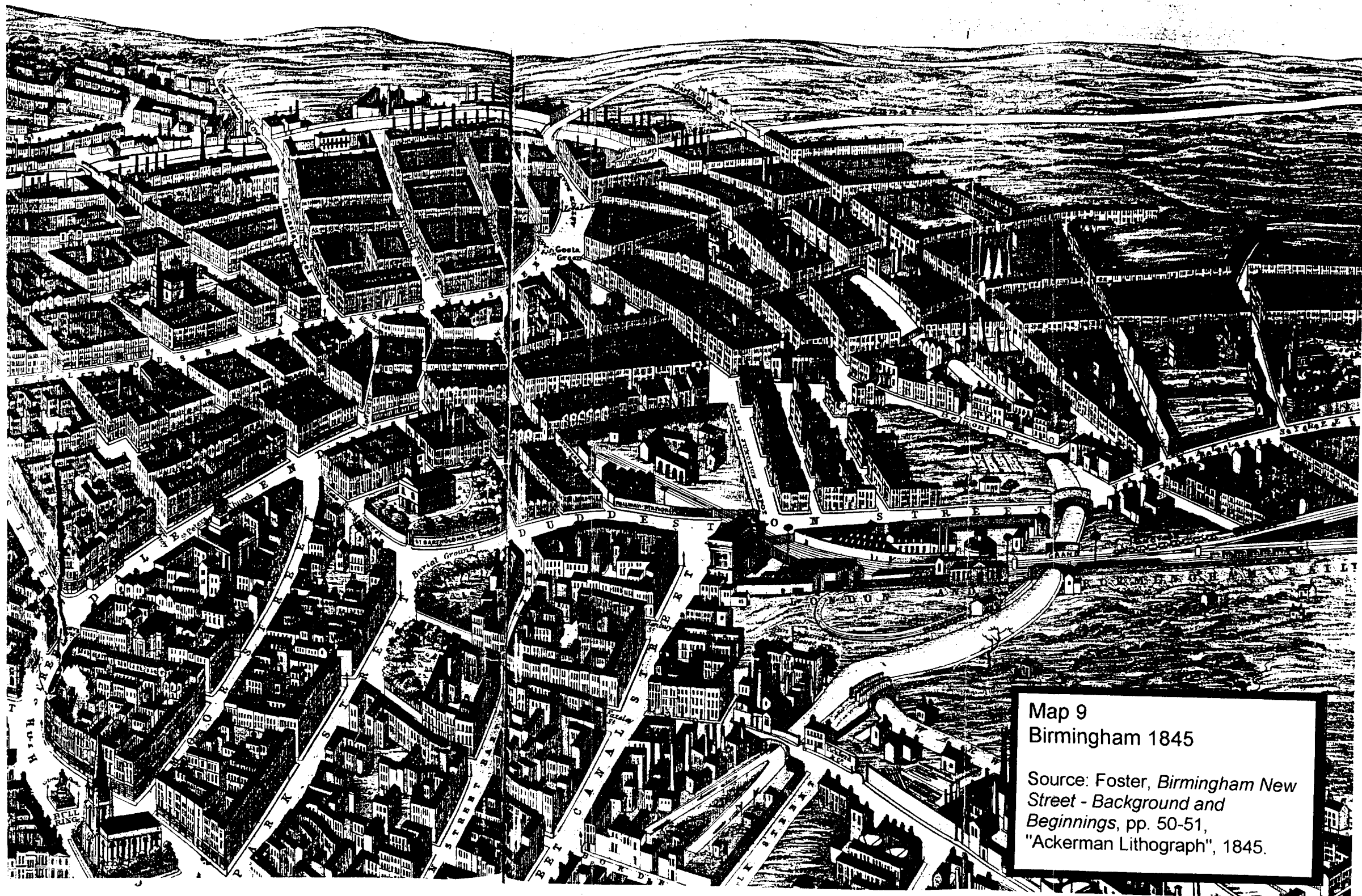
Map 7
Park Street 1855

Source: Smith, *Survey of Birmingham* (1855), sheets 111, 127 and 146, much reduced, BCL LSD.



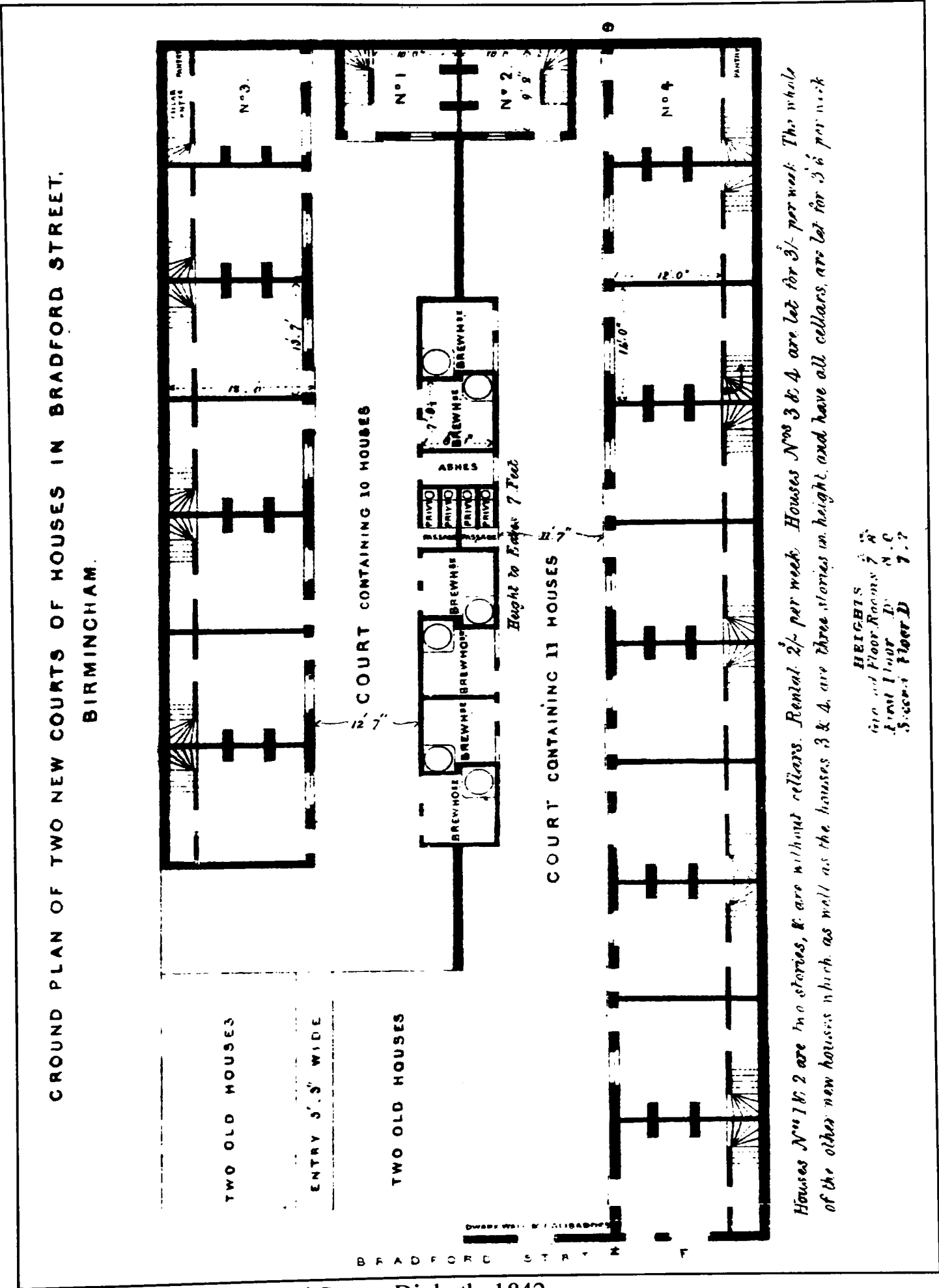
Map 8
Park Street 1861

Derived from Map 7, 1860 *Rates Book*, 1861 *Census enumerations* and contemporary directories.



Map 9
Birmingham 1845

Source: Foster, *Birmingham New Street - Background and Beginnings*, pp. 50-51, "Ackerman Lithograph", 1845.



New Court houses, Bradford Street, Digbeth, 1842
Source: 'Sanitary Condition 1842', p. 834

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