

**FROM MANCHESTER TO BURNLEY: SIR JAMES  
KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO  
THE MORAL AND PHYSICAL WELFARE OF THE POOR  
IN THE PERIODS 1828-1835 AND 1842-1877**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of MPhil at the  
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## Abstract

This study presents evidence that the noted Victorian educationalist, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, was willing and able to implement a number of his own theories designed to improve the moral and physical welfare of the poor. The thesis compares the time Kay-Shuttleworth spent in Manchester as a physician to the poor, and his own effort at social investigation that resulted in the publication of the pamphlet, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, with evidence from his activities in Burnley and Padiham, Lancashire, where he became a member of the landed elite due to his marriage. It is argued that after his retirement from public duties in 1849, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to fulfil the role of a paternalistic landowner, and attempted to use his own theories to improve the condition of the poor. He used his newly acquired disposable wealth to build upon the public recognition that his professional career had helped him to establish in order to interact with the poor. He consistently argued that educational provision was the most effective means of working class improvement. Kay-Shuttleworth also remained involved with issues in Manchester after he had moved away, becoming particularly active with the distribution of relief during the cotton famine. A continued involvement in national educational matters also later diverted Kay-Shuttleworth's attentions away from Burnley and Padiham, although he remained active in the improvement of the poor until his death in 1877.

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# Chapter One

## Introduction

This thesis will describe and assess Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's contributions to initiatives aimed at improving the moral and physical welfare of the poor both in Manchester, where he began his career as a physician and lived between 1828 and 1835, and in Burnley and Padiham, Lancashire, where Kay-Shuttleworth relocated in 1842 and remained until his death in 1877. It will examine Kay-Shuttleworth's activities in both of these areas, as well as investigating his continued involvement in Manchester even after he moved away. Examining these areas will allow for an assessment of Kay-Shuttleworth's interventions at a local level in physical reforms such as public health, and moral reforms such as education, as well as assessing how willing he was to actively contribute to improve conditions for the poor.

Kay-Shuttleworth was a hugely important and influential figure in Victorian social welfare. He was active in public health reforms, the implementation of the new Poor Law, and is widely regarded by historians as the founder of elementary education. Kay-Shuttleworth's professional career was illustrious and his public reputation notable. Furthermore, he was an upwardly mobile individual, who progressed from a lower middle class student doctor, through the ranks of the professional middle classes, to gain a prominent social position as a member of the traditional and established landed elite with huge disposable wealth. Such a journey is unusual, and provided Kay-Shuttleworth with many opportunities that make him a very intriguing character to study. Kay-Shuttleworth's background therefore deserves some consideration.

James Phillips Kay was born into a modest middle class family in Rochdale on 20 July, 1804, the oldest of six children.<sup>1</sup> Educated at Leaf Square Grammar School in Pendleton, a school set up solely for educating the children of Protestant Dissenters, Kay studied medicine at Edinburgh University between 1824 and 1827. Despite some ill health which would later blight his career, Kay graduated from the university with a Doctor of Medicine degree, and additionally sat a preliminary examination in the arts – a private examination held in the home of a professor designed to test medical knowledge, as well as literary

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<sup>1</sup> Note that James Phillips Kay became Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth as a result of his marriage in 1842. Therefore I will refer to 'Kay' before this date and 'Kay-Shuttleworth' afterwards.



attainments and Latin – which he passed.<sup>2</sup> As a student, he lived in the New Town part of the city amidst the middle classes, although he worked for several months with the poor at the Edinburgh New Town Dispensary, Queensbury Fever Hospital, and finally, as a clerk in the medical wards of the Royal Infirmary. In his autobiography, Kay discussed the people he met and the instances of poverty with which he became familiar in Edinburgh, suggesting that it was this experience that directed his interest in the moral and physical condition of the poor.<sup>3</sup> Upon leaving Edinburgh, Kay stated his principal concern was the welfare of the poor, ‘That with which I was chiefly concerned, was the depth of the impression...of the moral and physical evils which corrupted the lowest strata of the working class in our cities, and threatened to sap the energies of a larger part of the population.’<sup>4</sup>

With study complete, Kay moved closer to home and settled in Manchester in January 1828. Working at an independent dispensary in Ardwick and Ancoats, he was able to witness first-hand the appalling living conditions faced by the poor. In 1831, he was appointed to the Manchester Board of Health that was created to prevent the arrival of cholera, an experience that prompted Kay's own effort at social investigation. Consequently in 1832, Kay published *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*. In this pamphlet, Kay proposed public health reforms to improve the conditions of the poor, such as; better street planning, more adequate drainage and paving, the whitewashing of houses, and that landlords' should be personally responsible for their tenant's homes.

Although medicine and public health occupied most of Kay's time and efforts during this period, education also began to feature in Kay's thoughts, with the potential provision of a substantial political and general education for the poor explored in the pamphlet. Indeed, education as a tool to improve the condition of the poor would later become a main theme of Kay's professional career, and a topic he would continually return to.

Kay was living and working in a rapidly developing industrial Manchester, which although still small in comparison to its eventual growth, was 'already associated far outside its tangled administrative boundaries with size, with industry, with newness, with

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<sup>2</sup> Richard Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider* (Ilford: Woburn House, 1994) p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Barry Cambray Bloomfield (ed), *The autobiography of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth* (London: University of London, 1964), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 6.

squalor, and, above all else, with unfamiliar and, on occasion, alarming social relationships.<sup>5</sup> The Peterloo Massacre in 1819 contributed to Manchester's reputation as a politically reactionary town with a large and sometimes disruptive working population. As early as the 1780s writers described a "growing gulf" between rich and poor in the town, and by 1820 it was commonplace to attribute basic social and political differences to economic divisions of interest between mill owners and workers, factory hands and hand-loom weavers.<sup>6</sup> Part one of this thesis will explore Kay's professional career and the activities in which he was involved with against the backdrop of unease in order to assess how willing Kay was to interact with the poor. Additionally it will examine his ability to become actively involved with improving the moral and physical welfare of the poor in advance of his national endeavours that would bring him recognition and his marriage that would also supply him with considerable wealth and the influence required to improve their condition.

In 1835 Kay was appointed as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner and left Manchester behind for Norfolk. Kay was responsible for the formation of new Poor Law Unions, and expected to organise the election of Boards of Guardians, and ensure that an appropriate workhouse was built. Many attribute Kay's life-long interest in the importance of education to this role, as his attentions soon focused on separating adults and children in the workhouse, and bestowing children with training through the establishment of district schools. In his 1838 report on the *Training of Pauper Children*, Kay stated, 'the duty of providing a suitable training for pauper children is simple and positive' and that 'education was one of the most efficient antidotes to hereditary pauperism.'<sup>7</sup> This was one of Kay's most prominent theories regarding the improvement of the poor and reflecting on this later in later life, Kay wrote 'I had the strongest faith in the influence of intellectual education on the brain of a pauper child and that this stimulus, if accompanied by a steady training in a handicraft suited to implement habits of industry and to incite them to manual toll, would with suitable moral and religious education kill pauperism in the young.'<sup>8</sup>

Whilst waiting for the Poor Law Commission to consider his district schools proposal, Kay formed another of his key educational theories: the pupil-teacher system. Inspired by a trip to Scotland to examine schooling practices, Kay provided a number of his workhouse

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<sup>5</sup> Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1971), p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p.89.

<sup>7</sup> Kay, 'Report on the Training of Pauper Children' Poor Law Commission Report (1838) pp. 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Kay-Shuttleworth*, pp. 57-58.

schools in Norfolk with experienced teaching staff who had previously been pupils in the schools that he had visited. These students, termed “organizing masters”, gave the current (and usually pauper) schoolmaster instruction in the evening and typically spent two or three months teaching in a school before moving on, leaving their students to take over teaching responsibilities. According to Kay, the principle of an organizing master was 'a phenomenon in these small schools'<sup>9</sup> and 'the energy and enthusiasm of the organizing master were contagious qualities.....the school received a new life.'<sup>10</sup> Aside from this success, Kay also discovered that if a schoolmaster became ill, responsibility for conducting classes fell to a pauper student. Kay therefore observed the value of not only educating poor children to improve their position in society, but also in raising a considerable number of teachers out of the vast pauper class at low cost to the Guardians.

In 1838, Kay was relocated to London but his interest in further developing the pupil-teacher system continued. He formed several workhouse schools such as Limehouse, Edmonton and Fulham Road. However a school run by Mr Aubin in Norwood specifically caught Kay's attention as a way to demonstrate to Parliament the benefits of district schools. The Chief Commissioner applied to the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Lord John Russell), who appropriated £500 per annum to promote the trial of the experiment.<sup>11</sup> This money was used to finance the salaries of teachers who were sourced from schools in Scotland, and Norwood was transformed as desks and apparatus for the 1,100 students were purchased. The Admiralty provided a deck, bulwark, masts and rigging of a brig, which were set up in the playground, and a workshop was constructed to educate boys in a trade. Girls cleaned and waited on teaching staff and were schooled in domestic management and the care of infants.<sup>12</sup> Desperate for the experiment to succeed, Kay spent three afternoons a week at Norwood involved in the personal superintendence of all details, and every Friday, the establishment was visited by large numbers of interested people such as Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, landowners, social reformers, and educational enthusiasts.<sup>13</sup>

Kay's experiment at Norwood was deemed a success and in his 1839 report to the Poor Law Commissioners, Kay described the influence of the school on pupils;

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<sup>9</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 53.

<sup>11</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 40.

<sup>12</sup> Frank Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth* (London: John Murray, 1923), p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 41.

‘The effects of the industrial and moral training are stated by the teachers to be apparent in the improved habits of the children. As they are chiefly orphans, deserted, illegitimate, or the offspring of persons undergoing punishment for crime, they are, in fact, children of the dregs of the pauper population in London, and have for the most part, been reared in scenes of misery, vice and villainy.....The children now at least display in their features evidence of happiness, they have confidence in the kindness of all whom they are surrounded; their days pass in a cheerful succession of instruction, recreation, work, and domestic and religious duties, in which it is not found necessary to employ coercion to ensure order.’<sup>14</sup>

Aside from this success, Kay's pupil-teacher system also flourished with selected students given roles as “probationers”. They received extra tuition in the evenings, and were provided with a better diet, a uniform, and nicer lodgings as incentives.<sup>15</sup> The success of Norwood caught the attention of one of the visitors to the school, Lord Lansdowne, the influential Whig politician and Lord President of the Council. As a result, Kay was appointed as Secretary to the Privy Council on Education in April 1839. One of his first proposals was to introduce a system of government inspectors for schools. This became one of Kay's legacies in the system of popular education.

Following a tour to the continent to visit exceptional educational establishments with his Assistant Poor Law Commissioner colleague Carleton E Tufnell, Kay became especially impressed by the Swiss model of Training Colleges for teachers and decided to form one himself in England. Tufnell and Kay shared the financial burden, as they realised they could not hope for public money or private sponsors.<sup>16</sup> Battersea was chosen because the vicar, Hon and Rev Robert Eden offered his help in giving religious instruction, and there were suitable premises in the Old Manor House of Battersea. When Battersea College opened in February 1840, eight pupils from Norwood were transferred on seven year apprenticeships with the aim of preparing them as teachers for the workhouse, district schools, and schools of industry. Combining a rigorous timetable, weekly, quarterly, and annual examinations, Kay hoped to instruct boys and train them to become pupil-teachers at the local village school. As of January 1841, 24 boys aged 13 were in attendance. Students were given a uniform and meals, whilst learning and gardening occupied about fourteen hours a day. The routine at Battersea Training College also helped Kay to develop a further theory – examinations in education. Although processes of tests and certification were not unheard of, this idea was heavily expanded

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<sup>14</sup> Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP): 1839 *Fifth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners* (239) p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 48.

and implemented by Kay later in his life through the establishment of the East Lancashire Union, which is discussed at length in chapter five.

In addition to personally financing the college, Kay resided at Battersea and shared in the teaching. Furthermore, in 1840 he asked his mother and sister to relocate to partake in domestic duties at the college. Whilst there were critics of Kay's experiment at Battersea – some had doubts whether it could succeed when not sufficiently associated with a party – it was deemed a success as in November 1842, the Government agreed to support Battersea with a grant of £1,000 per annum, dependent on inspections. The first Government report in August 1843 stated, 'one cannot help feeling a peculiar interest in the progress and success of this institution, regarding it as established by two individuals, not of large means, but whose chief strength lay in the strong perceptions of, and sympathy with, the degraded and suffering condition of millions among their fellow citizens, and in their determination under Providence to contribute somewhat towards the achievement of a radical cure.'<sup>17</sup> Class relations is a key issue that this research must consider, as Kay's odd social trajectory placed him in an influential position that enabled him to be philanthropic and forge relationships with a range of people. Although he would go on to occupy a position of wealth that enabled him to use his social status as a benefit to others, the issue of the transactional nature of these relationships must be considered.

In 1839, when Kay was appointed to his role at the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, he suggested a system of inspectors and control for National Schools. Although mildly opposed at the time, the successes of Norwood and Battersea brought Kay some recognition as in the Minutes of 1846, his system of inspection was accepted and he adopted a number of measures intended to improve the quality of teaching whilst increasing financial support into schools. Kay suggested that in exchange for this money, the Education Committee would have a direct role in supervision and inspection.<sup>18</sup> In total, Kay spent ten years of his professional career working for the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, retiring due to ill health in 1849. The period was intense and saw Kay's attention shift from the issue of medicine and public health, to the cause of national education. Kay was hugely successful and received official recognition for his efforts, and was awarded a Baronetcy, 'for his able, enlightened and laborious exertions in the cause

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<sup>17</sup> *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1842-1843), pp. 60-117.

<sup>18</sup> *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1846), pp. 47-56.

of education.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the period being fraught with political agitation and social reform, between 1835 and 1849, Kay was able to implement his educational theories on a national stage. The impact of social stability and the context against which Kay was able to develop his theories for improving the conditions of the poor are important and must be considered. This research will also examine if Kay was able to translate his theories to a local level in Burnley and Padiham and obtain similar levels of success. This is a significant area of investigation, as due to his notable contributions to the development of an education system, Kay has received considerable attention from historians for his national endeavours, yet very little for his role and activities on a local level. Therefore this research will pay less attention to his professional career, and will instead offer a specialised study of Kay in a local setting with his contributions to initiatives to improve the moral and physical conditions of the poor in Burnley and Padiham from 1842 being a main focus. This is important, as such a study will make a significant contribution to our understanding of the past as it will reveal specific details about Kay that may otherwise remain hidden in the pages of local newspapers, and provide accurate and definitive evidence of how Kay was able to contribute to improving the welfare of the poor.

Part two of this thesis will focus on Kay after his retirement from public service and his involvements with the poor on a local level in Burnley and Padiham, to where he had relocated in March 1842 after marrying Janet Shuttleworth, heiress to the Gawthorpe estate. After this date, Kay became known as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. However he did not own the estate outright, and remained dependent on his wife's wealth throughout his lifetime. Kay-Shuttleworth's presence in Burnley and Padiham was at the expense of the Shuttleworth family whose wealth and prominence had been established thanks to their considerable landownership in the area.<sup>20</sup> The study will examine if Kay-Shuttleworth was able to play the role of a paternalistic landowner. Nevertheless, it must also be acknowledged that Kay-Shuttleworth's status was peculiar and precarious – starkly demonstrated when in 1872 he immediately passed the Gawthorpe estate on to his son Ughtred upon his wife's death, and he was forced to relocate to Barbon Manor near Kirby Lonsdale.

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<sup>19</sup> Walter Bennett, *History of Burnley Volume 4: 1850 onwards* (Burnley: Burnley Corporation, 1946), p. 246.

<sup>20</sup> Although it should be noted that the Shuttleworth's were not an aristocratic family in Lancashire, they were nonetheless considered significant landowners.

As poor health had forced Kay-Shuttleworth to retire from public service, he spent many of the following years renovating and managing his newly acquired responsibilities at Gawthorpe and focusing on the personal interests that he was able to pursue thanks to his public reputation as an education expert. The estate was, and still is, situated in an advantageous location to the east of Padiham, preventing any further expansion of Padiham and forming a divide between the town and boundaries of Burnley. Whilst Gawthorpe Hall is officially within Burnley, its position between the borders of the two areas meant Kay-Shuttleworth was able to become active in local matters in both towns. In 1842, when Kay-Shuttleworth arrived at Gawthorpe, both Padiham and Burnley were experiencing growths in population, although Burnley was the larger and more industrialised of the two. Baines' Directory of 1824 had classed Padiham as a 'considerable village'.<sup>21</sup> In the same volume, Burnley was described as 'a thriving market town and Chapelry, in the Parish of Whalley, and in the Hundred of Blackburn....The town contains 1055 houses, occupied by 1227 families, consisting of 6378 persons; of these families 23 are employed chiefly in agriculture; 1167 in trade, manufacture, or handicraft; and the remaining 37 are either engaged in professional pursuits, or unemployed.'<sup>22</sup> Recalling a visit to Padiham in 1823, John Ashworth was struck by the poverty faced by its inhabitants and stated, 'perhaps you in London will not exactly know what I mean by the word "poor". I will tell you. It is the master of the family not being able to earn more than 7s a week though he may have three or four children that cannot work.'<sup>23</sup> T.D Whitaker wrote in 1876 that upon reflection, he considered Padiham to be, 'the poorest village in Lancashire'.<sup>24</sup>

However, both areas were experiencing rapid growth during this period and in 1855, Mannex's Directory described Padiham as 'a large and populous village'<sup>25</sup> and by 1868, 'a small manufacturing town', demonstrating the town's ongoing development.<sup>26</sup> This is further reflected by its increasing population; 3,529 in 1831 and 6,941 in 1861.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, Burnley dwarfed Padiham and was a considerable manufacturing centre. Burnley had a population of 12,000 in 1831 and 34,000 in 1861.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Edward Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster Volume 2* (Liverpool: Wm Wales & Co, 1824). p. 561.

<sup>22</sup> Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of Lancaster 1824*, p. 563.

<sup>23</sup> James Ewart Jenkins, *The History of Unitarianism in Padiham, 1806-1906* (Accrington: James Broadly, 1906), p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *A History of the original Parish of Whalley and Honour of Clitheroe, 4<sup>th</sup> edition* (Manchester: G Routledge & Sons, 1876), p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> P. Mannex, *History, Topography, and Directory of Mid-Lancashire* (Preston: Mannex & Co, 1855).

<sup>26</sup> Mannex & Co, *Mannex's Directory of North and East Lancashire, 1868* (Preston: Mannex & Co, 1868).

<sup>27</sup> Census Enumerators Books (hereafter CEBs): 1831 and 1861.

<sup>28</sup> Eric Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State 1783-1870* (London: Longman, 2001), p. 407.

Examination of Kay-Shuttleworth's activities in both areas between 1842 and his death in 1877 will allow for discussion of the extent to which he was able to implement the theories that Kay-Shuttleworth formed during his career. Furthermore, it prompts a discussion on the issue of paternalism, and how, if at all, Kay-Shuttleworth used his elevated social position and the newly acquired disposable wealth of his wife to fulfil the role of a fatherly figure to the poor in the local area.

Part two will also examine how in later years, Kay-Shuttleworth was often diverted from his local involvements to play a leading role in other activities on a wider and more public stage. For example, he was involved in the Central Relief Committee in Manchester between 1862 and 1876, and stood as a second Liberal candidate during the North East Lancashire elections in 1874, being just 77 votes away from becoming a Member of Parliament. His interests were also diverted towards other educational and social establishments across the country during this period.

Throughout his life Kay-Shuttleworth also published many books and articles relating to his passion for education, public health reform, and medicine.<sup>29</sup> These documents will be considered throughout the thesis, as they provide primary evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth's own theories and interests. However, it is essential that this research does not become a biographical study. It should rather be a specialised study of Kay-Shuttleworth's activities in a local setting to contrast with existing work on his national endeavours, and must concentrate on his interventions at a local level and discuss his willingness to be involved with the improvement of conditions for the poor.

In summary, this thesis will examine two distinct periods in Kay-Shuttleworth's life: 1828 to 1835 in Manchester; and his time spent living at Gawthorpe between 1842 and 1877, as both these episodes provide clear and empirical evidence of what Kay-Shuttleworth did to improve the welfare of the poor in a local setting. The period spent establishing his professional career between the years 1835 and 1849 has been discussed during this chapter and is of little further relevance to this specialised local study, as much work has already been completed on the subject. Instead, this research will form a unique contribution to our knowledge of the past by examining the previously overlooked period

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<sup>29</sup> A full list can be found in Appendix A.



that Kay-Shuttleworth spent in Burnley and Padiham, and the role that he occupied. Kay-Shuttleworth was an important figure in Victorian social reform, and experienced an extraordinary journey from a lower middle class student to a member of one of the wealthiest and oldest Lancastrian families. It is therefore important that the research also examines how willing he was to contribute to initiatives to improve the moral and physical conditions of the poor and if he was able to implement his own theories and achieve the same level of success locally that he did on a national level.

The next chapter will examine existing literature relevant to this study, with a particular focus on Kay-Shuttleworth and the aforementioned issues of social stability, class relations and paternalism.

## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

This literature review will examine the main themes that contribute to this thesis. Firstly, it will discuss Kay-Shuttleworth himself as he is so central to the thesis. Secondly, due to Kay-Shuttleworth's role as a member of the local elite in Burnley and Padiham, and his involvement with improving the conditions of the poor, the chapter will explore the theme of paternalism. Finally, literature on the issues of social stability and class relations will be considered due to the atmosphere of reform and unrest that was ever present during the period when Kay-Shuttleworth was actively implementing his theories for the improvement of the poor.

#### **Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth**

Frank Smith's *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth* (1923) and Richard Selleck's *James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider* (1995) are the main biographical sources published on Kay-Shuttleworth. They are both valuable for the information they provide on the early life and professional career of Kay-Shuttleworth.

Smith's work on Kay-Shuttleworth is substantive, and was completed with the help of James' son, Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth. He also uses a great deal of the incomplete autobiography that Kay-Shuttleworth began in 1875 in his book. However, Smith apportions over half of his 350 pages to Kay-Shuttleworth's ten years spent at the education office as he states this was the main focus of Kay-Shuttleworth's life. Whilst education was undoubtedly one of Kay-Shuttleworth's main passions and is a key theme of this research, Smith's focus on the years 1839 to 1849 highlights the existing gaps in knowledge of Kay-Shuttleworth's activities on a local level after his retirement from public service.

Selleck presents a wider study of Kay-Shuttleworth, although there is still a clear focus on his professional career. Selleck describes Kay-Shuttleworth as an "outsider" who despite his upward social trajectory and his major contribution to the cause of education, never achieved the acceptance he craved from his social peers. Both studies neglect the 34 years Kay-Shuttleworth spent in Burnley and Padiham, and ignore the ways in which he

interacted with the poor and sought to implement his own theories regarding their improvement.

Others have also discussed Kay-Shuttleworth in their historical research, particularly his contributions to the cause of education. For example, Hugh Pollard has written a great deal about Kay-Shuttleworth's interest in the provision of education that began when he was appointed as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in 1835.<sup>30</sup> Trygve Tholfsen considers Kay-Shuttleworth's approach to education and paternalism stating that he did not use education as a weapon in the class struggle, but instead, on occasion, transcended the limitations inherent in his middle-class outlook, sometimes seeing education as a means of combatting working class indolence and immorality.<sup>31</sup>

A great deal of historical debate has focused on the pamphlet Kay produced in 1832, *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*. G M Young considers the pamphlet to be, 'a cardinal document of Victorian history.'<sup>32</sup> Richard Johnson examines Kay's role as a social reformer in Manchester, and Asa Briggs states the popularity of Kay's pamphlet lay in interest from other doctors who were keen to explore the unknown and hidden side of Manchester that was not often experienced by the casual spectator or visitor.<sup>33</sup> Kay's views on the Irish population in Manchester have also prompted discussion, as he frequently uses the pamphlet to blame the Irish for the moral and physical degradation of the English labouring classes. John Walton attributes the widely held negative view of the Irish expressed in the mid-nineteenth century to early social commentators such as Kay, and Busted and Hodgson discuss the damaging nature of Kay's pamphlet on the Irish migrant population of Manchester.<sup>34</sup> They hold Kay responsible for the spread of negativity towards the Irish because of the popularity of the pamphlet by other analysts who, 'almost without exception....lifted passages from it, including the vivid descriptions of the Irish and their living conditions, and helped broadcast and fix a negative stereotype of the Irish migrant in nineteenth century British urban areas.'<sup>35</sup> More recently, Frank Emmett has suggested that by using the Irish as a representative of the entire working class population, Kay

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<sup>30</sup> Hugh Pollard, *Pioneers of Popular Education* (London: John Murray, 1956).

<sup>31</sup> Tholfsen, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth on Popular Education* (London: Teachers College Press, 1974) p. 45.

<sup>32</sup> G.M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (Oxford: Oxford University of Press, 1964), p. 26.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Johnson, 'Educational policy and social control in early Victorian England', *Past and Present* 49 (1970), pp. 96-119 and Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 105.

<sup>34</sup> John Walton, *Lancashire: A social history 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 285.

<sup>35</sup> M.A. Busted, and R.I. Hodgson, 'Irish migrant responses to urban life in early nineteenth-century Manchester', *The Geographical Journal* 162 (1996), pp. 139-153.

constructed 'a totemic figure, an amoral and dangerously devolving bogeyman (Irish or Irish-influenced), that could destroy society.'<sup>36</sup>

Mary Poovey notes the combination of Kay's use of statistics and narrative in the pamphlet. She suggests that Kay 'repeatedly supplemented his statistical tables with anecdotes, because the former could not achieve what the latter could do so well – move its readers to tears or action.'<sup>37</sup> Whilst Kay's motivations for producing the pamphlet are debatable, he nonetheless provides the reader with several proposed solutions for improving the conditions of the poor. Tholfsen argues that even at this early stage, education was Kay's primary answer to improve the moral and physical problems faced by the poor, as education could enable the working class to understand their true interests and reject radical political arguments.<sup>38</sup> Paz attributes the change in emphasis from public health to education to the Reform Bill crisis of 1830-1823 which shook Kay from his medical world and forced him to consider wider political problems.<sup>39</sup> However, Selleck believes that due to Kay's medical career and the instances of poverty he encountered as a physician, it was actually sanitary improvements that were of prime importance to Kay at this time.<sup>40</sup>

Emmett has argued that an understanding of the pamphlet must be grounded in a careful analysis of the text itself and of its relationship to the Manchester of 1832. He also discusses the statistical evidence presented by Kay, deeming it 'weak' and 'inadequate'.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, he suggests that Kay strains the limits of what constitutes objectivity under the guise of statistical and medical authority.<sup>42</sup> In summary, the pamphlet and its content has caused debate amongst historians, making it a crucial part of this research as it is evidence of Kay's willingness to work with the poor and provide solutions for their improvement. However despite these interesting studies, there is a clear focus on Kay-Shuttleworth's achievements on a national scale and his contribution through the publication of the pamphlet, and gaps of knowledge exist in terms of the treatment of his role at a local level and examining the various reform initiatives he was involved with.

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<sup>36</sup> Frank Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 162 (2013), p. 218.

<sup>37</sup> Mary Poovey, 'Grand Narrative of Historical Overdetermination?' in J. Chandler et al (eds), *Questions of Evidence, Proof, Practise and Persuasion Across Disciplines* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), p. 431.

<sup>38</sup> Tholfsen, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Denis G. Paz, 'Sir James Kay Shuttleworth: The man behind the myth', *History of Education* 14 (1985) p. 187.

<sup>40</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, pp. 66-71.

<sup>41</sup> Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', pp.185-219.

<sup>42</sup> Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', p. 207.

Whilst few historians have examined Kay-Shuttleworth's role in Burnley and Padiham, John Dunleavy has extensively researched his role in the formation of the East Lancashire Union.<sup>43</sup> Walter Bennett also discusses Kay-Shuttleworth's belief that town authorities in Burnley should have provided education to enable the poor to improve their position in life.<sup>44</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth and the theme of education seem inextricably linked, with the provision of an education for the poor just as important to Kay-Shuttleworth later in his life as it was earlier in the century.

Paz has also written of Kay-Shuttleworth's role as a paternalistic landowner, claiming that he became particularly sympathetic towards the poor later in life.<sup>45</sup> Selleck and Paz both attribute this to Kay-Shuttleworth's fear of losing his wealth and status, and suggest that he was aware, and furthermore extremely fearful of the threat of losing his position in society because of his personal experiences. Selleck also comments that Kay-Shuttleworth was often viewed as unpopular and an outsider amongst his peers due to a compulsive desire to control every area of his life and retain his position as a member of the traditional landed elite in Lancashire.<sup>46</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth the novelist has also been considered by historians. The novels, *Scarsdale, or Life on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Border* (1860) and *Ribblesdale, or Lancashire Sixty Years Ago* (1874), were preceded by a third, *Cromwell in the North, 1648 – A Story* (although this attempt at literary success was unsuccessful and the novel was not accepted for publication). Whilst Kay-Shuttleworth failed to make any noticeable impact as an author, the novels nonetheless contain some important points worthy of note, not least for their descriptions of Lancashire and class relationships in the early nineteenth century. Heather Sharps has written extensively on Kay-Shuttleworth's literary adventures describing how in *Scarsdale*, education is once again of prime importance to Kay-Shuttleworth and how in the idealised world in which he set his prose, knowledge of politics and religion united the working classes and 'acted as a civilizing force'.<sup>47</sup>

*Scarsdale* also highlights the positive relationship between worker, landlord, and aristocracy, which is reflective of the role that Kay-Shuttleworth held in 1860. Connections

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<sup>43</sup> John Dunleavy. (1983) *The provision of education for working people in institutes in North East Lancashire 1857-1872*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Leeds: UK.

<sup>44</sup> Bennett, *The History of Burnley, Volume 4: 1850 onwards*, p. 246.

<sup>45</sup> Paz, 'Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth' p. 191.

<sup>46</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 404.

<sup>47</sup> Heather Sharps, 'The educational and social context of Kay-Shuttleworth's novels', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 13 (1981), p. 4.

can also be drawn from the fiction and the real life speeches Kay-Shuttleworth gave. For instance, Sharps refers to one of Kay-Shuttleworth's addresses to working men's institutions and his admiration for those members of the working class who bettered themselves and rose to a position of wealth and influence.<sup>48</sup> *Ribblesdale* contains similar sentiments, especially regarding the poor. Again, there are similarities between real life and literary imagination. By this point (1874), Kay-Shuttleworth had played a major part in the systems of relief formed due to the cotton famine, and a similar situation occurs in *Ribblesdale*. The relationship between classes is perhaps more notable in *Ribblesdale*, but education still plays a part in both novels, and both *Scarsdale* and *Ribblesdale* echo Kay-Shuttleworth's personal outlooks and views.<sup>49</sup>

## Paternalism

As has been stated, the concept of paternalism is important to this study due to Kay-Shuttleworth's role in Burnley and Padiham as a new member of the traditional landed elite. As a landowner, Kay-Shuttleworth had certain responsibilities within the local area which placed him in a powerful and influential position. Beckett states that the land-owning families of England had a specific role to play – 'essentially a paternalistic one designed to cement the ties of social deference. To this end their duties included both the formal and informal channels of local control.'<sup>50</sup> This enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to form paternalistic relationships with his employees, tenants and with local people in difficult times such as the cotton famine, as well as with the students who attended the various educational establishments that he would form.

Joyce suggests that paternalism can be expressed as, 'validation of a sense of superiority, of being master in one's factory just as in one's own home...in terms of the class situation of the employers, paternalism stored up an often perilously unsteady social standing, and offered a means of both aping and rivalling landed society.'<sup>51</sup> Although traditional landed aristocracy still existed in formidable pockets of wealth and influence during the mid-Victorian period, there was also a newly formed class of industrialists and professional businessmen who had risen through the classes to own cotton mills and

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<sup>48</sup> Sharps, 'The educational and social content', p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Ribblesdale: Or Lancashire Sixty years ago* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1874) and James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Scarsdale: Or Life on the Lancashire and Yorkshire border, thirty years ago*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1860).

<sup>50</sup> John Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980), p. 134.

employ a large number of the working class. As a result of their own, rapid, upward social migration, many feared losing their newly acquired social status although in many cases, they also felt a moral responsibility to provide for their employees. Timmins, however, refutes the notion that factory owners usually came from humble beginnings, and describes the early Lancashire factory owners as, 'men of substance, often having established themselves as successful businessmen within the textile industry.'<sup>52</sup> Walton takes into account the effects that national and global events had on various Lancashire towns, and examines the period in great depth. He suggests there were vast differences between the working classes in cotton towns and those in different occupations in other parts of England.<sup>53</sup> Thus, in the cotton district, wages were considerably higher and the working classes were thoroughly assimilated into economic and political systems. As a result, the poor had higher aspirations of upward social mobility and self improvement through such things as education and cultural advancement. Earlier in the century, the potential for social instability due to rapid industrialization had created a situation that required action from the wealthy who wished to protect themselves from any working class revolt, and paternalism was a way in which to manage this fear. F.M.L. Thompson agrees that industrialization added to fear of revolution and the new class of capitalists therefore looked to the upper echelons of landed society as the only reliable guardians of property and order.<sup>54</sup> Traditional class relationships and boundaries therefore still existed and were respected, and this added to the establishment of social stability.

Roberts suggests that paternalism was a two way process, and that in the nineteenth century it had mutual obligations for the poor as well as the wealthy. He suggests that the poor were expected to play their part in the relationship by offering conscientious service, promptness, politeness, and deference in order to maintain a well-ordered society.<sup>55</sup> This is a view that Shapely concurs with, believing that charity required a transaction between rich and poor that was dependent on deference and civility.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, Joyce suggests that paternalism was a means of enforcing industrial discipline and maintaining class boundaries, as the factory was at the centre of workers' lives.<sup>57</sup> However, Joyce argues that from this, the act of paternalism could be expanded to offer treats such as excursions,

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<sup>52</sup> Geoffrey Timmins, *Four Centuries of Lancashire Cotton* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1996), p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History*, p. 284.

<sup>54</sup> Francis Michael Longstreth Thompson, *English Landed Society in the nineteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1971), p. 184.

<sup>55</sup> David Roberts, *Paternalism in early Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1979), p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Shapely, 'Urban Charity, Class Relations and Social Cohesion: Charitable Responses to the Cotton Famine.' *Urban History* 28 (2001), p. 49.

<sup>57</sup> Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, p. 152.

and educational establishments such as libraries and reading rooms. In general, it became the rule rather than the exception for larger employers to offer a social and cultural education to their workforce. The growing recognition that education and social awareness were a way to help develop the poor and the provision of alternative ways to spend time away from the factory was also a consequence of this.

Taylor suggests that in Burnley, the development of a system of employer paternalism did not occur until after 1870 because the town had a much larger proportion of newly arrived employers who could not fulfil the paternalistic roles of employers in Blackburn, or in other Lancastrian towns such as Preston and Bolton. It therefore fell to the landed elites, such as Kay-Shuttleworth, to maintain social stability and offer security via paternalistic relationships.<sup>58</sup> Beckett concurs, stating that 'the middle class, in the form in which it emerged in the early nineteenth century, showed relatively little desire to displace the entrenched aristocracy; indeed, after achieving political representation in 1832 the group turned out to be a remarkably conservative force.'<sup>59</sup> Counce, however, states that the commitment of firms to their town or area was usually heavy, as it was often the owners' home, and the business was their sole source of income. There was therefore a demand on them as employers to create successful business.<sup>60</sup> Regardless, Beckett argues that the emergent middle class, and the working class to a lesser degree, tolerated the status quo and hierarchical nature of Victorian society.<sup>61</sup> Whilst the Kay-Shuttleworths were not members of the aristocracy, they were nonetheless considerable landowners with a similar place in local society. Therefore this suggests that in Burnley and Padiham, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to fall naturally into a paternalistic role – he was keen to establish his place in society, seemingly willing to implement his theories to improve the welfare of the poor, and furthermore it was a role that a figure in his position was expected to play. The research will examine if this was true, and if Kay-Shuttleworth was able to fulfil such a role on a local level, despite not being from the area and marrying into wealth and status.

## **Social Stability and Class Relations**

There is also much debate amongst historians regarding the issue of social stability and class relations during the nineteenth century. The reasons for social stability – the

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<sup>58</sup> Peter Taylor, *Popular Politics in Early Industrial Britain: Bolton 1825-1850* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995) p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Steve Counce, 'Northern English industrial towns: rivals or partners?' *Urban History* 30 (2003), p. 344.

<sup>61</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 1.



traditional view of economic improvement, or the more modern view that it was a combination of factors – will be discussed in this chapter. Burnley provides an interesting case study in which to discuss this issue, as Joyce states that it was only after 1870 that social harmony was achieved in the town.<sup>62</sup> Taylor concurs that stability was delayed because of late technological advances in Burnley.<sup>63</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth moved to Gawthorpe in 1842 and was therefore a resident of the town and attempted to implement his theories for the improvement of the poor during a period of reform. He was also working in Manchester during the unrest caused by the Reform Act of 1832 and other political agitation, such as the Ten Hour Bill that resulted in the 1833 Factory Act. Kay-Shuttleworth was therefore working against a backdrop of potential unrest making the issue of social stability particularly important.

In general, the Lancashire cotton towns have been used as examples of discontinuities in working class behaviour during the mid-Victorian period. Taylor has written extensively on the social transformations that took place in Bolton, but concedes that the weight and priority of these factors are open to debate and discussion by historians.<sup>64</sup> The mid-Victorian period was stable because of cordial labour relations, a decline of militant working class political agitation, the assimilation of the working classes into the two party system, the ascendancy of middle class values to a position of dominance in English society, and finally, the passing of the old form of traditional aristocratic governance.

Joyce has also written of social stability developments focusing his research on Blackburn, using the town to demonstrate that the onset of social stability was inextricably linked with technological changes through the introduction of machinery that revolutionized the industrial process.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, Joyce argues that this changed the control of the productive process from labour to capital, and thus, led to the end of class hostility and instead, to a complex yet beneficial system of employer paternalism and worker deference. Both Taylor and Joyce also write about the political environment in Burnley. Taylor states that social stability in the town was delayed because the introduction of machinery was later, and as such, hand working traditions survived longer. Thus, radical politics continued to make an impact and henceforth delayed the transition to social harmony. Joyce concurs that it was only after 1870 that unionism made headway in the

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<sup>62</sup> Joyce, *Work, Society, and Politics*, p. 148.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *Popular Politics in Early Industrial Britain*, p. 13.

<sup>64</sup> Taylor, *Politics in Early Industrial Britain*, p. 22.

<sup>65</sup> Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, p. 57.

town, due in part to the ongoing tradition of radicalism.

There is also a great deal of debate regarding the extent to which class relations mellowed after 1850. Cannadine, in *Class in Britain*, suggests that there was a mutually beneficial system in place between the working and middle classes, and after 1851 came a period of stability and compromise in which classes resolved to live side by side rather than clash.<sup>66</sup> Conversely, Joyce suggests that conflict in industrial relations continued after 1850 and trade unions were potential organs of class struggle, yet he also concedes that there was a significant reduction in the frequency and intensity of industrial conflict. However, Kirk suggests trade unions were insufficiently advanced to contain industrial conflict until at least 1870, and until this date, conflict continued at a level that dispels Joyce's portrayal of widespread class harmony and internalized worker deference.<sup>67</sup>

The theoretically simplistic and traditional view that the onset of social stability was primarily attributed to straightforward economic improvement has in recent years been proven empirically unsound. In more recent times, historians have discussed the way in which economic improvement played a part in the growth of social stability, but within a complicated framework of analysis that considers material advances, class concessions and an expansion of capitalist market relations. Although there are many counter arguments, historians suggest the rise to dominance of the relatively privileged "labour aristocracy", able to impose its moderate views on the rest of the workforce, a mellowing of middle class attitudes and behaviour, and a consolidation of employer paternalism, more benign social policies, and a more interested working class in the middle class political framework because of tensions between the Irish and other working class communities, were all factors that contributed to improvements in class relations and social stability.

In his work, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution*, Foster disagrees with the traditional suggestion that economic improvement was the sole factor in establishing social stability, although he concedes that in Oldham, it undoubtedly led to a lessening of unemployment and distress.<sup>68</sup> However, economic improvement can only be a partial explanation; as such changes could not have been quick enough to produce shifts in working class attitudes and behaviour by 1850. Joyce agrees stating that prosperity

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<sup>66</sup> David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), p. 58.

<sup>67</sup> Neville Kirk, *Change, Continuity and Class: Labour in British Society, 1850-1920* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 22.

<sup>68</sup> Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), p. 50.

enhanced, rather than created, social stability.

In his classic essay of 1954, Hobsbawm argues that the benefits of economic prosperity were not universally felt, but the benefits were instrumental in blunting the revolutionary potential of the working class.<sup>69</sup> These benefits, Hobsbawm argues, were distinguished by higher wages earned by the "aristocracy of labour", the new group of skilled workers who had moderate political views which were then imposed on the mass of workers. Foster concurs that the "labour aristocracy" was formed and emerged due to new systems of labour control in the workplace following technological advancements. He defines this group as a 'segment of workers stripped of craft control, exercising discipline over the mass of semi and unskilled workers on behalf of capital, and altogether firmly identified with the culture and interest of employers.'<sup>70</sup>

Joyce, however, criticizes Foster's view, suggesting that the labour aristocracy theory is irrelevant for the cotton districts in Lancashire, stating, 'there are no grounds for imagining that the revolutionary, class conscious potential of the majority was choked back by a reformist labour aristocracy.'<sup>71</sup> Joyce is therefore arguing that the labour aristocrats were not moderate, but actually at the forefront of radical politics. Kirk also disagrees with Foster, believing the labour aristocracy were not the preserves he claims.<sup>72</sup>

Due to the lack of agreement on the labour aristocracy theory and its role in the establishment of social stability, wider frameworks of explanation have emerged from other historians. For example, Steadman Jones has developed a framework of analysis that associates the mellowing of class relations with changes in British capitalism, paying particular attention to two developments - firstly, a new stage of industrialisation which brought stabilisation to capitalist and market relations, and secondly, the link between the onset of moderate reformism with changes in the organisation and execution of work.<sup>73</sup>

Certainly the concept of stable society is a highly debated issue. Its general establishment is worthy of much consideration, but its occurrence in Lancashire, and particularly Burnley and Padiham is important as Kay-Shuttleworth lived in the town for

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<sup>69</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964).

<sup>70</sup> John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution* (London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1979), pp. 224-38.

<sup>71</sup> Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, p. xiv.

<sup>72</sup> Kirk, *Change, Continuity and Class*, p. 35.

<sup>73</sup> Gareth Steadman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 63-65.

over thirty years, during a period of reform that saw incorporation and huge public health improvements. Furthermore, Kay-Shuttleworth resided in Manchester during an unstable and volatile period in the early part of the century, and it was against this difficult backdrop that many of Kay-Shuttleworth's theories for improving the welfare of the poor were formed, and the context in which he attempted to introduce them into local life in Burnley and Padiham. However, Evans states that Britain in 1860 was demonstratively more secure compared to earlier in the century as in the 1830s and 1840s the ruling classes feared for their safety.<sup>74</sup> This may have enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to seize upon his advanced status when in Burnley and Padiham, and spend more time implementing his theories for improving the conditions facing the poor, and consequently made him more willing to act on their behalf.

In conclusion, the aforementioned secondary literature has identified the main areas of debate that impact upon this research. The central theme is Kay-Shuttleworth himself, his ideas and theories for the improvement of the poor, and how willing he was to implement these on a local level.

Paternalism will also be an important issue due to Kay-Shuttleworth's role in providing solutions to ease the moral and physical suffering of the poor. In his position as a member of traditional landed authority, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to fulfil a philanthropic role that enabled him to implement his own theories for improving the welfare of the poor. Additionally, he was also able to play a paternal role in Manchester even after he had left the town, and his involvement in the relief of the cotton famine provides an opportunity to examine the role he had in a period of tremendous distress, when the importance of the relationship between worker and employer were greatly intensified.

Social stability and the development of class relations are also important areas that must be examined for this research. Beckett suggests that stability occurred because each class showed no desire to displace the entrenched upper classes, stating that the 'aristocracy expected to govern, and were accepted as governors since they represented the collective wisdom of the ages.'<sup>75</sup> However, both Joyce and Taylor suggest that social harmony was not achieved in Burnley until the 1870s, although this research will examine Kay-Shuttleworth's role in creating an element of traditional authority and stability between

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<sup>74</sup> Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, p. 276.

<sup>75</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 11.

the poor and the upper classes when he first arrived at Gawthorpe Hall in 1842. It will also examine the proposals for better class relations that Kay-Shuttleworth put forward himself in his 1832 pamphlet, and if he was able to implement these theories successfully.

Identifying relevant secondary literature also exposes current gaps in knowledge and demonstrates a need for this research, as most existing studies focus solely on Kay-Shuttleworth's professional career with little regard for his activities on a local level, despite this period of his life spanning for almost thirty five years. The next chapter will examine the sources and methods that will be used in this thesis, detailing the main primary sources available and the methodological issues they present.

# Chapter Three

## Sources and Methods

This chapter will discuss the primary sources upon which this research is based. The three main sources that will be used throughout this thesis are newspapers, manuscript papers such as minute books of the Burnley Mechanics' Institute, Burnley Relief Committee, and Burnley Union Board of Guardians and finally, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's own publications that present details of his personal opinions. These sources will also be supplemented by information from the parliamentary papers, census enumerators books (CEBs), town directories, and private correspondence. However, these are minor sources, and the main focus of this chapter will be the methodological issues presented by the foremost sources - newspapers, minute books, and Kay-Shuttleworth's own publications.

### Newspapers

The nineteenth century saw massive developments in British newspapers. Expansion in technology increased the speed and lowered the cost of printing, and the telegraph changed the nature of news reporting, allowing stories to spread faster and from further afield.<sup>76</sup> Additionally, the repeal of the stamp duty in 1836 further reduced costs, and an increase in advertising attracted revenue. As a result, the provincial newspaper blossomed. Indeed, the number of British titles increased by 300 per cent nationwide.<sup>77</sup> The construction of an efficient rail system also made the distribution of newspapers quicker and easier, enabling a wider, regional focus with reporting on social events, court proceedings and council meetings providing the provincial newspaper with a clear advantage over its London rivals. The reading public was expanded due to improving literacy rates, and this not only increased distribution of the newspaper, but also added to content as the public demanded an entertaining and cheap read.<sup>78</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, there was also an increase in editorial independence from party political control; although many saw the nineteenth century newspaper as a Liberal, democratic phenomenon, by mid-century, many newspapers held a more neutral voice

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<sup>76</sup> A. Gruffydd Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, power and the public in nineteenth century England* (Michigan: Scholar Press, 1996), p. 23.

<sup>77</sup> Gruffydd Jones, *Powers of the Press*, p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> Gruffydd Jones, *Powers of the Press*, p. 25.

rather than speaking on behalf of a particular political faction.<sup>79</sup>

The main newspapers that existed in Manchester during 1828 to 1835 are all available online. The *Manchester Guardian* was founded in 1821 by John Edward Taylor. The paper's intention was the promotion of the Liberal interest in the aftermath of Peterloo and aimed to find new journalistic talent. It was published weekly until 1836, when it began to be published on both a Wednesday and on a Saturday until 1855 when it became daily thanks to the abolition of Stamp Duty which permitted a reduction in price. Taylor was a nonconformist Liberal, and a moderate supporter of reform.

The *Manchester Courier* was a daily newspaper founded by Thomas Fowler in 1825. The paper was initially formed in order to act as opposition to the reforms proposed by the *Manchester Guardian*. The newspaper eventually became known as the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* and ceased publication in 1916. The *Manchester Times* was a weekly newspaper, published from 1828 to 1922. It became known as the *Manchester Times and Gazette* in 1831, and was renowned for having radical opinions, especially those of its editor Archibald Prentice who proclaimed John Edward Taylor insufficiently qualified to be editor of the competing *Manchester Guardian*. The newspaper merged in 1859, becoming the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, followed by the *Manchester Weekly Examiner and Times* in 1856, and finally the *Manchester Weekly Times and Examiner* in 1858.

During the later period that will be considered, *The Manchester Evening News* was also founded. First published in 1868 by the Scott Trust, this paper is still printed today and is the largest regional evening newspaper in Britain. Manchester therefore had several newspapers that offered an insight into activities and events in the town.

In Burnley and Padiham, the Conservative *Burnley Advertiser* was the most prominent newspaper. Established in 1852 by Thomas Bell Spencer, it was originally styled as the *Burnley Advertiser and East Lancashire Gazette*, was four pages long and cost 1d. Printed monthly by William Waddington, the newspaper provided a summary of local events. The first edition was delivered free to 2,000 homes in and around Burnley. Spencer was a weaver, who had moved to Burnley in the early 1830s, and was self-educated. In 1856, publication became weekly and the *Burnley Advertiser* continued in circulation until 1880,

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<sup>79</sup> Gruffydd Jones, *Powers of the Press*, p. 23.

when the *Burnley Express* (which began publication in 1877) purchased the *Advertiser*, finally becoming the *Burnley Express and Advertiser*. Although its main focus was on Burnley, events in surrounding towns and villages such as Padiham, Hapton, Worsthorne, and Cliviger featured prominently.

In this thesis, the *Burnley Advertiser* will be used in to examine local events between 1842 and 1877 and as an indication of Kay-Shuttleworth's involvements and activities in the area in order to provide evidence of how he was able to implement his theories regarding the improvement of the poor. The newspaper is therefore a useful source, because it provides an assortment of information in one place. Reporting of specific events can be found easily by reference to the date or time period, and a general reading of the newspaper can give knowledge that is not recorded elsewhere and that may otherwise be lost. It also provides an insight into daily life, as well as evidence of opinions which is extremely useful when examining a wealthy individual such as Kay-Shuttleworth, particularly considering his prominent social position in the town.

The *Burnley Mentor* (1852-53), the *Burnley Free Press* (1863-64), and the *Burnley Gazette* (1864-1915) were also in circulation during the period. Also distributed in Burnley and Padiham were the *Blackburn Mail* (1793-1829), the *Blackburn Gazette* (1832-1839) and the *Blackburn Standard* (1841-1852). Padiham also had its own newspapers later on in the nineteenth century, (*The Padiham Advertiser* and *The Padiham Almanack*) although it was the *Burnley Advertiser* that had a monopoly in the 1850s and early 1860s and is therefore the most prominent newspaper source that will be used.

Whilst these sources provide a wealth of information useful to this research, there are several issues that the use of newspapers in historical research presents. The foremost difficulty is that of potential bias in reports and articles. Indeed, explicit political bias was crucial to the success of the early Victorian provincial newspaper as it differentiated them from rival publications.<sup>80</sup> As mentioned above, the *Burnley Advertiser* was produced and edited by a Conservative and as such, is heavily biased towards Tory beliefs and those individuals with similar political affiliations. An instance of this is when the elections for Burnley's first Member of Parliament were being fought; the *Burnley Advertiser* strongly backed the Conservative candidate, General Scarlett, and was particularly negative

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<sup>80</sup> Gruffydd Jones, *Powers of the Press*, p. 29.



towards the Liberal candidate, Richard Shaw.<sup>81</sup> For this research, where the newspaper is a main source, it is particularly important to consider the potential for bias in articles. To overcome this, other sources should be sought that provide additional information that supports the newspaper. Furthermore, the individuals responsible for a newspaper also had their own friendship and kinship links which could also present issues of bias. For example, the Kay-Shuttleworth and Spencer were both connected with the Burnley Mechanics' Institute and Spencer had a deep interest in education so it is likely that he would have been aware of Kay-Shuttleworth's achievements and status as a notable in the world of education. Therefore, despite Kay-Shuttleworth's Liberal beliefs, it is unsurprising that the *Burnley Advertiser* was often complimentary towards him and his actions.

In summary, the *Burnley Advertiser* is an essential source for this thesis and will particularly aid the research in chapters six and seven, which focus on Kay-Shuttleworth's impact in Burnley and Padiham, examining the activities he was involved with and if he was willing to implement his own theories regarding the improvement of the poor.

### **Kay-Shuttleworth's Publications**

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth produced a number of publications throughout his life, ranging from medical articles published in journals and essays regarding the provision of education, to novels and an autobiography. He also contributed to several Poor Law Commission Reports. His publications are an important source as they present evidence of his own interests and personal opinions.

Forming an essential part of this research, the *Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* was an early attempt at social investigation written by James Phillips Kay in 1832. In his role as a physician to the poor in Manchester, Kay witnessed the rapid growth of the working class population, and was able to use his position to produce a commentary on the living situation of the poor; their habits, health issues, and the external factors directing their progress. He highlighted the need for education, improved class relations and better public health, and also discussed the issues surrounding commerce and trade and the impact these had on the working classes in Manchester.

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<sup>81</sup> Burnley Local Studies Library (hereafter BLSL): *Burnley Advertiser*, 16 February 1868.

Chapters four and five will consider Kay's motivations for drawing the attentions of the middle class to the condition for the poor, and as Kay was writing for this audience, the potential bias of the pamphlet is an issue. Describing the poor in such a negative way could prompt action and reform; or fear and distrust. Furthermore, it was published when Kay was relatively unknown, yet striving to be accepted in middle class society. Therefore, by exaggerating the conditions of the poor, Kay was granted publicity. Therefore whilst the source tells the reader a great deal about the condition of the poor, it also presents to the audience evidence of wider middle class anxieties.

This source is particularly valuable as it provides an insight into Kay's personal views regarding the poor. Dr Kay also conducted a qualitative investigation into the condition of the poor in Manchester, and alongside findings from the Special Board of Health, presented his conclusions and suggestions for improvement. Whilst the pamphlet is particularly influenced by Kay's personal views, it is this weakness that also makes the source particularly interesting.

Kay-Shuttleworth's autobiography was published in 1964 by B.C Bloomfield. Written in two sections, much of it was transcribed by his daughter, Janet, when he was unwell and unable to complete it himself although the document remains unfinished. The manuscript details the career of Kay-Shuttleworth from a student at the University of Edinburgh, to his role as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner and Secretary to the Privy Council for Education. It also discusses the key educational initiatives Kay-Shuttleworth formed with a particular focus on the pupil-teacher system. This is a main source for this research, as it provides a fascinating insight into Kay-Shuttleworth's own views on his career, and his personal beliefs during 1826 to 1846. Although it is disappointing that the autobiography ends before it enters discussion of Kay-Shuttleworth's opinion on his time spent in Burnley and Padiham, this demonstrates the need for this research in order to fill the gaps in knowledge that exist. Unsurprisingly for a document of this nature, an autobiography is likely to contain a great deal of bias, and could contain inaccuracies when being written so many years after the occurrence of an event. Furthermore, as time progresses and social situations change, the author could amend their views, or modify their behaviours to fit in with standards at the time. Kay-Shuttleworth's biography is reflective and self celebratory. Nevertheless, it is an essential primary source that offers explanations for Kay-Shuttleworth's opinions and actions during his early career.

*Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832-1839-1846-1862* is a selection of Kay-Shuttleworth's papers, published as a volume in 1862. The "First Period" examines the town of Manchester, and in addition to *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* pamphlet, *Sketch of the Progress of Manchester in Thirty Years, from 1832 to 1862* is also presented. This is a sequel to Kay-Shuttleworth's original research and is extremely useful for considering his continued interest in the poor in Manchester long after he left the town in 1835. The "Second Period" focuses on Kay-Shuttleworth's role in the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, with speeches and reports given on National Schools, teaching pauper children and Battersea Training College. The "Third Period" explains the Minutes of 1846, first published in 1847 by direction of the Committee of Council on Education under the title of *The School, in its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation*. This includes articles on the nature and objects of the inspection of schools and the mode of appointing inspectors, as well as the outlay of public grants and private contributions to the funding of schools. Finally, the "Fourth Period" is comprised of two letters Kay-Shuttleworth wrote to Earl Granville in 1861 regarding the establishment of a revised code of regulations for the distribution of the Parliamentary grant for education. The publication, then, is useful as evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth's broad and continual contribution to education and for his own theories and initiatives in establishing a system of education schools for the poor.

*Memorandum on Popular Education* was published by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1868, and is a discussion of the state of popular education and the potential for developments of the system before the subject was to be debated in Parliament. The source is useful because it was produced relatively late in Kay-Shuttleworth's life at a point when he had been retired for almost twenty years, so is further demonstration of his ongoing interest in education which correlates to his involvement in the education of the poor in Burnley and Padiham.

*Thoughts and suggestions on certain social problems contained chiefly in addresses to meetings of workmen in Lancashire* was first published in 1873 and features a number of speeches and small articles on social progress, education, and asylums. For instance, the book contains an address given at Gawthorpe Hall at the 1866 annual meeting of the East Lancashire Union of Institutes that covers the topic of the history of popular education in England. This collection of papers is beneficial to this research, as it provides evidence of

the type of messages that Kay-Shuttleworth was communicating to the public and the poor. However Kay-Shuttleworth's publications are also long in length, extremely descriptive and difficult to interpret in places. They are also quite self-indulgent, as Kay-Shuttleworth often uses the opportunity to present his own opinions and ideas with little consideration of other trains of thought. When using these sources, it is therefore important to bear in mind that they demonstrate Kay-Shuttleworth's thoughts, which may not be representative of others.

## **Minute Books**

Like many businesses and official agencies, records were kept by the various societies and committees based in Burnley and Padiham during the nineteenth century. They recorded details of meetings, and can provide the reader with a useful insight into how decisions were made and those that contributed. The three items discussed below represent just a small number of the committees in Burnley during the period, but form an intrinsic part of this thesis as they cover the period under discussion, and provide explicit detail regarding Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement with the development of the poor.

During the cotton famine, local relief committees were formed to manage the impact of distress. There were also two major funds set up nationally, the Manchester Central Committee (of which Kay-Shuttleworth was Vice-Chairman) and the Mansion House Committee of the Lord Mayor of London, although it was local committees that significantly helped the poor who were out of work or on reduced hours and therefore in desperate need of aid.

In Burnley, the Relief Committee was formed in June 1862. Comprised of over eighty local gentlemen who occupied a range of positions and roles in local society, the Burnley Relief Committee opted to give relief to those who were not in receipt of aid from the Guardians. They also distributed clothes, food and set up soup kitchens during the worst periods of distress. The minute book details their weekly meetings and discussions, and highlights divisions and individual opinions. It is therefore an essential source when examining how Burnley was governed during a period of such harsh and unusual distress. However, the focus of this research is on Kay-Shuttleworth which makes the source more useful when he attended meetings or sent a letter for discussion.

The Burnley Board of Guardian minute books exist from 1837 to 1930, and are available at the Lancashire Record Office (LRO). The Poor Law Commission was given the power to unite parishes in England and Wales into Poor Law Unions as a result of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, with each Union being administered by a local Board of Guardians. This was a controversial development, and caused much debate although it ultimately altered the administration of relief, rather than the financing of relief. Whilst it was not a popular initiative amongst the poor, it was designed to be unattractive so that the poor would find alternatives to going to the workhouse. As a consequence, Boards of Guardians were elected, and charged with the distribution of relief.

In Burnley, the Guardians were based in Nicholas Street, and were responsible for distributing relief and the workhouse in Royle Road. Built in 1822, it could house 130 inmates.<sup>82</sup> In an industrial town such as Burnley, it is unsurprising that the majority of men who acted as Guardians were cotton manufacturers, and therefore local employers with a knowledge of the working classes. The Guardians had a particularly important role during the cotton famine, when levels of distress soared as a result of operatives being out of work or on short time. Magistrates, such as Kay-Shuttleworth, were automatically elected as Guardians and this often gave the Board of Guardians an element of traditional landed authority. The minute books are therefore useful for this research as they contain details of every meeting, and each decision or resolution made. However, like Relief Committee record books, Poor Law Union minute books can present methodological issues, particularly for this research. For instance, Kay-Shuttleworth appears infrequently at Board of Guardian meetings, so although the source is useful as it provides context and information on the wider situation during the cotton famine, it also has limited usage for this research.

Minute books also exist for the Burnley Mechanics' Institute. Governed and financed by various wealthy gentlemen with an interest in education and the development of the poor, the record book is a valuable source as it details various decisions and discussions between these individuals and henceforth, their relationships and friendships. This also makes it useful for examining the provision of education for the working class in Burnley.

Although a significant amount of information can be gained from examining minute books, these sources also present some difficulties which must be taken into

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<sup>82</sup> BLSL: *Mannex's Directory of North and East Lancashire* 1868, p. 674.

consideration. For example, by the 1860s, notes that were made were often brief and not particularly detailed, and often do not explain the full reasoning behind a decision. They do not always give the researcher the full spectrum of society or provide information on divisions and arguments. Furthermore, some, particularly the Boards of Guardians, could be prejudiced by political bias as the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen often had particular influence over other committee members. Additionally, members from the landed elite and upper classes often wielded more power than others and could use this position to their advantage in the decision making process. These relationships are rarely detailed in the minute books and divisions in society can sometimes therefore be missed. However, this information can be provided when the minute books are used in conjunction with other sources. For example, census data facilitates the study of the social migration of individuals and their family members. Similarly, birth, marriage and death records give a detailed insight into family relationships, which can demonstrate the links between individuals on the various committees.

Despite these issues, minute books are a valuable source as they make the issues that were occurring and worthy of discussion and action at any given point in time visible to the historian. They also list the individuals involved in an institute or committee, which is useful when examining a particular period or place and how things were governed and authority was dealt with. In this instance, the minute books are invaluable as they provide evidence of how active Kay-Shuttleworth was in various committees in Burnley, which will be of use in chapters six and seven as they will demonstrate how willing Kay-Shuttleworth was to be involved with the improvement of the poor in the local area.

## **Other Sources**

There are other primary sources that offer further insight into Kay-Shuttleworth, although they do not provide as much information as those discussed and have therefore not been consulted in this chapter. For example, correspondence exists from Kay-Shuttleworth's whilst at Gawthorpe Hall, although this mainly relates to estate matters, for example the building of a railway, and the substantial remodelling of the Hall. These are of less use to a study of this nature, which aims to examine Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement with the improvement of the poor. Kay-Shuttleworth also published two novels, *Ribblesdale* (1874) and *Scarsdale* (1860), which have been discussed in chapter two, and although valuable from a literary perspective, they are large volumes that offer little insight into Kay-

Shuttleworth's actions and activities in a local setting and are therefore of little immediate use to this research. The census will also be consulted, as this source provides important contextual information, particularly when examining the background of the other local elites and members of the Town Council that interacted with both Kay-Shuttleworth and the poor in Burnley. Census data can often be transcribed inaccurately and presents a snapshot of the area on one night which may not represent a true reflection of local society. These issues must be considered when using the source.

Poor Law Commission Reports will also be consulted. The Poor Law Commission was established in 1834 following the Poor Law Amendment Act. It lasted until 1847 and produced reports annually as well as on an ad hoc basis on numerous subjects. These reports are available online by accessing the Parliamentary Papers. Dr Kay featured in the first nine annual reports of the Poor Law Commission from 1835 until 1843, despite resigning from his role as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in 1839. He is mainly featured in reports due to his experiments at Norwood and Battersea, demonstrating his success and recognition as an educational expert.

The sources that have been discussed are mainly presented in a qualitative form, and therefore the approach followed by the author will be to examine a specific period and events that occurred within this. A focus will be made on issues that demonstrate Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement with the poor so that it can be conclusively examined whether the theories presented by Kay-Shuttleworth in his publications for the improvement of the poor were implemented on a local level. An assessment of Kay-Shuttleworth's contributions to initiatives to improve the condition of the poor can then be conducted. Whilst various biographies of Kay-Shuttleworth have been produced and much research has been completed on his national work, this thesis is unique in its desire to investigate the time he spent in Burnley and Padiham and the impact he had upon the area as well as his continuing involvement in Manchester.

In summary, the content of the available sources combine the themes of class, education, and poor relief, as well as philanthropy - all key issues in this research. They therefore help to form a solid research base, and will allow for extensive research into Kay-Shuttleworth's role in Burnley and Padiham, as well as in Manchester both at the start and end of the period. These are all extremely valuable sources which, when used to their full potential, will allow for an extensive and comprehensive study to be conducted. However,

the sources also present methodological issues which must be considered. The impact on this research is that there is therefore potential for sources to be biased and for them to not truly affect the views of the general public at the time. As the subject matter has not been researched in depth before, there is also potential for the sources to not provide the valuable information that is anticipated.

The next part of the thesis will examine Kay-Shuttleworth's role in Manchester at the beginning of his career, before he became a nationally renowned expert on education. It will explore Kay-Shuttleworth's role in the improvement of the poor through his involvement in the Manchester Board of Health and his interventions in sanitary and public health reform, as well as a textual analysis of *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* and the political, economic and sanitary contexts in which it was produced.



**Part One:**  
**Manchester**  
**1828 to 1835**

## Chapter Four

### Doctor James Kay in Manchester from 1828 to 1835

James Kay arrived in Manchester in 1828, fresh from studying medicine in Edinburgh. Eager to gain employment, the Manchester press details his attempt to become elected as a physician for the Manchester Infirmary in April 1828. Trustees of the hospital had three candidates to select from; Kay, Charles Henry and George Freckleton. Although Henry was proposed as a more suitable candidate for the role than Kay due to his family connections and testimonials that had been provided, Kay was nonetheless nominated by two trustees (Mr Bradley and Mr Samuel Fletcher), and described as possessing, 'talents of the first order'.<sup>83</sup> They stated that whilst he had no family members working in medicine, Kay had been able to display 'zeal and ardour' in his studies, achieving 'repeated honorary distinctions'.<sup>84</sup> Despite this, Kay was unsuccessful and finished third in the voting, achieving 124 votes to Freckleton's 184 and Henry's 380.<sup>85</sup>

Undeterred by his defeat, Kay went on to establish his own dispensary. The Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary was officially opened on 11 August 1828 on Great Ancoats Street, in order to lessen dependence on the Manchester Infirmary. Ancoats was a particularly poor area of Manchester that had grown rapidly due to an influx of Irish labourers and textile workers who had flocked to the town in search of work. Walton describes Ancoats as, 'sweatshops, textile outworkers and labourers, already a notorious slum by the time of Peterloo, and its incidence of cellar dwellings, overcrowding and poverty remained on a par with the worst Liverpool conditions'.<sup>86</sup> Conversely, Ardwick housed more wealthy occupants – mostly factory and business owners. It was largely these members of the middle class who funded the dispensary due to the poor health and associated high need of their employees who lived in the Ancoats area. Kay was a Senior Physician and tended to the sick at the dispensary until he left Manchester in 1835.

Aside from his medical interests, during this period Kay published his well-known and often cited pamphlet, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* in April 1832. He was also involved with a range of

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<sup>83</sup> The John Rylands Library (hereafter TJRL): *Manchester Guardian*, 19 April 1828, p. 2.

<sup>84</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 19 April 1828, p. 2.

<sup>85</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 19 April 1828, p. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History*, p. 173.

other institutes and activities that enabled him to interact with wealthier members of society. For example, Kay was involved with the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Lancashire Commercial Clerks Society, Manchester and Salford Provident Society, Manchester Statistical Society, and Manchester and Salford Literary and Philosophical Society. Whilst in Manchester, he was also able to cultivate several friendships with the powerful gentlemen at the forefront of the town's political scene, though Emmett suggests that this was due to his family's denominational and commercial roots rather than any rapid scale up the class system.<sup>87</sup>

The time that Kay spent in Manchester between 1828 and 1835 is therefore of interest, and this chapter will examine Kay's medical career which involved a great deal of contact with the poor within their own environment and helped forge some of his earliest theories regarding their improvement. However, despite Kay's interest in the treatment of disease and sanitary improvements, part one of this thesis will demonstrate that Kay had neither the wealth nor influence to make a significant, nor hugely visible intervention to the condition of the poor. Furthermore, it will demonstrate that he was unable to physically implement any of his theories for their improvement that he communicated in his 1832 pamphlet. Most importantly during this period, Kay's involvement with activities outside of medicine helped him to become an established member of middle class society, and form friendships that helped further his career. This was the beginning of his journey to the wealthy, influential and respected landowner that he would become in Burnley and Padiham, and the foundations for his ultimate success in helping to improve the conditions of the poor.

## **Conditions in Manchester in the Nineteenth Century**

The early part of the century saw the Manchester urban area evolve rapidly, from a series of small towns to a major industrial conurbation with huge material flows and worldwide trade connections.<sup>88</sup> By 1831, the population of Manchester had increased almost six times in sixty years, with no local government to either encourage or restrain growth.<sup>89</sup> Indeed between 1821 and 1831, the population of Manchester had grown by over 56,000. The early 1820s saw a succession of boom years and the cotton industry

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<sup>87</sup> Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', p. 189.

<sup>88</sup> I. Douglas, R. Hodson, and N. Lawson, 'Industry, environment and health through 200 years in Manchester', *Ecological Economics*, 41 (2002) p. 235.

<sup>89</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 88.

increased the size and wealth of the town, and created a small class of employers who existed alongside a large class of workers.<sup>90</sup> Such rapid growth had led to unregulated and unplanned construction, with narrow, unpaved streets and houses surrounded by dirty and polluting factories and workshops. As a result of this lack of sanitation, disease spread easily. Describing the conditions faced by the poor in Manchester, Lofthouse states, 'They huddled in a rabbit warren of passages, flooded by the Medlock River, muddy waters seeping into dark cellars where they lived. Smoke, filth and degradation of the worst kind were there.'<sup>91</sup> When Kay arrived in Manchester in 1828, the town was an accumulation of social problems due to imperfect municipal organisation and a severe lack of sanitary regulations. There was also a slump in industry, and in 1829 there were outbreaks of popular discontent. The 1819 Peterloo Massacre was also within living memory and further exacerbated fears of unrest. A demonstration organised by the Manchester Patriotic Union to demand the reform of parliamentary representation was interrupted by the arrival of the cavalry, killing fifteen and injuring four hundred protesters. Whilst there was sympathy from employers and factory owners who were horrified and outraged at the violence used against the poor, E P Thompson states that there were times when revolution seemed possible in England and the threat of disorder was therefore a real concern.<sup>92</sup> Briggs states that in Manchester, so powerful were working-class interests that it proved impossible to unite middle classes and working classes in one single reform movement, and extremists were too active to allow moderates to be successful.<sup>93</sup>

There was also political agitation surrounding factory reform that eventually resulted in the 1833 Factory Act. The Act forbade the employment of children under the age of nine, and children under the age of thirteen could only work for a maximum of eight hours a day. The Reform Act of 1832 also caused a huge amount of debate with a demand for an increase in the franchise. After the Second Reform Bill was rejected in October 1831, Evans states it, 'unleashed a fury of protest throughout the country. In Bristol, rioters controlled the city for three days.....other West Country riots were experienced in the old woollen towns of Tiverton and Blandford.....The outbreaks of protest in October 1831 naturally alarmed the authorities'.<sup>94</sup> Kay's pamphlet was therefore published to an audience aware of, and concerned by the potential for disorder and violence by the poor. The Reform Bill also caused outbreaks of unrest in Manchester, and contributed to the

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<sup>90</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>91</sup> Jessica Lofthouse, *Lancashire's Old Families* (London: Robert Hale, 1972), p. 204.

<sup>92</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1968), p. 12.

<sup>93</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>94</sup> Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, p. 210.

town's reputation as a centre of agitation and disorder.

## Kay's Medical Career

The Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary helped Kay to gain valuable experience as a doctor to the poor, and presented him with first hand experience of treating and visiting the poor in their own homes. This helped focus his attention on the health of inhabitants and marked the beginning of his lifelong relationship with the improvement of the poor. In response to Kay's work at the dispensary and his interaction with the poor, the *Morning Chronicle* stated, 'Dr James Philips Kay, who, in his capacity as Physician to the Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary, Manchester, has had ample means of becoming acquainted with the poorer classes of that great metropolis of the manufacturing districts'<sup>95</sup> Kay himself also described his experiences in Ancoats, stating that he often had to make his way to the bedside of patients by stepping on bricks placed in the water of the flooded floors of cellar dwellings.<sup>96</sup> He also describes the sanitation issues facing the districts, stating that the streets were unpaved, with rubbish and offal considerably above the doors of the cottages with roads covered in sewage. There was no drainage system, little ventilation, and no supply of water.<sup>97</sup>

Kay's role as a physician enabled him to occupy a unique position from which he could view disease from its origins and monitor how it developed and spread - an opportunity that hospital doctors who only saw the patient in the latter stages of illness did not get. In December 1828, the Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary had received 64 out patients and 44 home patients, with a total of 194 patients remaining on the books.<sup>98</sup> By February 1829, this had increased and there were 82 new home patients, 87 out patients, with 334 remaining on the books.<sup>99</sup> However, dispensary doctors were not always granted the same respect as private practice physicians and were often viewed as amateur and less professional. Despite the growth in patients at the dispensary, Kay struggled financially at the beginning of his time in Manchester and in December 1828, had to write to his father asking for help with paying for his lodgings.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> British Newspaper Archives [online], <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>> (hereafter BNA): *The Morning Chronicle*, 17 April 1832, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times*, 12 December 1828, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times*, 18 February 1829, p. 2.

<sup>100</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth papers, John Rylands Library (hereafter KSP): Hannah Kay to James Kay, 29 December 1828 (59).

Kay was undeterred and in August 1830 he founded the *North of England Medical and Surgical Journal* with co-editor James Williams. The journal featured submissions from local physicians such as Edward Carbutt and John Robertson, and Kay himself contributed four articles during the journal's short life time.<sup>101</sup> The final edition was published in May 1831, just nine months after it began. Despite its failure, the journal provides evidence of Kay's continuing interest in medicine and his desire to establish himself as a respected physician and part of Manchester's professional middle class.

Kay's medical expertise was also recognised through his membership of the Manchester Board of Health. A national, consultative Board of Health had been created in June 1831 due to fears of the impending cholera epidemic and in July, a new Central Board of Health replaced the consultative one. In reality, the Central Board of Health had very few actual powers and the preventative measures it recommended were inadequate to control cholera. In October 1831, the Central Board of Health asked Vestry Committees to form Local Boards of Health but there was little initial response until, in many cases, cholera had arrived in towns and cities. The Manchester Board of Health was created seven months before the first case of cholera occurred in the town on 10 November 1831 at the boardroom of the House of Recovery. 110 members attended one or more meetings, and they reported streets that were in such an impure state that they feared they may encourage the spread of disease, and set up various committees responsible for such things as paving, forming hospitals, and cleansing streets.<sup>102</sup> Over the course of its two year existence, there were 192 meetings of the Special Board, of which Kay was one of its most enthusiastic members, attending 112.<sup>103</sup> Kay features frequently throughout the pages of the Special Board of Health minute book and is often found reporting to the committee. For example, in January 1832 Kay reported that he had found premises for a temporary hospital in Pollard Street at the rent of 10 shillings per week.<sup>104</sup>

Although the work of the Board of Health was at times contentious, an association heightened Kay's public reputation as it enabled him to be seen as energetically confronting the cholera crisis. Furthermore, he was brought into contact with other members of the Board who occupied a range of positions in Manchester society, including infirmary physicians, manufacturers and influential business-men. On November 21 1831,

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<sup>101</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 59.

<sup>102</sup> A. Kidd and T. Wyke (eds), *The Challenge of Cholera – Proceedings of the Manchester Special Board of Health 1831-33* (Cheshire: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 2010).

<sup>103</sup> Kidd and Wyke, *The Challenge of Cholera*, p. 2.

<sup>104</sup> Kidd and Wyke, *The Challenge of Cholera*, p. 49.

Kay was appointed to a sub-committee for the division of Manchester into districts, which ultimately led to the creation of fourteen district boards, and Kay, alongside Charles Henry and Henry Goulter shared the 10<sup>th</sup> district.<sup>105</sup> One of Kay's key contributions during this period was to suggest that each district board should undertake a detailed study of the state of its houses and streets. Kay devised the questions for the inspectors during the winter of 1831 and the information gathered was used to form the content for Kay's pamphlet.

Cholera was first discovered in Manchester in June 1832 and Kay states that he was the physician for the first case diagnosed; 'I was requested by one of the staff of the out-patients of the Infirmary to visit a peculiar case.....On my arrival in a two-roomed house, I found an Irishman lying on a bed close to the window. The temperature of his skin was somewhat lower than usual, the pulse was weak and quick....the afternoon slowly passed away, and as twilight came on the sufferer expired without cramp.'<sup>106</sup> Kay called for the cholera van as, 'we were surrounded by an excitable Irish population, and it was obviously desirable to remove the body as soon as possible, and then the family, and to lock up the house before any alarm was given.'<sup>107</sup> In his biography, Kay states that within the following twenty four hours, the labourer's family all passed away due to the spread of the disease.<sup>108</sup> Kay was convinced this was the first case of cholera in Manchester, and he was deeply affected by the death of the Irishman and his family;

'This fatality necessarily produced a profound impression on me.....I made systematic arrangements to receive the earliest information of the occurrence of any fresh case, and I believe that I visited the houses in which the first two hundred and fifty occurred.....I found that this investigation led me to the least healthy, the poorest and most neglected parts of the town, and I consequently found established in my mind an immediate connection between all the class of causes injuriously affecting the health of the population, and the conditions which facilitated the spread of the contagion of cholera.'<sup>109</sup>

However, in the pages of the Board of Health minute book it is reported that Kay's colleague Henry Goulter attended and recorded the first cholera case – a coach painter named James Palfreyman who lived in Somerset Street, Dale Field.<sup>110</sup>

Aside from his regular duties at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, Kay worked in the

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<sup>105</sup> Kidd and Wyke, *The Challenge of Cholera*, p. 21.

<sup>106</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 9.

<sup>107</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 9.

<sup>108</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 11.

<sup>109</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>110</sup> Kidd and Wyke, *The Challenge of Cholera*, p. 27.

Knott Mill Cholera Hospital during the outbreak and was quick to understand the relationship between the poor and insanitary areas of Manchester and the spread of cholera. Indeed, Kay spoke of his investigations at a Board of Health meeting in August 1832. The *Manchester Times and Gazette* reported on Kay's speech; 'In many parts (of the poor districts) there were no proper receptacles for excrementous matter. He had found four cellars which were nearly filled with excrementous matter and above them were dwellings in which a considerable number of people lived. Many of the cess-pools were also placed in densely populated and insalubrious situations, and a number of yards surrounded by high buildings, close and ill ventilated, were occupied by porkers, where they fed their pigs, and which were covered with dung to the depth of six or seven inches. In such places the disease had broken out.'<sup>111</sup>

Although the cholera outbreak was relatively short lived in Manchester and incidents of the disease were becoming less frequent by November 1832, the epidemic caused a great deal of fear and anxiety for the inhabitants of Manchester. The Anatomy Act of 1832 stated that unclaimed bodies of cholera victims at hospitals or workhouses might be used for anatomical dissection. Sections of the population therefore became suspicious of the medical professionals treating cholera victims, and the haste in burying bodies in mass graves within twenty four hours of death stirred deeply rooted fears about premature burials. Consequently, there were outbreaks of unrest with cholera riots in Liverpool and in Manchester, a riot occurred on Swan Street on 2 September 1832. In this instance, the coffin of a four year old victim had been opened, to find the head had been replaced by a brick. This incited fears that the body had either been violated by carrying out a post-mortem, or that the child had not been infected by cholera at all, and was actually a victim of a medical anatomist searching for a body to dissect. 3,000 people marched on Swan Street Hospital causing damage to a wall, windows, a cholera van and equipment. Eventually troops were called to disperse the crowd, but the period was difficult for the medical profession and Kay – Lofthouse notes, 'When cholera broke out and galloped from family to family Dr Kay worked strenuously to stem the rampage. It was difficult, for ignorance and apathy thwarted him, the poor hardly lifted their dull, apathetic eyes.'<sup>112</sup> Involvement with such a grave epidemic at the start of his career could have influenced Kay's interest in the poor and their condition, which would later so heavily impact upon his career, and ultimately, form his legacy.

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<sup>111</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Guardian*, 4 August 1832. p. 4.

<sup>112</sup> Lofthouse, *Lancashire's Old Families*, p. 204.



## Kay's Social and Political Interests

As has been noted, the atmosphere in Manchester during this period was unsettled with outbreaks of unrest. Kay was therefore not unusual in his interest in politics, with the struggle for parliamentary reform prompting him to anonymously produce the pamphlet *A Letter to the People of Lancashire Concerning the Future of Commercial Interest by the Return of Members for its New Boroughs to the Reformed Parliament* (1831). In the pamphlet, Kay praised his new acquaintance, the banker Benjamin Heywood as John Wilson Patten's replacement as Tory MP for Lancashire.<sup>113</sup> He also revealed himself as an admirer of Lord John Russell, an advocate of free trade, and was clearly influenced by the economic theories of Adam Smith.<sup>114</sup> He also wrote of the poor in Manchester, stating he saw, 'The fearful strength of the multitude of the labouring population, which, for the present, lies like a slumbering giant at their feet.'<sup>115</sup> Kay's interest in politics and reform continued throughout the period, and the *Manchester Times and Gazette* in March 1832 provides evidence of Kay's support for the introduction of the Factory Act of 1833 and his public involvement as he signed the following statement, 'We request you to call a public meeting of the clergy, gentry, professional gentlemen, merchants, manufacturers and tradesmen of Manchester, for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning Parliament to pass an effective Bill for the restriction of the hours of labour in cotton, woollen, worsted, silk and linen mills and thereby to prohibit entirely the injurious practise of working therein during the night.'<sup>116</sup>

Alongside his medical career, Kay joined the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1829. This enabled Kay to become involved with notable figures including Robert Owen, the social reformer and founder of the Cooperative Movement, and John Dalton, the chemist and physicist. With the additional demands of the cholera outbreak, the intensity of the period eventually had a negative effect on Kay and in his later autobiography he wrote 'I found my energies exhausted. I suffered a serious collapse of strength. I was advised that to continue my work among the poor of great towns would be fatal to me, and that, if I desired to prolong my life, it was indispensable that I should abandon these pursuits, seek a complete change of scene and occupation, live much in the open air, and divert my thoughts from subjects which had become a source of

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<sup>113</sup> James Phillips Kay, *Letter to the People of Lancashire, concerning the future of the commercial interest by the return of its members for its new boroughs to the reformed Parliament*, (1831) p. 13.

<sup>114</sup> Kay, *Letter to the People of Lancashire*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>115</sup> Kay, *Letter to the People of Lancashire*, p. 13.

<sup>116</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 3 March 1832, p. 177.

exhausting feeling and thought'.<sup>117</sup> In a letter to Thomas Chalmers in November 1832, Kay explained that ill health and professional duties had occupied his time, and he had been unable to be involved in 'some practical schemes of benevolence' that he so wished. However, as he was becoming increasingly well-known within social circles, and his medical career was established, Kay was now able to devote more of his time to what he described as 'this best cause' and in the following two years, launched himself enthusiastically into a busy timetable of activities that combined his various political and social interests.<sup>118</sup>

One of Kay's first acts was to found the Manchester Statistical Society in September 1833, with the backing and funding of Benjamin Heywood and others including William Langton, Henry Romily and the cotton manufacturer William R Greg. The aim of the society was to promote and fund statistical studies on the back of the success and interest in *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, and to discuss subjects of political and social economy. Kay later claimed that one of the beneficial consequences of the publication of the pamphlet was the formation of the Manchester Statistical Society.<sup>119</sup> Members were predominantly manufacturers and businessmen and at the first meeting of members, William Greg presented a paper on criminal statistics with further examples of the society's research including a project on the working population of Manchester and a study led by Kay on the habitations of the poor.<sup>120</sup> In this research, Kay sought to classify houses in districts of Manchester based on their occupants. Kay believed in the usefulness of statistical investigation as a way to demonstrate the problems of overpopulated towns and cities and of the conditions faced by the poor, and was enthusiastic about the subject which led him to receive some national attention stating, 'No statistics so exact, so searching and so exhaustive had ever been obtained upon these subjects, and they necessarily formed the basis of public discussions in and out of Parliament on many vital questions affecting the condition of the population of cities.'<sup>121</sup>

It is, however, Kay's relationships with other members of the Manchester Statistical Society that are of particular interest. As mentioned earlier, Benjamin Heywood became a close friend of Kay's. They had several similar interests, both being Unitarian and Liberals.

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<sup>117</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 17.

<sup>118</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 79.

<sup>119</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 12.

<sup>120</sup> Manchester Central Reference Library (hereafter MCRL): *Records of the Manchester Statistical Society*.

<sup>121</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 13.

It was also due to statistics that Kay's friendship with Charles Poulett Thompson, MP for Manchester (1832-1839) developed, after Thompson contacted him in March 1832 for some statistical information to use in the Factory Act debate. Kay was also present at the first public appearance of Thompson after his election as MP in December 1832 reported by the *Manchester Times and Gazette* - 'Mr Dyer, Mr George Hadfield, Mr Kershaw, Dr Kay and a number of other gentlemen who had taken an active part in Mr Thompson's election took their station on the platform'.<sup>122</sup> However, Thompson's appearance was not popular with all in Manchester, and 'a dense crowd who besieged the front door made a great noise by beating it with their feet and with sticks, and by shouting, shrieking and groaning'.<sup>123</sup> After speaking for around ten minutes, Thompson left. Nevertheless Kay was again present three days later at a celebratory dinner at the theatre for Thompson, hosted by Benjamin Heywood. Kay's interest in politics had continued since the publication of his anonymous letter in 1831, and by 1833 he was mixing with well-known and influential middle class politicians.

### ***The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in Cotton Manufacture in Manchester***

Kay published his first attempt at social investigation in April 1832 with a second, more investigative edition published the following November. The pamphlet is seventy two pages long with a short appendix of data concerning Parochial Relief. Mostly text, there is a great deal of quantitative data that details the districts of Manchester alongside descriptive text noting visual aspects. For example, a table contains information on Districts 1 – 14 and the number of houses inspected, number of houses damp, and number of houses reported as ill ventilated. Kay drew these figures from the inspection conducted by the District Boards of Health and then added his own physical description such as; 'The state of the streets and houses in that part of No. 4 included between Store Street and Travis Street and London Road, is exceedingly wretched – especially those built on some irregular and broken mounds of clay, on a steep declivity descending into Store Street. These narrow avenues are rough, irregular gullies, down which filthy streams percolate; and the inhabitants are crowded in dilapidated abodes, or obscure and damp cellars, in which it is impossible for the health to be preserved.'<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Guardian*, 29 December 1832, p. 220.

<sup>123</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Guardian*, 29 December 1832, p. 220.

<sup>124</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 24.

Split into two sections, the quantitative and descriptive analysis is followed by a lengthy discussion of Manchester with Kay describing his own methods of investigation, dividing Manchester into districts, and noting various details of the streets and houses such as the number of streets unpaved, partially paved, and ill-ventilated. In the districts that Kay identified as being those most inhabited by the poor, 438 streets were inspected, 214 of which were unpaved, and 259 of which were covered in heaps of refuse. Houses were judged on those requiring repair, those in need of whitewashing, those experiencing damp, ill-ventilated, and those without privies. In the same districts, there were 4,572 houses, 1,659 without privies, 923 suffering from the effects of dampness, and 1,916 needing whitewashing. Kay also spent some time investigating other areas of habitation such as pauper lodging houses, of which there were 163 in the main working class districts. He also listed 430 licensed taverns and innkeepers in the town, and 322 gin shops, and used this evidence to suggest such a great availability of vice was one of the reasons the poor had so much opportunity to squander their wages on drink.

In more recent times, Kay's presentation of his statistical analysis has been questioned, specifically by Frank Emmett. As has been stated, the pamphlet was largely based on the results of the inquiry of the Manchester Board of Health, however Kay severely narrowed the focus and reshuffled the figures so that the results reveal facts that corroborated his narrative – that poverty and urban squalor were especially prevalent in the poorer areas of Manchester, specifically those occupied by the labouring population. Emmett suggests that if Kay had broken down housing data by neighbourhood type, it would have actually shown very little difference between the labouring population and the dwellings of shopkeepers and tradesmen.<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, only six out of nineteen sections of the questionnaire were reduced to tabular results. The remaining thirteen sections that originally featured in the survey required personal contact with the people residing in the homes and areas, and Kay appears to have been unwilling to obtain these results.

Whilst his use of statistical analysis is questionable, the language and tone used in the narrative of the pamphlet forms a balance between enlightening the middle class readership to the problems faced by the poor, and provoking the already existing fear that there could be a working class uprising and revolt. Kay frequently discusses the operatives in derogatory language – 'gross', 'disgusting', 'revolting', and constantly describes their behaviour as 'savage' and 'turbulent'. Kay's audience was therefore made fully aware that

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<sup>125</sup> Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', p. 195.

in order to protect their own interests from a dirty, dangerous, unruly, and uneducated workforce; they must ease the terrible conditions faced by the working class by implementing forms of control. Kay ends the pamphlet on an ominous note of warning, 'if the higher classes are unwilling to diffuse intelligence among the lower, those exist who are ever ready to take advantage of their ignorance; if they will not seek their confidence, others will excite their distrust; if they will not endeavour to promote domestic comfort, virtue, and knowledge among them, their misery, vice, and prejudice will prove volcanic elements, by whose explosive violence the structure of society may be destroyed'.<sup>126</sup> It should be noted that there was an element of propaganda to Kay's pamphlet, and presenting the conditions of the poor in such a way would naturally inspire distrust, although it could also trigger reform and change. The unsettled context of the period of the publication of the pamphlet has been discussed, but the atmosphere of unrest provided Kay with the opportunity to capture the attention of an audience that had the wealth and influence to initiate improvements. It also gave Kay the chance to raise his own profile and earn the attention of his peers in the medical world and give him the acceptance and recognition he desired. As with *The North of England Medical and Surgical Journal*, Kay was establishing his status locally, whilst also keeping an eye on his national profile.<sup>127</sup>

### **Interpretations of the Pamphlet**

Kay's pamphlet was commented on by several publications and analysed by social investigators. In November 1832, the *Manchester Guardian* stated its support for Kay's findings, writing 'we feel incapable of rendering full justice to the spirit of energetic and sagacious philanthropy which it exhibits; and we can therefore do little more than state our almost entire re-quiessence in those views which Dr Kay entertains respecting the circumstances that have operated to express the condition of the labouring classes'.<sup>128</sup>

Furthermore, the pamphlet increased Kay's popularity in Liberal middle class circles, with writers such as Peter Gaskell and his close friend Benjamin Heywood using the pamphlet as an authoritative source. An analysis had also been published in the *Westminster Review*, which devoted twenty three pages to the pamphlet, stating, 'the author portrays the revolting features which deform society, and then endeavours to trace

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<sup>126</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 72.

<sup>127</sup> Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', p. 190.

<sup>128</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 17 November 1832, p. 2.

their origin and suggest the means of their removal.'<sup>129</sup> It was also described as 'an honest representation of the evils under which the working classes are suffering' by the *Manchester Times and Gazette* in 1832 and used as evidence at a Factory Bill Public Meeting in Salford in 1833.<sup>130</sup>

In addition to this positive press, Engels referred to Kay's pamphlet several times in his own work, *The Conditions of the Working Classes in England*. For instance, Engels used Kay's research when discussing the drunkenness and demoralization of the working class in Manchester, and his inspection of the poor conditions of streets and housing and referred to the pamphlet as 'excellent'.<sup>131</sup> Kay was also close, professionally and personally, to Edwin Chadwick, Secretary to the Poor Law Commission and his pamphlet could have quite possibly influenced Chadwick's *The Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population*, published in 1842. The two shared a desire for the Poor Law Amendment Act to be implemented in the north of England. This was an unpopular initiative with the poor, and therefore at this stage of his career, Kay was clearly not aiming for finding popularity amongst the poor.

However, not all of the publicity was positive as Kay's descriptions of the conditions of the working poor alienated some cotton operative employers. In his letter to Thomas Chalmers in November 1832, Kay wrote of his relief that, 'the inconsiderate hostility which was at first raised by a few of those capitalists who considered themselves attacked...is now almost entirely assuaged.'<sup>132</sup> The pamphlet had not endeared Kay to some manufacturers, including James Kennedy.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, it appears a great deal of Kay's pamphlet was actually based on the 1831 publication of *An Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population and the Causes and Cures of the Evils Therein Existing* by William Greg - Kay's Manchester Statistical Society acquaintance. Greg was a leading essayist and during the 1830s he became increasingly active in exploring the social and political questions of the day. A number of contemporary works were indebted to *An Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population*, including Kay's and William Gaskell - the minister and lecturer - was also influenced by its publication. Like Kay, Greg had suggested an insufficient diet and unwholesome air could cause health problems for

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<sup>129</sup> Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, *The Westminster Review - Volume 18*, (London: Robert Heward, 1833).

<sup>130</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 28 April 1832, p. 2, and BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 3 April 1833, p. 2.

<sup>131</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England: 1845* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1984), p. 81.

<sup>132</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 79.

<sup>133</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 88.

workers, and demanded education as a way to improve the happiness and virtue of the labouring population.<sup>134</sup> Other similarities also exist between the two publications. For instance, Greg suggests that the moral and physical evils facing the poor could be ameliorated by the individual exertion of proprietors of factories.<sup>135</sup> In his pamphlet, Kay states 'much good would result from a more general and cordial association of the lighter and lower orders.....every capitalist might contribute to the happiness of those in his employ by an exercise of enlightened charity.'<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Greg demanded regulation of hours of labour, 'the work of spinners and stretchers is among the most laborious that exist, and is exceeded, perhaps by that of mowing....these men never rest for an instant during the hours of working, and it must be obvious to everyone, that it is next to impossible for any human being, however hardy or robust, to sustain this exertions for any length of time, without permanently injuring his constitution.'<sup>137</sup> One year later, Kay wrote, 'a reduction in the hours of labour will tend to elevate the moral and physical condition of the people.'<sup>138</sup> The similarities are surprising, and suggest that Kay's pamphlet was not the groundbreaking piece of research that others believed. Rather, it appears that Kay agreed with Greg's observations and energetically latched on to his ideas to such a great extent that he was able to convince his peers that the theories were his own. The *Manchester Times and Gazette* concurs that there were similarities between the two authors – 'our readers will see that these views of the physical condition of the people are in exact accordance with the opinions of Dr Kay.'<sup>139</sup> Additionally, parts of the pamphlet, specifically the descriptions of the Irish poor, were taken from an article composed for the *North of England Medical and Surgical Journal* in 1830.<sup>140</sup>

In more recent years, a number of historians have interpreted Kay's pamphlet and identified its unique and important contribution to early Victorian social investigation. For example Frank Smith states, 'It is full of striking statistics, and written with passionate eloquence, constituting one of the most striking and terrible accounts of industrialism, and its meaning in human life and suffering that have ever been written.'<sup>141</sup> Tholfsen writes that Kay's pamphlet is, 'central to an understanding of the close connection between his social

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<sup>134</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 23 March 1833, p. 3.

<sup>135</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 23 March 1833, p. 3.

<sup>136</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 63.

<sup>137</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 23 March 1833, p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 61.

<sup>139</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 63.

<sup>140</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 81.

<sup>141</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 24.

philosophy and his educational policies.<sup>142</sup> Young considers Kay's pamphlet as a 'cardinal document', as it tells the historian as much about the middle class as it does about its intended subject, the working class.<sup>143</sup> Tholfsen also discusses the impact of the pamphlet on the middle classes in Manchester, stating that they viewed the differences between themselves and the poor with concern and mistrust, 'their basic attitudes were a direct reflex of their social position. They expected working men to take orders, work hard, and play their customary roles; they viewed with alarm any symptoms of working class indolence, indiscipline, or subversion.....but these general attitudes – inherent in the relations of any master class to its servants – took a particular form in the generation before 1834, when the propertied classes became obsessed with the problem of the poor in a framework of concern about population growth and the existing system of poor relief.'<sup>144</sup>

Tholfsen recognises the existing attitude of fear and mistrust of the poor, and how Kay capitalised on this feeling and used the pamphlet as a form of propaganda to present the potential threat of disorder and unrest to his middle class peers. He also identifies the class boundaries that were in existence that had seen Kay become a newly established member of the professional middle class, keen to prove himself, become involved with the relevant societies and institutes and consequently, cement his position in society. The publication of the pamphlet presented Kay with the opportunity to act as a spokesman for this new breed of middle class – employers and educated, socially aware gentlemen - and gave him a voice in the new progressive world of commerce.<sup>145</sup>

## **Theory One – An Improvement in Public Health**

As noted earlier, the rapid and unregulated growth of Manchester had led to visibly poor living conditions, and with political unrest within living memory, Kay's pamphlet was published not only in a period of fear of violence, but also in a period of health concerns, mostly due to the threat of the cholera pandemic in 1831 and 1832. As a result, the pamphlet was gratefully received by Kay's fellow physicians and reformers. Furthermore as Kay was a regular visitor to the sick and unwell poor in their own environment, it is of little surprise that public health was a main concern of Kay's, and henceforth one of the

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<sup>142</sup> Tholfsen, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth on Popular Education*, p. 6.

<sup>143</sup> Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*, p. 26.

<sup>144</sup> Tholfsen, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>145</sup> Tholfsen, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 16.



three major theories he proposed to improve the welfare of the poor.

The pamphlet incorporates over fifteen pages of discussion on public health, and is very descriptive with provocative imagery of Kay's observations of the working class districts and sanitary issues. For example, he writes, 'in some districts of the town exist evils so remarkable as to require more minute description. A portion of low, swampy ground, liable to be frequently inundated, and to constant exhalation, is included between a high bank over which the Oxford Road passes, and a bend of the river Medlock, where its course is impeded by weirs.....About two hundred of these habitations are crowded together in an extremely narrow space, and are inhabited by the lowest Irish.'<sup>146</sup>

Moreover, 'the houses of the poor, especially throughout the whole of the Districts Nos 1,2,3,4 are too generally built back to back, having therefore only one outlet, no yard, no privy, and no receptacle of refuse. Consequently, the narrow, unpaved streets, in which mud and water stagnate, become the common receptacles of offal and ordure.'<sup>147</sup>

Kay also details specific streets, 'In Parliament Street there is only one privy for three hundred and eighty inhabitants, which is placed in a narrow passage, whence its effluvia infest the adjacent houses, and must prove a most fertile source of disease'.<sup>148</sup> He also writes of the spread of disease in labouring districts, commenting that predisposition to contagious disease is encouraged by all the health issues facing the poor – dampness, uncleanliness of the street, lack of ventilation, want of clothing and fuel, and a contaminated atmosphere, as well as the prevalence of 'a state of physical depression which does not terminate in fatal organic changes, which, however, converts existence into a prolonged disease, and is not only compatible with life, but is proverbially protracted to an advanced senility.'<sup>149</sup> The *Manchester Times and Gazette* agree with Kay's descriptions of the poor and the problem of disease amongst the labouring population stating,

'his house is ill furnished, uncleanly, often ill ventilated, perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious; he is debilitated and hypochondria, and falls the victim of dissipation....whilst this state continues, the patient loses flesh, his features are sharpened, the skin becomes pale.....the strength fails, all the capacities of physical enjoyment are destroyed, the paroxysms of corporal suffering are aggravated by the horrors of a disordered imagination, till they lead to a gloomy apprehension, to the deepest depression, and

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<sup>146</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 21.

<sup>147</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 25.

<sup>148</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 70.

<sup>149</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, pp. 13 and 44.

almost to despair.<sup>150</sup>

As a result of the spread of disease and the physical problems faced by the poor, Kay holds inadequate planning responsible for the degradation of some of the districts he visited. Consequently, he offers a number of theories for improving the health of the poor, demanding better street planning, adequate drainage and paving, and for houses to be whitewashed annually, 'Streets should be built according to plans determined by a body of commissioners, specially elected for the purpose – their width should bear a certain relation to the size and elevation of the houses erected.'<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, he holds landlords, not tenants responsible for this. 'Landlords should be compelled, on the erection of any house, to provide sufficient means of drainage, and each to pave his respective area of the street'.<sup>152</sup> He also states that Inspectors should be appointed to enforce his suggestions. Kay also suggests an alternative way to make use of Irish migrants to help improve public health by, 'employing its redundant labour in great public works – such as draining bogs, making public roads, canals, harbours, &c., by which the entire available capital of the country would be increased and the people would be trained in industrious habits, and more civilized manners.'<sup>153</sup>

Kay also proposes an improvement in police powers to suppress any working class violence. He states, 'The police form, in fact, so weak a screen against the power of the mob, that popular violence is now, in almost every instance, controlled by the presence of a military force'.<sup>154</sup> He suggests then, 'that special police regulations should be framed for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of that gross neglect of decency and violation of order, whose effects we have described'.<sup>155</sup> Ideally these proposals would be taken forward by the municipal powers of Manchester and the welfare of the poor improved but in reality, Kay had little power to influence decisions, and at this stage of his life, Kay did not have the wealth to implement his own theories. Furthermore, although a great deal of his time was absorbed with medical issues, Kay was also developing the wider interests in Manchester that would gradually redirect his attentions from public health towards statistical investigations, the moral importance of frugality and most noticeably, the provision of education for the poor.

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<sup>150</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 28 April 1832, p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 70.

<sup>152</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 70.

<sup>153</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 54.

<sup>154</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 26.

<sup>155</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 70.

## Theory Two – An Improvement in Class Relations and Private Charity

The development of a paternalistic relationship between employee and employer is suggested by Kay as a way to improve the welfare of the poor, as he believed they had contributed to their own misery and distress by mistaking the relationship between themselves and capitalists, and that much good would result from a more general and cordial association of the higher and lower classes.<sup>156</sup> Although highlighted as one of the main solutions that could remedy the moral and physical evils facing the poor, the enlightenment of the capitalist and the giving of charity between upper and lower classes is difficult to define, as it is easy to argue this was a form of control, rather than an innocent and paternalistic measure that enabled the poor to benefit from the rich's generosity and knowledge.

Kay suggested that strengthening class relations between the rich and poor would be hugely beneficial, and would create order and stability in the relationship that would reinforce middle class position in society. Indeed, nearly all the benefits of improving class relations that Kay states are positive for the wealthy rather than the poor, perhaps unsurprising as Kay was keen to establish himself firmly into the professional middle class of Manchester during this period. For example, one of Kay's main proposals is that every employer should visit the houses of his employee, drawing example from the Provident Society in Liverpool.<sup>157</sup> This type of relationship enabled the rich to witness the way in which his employees lived, giving the middle class an insight into the character of the workforce. Kay even suggests that an employer should not provide work for any labourer who could not prove that they were a good, honest, hardworking operative, 'principle and interest admonish him to receive none into his employ, unless they can produce the most satisfactory attestations to their character'.<sup>158</sup> Kay also suggests that when visiting their employees, the middle classes should teach them about planning for the future, saving, and their diet and health. Again sharing the example of the Provident Society, Kay writes, 'They visit the people in their houses – sympathise with their distresses, and minister to the wants of the necessitous; but above all, they acquire, by their charity, the right of inquiring into their arrangements – of instructing them in domestic economy – of recommending sobriety, cleanliness, forethought and method'.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 64.

<sup>157</sup> Kay would go on to found a Provident Society in March 1833.

<sup>158</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 64.

<sup>159</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 63.

Such a scheme was in many ways also beneficial for the poor as they could potentially improve their standard of living. As a consequence, Kay believed it was the responsibility of the employer to stop treating the poor merely as subjects of labour, but to also encourage them to become intellectually stimulated by opening Mechanics' Institutes so that they could feel they had value. This would build trust with their employer, and thus intelligence and knowledge could flow from higher to lower classes.

Charity from the rich to the poor was a further area that Kay believed could be improved. He states the poor turned to the Poor Law and overseer for assistance rather than the rich in times of need which distanced the two classes and extended their differences, 'few aged or decrepit pensioners now gratefully receive the visits of the higher classes – few of the poor seek the counsel, the admonitions, and assistance of the rich in the period of inevitable accidents of life'.<sup>160</sup> The Poor Law, then, had, 'created a wide gulf between the higher and lower order of the community, across which the scowl of hatred banishes the smile of charity and love'.<sup>161</sup>

This theory – the improvement of class relations and the giving of charity - is something in which Kay would become heavily involved with later in his life. In his early career in Manchester he was unable to enter into such paternalistic relationships with the poor, as he did not have the wealth nor influence to do so. In Burnley and Padiham, his heightened social status and the responsibilities this gave him enabled Kay to undertake a superior and hugely influential role.

### **Theory Three – The Provision of Education for the Poor**

Kay suggests that if improving class relations in order to narrow the gulf between rich and poor and limit the threat of working class revolt was to be successful, education had to be imparted from one class to another. Kay demonstrates in the pamphlet that he firmly believed education was a tool for improving the moral and physical welfare of the poor and suggested that they should be given a substantial education that ought to include a general knowledge, amusement, reading and writing, so that man could gain pleasure from learning, as well as improve their skills in the factory and potentially therefore

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<sup>160</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>161</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 27.

increase their wages and improve their living conditions. Kay states, 'Those portions of the exact sciences which are connected with his occupation, should be familiarly explained to him, by popular lectures'.<sup>162</sup> Furthermore, he suggests workers should be taught about politics, 'The ascertained truths of political science should be early taught to the labouring classes, and correct political information should be constantly and industriously disseminated amongst them'.<sup>163</sup> Analysing the pamphlet in 1833, the *Westminster Review* stated its agreement that education was important as a means to improve the conditions of the poor. 'There is no system of national education for the people. Imperfect means of acquiring knowledge are partially distributed by the spontaneous efforts of individuals, but useful knowledge is not diffused....A wise government would provide institutions of the most liberal and popular character, for the political instruction of the poor; and taxes would no longer shackle the diffusion of sound principles amongst the masses.'<sup>164</sup>

Believing that everyone was the instigator of their own fortune, Kay was keen to give man the tools to earn his own money, understand the dangers that faced him, and the ways in which to escape them. This would appeal to Kay's readers, as it also lessened dependence on the state and the wealth of the upper and middle classes. Furthermore, it could help to prevent social unrest and control the threat of an uprising, 'The increase of intelligence and virtue amongst the mass of the people will prove our surest safeguard'.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, 'preservation of internal peace...depends on the education of the working class.'<sup>166</sup>

Kay was keen to impart sufficient education to the poor so that they understood the consequences of their actions and the importance of social stability, 'A little knowledge.....is proverbially a dangerous thing. Alarming disturbances of social order generally commence with a people only partially instructed'.<sup>167</sup> Ultimately, Kay believed that there were external factors influencing the poor, encouraging violent behaviour but the type of education that Kay promoted, 'shall teach the people in what consists their true happiness, and how their interests may be best promoted'.<sup>168</sup> Whilst the pamphlet contains vivid imagery to prompt public health improvements, education as a solution for improving the conditions of the poor was becoming important to Kay. Indeed, it was a topic that would be intrinsic to his professional career, with Kay becoming known as one of the pioneers of educational

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<sup>162</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 63.

<sup>163</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 63.

<sup>164</sup> Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, *The Westminster Review – Volume 18*, p. 385.

<sup>165</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 62.

<sup>166</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 60.

<sup>167</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 61.

<sup>168</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 74.

reform in Britain and the pamphlet is demonstration of his initial interest and faith in the issue of decreasing pauperism through teaching.<sup>169</sup> Reflecting back to his time in Manchester in his 1877 autobiography, Kay wrote that he believed that the physical condition of the people was incapable of permanent improvement without increasing their intelligence, and thus the influence of education was needed to transform the mass of the people.<sup>170</sup>

In the pamphlet, Kay does not offer any firm suggestions for imparting education to the poor – this is something he would develop in the following years when an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner and Secretary to the Privy Council on Education. However, he does discuss the previously mentioned example of the success of the Liverpool Provident Society as a way for instructing the poor in good habits, and he also uses the example of Mr Thomas Ashton of Hyde who has 'built a school, where 640 children, chiefly belonging to his establishment, are instructed on Sunday, in reading, writing, arithmetic, &c. A library, connected with this school, is eagerly resorted to, and the people frequently read after the hours of labour have expired. An infant school is, during the week, attended by 280 children, and in the evenings others are instructed by masters selected for the purpose.'<sup>171</sup> Kay would go on to develop several theories for using education and training as a tool to improve the welfare of the poor and eliminate pauperism in children, for instance – examinations, the pupil-teacher system, colleges for training teachers, and a system of school inspectors.

In summary, there is little doubt that the concerns Kay raised about the welfare of the poor in his pamphlet were well founded, and that the evidence presented demonstrated that the poor in Manchester were suffering because of the moral and physical conditions they faced. He also recognised the importance of helping them to improve their position in society, stating that the operative population constituted one of the most important elements of society, and when numerically considered, the magnitude of its interests and the extent of its power assumed such vast proportions, that the folly which neglects them is allied to madness.<sup>172</sup>

Kay used particularly emotive language in his pamphlet that invoked fear in his

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<sup>169</sup> Pollard, *Pioneers of Popular Education*, p. 271.

<sup>170</sup> Bloomfield, *The autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 12.

<sup>171</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>172</sup> Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 72.

audience and coupled this with vivid descriptions of the living conditions of the operative population. This was an essential tool that attracted attention to Kay and his role as a physician and social investigator. The image that Kay created of a dirty, vicious, and unstable working class was also very clear for the reader to witness on a daily basis and was an opinion that had been formed since the middle classes started moving out of towns and cities and created the suburbs. Indeed, Kay's peers only had to look at the skyline of Manchester to witness the dirty polluted town that was growing rapidly.

After persuading his reader that the poor were not necessarily responsible for their own position in society, he presented three main theories for their development – an improvement in public health, class relations and the provision of education. As has been discussed, Kay had spent much of his time attending to the poor in their own homes and consequently, he had first-hand knowledge of the conditions they faced and he was therefore in an ideal position to produce the pamphlet and for his audience to trust his representations of the poor.

### **Kay in Manchester after 1832**

Evidence of Kay's other involvements after the publication of the pamphlet in 1832 further demonstrate the strengthening of Kay's social status. For example, Kay was a founding member and Honorary Secretary of the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society.<sup>173</sup> Also established as a result of Kay's pamphlet, the society was formed on March 20 1833 after a meeting between Kay, Heywood, and William Langton at the Mayoral Dining Room in the Town Hall.<sup>174</sup> The aim of the society was to obtain a moral influence over the poor via the encouragement of frugality and forethought, and the occasional relief of sickness and unavoidable misfortune. Kay gave reports to the society on the benefits of the poor saving their earnings rather than turning to the Poor Law for relief. The *Manchester Times and Gazette* detailed one such report stating that Kay 'hoped that the moral character of the poor would be so much improved by the society that they would ultimately be led to choose this rather than apply to the poor rates.'<sup>175</sup> The society grew quickly and soon had a committee of over 60 members. Once again, Kay divided Manchester into districts with the objective of organising house to house visits to impart

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<sup>173</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 20 March 1833, p. 3.

<sup>174</sup> Langton was also a founder of the Manchester Statistical Society, a cashier at Heywood's bank, and a close friend of Kay's.

<sup>175</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times and Gazette*, 8 February 1834, p. 3.

advice and offer occasional financial relief. The society also undertook steps to support the poor by opening penny banks. Kay was also involved with the Lancashire Commercial Clerks' Society during this time, which was linked closely to Kay's research on saving banks and further demonstrates the breadth of his interests.

The Manchester Mechanics' Institute was established on April 7 1824 at a meeting held at the Bridgewater Arms. The concept of the Mechanics' Institute in England began in the 1820s as a way to offer basic scientific instruction to the working classes. Although many Mechanics' Institutes that were founded during this early period failed, those that did survive became important centres of adult education. As the century progressed, they became overwhelmingly established as vehicles of improvement for skilled workers, usually under middle class control.<sup>176</sup> Indeed, by the 1850s and 1860s, lectures and classes had expanded to include light-hearted activities such as parties and soirees.<sup>177</sup> Hunt describes the Mechanics' Institute as the most popular and radical institute of the Victorian period, stating that even by 1826 there were already twenty Mechanics' Institutes in Lancashire and Yorkshire alone. By 1850, this number had grown to 700, with a total membership of over 120,000 people.<sup>178</sup> Amongst the founding members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute were gentlemen who would become some of Kay's closest acquaintances, Benjamin Heywood (President between 1824 and 1841), John Dalton, Robert Hyde Greg (cotton manufacturer and brother of William) and William Henry (brother of Charles Henry – Kay's earliest competitor for role of physician at the Infirmary and Board of Health colleague). Funds were pledged to allow land to be purchased for the Institute on Cooper Street, with classes held in music, French, German, nature, art and science. From 1834, classes were also run for younger boys and girls. Manchester's Mechanics' Institute had been started by employers rather than mechanics, and as a result was not as strongly supported by artisans as other Institutes. Nonetheless, Kay was involved with the Manchester Mechanics' Institute and was for a short time in the early 1830s one of the directors of the Institute, a position that demonstrated he had been accepted as part of local society.<sup>179</sup>

In 1834, Kay became a referee for the Manchester branch of the Argus Life Assurance Company. This was an institution that offered 'lower rates of premium than in any other

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<sup>176</sup> Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, p. 311.

<sup>177</sup> Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, p. 312.

<sup>178</sup> Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The rise and fall of the Victorian City* (Phoenix Books: London. 2005), pp. 166-167.

<sup>179</sup> Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p.89.



office' to persons wishing to insure their lives, including military and navy personnel.<sup>180</sup> In the same year, Kay also published *The Physiology, Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia*. Kay was rewarded with some national recognition for his work, with the *London Medical Gazette* writing of his most recent publication, 'Doctor Kay has acquitted himself with a great ability, he shows a very extensive knowledge of his subject....the volume may be considered as a summary of the author's matured opinions regarding several points of interest.....we cannot but recommend it strongly to the attention of practitioners.'<sup>181</sup> Also in 1834, Kay became a member of the Salford Humane Society. Founded in 1789 to reward those who showed courage and self-devotion on occasions when life was endangered by water or fire, as a member of the committee, Kay would consider applications for rewards for those who had saved another's life.<sup>182</sup>

Continuing with his medical interests, Kay was present at the creation of the Manchester Medical Society on September 4 1834. Kay along with 70 other physicians, met at the York Hotel in Manchester to establish a medical library and reading room to 'further the cultivation and promotion of medicine and all related sciences.'<sup>183</sup> As a result, the Manchester Medical Society began operating from a rented room at 40 Faulkner Street, close to the Manchester Royal Infirmary. Throughout this period, Kay had cemented his status as a respected physician due to his role in the cholera crisis, his pamphlet and other publications, and his work with the Manchester Board of Health. However, his success at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary was mixed. By February 1833, the number of home patients had dropped to 14 and the number of out-patients to just 15.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, in May 1835, Kay suffered a further humiliating setback when Charles Henry resigned from his position at the Manchester Royal Infirmary and Kay launched himself into electioneering for the post, advertising widely. Kay's only opponent was Doctor Charles Phillips, a dispensary physician like Kay. Despite his successes in Manchester, Kay lost to Phillips by 179 votes. Having waited seven years for the opportunity, the defeat was a bitter blow.<sup>185</sup>

In July 1835, Kay was appointed as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner and left Manchester for Norfolk. Undoubtedly, Kay's success was a direct consequence of the way

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<sup>180</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January 1834, p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> BNA: *London Medical Gazette*, 26 April 1834, p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 5 April 1834, p. 2.

<sup>183</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 13 September 1834, p.2.

<sup>184</sup> BNA: *Manchester Times*, 9 February 1833, p. 2

<sup>185</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 101.

in which he had established himself as a valuable member of society in Manchester through his involvement in the various societies and institutes that this chapter has discussed. However, some still questioned Kay's appointment to the role. 'The *Manchester Chronicle* of Saturday last insinuates that our respected fellow townsman has been selected as an assistant poor-law commissioner by Mr Poulett Thompson, in consequence of "his active and very efficient services upon Mr Thompson's electioneering committee".....we think it right to state, on the very best authority that no communication ever took place between Mr Poulett Thompson and Dr Kay on the subject of the appointment in question, and that Mr Thompson had no more to do with the making of the appointment, or in the selection of Dr Kay for it, than had the editor of the *Manchester Chronicle*.'<sup>186</sup>

Clearly, then, some were still suspicious of Kay and felt that his success was ill-gained. Despite the way he had integrated into local society, some would still consider him to be an outsider. For example, Kay had an eighteen month courtship with the daughter of James Kennedy, a cotton magnate and treasurer of the Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary. However Kennedy rejected Kay's proposal of an engagement as he felt Kay was financially insecure and an unsuitable match for his daughter.<sup>187</sup>

Part one of this research has considered Kay's role in Manchester, including the context of the period in which he produced his pamphlet and other publications. It is evident from the research that Kay began his career committed to medicine and public health. His role as a physician at the Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary brought him into contact with the poor, and the cholera epidemic enabled Kay to witness at first-hand the devastating impact of disease on Manchester's working classes. Unsurprisingly, then, Kay devoted a great deal of his pamphlet to public health issues that would improve the moral and physical condition of the poor. Whilst Kay suffered from some professional setbacks during his time in Manchester, his willingness to become involved with sanitary issues through the Board of Health and his medical publications demonstrate his commitment to the cause.

However, Kay had little opportunity to implement any of the sanitary improvements that he proposed in the pamphlet. When he arrived in Manchester he was a student doctor, yet

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<sup>186</sup> TJRL: *Manchester Guardian*, 25 July 1835, p. 2.

<sup>187</sup> Emmett, 'Classic text revisited: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes (1832)', p. 189.

when he left in 1835, he had established several influential friendships and his pamphlet had helped him to become a more recognisable figure. For example, Kay worked with the physicians Charles Henry and Henry Goulter at the Manchester Board of Health, Benjamin Heywood at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute and Manchester Statistical Society, and was in contact with Charles Poulett Thompson – MP for Manchester in 1832. Kay also knew James Kennedy and the Greg family who were well-known, wealthy industrialists at Quarry Bank Mill in Styal. His pamphlet also brought him recognition from the *Westminster Review* and *Manchester Guardian*. Selleck suggests that Kay craved social acceptance, and part one of this thesis has demonstrated that in many ways, Kay achieved this, especially considering that when he left Manchester, Kay had been appointed to the role of an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner.

Yet Kay was not welcomed by all as a member of Manchester society. For instance, Kay's marriage proposal to Helen Kennedy was not accepted due to his financial insecurity. It has also been demonstrated that Kay's pamphlet was substantially based upon William Greg's *An Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population and the Causes and Cures of the Evils Therein Existing*. His appointment to the role of Assistant Poor Law Commissioner was also questioned by some as a political favour from Poulett Thompson to thank Kay for his support in his election. A critical examination of the pamphlet also raised questions regarding Kay's use of statistics and the manipulation of the figures he presented. This creates an image of Kay as an ambitious social climber, who energetically latched on to other people's ideas and presented them as their own in order to achieve the recognition and acceptance he desired. Regardless of his motives, by 1835 evidence demonstrates that Kay was certainly more established in Manchester society compared to when he first arrived in the town in 1828.

Most importantly, education became a key interest of Kay's during the period. He became involved with the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, and his pamphlet details his belief in the importance of the provision of education for the poor and the benefits this could present. At this stage, Kay also foresaw the impact that the imparting of knowledge would have on strengthening the position of the middle classes, an issue that was important to them during periods of unrest and political agitation. However, it would not be until later in his career that education would overtake public health as Kay's main interest and primary tool for improving the condition of the poor.

Part two of this thesis will examine Kay's role in Burnley and Padiham, and discuss his theories for the improvement of the poor that Kay had established in the intervening years of his professional career. Kay had raised the importance of strong class relations and social stability in his pamphlet and whilst in Manchester he lacked the wealth, social position and status to implement the theories he had formed and communicated in his pamphlet, this changed when he became a member of the landed elite in Lancashire. Part two will therefore consider if Kay was able to fulfil the responsibilities of a paternalistic landowner, and if he was willing and able to expand and implement his own theories for the moral and physical improvement of the poor.

**Part Two:**  
**Burnley, Padiham and Lancashire**  
**1842 to 1877**

## Chapter Five

### Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and the Provision of Education in Burnley and Padiham

Kay-Shuttleworth had first met Janet when she had written to him in order to ask for his advice on the development of Gawthorpe School in 1839.<sup>188</sup> Such a pairing was perhaps unusual; Beckett suggests that the social standing of a family was endangered by marriage outside of the group, and marriage partners were generally sought within 'a narrow social elite which severely restricted the opportunities for newcomers'.<sup>189</sup> Certainly Janet's family had grave concerns about the union and Kay's motivations, with her step father labelling Kay 'a fortune hunter' and 'a great Educationist, but a mere sub-Commissioner of Poor Laws'.<sup>190</sup> Despite their anxieties, Janet and James were married in 1842 and Kay assumed Janet's name.<sup>191</sup> Whilst he did not have the considerable wealth or background that the Shuttleworth's may have desired, Kay-Shuttleworth was considered a national expert on education and known for his significant professional career. This therefore made him at least considered as a potential match for Janet.

Although he arrived at Gawthorpe in 1842, it was not until the late 1850s and early 1860s that Kay-Shuttleworth was fully able to make a noticeable impact in Burnley and Padiham. Between 1850 and 1859, there was a string of education bills that came before Parliament that Kay-Shuttleworth was involved with. Until at least 1855, his own ill health was also a concern - Kay-Shuttleworth had epilepsy and suffered from alarming fits.<sup>192</sup> This led to the breakdown of his marriage to Janet, and by October 1855, it was acknowledged that the separation of the two was complete.<sup>193</sup> The rest of the decade was spent recuperating at Gawthorpe, and Kay-Shuttleworth occupied himself with managing the estate. He also employed Charles Barry to complete substantial renovations and improvements to the Hall.<sup>194</sup>

As a wealthy landowner, Kay-Shuttleworth had certain responsibilities. Beckett states

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<sup>188</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, pp. 326-327.

<sup>189</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 103.

<sup>190</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 188 and p. 185.

<sup>191</sup> Janet's mother had suggested Kay take on the family name in marriage, as it would give him 'a sort of factitious pedigree'. Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 187.

<sup>192</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 286.

<sup>193</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 285.

<sup>194</sup> Selleck, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 329.

that, 'most aristocrats accepted that they should stand at the head of the local community, but this could be achieved in a number of ways; in particular, through the activities which took place in and around the country house, and which can be regarded as serving to enforce the ties of social deference within the community, and through the actions and events beyond the house which helped to portray the landlord as the cohesive pillar upon which local society necessarily leant for support.'<sup>195</sup> This could be exercised in a variety of ways, from undertaking Poor Law chores, to building churches and providing other local facilities such as allotments and food and clothing during harsh winters. Furthermore, 'community deference could be encouraged by providing prizes for agricultural shows, and cups for horseracing, as well as attendance at hunt balls and race meetings.'<sup>196</sup> Obvious means of supporting the local community also came through the financing of a school building, and providing basic reading and writing instruction for the local people.<sup>197</sup> As Kay-Shuttleworth was well-known for his influential educational work, it is hardly surprising that this subject would become his primary focus in his new home, despite the context of the period that was heavily focused on public health improvements. Various national acts had been introduced throughout the period, such as the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, the 1840 Vaccination Act, and in Burnley, an Improvement Act was passed in 1846. This provoked a considerable change to local administration with the election of sixty commissioners by the votes of ratepayers. Winstanley suggests that the establishment of such groups of commissioners 'were possibly the most tangible manifestation of an emerging middle-class civic consciousness.'<sup>198</sup> Nevertheless, education was emerging as an important topic and several day schools had been established in Burnley before Kay-Shuttleworth's arrival, including Saint Peter's National School in 1828, Back Lane in 1834, Lane Head in 1835, Trinity and Saint James in 1839, and All Saints in 1840.

## **The Provision of Elementary Education**

Despite Kay-Shuttleworth's earlier interest in public health and medicine in Manchester, education had now become his main theory for improving the welfare of the poor, and he became involved in several educational establishments in Burnley and Padiham. The development of Gawthorpe School had originally united Janet and James,

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<sup>195</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 337.

<sup>196</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 10.

<sup>197</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 350.

<sup>198</sup> Michael Winstanley, 'Owners and Occupiers: Property, politics and middle-class formation in early industrial Lancashire', in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds), *The Making of the British middle class? Studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 97.

and the establishment would become an interest for the entirety of Kay-Shuttleworth's life. It was financed jointly by the family and the Dugdales until it was taken over by the Burnley School Board in 1898.<sup>199</sup> Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, the couple's eldest son, commented afterwards, 'my father helped her to develop it, so that it became and remained one of the best equipped and most efficiently staffed voluntary schools.'<sup>200</sup>

In 1856, on the orders of Kay-Shuttleworth, the construction of a group of Church of England schools also began in Padiham. Kay-Shuttleworth provided financial backing with wealthy members of local society providing subscriptions. An infant school, mistress's residence and a classroom were the first to be erected at an outlay of £1,100.<sup>201</sup> Furthermore, in 1870, whilst the New Education Bill was pending, Kay-Shuttleworth undertook in his own responsibility, to build a spacious girls' school, at a cost of £500. A boys' school completed the block of buildings designated for elementary education purposes.<sup>202</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth also provided land for the project and by 1871, Partridge Hill School was complete. The *Burnley Advertiser* stated; 'the undertaking was originated by the earnest desire of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who undertook to solicit subscriptions from the landowners and gentry of the neighbourhood, in which he succeeded to the amount of £760, the Duke of Buccleugh and General Scarlett each giving £200, and himself giving the site.'<sup>203</sup>

As founder, Kay-Shuttleworth played an important and influential role in the construction and administration of the school. The building of the site took over fifteen years, and therefore demonstrates Kay-Shuttleworth's long standing commitment to providing education for the poor in Padiham. Furthermore, Kay-Shuttleworth organised the teaching staff. Reflecting after his father's death, Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth wrote 'My father bestowed infinite pains on the selection, for the three departments of each of these schools, of the very best trained certificated head teachers, often bringing the mistresses of girls' and infants' departments from training colleges in Scotland, the merits of which he knew well. These teachers, and their assistants, and the pupil-teachers he used to treat as friends and I remember many occasions on which they were invited to tea in the dining-hall

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<sup>199</sup> The Dugdale family were well-known cotton manufacturers in the area, as they owned Lowerhouse Mills in Burnley and employed many local people. Brian Hall, *Lowerhouse and the Dugdales: The Story of a Lancashire Mill Community* (Burnley: Burnley District Society, 1976).

<sup>200</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 327.

<sup>201</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 September 1871, p. 3.

<sup>202</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 September 1871, p. 3.

<sup>203</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 September 1871, p. 3.



at Gawthorpe.<sup>204</sup> This is therefore evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth's contributions to initiatives to improve the condition of the poor, and moreover, provides proof that Kay-Shuttleworth was able to reflect the theories he had previously formed on a national stage and implement them on a local level. However Beckett argues that supporting the local school was one of the most typical activities of the Victorian landowner, suggesting that Kay-Shuttleworth was not extraordinary for his class.<sup>205</sup>

Before construction of the group of schools at Partridge Hill had begun, Kay-Shuttleworth had established the Padiham Trades School in 1854. Designed to embrace a wider curriculum than an elementary school, the Trades School offered the study of language, literature, biography, and history, as well as geography, mathematics, mechanics and commercial applications. It was an education for the artisan classes and both the *Preston Chronicle* and *Burnley Advertiser* detailed its opening. Of the importance of Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement, the *Preston Chronicle* stated, 'Padiham has been fortunate in having the advantage of his advice and assistance in the establishment and improvement of the elementary school.'<sup>206</sup> To celebrate the opening of the Trades School, Kay-Shuttleworth held a dinner for two hundred neighbours in the dining room at Gawthorpe and 'delivered a highly instructive and elaborate address, occupying upwards of two hours in the delivery, showing that education is essential to the success of trade and commerce, and to the better understanding of the labour question.'<sup>207</sup> He also spoke to his tenants and neighbours on the importance of education for their families and the necessity of improving their character.<sup>208</sup> However, whilst the newspaper articles demonstrate that Kay-Shuttleworth was the main financial contributor of the school, he left the day to day administration to others and selected Mr Noble – a trainee teacher from his Battersea Training College as the master of the school.

The Trades School failed to ignite sufficient local interest and was closed in 1857.<sup>209</sup> Undeterred and perhaps encouraged by his ongoing project at Partridge Hill, in 1863 Kay-Shuttleworth established the Padiham Trades Hall. This was an attempt to provide a safe environment for those who had received some education, so that they could avoid the temptations of alcohol, indulgence, and any associated moral degradation. In December

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<sup>204</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 327.

<sup>205</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 351.

<sup>206</sup> BNA: *Preston Chronicle*, 14 January 1854, p. 2.

<sup>207</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 4 February 1854, p. 2.

<sup>208</sup> BNA: *Preston Chronicle*, 14 January 1854, p. 2.

<sup>209</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 248.

1862, Kay-Shuttleworth held a meeting to propose the formation of the Trades Hall and to explain its function and how it could benefit the poor. Over 2,000 people were present at the meeting which was held in a loom shed in Padiham demonstrating the interest in the venture.<sup>210</sup> The Trades Hall offered a canteen serving coffee, tea, soup, bread, cheese, hotpot and rice pudding for a small fee and a newsroom after 6pm for smokers was located on the ground floor, whilst the first floor offered refreshments for females. Classes and meetings were held on the second floor, with maps, books, and items of furniture provided from the abandoned Trades School. The Trades Hall was used extensively during the cotton famine which will be discussed in the following chapter, and use of the Hall continued until 1870 when it was given to the Liberal Club and is further evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in the improvement of the poor.

Despite Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement with the cause of education in Burnley and Padiham, he was not a member of the Burnley School Board that was formed in 1871 under the provisions of the Education Act of 1870. The Burnley School Board was charged with making school attendance compulsory, levying education rates, and formulating an educational policy for the town and one of the Board's responsibilities was to appoint a clerk. Regardless of Kay-Shuttleworth's absence as a member, he nonetheless involved himself in this decision by writing a letter to the Board to offer his opinion on who should be appointed. The Board were clearly impressed with his desire to be involved, and perhaps encouraged by his public reputation, they considered that 'no one was better able to judge on these matters, and he (Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) thought it was unnecessary for the clerk to devote the whole of his time to the work. He recommended very highly a man of the name of Shore'.<sup>211</sup> Reports in the *Burnley Advertiser* demonstrate that Kay-Shuttleworth continued to be involved in the appointment, as at a meeting in March 1874, Mr Shore was discussed and nominated as a candidate for the role. The article states that Shore had been an organising master for the ELU for the previous six years, and 'the fact of his having obtained ten science certificates is a proof of his intellectual power and his devotion to educational work'.<sup>212</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth's aim for the ELU had been realised and Shore's success had been noted due to the examinations he had sat and the certificates he had received. Furthermore, the Board received a further letter from Kay-Shuttleworth – 'there is another testimonial from Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, indisputably the greatest educationalist in England. Sir James speaks in the highest terms of the

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<sup>210</sup> BNA: *Blackburn Standard*, 24 December 1862, p. 3.

<sup>211</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 25 February 1874, p. 2.

<sup>212</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 11 March 1874, p. 2.

character, ability, and fitness of Mr Shore for the office of clerk'.<sup>213</sup> Even at this late stage of his life, Kay-Shuttleworth was still able to cultivate the right people and his views and opinions were clearly still highly regarded as Mr Shore went on to be appointed as clerk. His absence from the Board is interesting, although by this stage Kay-Shuttleworth was 70 years of age and spending some of his time living in Eastbourne. However, he was evidently still keen to influence and take part in education-related decisions and his interest in the subject had very much continued.

Kay-Shuttleworth had an all-encompassing interest in the cause of education, and aside from using it as a tool to improve the condition of the poor and working classes, he was also involved with the provision of education for the rich. Burnley Grammar School provided education for the sons of wealthy farmers, the gentry, and professional men, in order to enable them to enter University or begin careers, and was solely governed by the town's landed elites.<sup>214</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth became a life governor of the school in 1860, along with other local landowners such as General James Yorke Scarlett, T H Whitaker, the Reverend William Thursby, and the Reverend Arthur Towneley-Parker. These gentlemen were responsible for the appointment of headmasters and the administration of finances and the governors were also expected to be at the forefront of making donations and subscriptions. For example, when subscriptions for the construction of a new building were announced in May 1860, the *Burnley Advertiser* listed Kay-Shuttleworth as the highest donor, with a gift of £250, with the next largest - £105 from George Slater.<sup>215</sup> Involvement in the Grammar School was not an opportunity for Kay-Shuttleworth to implement his own initiatives or help the poor, but his reputation as a national expert was beneficial and his acquired disposable wealth enabled him to display his social status and be considered an equal amongst his fellow elites. Kay-Shuttleworth was also involved in the creation of a new Burnley Grammar School in 1871.<sup>216</sup> He was appointed as Chairman of the new School's Board, with T H Whitaker as Vice-Chairman.<sup>217</sup> The old Grammar School had closed in 1871 as the buildings were considered unfit for purpose and several cottages had to be cleared away, pathways widened and the new school built at an expense of around £4,000 in the intervening years. The project was completed under Kay-Shuttleworth's guidance, and it opened on 1 August 1874.

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<sup>213</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 11 March 1874, p. 2.

<sup>214</sup> Bennett, *History of Burnley Volume 3*, p. 323.

<sup>215</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 17 May 1860, p. 1.

<sup>216</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 22 April 1871, p. 2.

<sup>217</sup> Thomas Hordern Whitaker was aged 56 in the 1871 census, and lived at the Holme in Cliviger. Extremely wealthy, following his death in 1889 his estate was valued at £167,844 4s 7d.

## Burnley Mechanics' Institute

The concept of the Burnley Mechanics' Institute originally arose out of a suggestion between three workers at Marshland's Foundry - Thomas Booth, William Wood, and Joseph Leeming, to establish a small public library. After holding a meeting in 1834, a library club was opened to the public for a small subscription, 'to facilitate and promote the diffusion of general knowledge among the operative mechanics and other inhabitants of Burnley and its neighbourhood'.<sup>218</sup> The library was to consist of useful books on the arts, sciences, philosophy, history, travels and literature. At first situated in the Meadows area of Burnley, a larger room was soon taken near the Swann Inn. The scheme developed beyond expectation, and steps were taken to form an Institution with the Justices of the Peace accepting the rules of 'The Burnley Mechanics' Institute' on January 3rd 1844. A 700 volume library was accompanied by classes in mathematics, grammar, and music as well as lectures on popular subjects. After moving to new premises in 1851 the new Mechanics' Institute was officially opened in July 1855. Subscriptions for the library were 6s 6d a year, for the lectures 6s 6d a year, and for full membership of both, 10s a year. Life membership of the library and lectures was charged at 10 guineas, and life membership of either the library or lectures was 5 guineas.<sup>219</sup> Those involved with the Mechanics' Institute were keen to make it one of the most important centres of adult education in Lancashire. After the new building was finally opened in 1855, educational classes became well-known throughout the area and according to Bennett, the Burnley Mechanics' Institute became the centre of community life.<sup>220</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth first appears at meetings of the Burnley Mechanics' Institute in 1854, shortly before the breakdown of his marriage. He was a firm believer in the Mechanics' Institute as a successful vehicle of education for the adult working classes stating in 1858; 'There are probably in Great Britain 750 to 800 Mechanics' Institutions, with from 120,000 to 130,000 members', and from 25,000 to 30,000 pupils in their evening classes. Of these, probably 300 institutions exist in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, with from 45,000 to 50,000 members, and 20,000 pupils in their evening classes. These are results too important to be neglected in any general scheme for the improvement of secondary

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<sup>218</sup> Walter Bennett, *History of Burnley Volume 3: 1650-1850 onwards* (Burnley: Burnley Corporation, 1946), p. 336.

<sup>219</sup> Bennett, *The History of Burnley, Volume 3*, p. 336.

<sup>220</sup> Bennett, *The History of Burnley, Volume 4*, p. 206.

instruction.<sup>221</sup>

Bennett suggests that Kay-Shuttleworth was keenly interested in the work of the Mechanics' Institute, and realized that it suffered from a dependence on teachers exhausted by six hours of instruction in day schools, on the voluntary exertions of ministers and other professional gentlemen, or the aid of men with very humble qualifications who only received one to two shillings per night for their services'.<sup>222</sup> The Mechanics' Institute therefore provided a perfect opportunity for Kay-Shuttleworth, as it created a platform for him to share and implement his own educational initiatives for improving the welfare of the poor. However, despite publicly professing his belief in the educational virtue of the Mechanics' Institute for the working classes, Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement with the Burnley Mechanics' Institute on a day to day basis was actually minimal and he occupied a more ceremonial role.

In Burnley, the Towneleys were the other significant landowning family. Indeed, Colonel Towneley appeared on Sanford and Townsend's map of "Great Governing Families" in 1865.<sup>223</sup> Catholic and Conservative, the family had occupied land in the area since the fifteenth century and were considered as the only aristocratic family in the local area. Colonel Towneley undertook the role of a paternalistic landowner and was involved in some charity work in the town. For instance, he was a member of the Burnley Relief Committee, and also President of the Mechanics' Institute although he was an unconfident public speaker and as such, he declined many invitations to preside at public functions.<sup>224</sup> He was therefore less visible to the residents of Burnley and Padiham, especially compared to the newly arrived, professionally successful and easily recognisable Kay-Shuttleworth. Colonel Towneley was also unable to fulfil his role as a local landowner inadequately, as in 1859 he failed to react to demands for the establishment of the Burnley Rifle Corps – an incident that will be discussed shortly.

Burnley was a transitioning town, and the group of local elites in which Kay-Shuttleworth moved must also be considered. Unsurprisingly, cotton manufacturers made up a large proportion of this group. For instance, the Moore family owned Parsonage Mill, and both John Moore and his son Henry went on to become members of the first Town

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<sup>221</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 254.

<sup>222</sup> Bennett, *The History of Burnley Volume 4*, p. 181.

<sup>223</sup> John Sanford and Meredith Townsend, *The Great Governing Families of England*, (Edinburgh, Blackwood and Sons, 1865)

<sup>224</sup> Bennett, *History of Burnley Volume 4: 1850 onwards*, p. 178.

Council in 1861. Others that occupied positions on the Council were James Folds, the owner of Rishton Mill and employed over two hundred workers; George Slater, who was a well-known manufacturer and owner of Sandygate Mill who provided housing for his employees on Slater Terrace; John Barnes, owner of Brierfield Mill and the town's mayor in 1862 and 1863; Thomas Turner Wilkinson, a school master; William Coultate who was a surgeon at Yorke Street; and finally, Anthony Buck Creeke, a solicitor who had relocated to Burnley from London at the age of thirteen.<sup>225</sup> As employers, they were in a prime position to observe the moral and physical issues facing the poor and class relations appear to have been strong between these gentlemen. Most were involved with the Burnley Mechanics' Institute – Coultate, John Moore and Henry Moore were all Vice Presidents – and some were active in the various educational establishments that will be discussed during this chapter.<sup>226</sup> In incidents of distress such as the cotton famine, all were willing to offer their support. Haines attributes this culture of class consciousness to the occupations and backgrounds of the aforementioned gentlemen, who in many cases had a newly established wealth due to their professional success and the rapid growth of the cotton industry.<sup>227</sup> However, whilst these gentlemen were willing to offer financial backing to the various initiatives that aided the development of the poor, none were involved to the same degree as Kay-Shuttleworth who now had the disposable wealth and influence to be active in many groups and furthermore, found his own establishments, implement his own theories and improve the condition of the poor. Therefore although Kay-Shuttleworth undertook his role in local society successfully by attaching his name and therefore an element of prestige to the proceedings of various established groups such as the Burnley Mechanics' Institute, it became his own activities and establishments that really captured his attention, and it was in these groups that he was willing and able to go above and beyond what was reasonably expected from a member of the landed elite.

When he was present at Burnley Mechanics' Institute events, Kay-Shuttleworth mostly appeared at annual soirees to impart his advice on the importance of education. For example, in March 1854 there was the thirteenth annual soiree and Kay-Shuttleworth addressed the audience.<sup>228</sup> Additionally in the *Burnley Advertiser* on 9 November 1861, notice appeared of the annual soiree and listed Kay-Shuttleworth as taking part in

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<sup>225</sup> CEB: 1861.

<sup>226</sup> Lancashire Record Office, Preston (hereafter LRO): *Burnley Mechanics' Institute Directors Minute Book 1860-1868*, DDX 1101/33/2, pp. 85-86.

<sup>227</sup> Molly Haines, *The Burnley Establishment, 1851-1881: composition and relationships, concerns and influence* (Burnley: Burnley District Society, 1984).

<sup>228</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, March 4, 1854 p. 3.

proceedings alongside Colonel Towneley, stating that he would be responsible for the awarding of prizes to members. However, the following week's editorial contained the news that Kay-Shuttleworth was unable to attend the meeting stating that he had been called to London; 'Probably engaged on the new Minute on Education.....a matter of much greater importance to the country, and in his attention to which he can be of much more service to it, than in attending a meeting at Burnley.'<sup>229</sup>

His limited involvement with the Mechanics' Institute and his appearances only at important, public events, suggests that Kay-Shuttleworth's interests lay elsewhere within situations that he could direct. Despite this, Kay-Shuttleworth's public reputation was enough to ensure that he was viewed with admiration and respect and he was easily forgiven for his absences as is demonstrated by the quote in the *Burnley Advertiser*. Additionally, he was clearly a popular figure as far as the *Conservative Advertiser* was concerned, as the same article stated, 'of the value of Sir James' presence to take part in the proceedings; it is unnecessary to say a word. Everyone who has listened to his addresses must be pleased when an opportunity of hearing him is promised, and will feel corresponding regret when the promise held out, is not fulfilled.'<sup>230</sup>

By 1860, Kay-Shuttleworth had been elected as Vice-President, although this did little to increase his attendance at soirees, parties, and the occasional awards evening.<sup>231</sup> Furthermore, in January 1863 he was nominated to stand for the role of President of the Mechanics' Institute, although he declined the offer to be considered for the position and asked for his name to be withdrawn from the list.<sup>232</sup> The *Advertiser* also highlighted the hesitance of Kay-Shuttleworth to be nominated alongside the established Colonel Towneley as President, 'This year, also, the Mayor and Sir James P Kay Shuttleworth appeared in the list of nominations for the office of President. These gentlemen, it was stated, had been seen on the subject and had declined to stand.'<sup>233</sup> This demonstrates that the established social hierarchy in Burnley still existed, and whilst the middle and working classes may have been willing to accept traditional boundaries and the role of the governing upper classes who brought an element of paternalistic control and therefore social stability, Kay-Shuttleworth still recognised his position firstly as a newcomer, and secondly, a member of the local elite and not the Lancashire aristocracy. Kay-Shuttleworth

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<sup>229</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, November 9 1861, p. 3.

<sup>230</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, November 16 1861, p. 2.

<sup>231</sup> LRO: *Burnley Mechanics' Institute Directors Minute Book*.

<sup>232</sup> LRO: *Burnley Mechanics' Institute Directors Minute Book*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>233</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, March 14 1863, p. 2.

perhaps believed that he could not input any of his own educational initiatives at the Mechanics' Institute, and he was therefore less interested in playing a substantial role, despite professing his belief in them as a means of educating and improving the condition of the adult working classes. Nonetheless, he continued to search for alternative ways that he could become more actively involved with the provision of education for the poor in the area.

## **The East Lancashire Union**

Although Kay-Shuttleworth's lack of active involvement in the Burnley Mechanics' Institute and the associated missed opportunity to use his influence and knowledge as a way to implement his own educational theories is surprising, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to offer education to the poor in Burnley and Padiham in other ways. For example, in 1857 he created the East Lancashire Union (ELU). The ELU was aimed at the spread of education through the co-ordination of the work of classes in all institutes within an eight mile radius of Burnley, including Mechanics' Institutes, libraries, newsrooms, and improvement societies. It offered a wide range of subjects for examination open to all by providing two certificated teachers who were responsible for helping local teachers in the different institutions to develop their teaching skills. Furthermore, outstanding students were selected as candidate teachers, a scheme similar to that of pupil-teachers, whereby students were given extensive training as teachers at evening classes alongside their usual training. Controlled by a central committee consisting of representatives from member institutes and Kay-Shuttleworth as President, successful students sat examinations and gained certificates which Kay-Shuttleworth hoped would give them preference for jobs.<sup>234</sup> Pupil-teachers and examinations were two of Kay-Shuttleworth's main theories for improving the condition of the poor through education, and the ELU enabled him to implement these successfully and on a reasonably large scale across East Lancashire. However, although Kay-Shuttleworth was the founder of the pupil-teacher system with his experiment at Norwood in 1838, in 1846 the government had launched a national pupil-teacher system for selected students. This was a five-year programme with examinations, where pupils would teach throughout the school day, and be taught themselves after or before school by the headmaster. A head teacher could have one pupil-teacher for every twenty five students on the school roll and when the apprenticeship was complete, the pupil-teacher would receive a certificate which enabled them to go on to

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<sup>234</sup> Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 340.



further training if they wished. Therefore whilst the ELU was certainly not the only pupil-teacher system running at this point, the wider scheme had been established and introduced by the government thanks to Kay-Shuttleworth, and it was an initiative he was able to energetically introduce in Lancashire.

In the first Report of the Union in 1858, Kay-Shuttleworth argued the ELU was in favour of the 'progressive education of the youth of the district from 13 to 30.'<sup>235</sup> In 1864, Kay-Shuttleworth himself further explained the functions of the ELU;

'The Union is mainly attended to give efficiency to evening schools by improving their organization, introducing sound methods of instruction, and adapting the cause to a scheme of annual examination at which the most successful scholars compete for prizes in four graduated classes of proficiency.....Our Union differs from most others, in as much as we do not extend it beyond a circle having a radius of about eight miles. We have an annual income from subscriptions which enables us to employ organizing masters who visit each evening school once or twice weekly to superintend the instruction, and discipline, and to teach the several classes.'<sup>236</sup>

Although designed to unite similar institutions, issues of rivalry and jealousy at first prevented the scheme from being the success Kay-Shuttleworth had envisaged. One problem was that member institutions had to surrender control of their teachers and classes to the ELU so that they could receive financial aid, and many were not willing to do so. Nonetheless, membership figures demonstrate the growing popularity of the ELU; in 1857, class membership was at 480; by 1860 it was 1,578.<sup>237</sup> Whilst hostilities undoubtedly existed, this form of competitive education and examinations brought an upturn in students enrolling and average attendance, and the ELU was therefore considered a success.<sup>238</sup>

One of the key initiatives the ELU enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to introduce was the examination process, first suggested by Kay-Shuttleworth in his training college at Battersea as a way to increase the standard of education. Kay-Shuttleworth felt strongly that the process of examinations would inspire confidence in the middle classes to employ students, thus providing them with an opportunity to improve their position in society.<sup>239</sup> In *Four Periods of Education*, Kay-Shuttleworth states that the certificate each student received would act 'as a testimonial of character and of attainments, would be in itself an

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<sup>235</sup> KSP: *First Report of East Lancashire Union*, 1858.

<sup>236</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 November 1864, p. 3.

<sup>237</sup> Dunleavy. (1983) *The provision of education for working people in institutes in North East Lancashire*, p. 16.

<sup>238</sup> Dunleavy. (1983) *The provision of education for working people in institutes in North East Lancashire*, p. 15.

<sup>239</sup> James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861).

invaluable introduction to the confidence of a merchant, or of the member of a learned profession.<sup>240</sup> The table below shows the number of candidates annually examined by the ELU:

Table One: Number of candidates examined by the East Lancashire Union, 1857-1871

Year	Number of Candidates Examined
1857	20
1858	95
1859	168
1860	167
1861	175
1862	170
1863	141
1864	138
1865	85
1866	123
1867	231
1868	216
1869	226
1870	262
1871	237

Source: *Burnley Advertiser*, January 13 1872.

The fall in the early 1860s is attributed to the occurrence of the cotton famine, although numbers quickly rose after the worst of the distress. Overall 2,454 candidates were examined by the ELU with nearly 2,000 of these successful in passing and being awarded certificates and prizes. Furthermore, 75% of students were cotton operatives, and several went on to become teachers themselves or successfully acquire jobs.<sup>241</sup> This proved that

<sup>240</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, p. 485.

<sup>241</sup> Dunleavy. (1983) *The Provision of education for working people in institutes in North East Lancashire*, p. 21.

Kay-Shuttleworth's theory of introducing examinations to increase the level of education amongst the poor, and henceforth improve their condition, was successful. Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth also wrote of his father's pride at the success of his students. 'He used to speak with pride of the instances in which certificated schoolmasters, who had been trained at Battersea Training College and through the East Lancashire Union, some of whom had been workhouse boys, attained positions of responsibility in the Civil Service and in the Colonies.'<sup>242</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth was ever present at the annual ELU award ceremonies and prize givings, although unlike his involvement with Mechanics' Institute events, he organised many ELU functions himself at Gawthorpe Hall – one event held in January 1864 is detailed in the *Burnley Advertiser*. The picturesque grounds of Gawthorpe were opened to around 175 students and their families, and Kay-Shuttleworth provided entertainment by means of the Burnley Choral Society and Volunteer Rifle Band. He also served dinner for every student alongside around 75 members of the gentry, the ELU council and its subscribers.<sup>243</sup> This was more than Kay-Shuttleworth could reasonably be expected to provide to his students, and demonstrates his desire to be heavily involved with the poor through the ELU. It was also an opportunity for Kay-Shuttleworth to entertain and show his peers how his national educational theories had been implemented successfully on a local level. Even though he had retired from public service, Kay-Shuttleworth's desire to improve the welfare of the poor through the provision of education was still strong.

The ELU also brought Kay-Shuttleworth into contact with like minded individuals who wished to be involved in his ambitious educational scheme. For example, in December 1860 the *Burnley Advertiser* states that Alderman Henry Moore spoke at an ELU meeting.<sup>244</sup> James Dugdale was also frequently present at the public events held by the ELU. Furthermore, the ELU was viewed favourably by the local press. In 1864 the *Burnley Guardian* wrote, 'The union continues to flourish notwithstanding the unfavourable events brought about by the cotton famine, and comes in its unabated operations undoubted evidence of its ability to produce a great amount of good among those young people who have the good fortune to avail themselves of its advantages.'<sup>245</sup> Despite the political differences between the newspaper and the staunchly Liberal Kay-Shuttleworth, the

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<sup>242</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 328.

<sup>243</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 4 January 1862, p. 2.

<sup>244</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 12 December 1860, p. 3.

<sup>245</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Guardian*, 3 December 1864, p. 2.

Conservative *Burnley Advertiser* also showed full support for the ELU and Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement; 'The warm reception which Sir James Kay Shuttleworth received when he proceeded to address the meeting must have convinced him, and everyone who was present, that his efforts in the cause of education and social sciences are appreciated; his influence with the people is therefore considerable, and they listen with attention and confidence to everything on these subjects that falls from him. His speech on the occasion referred to was eloquent and judicious, and he has a happy way of telling the people of their faults which would not be so well received from others.'<sup>246</sup>

By 1871, twenty institutes and local evening classes had joined the ELU and in 1872 it merged into the 'Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Institutes'.<sup>247</sup> Despite its conclusion whilst Kay-Shuttleworth was still actively fulfilling his role as a member of the landed elite, the formation and success of the ELU is evidence of his long standing commitment to local education and desire to be involved in the improvement of the poor. The *Burnley Guardian* wrote of a speech made by Kay-Shuttleworth at an ELU meeting in 1864 stating, 'to the working classes of this district, for whom it was more especially spoken, we say read it and it will do you good. It is on behalf of, and we may say in praise of, the working man that Sir James is speaking, and we think he makes very clearly a case in favour of the working man of the present day.'<sup>248</sup> Over 3,000 scholars were taught under the title of the ELU, and it can be deemed a success purely due to the number of young people it reached. The ELU also presented Kay-Shuttleworth with the opportunity to continue with his pupil-teacher scheme – he spoke of his pride of this and individual success stories and would continue to nominate his students for various local jobs as will be discussed shortly. It is also demonstration of involvement in an activity above and beyond what could reasonably be expected of a landowner, where expected duties could include the building of a village school, the formation of penny clothing funds, the provision of allotments and poor law chores.<sup>249</sup>

In summary, Kay-Shuttleworth was involved with a wide spectrum of educational establishments on a local level in Burnley and Padiham, with the aim of introducing education as a tool to improve the welfare of the poor. An interest in the provision or financing of a school would be expected from a family such as the Kay-Shuttleworth's, but

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<sup>246</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 22 December 1860, p. 2.

<sup>247</sup> The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes was founded in 1847 – a forerunner for Kay-Shuttleworth's East Lancashire Union.

<sup>248</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Guardian*, 3 December 1864, p. 2.

<sup>249</sup> Lord Sidney Goldolphin Osbourne, 1838, in Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England*, p. 43.

this far reaching involvement is unusual for a member of the landed elite, and suggests a deep commitment to the cause of education and as such, the improvement of the poor. Establishments that were already formed, such as the Burnley Mechanics' Institute interested Kay-Shuttleworth less, as he was able to make fewer interventions in the administration of the teaching, and unable to input his own initiatives and theories. However, he was able to play a more ceremonial role in the Mechanics' Institute due to his status as a well-known educationalist which may have attracted some attention and increased membership of the Institution. Kay-Shuttleworth was also aware, perhaps, of his role in the local area, and unwilling to upset the established local hierarchy that existed.

Examination of the local press demonstrates that Kay-Shuttleworth was viewed with a certain reverence in the area, and despite any political differences, it was considered that he had a great deal of knowledge to offer the poor in Burnley and Padiham. It was, however, his own educational centres that really gave Kay-Shuttleworth the opportunity to flourish, and transfer the theories he had propounded on a national front to a local level. For example, the establishment of the ELU provides an opportunity to see how Kay-Shuttleworth envisaged an education for the poor, and demonstrates that he was able to be actively involved with introducing training for the poor. Furthermore, the ELU enabled him to introduce two of his major educational initiatives that were created at Battersea Training College – the pupil-teacher system, and examinations to improve the standard of education. The success of this is demonstrated by the number of students that attended the ELU, and Kay-Shuttleworth's interest in the success of his pupils is evident. His personal interjections added value to the ELU, and is evidence of his contributions to improve the condition of the poor.

This is not to suggest that others in Burnley and Padiham were unable to provide education for the poor before Kay-Shuttleworth arrived in the area. Indeed, several day schools had been established before he moved to Gawthorpe, the Burnley Grammar School had existed for several hundred years before Kay-Shuttleworth became a governor, and the Burnley Mechanics' Institute began offering training for the poor in 1834, led by the Towneley family, the only aristocratic family in the immediate area. In many ways, the town had a progressive attitude towards education due to the newly arrived cotton manufacturers who brought with them a class consciousness and paternalistic desire. However, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to bring to the area a willingness to be actively involved with education, albeit on his own terms. Furthermore, he was successful

in this as the ELU offered evening classes and training to hundreds of young cotton workers and Partridge Hill School was founded purely for the education of children. Kay-Shuttleworth was therefore successful in translating his national ideas to Burnley and Padiham and was able to offer the poor ways to improve their situation through the provision of education. Examination of Kay-Shuttleworth's role in the provision of education on a local level in Burnley and Padiham also makes apparent his long term and continual interest in the subject throughout his retirement suggesting that he genuinely believed in education as a tool to improve the condition of the poor, and was willing to provide his own time and money to the cause.

Kay-Shuttleworth would go on to provide education to both children and adults during the cotton famine and was frequently involved in additional matters in both Burnley and Padiham which will be discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter Six

### Kay-Shuttleworth's Emergence into Local Society: Burnley and Padiham

This chapter will examine some of the main issues outside of education that Kay-Shuttleworth was involved with in Burnley and Padiham, and offer further evidence that he was able to fulfil his role as a member of the landed elite, and moreover, was willing to go beyond what could be reasonably expected, and offer the poor assistance in improving their moral and physical condition. However, whilst he energetically confronted the improvement of the poor in the local area, he tended to get more involved with new activities that he could direct. In some instances he undertook a very limited role, contributing expert views and his interest faded when work became routine, with his attentions frequently diverted towards more prominent national issues.

#### Public Health

As has been noted, public health and sanitary improvements were prominent issues during the period under consideration and in 1854, relatively early into Kay-Shuttleworth's residence at Gawthorpe, his opinion was taken into consideration when his resolution relating to the Burnley Improvement Act and the provision of clean water for the town was passed. It was resolved that 'if the Burnley Commissioners did not carry water-pipes to Lowerhouse within three years the Padiham Waterworks Company should be at liberty to do so, but that the Lowerhouse people should not have the power of compelling the Burnley Commissioners to supply them with water unless the Commissioners found the plan advisable.'<sup>250</sup> In 1871, Kay-Shuttleworth provided the first of three public drinking fountains in Burnley.<sup>251</sup> However, aside from these minor involvements in improving sanitary conditions, Kay-Shuttleworth had all but abandoned his earlier interest in public health that had dominated much of his attention in Manchester and as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, education had become Kay-Shuttleworth's key interest. Nonetheless, these examples show that Kay-Shuttleworth was still willing to be involved with sanitary matters and able to offer his expertise when necessary, especially if it increased his public reputation.

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<sup>250</sup> BLSL: *Blackburn Standard*, 22 February 1854, p. 2.

<sup>251</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Gazette*, 23 September 1871, p. 2.

## **Burnley Rifle Corps**

In September 1859, the following letter appeared in the *Burnley Advertiser* under the title of "No Rifle Corps"; 'Permit me to address you once more on this subject, not with a view, as heretofore, of introducing Col. Towneley to use his influence in forming a corps – I have done with him – but in the hopes that some other Lieutenant in the district, now that it is quite clear Col. Towneley will not act, may be induced to come forward and rescue the town from the disgrace which at present hangs over it. Perhaps Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth may not consider the matter beneath his notice.'<sup>252</sup> As a consequence of this demand made on a very public stage, Kay-Shuttleworth formed the Burnley Rifle Corps in November 1859.<sup>253</sup> He also topped the first list of donations for the Corps, followed by three of his sons who each made a contribution of £10 10s 10d. Kay-Shuttleworth also donated £2 2s towards the band fund.<sup>254</sup> This is an example of Kay-Shuttleworth reacting to the demands of the public in Burnley, and undertaking a new venture by forming the Burnley Rifle Corps. Furthermore, it is demonstration that he was a popular member of local society, as the anonymous writer of the letter proposed him for the role and sounded frustrated with Colonel Towneley. Kay-Shuttleworth continued to appear at rifle corps events throughout his time in the area. Although this venture was not directly related to improving the condition of the poor, the example nonetheless demonstrates Kay-Shuttleworth's public reputation and suggests that he was willing to act upon the demands of local people.

## **The Padiham Colliers' Strike**

Kay-Shuttleworth was also called upon to act as a representative of local people when he became a mediator for the colliers' strike in Padiham in 1860. The strike was the result of a disagreement between executors of the late Colonel Hargreaves who owned Bank Hall Colliery, and a number of workers who had been dismissed from employment. Local newspapers reported, 'it is probable that the quarrel would have lasted some weeks at least.... had Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth not shown a desire to be a mediator between the disputants. Sir James received nine colliers at his hall and spent four or five hours with them.....He exerted himself in a spirit of fairness to the masters, and of friendliness towards the men. The consequence was that in a few days a most threatening strike was

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<sup>252</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 17 September 1859, p. 3.

<sup>253</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 19 November 1859, p. 2.

<sup>254</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 3 December 1859, p. 2.



amicably terminated.<sup>1255</sup> Ughtred also recalled his father's role in the strike; 'I can never forget a meeting of miners upon which, as a boy, I looked down from a hiding place in the minstrels' gallery of the dining-hall.....The men bluntly told him at the outset that, as they came along the drive, they had resolved not to yield. But he knew how to handle them, and, before they left, he had arranged terms with which he drove off to Burnley, where they were promptly accepted by the employers, and the strike was over.'<sup>1256</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in this matter led to an amicable solution being found and the strike being concluded. The fact that he was viewed as someone who could act on behalf of the poor is significant and is demonstration of his reputation in Burnley and Padiham at this time. Moreover, it is evidence that he was viewed as an approachable member of the landed elite. The way in which he was willing to receive the colliery workers at Gawthorpe Hall is an example of his willingness to be actively involved with the poor, interacting with them face to face, and acting on their behalf when he delivered terms to their employers.

### **The Gawthorpe Estate**

In 1860, Kay-Shuttleworth opened the grounds of Gawthorpe to the public for four hours on Sunday afternoons during summer and autumn. This act continued for several years and the tradition was upheld by his children when they took over the management of the Gawthorpe estate after Kay-Shuttleworth's death.<sup>257</sup> Reminiscing in 1922, Ughtred recalled that hundreds, sometimes thousands of people attended each year and his father often enjoyed walking amongst the visitors, often stopping to chat. 'If, on passing a group, he noticed that their hands had remained in their pockets, and no hat or cap had been touched, he would sometimes turn back and pause before them, making them a formal bow, with the certain result that, more or less awkwardly, all hands left the pockets, and some form of salutation followed, much to his amusement and satisfaction. This was one of the methods by which he rebuked, and tried to cure, unmannerly ways.'<sup>258</sup> This image of Kay-Shuttleworth dictating how others should act suggests that he felt that he could influence the poor due to his public reputation as a member of the landed elite. Whilst the theory behind opening the grounds appears charitable, it also presented Kay-Shuttleworth with the opportunity to display his own upwardly mobile journey and the social position he had obtained despite his humble beginnings. Beckett states that 'if the prestige of an

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<sup>255</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 7 April 1860, p. 2.

<sup>256</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 341.

<sup>257</sup> BLSL: *Blackburn Standard*, 29 July 1876, p. 3.

<sup>258</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 341. Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 341.

aristocratic family largely depended on the extent of its houses and parks, these became of considerable significance. Furthermore, a new or rebuilt house stood as a permanent memorial to the builder, singling him out from the essential continuity of estate management. Not surprisingly, building, rebuilding and remodelling of country houses was a favoured if expensive aristocratic hobby.<sup>259</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth went one step further and employed Charles Barry, best known for rebuilding the Palace of Westminster in London, to redesign the Hall and surrounding estate. He added many personal touches to the interior, including his and Janet's intertwined initials throughout the property - on the ceiling, fireplaces, doors and stone work - and added a huge panel in the entrance hall that displayed the dates of his children's births and their initials. This was perhaps demonstration of his love for his absent family, as he had created a home with the expectation that his wife and children would return; they had moved to Germany in May 1853 following the breakdown of the marriage. Actually, Janet would never return to Gawthorpe Hall in her lifetime. However, the Hall reflected the power and prestige of the family, and opening the grounds of his wife's family home and inviting the poor to visit is therefore significant as it was this group of people that Kay-Shuttleworth had attempted to cultivate a relationship with, fulfilling his paternalistic obligations and also reminding them of his status. Whilst many landowners and aristocrats used their country house for this purpose and to hold dinners and parties for their peers, inviting the poor to his home and walking amongst them was rare for a member of the landed elite to do and demonstrates Kay-Shuttleworth's unwavering and substantive relationship with the poor.

Aside from Gawthorpe, the family also owned a considerable amount of land in Padiham and leased properties to several hundred tenants.<sup>260</sup> They also owned the principal estates of Northwood, Northwood Head, Copthurst, High Whitaker, Stockbridge, Old Moss, Nearer Bendwoodgrove, Cross Bank Farm and Scholebank.<sup>261</sup> During the 1860s, Kay-Shuttleworth commenced the tradition of holding annual rent days at Gawthorpe Hall, inviting over 400 people to a substantial meal with recitations, instrumental music, songs and bell-ringers.<sup>262</sup> There is also evidence of additional events that Kay-Shuttleworth held at Gawthorpe such as a tea party for aged people in Padiham

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<sup>259</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 326.

<sup>260</sup> Private Kay-Shuttleworth collection, Padiham. Property deeds 1820-1880.

<sup>261</sup> Michael Conroy, *Backcloth to Gawthorpe*, (M.P Conroy: Bury, 1996), pp. 53-54.

<sup>262</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 4 November 1865, p. 3.

for Christmas in 1862. At this event there were over 2,000 people present and musical entertainment was provided as well as a meal and addresses from influential and highly respected residents of the neighbourhood.<sup>263</sup> These appear to be genuine attempts at providing assistance and events for the poor, although were not unusual activities for a member of the landed elite.<sup>264</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth also frequently invited the teachers, their assistants and pupil-teachers he appointed to his schools and ELU to Gawthorpe for tea in the dining hall.<sup>265</sup> This is further evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth's use of Gawthorpe Hall as a centre to entertain the poor at his own expense, and spend his time amongst them.

## The Cotton Famine

During Kay-Shuttleworth's tenure in the area, one of the worst periods of distress occurred when the cotton famine hit East Lancashire. This was a result of the American Civil War that began in April 1861, which limited the amount of raw cotton supplies that could be imported to the rapidly expanding cotton towns of England. With approximately 450,000 cotton operatives in Lancashire working over 2,300 mills in 1861, wages were at the highest prices they had ever reached and at first, opinion was that there was enough (five months) stock of cotton in England to last until the Civil War was over and therefore, concern was small.<sup>266</sup> However, in 1861 imports from the United States were 84% of all raw cotton imports and this had halved by 1862.<sup>267</sup> As there was a heavy reliance on cotton manufacture as the foremost source of employment throughout Lancashire, a lack of cotton supplies caused a period of acute suffering. Reflecting in 1866, Watts wrote, 'mills began to run short time or to close in the month of October (1861), but no noise was made about it and the only evidence of anything unusual was at the board of guardians, where the applications had reached the mid-winter height three months earlier than normal.'<sup>268</sup> Across Lancashire, the number of recipients receiving relief was, in December 1861, 25% higher than at the start of the year, and by January 1862, the number was 70% higher than the previous January. Indeed, by 1862, half of all operatives in nearby Preston were entirely out of work with the remainder not making above half time.<sup>269</sup> In general, distress was felt throughout the region as mills ceased to function and destitution beckoned as savings were withdrawn, houses and furniture sold, and food, heating and

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<sup>263</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 27 December 1862, p. 2.

<sup>264</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 344.

<sup>265</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 327.

<sup>266</sup> John Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1866), p. 112.

<sup>267</sup> Shapely, 'Urban charity', p. 49.

<sup>268</sup> Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine*, p. 113.

<sup>269</sup> Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine*, p. 118.

clothing could not be afforded by the working classes.<sup>270</sup>

At the beginning of the distress in 1861, the Poor Law and Burnley Union Board of Guardians were the only official sources of relief available in the town, and had been for some time. The Burnley Poor Law Union formally came into existence on 20 January 1837. Overseen by an elected Board of thirty-three Guardians, it represented twenty-six constituent parishes and townships, including Padiham. The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act had created these Boards of Guardians who were mainly responsible for the collection of Poor Law rates and supervision of the workhouse. Introduced in August 1834, the New Poor Law is of immense significance when examining the social development of England during the nineteenth century. Its three main features – a demand for reduced rates, fewer numbers of paupers, and improved efficiencies led to Parishes being grouped into Unions under the authority of the Guardians. In Lancashire, this incorporated 466 parishes and townships responsible for relief of local paupers in 1834; to 29 unions each with a Board of Guardians by 1850.<sup>271</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth had infrequently exercised his powers as a Magistrate since becoming a Justice of the Peace in February 1850.<sup>272</sup> However, this role enabled him to be automatically selected as a member of the Burnley Union Board of Guardians with Kay-Shuttleworth first appearing at a meeting of the Guardians on 14 August 1862 when distress in the area was beginning to become more widespread.<sup>273</sup> However, his attendance at Guardians meetings during the famine was inconsistent and between 1862 and 1865 he was present at just 17 out of 120 meetings.<sup>274</sup> His lack of attendance at local meetings is surprising when one considers Kay-Shuttleworth's social position in Burnley, and the vital role he had played in the formation of new Unions in Norfolk and Suffolk when an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. Here, he was expected to form new Poor Law Unions, fix boundaries, organise the election of Boards of Guardians and attend a number of the first meetings to ensure they were functioning correctly. He would therefore be aware of the importance of Guardian meetings and the role that Guardians should play in local society. However, Kay-Shuttleworth was also involved with the Burnley Relief

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<sup>270</sup> Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History*, p. 285.

<sup>271</sup> E. Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire: 1830-1860*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), pp. 15-17.

<sup>272</sup> LRO: *Property Qualifications Records 15 July 1846 – 8 July 1861*, QSQ/1/14, p. 36.

<sup>273</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 10 October 1861 – 23 October 1862*, PUZ/1/16, p. 104.

<sup>274</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 10 October 1861 – 23 October 1862*, PUZ/1/16; *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 30 October 1862 – 12 November 1863*, PUZ/1/17; *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 19 November 1863 – 1 December 1864*, PUZ/1/18.

Committee and the Central Executive Committee in Manchester during this period, and perhaps his attentions were diverted towards this larger and more public cause.

Despite this apparent disinterest, Kay-Shuttleworth was a vocal member of the Burnley Guardians when he was present at meetings. One of his first acts was to state his belief that the Burnley Relief Committee should be kept entirely separate from the Guardians, and to keep the administration of the funds quite separate from the relief granted by parochial or union rates.<sup>275</sup> He also stated his belief that men wanted to work and earn a wage and therefore suggested the Board of Guardians provided work for able bodied men who were capable of common outdoor work for limited hours, men capable of lighter forms of outdoor labour, able bodied women, girls from 14-20, young men and children under the age of 14.<sup>276</sup>

A short time later, Kay-Shuttleworth was appointed to a committee of the Guardians set up to establish sewing classes for out of work women and girls.<sup>277</sup> This was a popular initiative that paid relief for work and helped produce clothes and blankets that could be distributed during the distress. The *Burnley Advertiser* stated its support for Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in the project, 'we are informed that a deputation of the Guardians including Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the Vice-Chairman Mr Halstead, Mr Knowles, Mr Clegg and Mr Hargreaves was appointed to confer with the ladies of Burnley as to the immediate establishment of sewing classes for women and girls....We cannot but regard the establishment of these classes, and the hearty co-operation of the ladies of each vicinity, with deep interest.'<sup>278</sup> A similar venture was also launched in Padiham by Kay-Shuttleworth.<sup>279</sup>

The Burnley Guardians' Minute Book also records Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in providing education during the distress. In October 1862, Kay-Shuttleworth helped to establish schools for those aged 13 and above whose families were in receipt of relief.<sup>280</sup> Arguing that relief could not solely be awarded for work carried out in the outdoors during winter, and suggesting that indoor work or education could be undertaken instead, Kay-Shuttleworth used his reputation as a national educational expert to write to the Poor Law

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<sup>275</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 10 October 1861 – 23 October 1862*, PUZ/1/16, p. 105.

<sup>276</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 10 October 1861 – 23 October 1862*, PUZ/1/16, p. 105.

<sup>277</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Minute Book 10 October 1861 – 23 October 1862*, PUZ/1/16, p. 131.

<sup>278</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 13 September 1862, p. 2.

<sup>279</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 13 September 1862, p. 2.

<sup>280</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Assessment Committee Minute Book, 4 October 1862 – 6 July 1871*, PUZ/3/1, p. 6.

Board in Whitehall on behalf of the Guardians, and received a reply stating they had no objection to his proposals. An article in the *Burnley Advertiser* reported that Kay-Shuttleworth had 'suggested to the Board of Guardians of the Burnley Union, that looms should be hired, and superintendents appointed for schools for youths and men, and that the employment of both youths and men should alternate between manual and mental work, in order to meet the inclemency of the ensuing winter and likewise to mitigate the pressure of outdoor manual labour on persons not accustomed to its more laborious term.'<sup>281</sup>

As has already been discussed, Kay-Shuttleworth took a huge interest in the provision of education, so it is unsurprising that he saw the distress as an opportunity to increase the availability of education and training for the poor. In September 1862 he was at the forefront of subscriptions to purchase stock for the Burnley Industrial School.<sup>282</sup> He also asked the Guardians and others involved in the relief effort to consider the effects of distress on day schools in the area and across Lancashire. He told a central committee meeting in Burnley that 'they (day schools) suffered greatly and would soon be deserted, in consequence of the parents of the scholars being unable to pay the school pence. The question of paying the school pence for the children of these parents who could not afford to pay, was one for the consideration of the committee.'<sup>283</sup>

Whilst education was still at the forefront of Kay-Shuttleworth's efforts, he had additional responsibilities due to his membership of the Burnley Relief Committee. As suffering in Burnley worsened in June 1862, John Moore, the mayor, chaired a meeting of the Aldermen of the town council to discuss the establishment of a relief committee for the town. Across Lancashire, the number of relief committees now totalled 17, with the formation of new committees advised by the Central Executive at Manchester of which Kay-Shuttleworth was now Vice-Chairman.<sup>284</sup> In July 1862 the *Burnley Advertiser* reported on the first meeting of the Burnley Relief Committee.<sup>285</sup> Membership of the Relief Committee was a mix of upper and middle class individuals, and also comprised a mix of religious denominations.<sup>286</sup> As has been noted, a large number of cotton manufacturers

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<sup>281</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 18 October 1862, p. 2.

<sup>282</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 13 September 1862, p. 3.

<sup>283</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 13 September 1862, p. 3.

<sup>284</sup> The Right Honourable the Earl of Derby was Chairman, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth Vice-Chairman, and 26 other distinguished gentlemen also formed the Committee, such as The Right Honourable Lord Egerton of Tatton and Colonel Wilson Patten, M.P.

<sup>285</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 16 July 1862, p. 2.

<sup>286</sup> See Appendix B for a list of members of the Burnley Relief Committee.

also became involved, perhaps because membership of the Relief Committee enabled employers to offer genuine assistance to their employees. The Relief Committee was to offer financial aid as well as opportunities for education and development, and so therefore presented a chance to help the poor, teach them skills and develop attributes that would increase their capabilities in the workplace when the suffering was over and normal life resumed.

At a meeting of the Burnley Relief Committee in October 1862, Kay-Shuttleworth suggested that the amount of relief for the poor should be raised from 1s 3d per head to 1s 9d.<sup>287</sup> This prompted objections from other members, as some felt that the state of funds rendered it impossible to relieve at the higher rate throughout the winter. Kay-Shuttleworth responded that 'the raising of the rate was a necessity, if life and health were to be preserved.'<sup>288</sup> Despite the objections, the amount of relief in Burnley was indeed raised as Kay-Shuttleworth had suggested, and John Moore led strenuous efforts to increase the amount of local subscriptions.<sup>289</sup> Over in Padiham, the rate of relief had already been raised to 2s per head and coal was also given weekly to families and clogs presented to all men and youths employed in outdoor work.<sup>290</sup> The Committee also distributed blankets and clothing and converted an old corn mill to provide a soup kitchen and school for youths on the request of Kay-Shuttleworth.<sup>291</sup> Once again in support of Kay-Shuttleworth, the *Burnley Advertiser* stated, 'we cannot too emphatically call the attention of our readers to the repeated declarations which have been made by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, that in the opinion of the Central Executive Committee, a lower rate of relief than that given at Padiham cannot preserve the population in life and health during the winter.'<sup>292</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth's proposal of a higher rate of relief demonstrates that he took an interest in the welfare of the poor, and was willing to act as a representative of the poor who were undoubtedly suffering from the lack of work and the associated low income.

Kay-Shuttleworth represented one of the most established families in Burnley, and was one of the wealthiest members of the Relief Committee. As such, he provided an element of traditional landed authority, and an associated level of trust, recognition, and influence. Indeed, Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in the Burnley Relief Committee and the benefits

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<sup>287</sup> LRO: *Burnley Relief Committee Minute Book, 1862-1863*, DDX 1101/9061/12, p. 24.

<sup>288</sup> LRO: *Burnley Relief Committee Minute Book, 1862-1863*, DDX 1101/9061/12, p. 24.

<sup>289</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 8 November 1862, p. 3.

<sup>290</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 15 November 1862, p. 2.

<sup>291</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 8 November 1862, p. 3.

<sup>292</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 8 November 1862, p. 3.

this brought the town were recognised - it was noted by Lord Derby that there were less discrepancies in the returns from Burnley, 'I presume, thanks to you', Derby wrote to Kay-Shuttleworth in 1862.<sup>293</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth also achieved his charitable responsibilities by being at the forefront of the many donation and subscription lists that could be found weekly in the *Burnley Advertiser*. For example, in November 1862 he offered £20 towards fitting up a room in the Burnley Mechanics' Institute as a soup kitchen.<sup>294</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth also turned to employment to aid the out of work operatives during the famine. Responsible for breaking up limestone, making a road, and putting grounds in order at the Gawthorpe Estate, operatives were paid at a rate of six shillings per week for four hours a day, a considerable amount in comparison to the amount offered by the local Relief Committee. Women and girls were also employed in sewing and making clothes, and earned four shillings a week, for eight hours work a day with one meal.<sup>295</sup> Of his endeavour to employ out of work operatives, Kay-Shuttleworth stated to the Board of Guardians; 'I have been for a fortnight employing forty men and twenty four women and girls on work which has been undertaken with a special view to provide labour and relief for those workers in the cotton trade who are reduced to indigence by the present crisis.....the persons are employed are privately paid and under my own personal control....I hope to increase the number of those employed and to provide for those persons labour during the ensuing nine months if necessary.'<sup>296</sup>

Whilst the crisis caused by the cotton famine enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to undertake some of the key duties Beckett suggests the aristocracy and landed elite were responsible for, Kay-Shuttleworth's interventions to offer solutions for improving the moral and physical welfare of the poor during the famine were not welcomed by all. Anthony Buck Creeke, the town councillor and solicitor, publicly disagreed with Kay-Shuttleworth's belief that employment at a rate of 3d per hour should be given to operatives, but that no person should be paid for any work of a larger sum than the amount of relief granted, rather than individuals being allowed to work for 2d per hour and potentially earn 6s a week. Councillor Creeke argued that this seemed, 'wrong, unjust, and grinding on the poor'.<sup>297</sup> Creeke wrote that he believed the scale of relief in Burnley was much lower than that of Blackburn, when it should be on an equal level. Kay-Shuttleworth replied to this criticism

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<sup>293</sup> Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 333.

<sup>294</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 22 November 1862, p. 3.

<sup>295</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 330.

<sup>296</sup> LRO: *Burnley Guardians Minute Book, 10 October 1861 – 23 October 1862*, PUZ/1/16, p. 189.

<sup>297</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 May 1863, p. 3.



with a short letter that explained the principles behind his opinion, but refused to enter into any further correspondence on the matter. Regardless, Creeke replied, declining to consent to Kay-Shuttleworth's views. This disagreement was played out on a public scale as the letters were published in the *Burnley Advertiser*.<sup>298</sup> Creeke and Kay-Shuttleworth would have known each other as both were men of some prominence in the local area, and both members of the Relief Committee. Therefore, this public disagreement would be an irritation to Kay-Shuttleworth, the perceived expert, who resolutely stood behind his views on the distribution of relief. However, by the time of the fallout with Creeke, Kay-Shuttleworth had left the Relief Committee which may have added further irritation on Creeke's behalf particularly as in his own words, when Creeke had been a member of the Burnley Board of Improvement Commissioners in 1856 he had, 'got to rule the roost there', demonstrating his belief in his own influence on town matters.<sup>299</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth perhaps felt he had a similar level of influence because of his professional career and the large disposable wealth he had acquired by becoming a member of one of the areas most established families.

Despite this negative reaction to Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement, the *Burnley Advertiser* sided with Kay-Shuttleworth on the issue, stating that he was representing the interests of the poor with his proposals for relief,

'It is impossible to regard what is proposed to be done for our suffering operatives – for the supply of their bodily necessities, for the education of the children and adults in day schools and of the youths in evening classes, and in all this for the maintenance of the peace and good order of society, without feeling how deeply the district is indebted to the wisdom and foresight, the benevolence and untiring activity of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.....we believe the feeling of how deeply we are indebted to him for the course he has taken will increase with the continuance of the distress and that when the storm is weathered we shall be among the first, to express a grateful sense of the service he did his country in the alarming crisis.....we have risen to the faith in the large hearted benevolence of our countrymen that they will not suffer our liberal dealing with the poor operatives in their deep distress to fail, is mainly owing to the persevering counsel and cogent arguments of Sir James.'<sup>300</sup>

This demonstrates that there was a general perception that Kay-Shuttleworth truly represented the interests of the poor during a difficult time. The support of the *Burnley Advertiser* is interesting and demonstrates that despite any political differences, there was admiration for Kay-Shuttleworth and the knowledge he brought to the area. Earlier in the

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<sup>298</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 16 May 1863, p. 3; and BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 May 1863, p. 3.

<sup>299</sup> M. Jones (ed), *Who was who in Burnley* (Burnley: Burnley and District Historical Society, 1997) p. 64.

<sup>300</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 22 November 1862, p. 2.

period when Kay-Shuttleworth was accused of abandoning his beliefs and making allowances regarding those eligible for relief, the *Burnley Advertiser* defended Kay-Shuttleworth's position and his resolution was passed that relief must remain separate from the two bodies, further demonstrating his influence and status.<sup>301</sup> It would also seem that the *Advertiser* was reasonably representative of the views of the local community, as Kay-Shuttleworth was called upon them to mediate during the colliers' strike and it was a member of the public who demanded he form the Burnley Rifle Corps. Political bias was often a distinguishing feature of Victorian newspapers as it set them apart from competitors, and although the *Advertiser* was founded and edited by John Spencer - a Conservative supporter and reporting may therefore be expected to be biased, in a small town such as Burnley this was not always the case. Many individuals had friendship and kinship links that connected them, and Kay-Shuttleworth and Spencer were connected through the Burnley Mechanics' Institute and Spencer had a strong interest in education which may explain the allowances he made in support of Kay-Shuttleworth.

Kay-Shuttleworth remained a member of the Burnley Relief Committee for just eight months. After February 1863 there was a revival in trade and a lessening of the distress and records shows he no longer featured, even though the committee remained active until 1865.<sup>302</sup> With the Reverend Thursby, the two received a vote of thanks 'for the valuable services and advice they have always been ready to render to the committee and for the deep interest they have uniformly taken in its proceedings.'<sup>303</sup>

However, Bennett states that the distress was at its worst in Burnley between October 1862 and March 1863, and therefore Kay-Shuttleworth actually left before the end of the crisis.<sup>304</sup> The tables overleaf demonstrate the number of people who received relief from the Burnley Relief Committee during the period that Kay-Shuttleworth was involved and the amount of relief issued by the committee, both of which increased after Kay-Shuttleworth left in February, offering further demonstration that the number of recipients of relief was still high. At this point, Kay-Shuttleworth was heavily involved with the higher profile Central Executive Committee and his attentions were diverted towards Manchester, his focus shifting from a local scale back to larger and higher profile national issues.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 August 1862, p. 2.

<sup>302</sup> LRO: *Burnley Relief Committee Records, 1862-1865*, DDX1101/9061/12.

<sup>303</sup> LRO: *Burnley Relief Committee Records, 1862-1865*, DDX1101/9061/12, p. 7.

<sup>304</sup> Bennett, *The History of Burnley Volume 4*, p. 121.

<sup>305</sup> This will be discussed in chapter seven.

Table 2: Number of people receiving aid from the Burnley Relief Committee, October 1862 – March 1863

<b>Week Ending</b>	<b>Number of people receiving aid from Burnley Relief Committee</b>
October 11th, 1862	5090
November 29th, 1862	6540
December 20th, 1862	6078
January 3rd, 1863	6410
February 21st, 1863	6049
March 28th, 1863	6058

Source: BLSL: Burnley Advertiser, April 1863.

Table 3: Amount of relief issued by the Burnley Relief Committee, September 1862 – March 1863

<b>Week Ending</b>	<b>Relief Issued (£)</b>
September 13th, 1862	£147 4s 3d
October 11th, 1862	£277 14s 8d
November 29th, 1862	£543 0s 2d
December 20th, 1862	£491 7s 11d
January 3rd, 1863	£491 5s 7d
February 21st, 1863	£373 11s 3d
March 28th, 1863	£484 9s 4d
September 13th, 1862	£147 4s 3d

Source: BLSL: Burnley Advertiser, April 1863.

Whilst this evidence demonstrates that Kay-Shuttleworth left official Relief Committee duties behind at a point when relief was still a necessity, he did not let his absence from official duty prevent him from contributing to the policies of the Relief Committee as can be seen from his argument with Creeke. Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in the Guardians was also so irregular that it is interesting that he was able to make such a large impact on

their policies. He used his public reputation and status as a national expert to exert influence without being particularly willing to devote a consistent and substantial amount of his time and his influential position in society and involvement with the provision of relief helped several motions to be passed that aided the improvement of the physical condition of the poor in Burnley and Padiham. Furthermore, he provided financial help throughout the period and private charity by employing out of work operatives on his estate. Taylor questions the existence of paternalism in Burnley during the cotton famine due to the influx of a new middle class consisting of capitalists, but Kay-Shuttleworth's activities demonstrate that there were good examples of paternalism in the town although Kay-Shuttleworth did very little outside of his natural responsibilities as a landowner and magistrate during the period.<sup>306</sup> His lack of attendance at meetings suggests that his attentions were diverted away from the local area during this period as his professional interests were reignited and he became more heavily involved with the well-known and influential Central Executive Committee in Manchester.

### **Other local events**

In 1864 Kay-Shuttleworth was appointed as High Sheriff of Lancashire, in part due to his role in the Central Executive Committee. The position of High Sheriff was largely ceremonial, but was nonetheless important and Kay-Shuttleworth spent much of the year travelling around the county and entertaining at Gawthorpe. Kay-Shuttleworth had been offered the title in 1861 but had to refuse due to his poor health. The appointment in 1864 therefore brought Kay-Shuttleworth recognition for his activities within Lancashire.<sup>307</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth's public reputation in the area is also evident, as at a meeting of the Burnley Town Council it was discussed whether Kay-Shuttleworth's procession route could be altered so that it went from Gawthorpe Hall to Burnley Rail Station instead of Gawthorpe Hall to Rosegrove, so that more local people could see him and express their congratulations and gratitude.<sup>308</sup> It has emerged throughout this thesis that an eminent social status was important to Kay-Shuttleworth as it was recognition of the many successes in his professional life that were at odds with the setbacks he had encountered in his personal life, and this example suggests that he was a popular local figure.

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<sup>306</sup> Taylor, *Popular Politics in Early Industrial Britain*, p. 13.

<sup>307</sup> BNA: *Kendal Mercury*, 25 January 1862, p. 3.

<sup>308</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Gazette*, 5 March 1864, p. 2.

Newspaper sources detail a range of other events that Kay-Shuttleworth attended in the local area and took part in over the period 1842 to 1877. For example in January 1855 he attended a lecture on Mr Starkie's (a local landowner) travels to Syria and made a donation to his Crimean Fund.<sup>309</sup> In 1860 he donated a Whitworth rifle to be shot by the 3<sup>rd</sup> administrative battalion of the Lancashire Volunteers.<sup>310</sup> In 1873 Kay-Shuttleworth presented a copy of his recently published work, *Thoughts and Suggestions on Certain Social Problems*, to the Accrington Reform Club.<sup>311</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth was also landlord of the Padiham Cotton League Company, a co-operative establishment.<sup>312</sup> Furthermore, Kay-Shuttleworth was also responsible for the building of All Saints Church in Habergham with the Dugdale family. Construction commenced in 1845 at a cost of £5,000, with the Kay-Shuttleworth family contributing about £1,300 and the land.<sup>313</sup> The Church was located next to Gawthorpe School and both remained great interests of Kay-Shuttleworth throughout his life.

Chapters five and six have provided evidence that demonstrates that Kay-Shuttleworth was successfully able to offer initiatives to improve the welfare of the poor in Burnley and Padiham, particularly through the provision of education. Furthermore, he was successful in implementing his own theories of examinations and the pupil-teacher system that he had established on a national stage, locally through the ELU. Yet in instances where he was unable to make his mark and take charge, Kay-Shuttleworth preferred to play a more ceremonial role, lending his name and the reputation he had established by way of his notable professional success and position in the local social hierarchy. However, in the other endeavours that he formed himself or was asked to found such as the ELU, Partridge Hill School, and the Burnley Rifle Corps, as well as his involvement in the Padiham colliers' strike and his personal employment of out of work operatives at Gawthorpe, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to control the situation and implement his own initiatives regarding the improvement of the poor. This enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to display his acquired wealth, eminent social position and fulfil his responsibilities as a local landowner. Kay-Shuttleworth approached these activities with enthusiasm, and enjoyed being central to proceedings. He appears to have enjoyed interacting with the poor who benefited from his initiatives and generosity. Moreover, he was clearly respected by the poor as in instances of unrest it was to him they turned for help. He fed, entertained and

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<sup>309</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 6 January 1855, p. 2.

<sup>310</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 3 November 1860, p. 2.

<sup>311</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 15 November 1873, p. 3.

<sup>312</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 10 January 1857, p. 2.

<sup>313</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Gazette*, 31 December 1870, p. 4.

looked after the interests of his tenants during instances of unrest and distress, and allowed the poor into the grounds of Gawthorpe Hall. Therefore he was certainly actively involved with the poor in Burnley and Padiham, albeit with varying degrees of success.

This willingness to be involved in local activities enabled him to fulfil his responsibilities as a local landowner, although it has been demonstrated that not everyone was happy with Kay-Shuttleworth's interference. Kay-Shuttleworth himself also understood his position in the established hierarchy of the town, being unwilling to run for presidency of the Burnley Mechanics' Institute against Colonel Towneley. Yet it has been demonstrated that he also had the support of the *Burnley Advertiser*, despite the political differences between Kay-Shuttleworth and Spencer. Clearly, Kay-Shuttleworth took his role as a member of the traditional landed elite seriously and perhaps found the recognition he strived for in his dealings with the residents of Burnley and Padiham, who would have been aware of his professional successes. Furthermore, in several incidents he went above and beyond what could reasonably be expected from a member of the landed elite, particularly in his personal involvement with the ELU, colliers' strike, and weekly opening of the grounds of Gawthorpe Hall.

Whilst his willingness to be involved with the improvement of the poor in Burnley and Padiham has therefore been proven, after 1860, Kay-Shuttleworth resumed some of his activities outside of East Lancashire, revisiting Manchester to expand on his earlier efforts regarding the condition of the poor. He also undertook other responsibilities on a wider scale across Lancashire that shifted his attention away from actively helping the poor in Burnley and Padiham.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Kay-Shuttleworth's Activities Further Afield**

Whilst earlier chapters have demonstrated that Kay-Shuttleworth took his duties as a member of the landed elite in Burnley and Padiham seriously and actively aided the improvement of the poor through the implementation of his various initiatives, he also remained involved in events further afield in Manchester and Lancashire, and maintained his national interests - particularly in the provision of education. At times, these responsibilities took him away from his obligations in Burnley and Padiham and his attentions were also frequently diverted away from local issues to larger events that offered him additional professional success.

As has been noted, Kay-Shuttleworth used Gawthorpe as a demonstration of his devotion to his family, and in addition, the lives of his children became a primary focus. He had spent a great deal of time preparing his son Ughtred for public life and the responsibilities of a landowner that he would one day inherit. In February 1868 Ughtred had attempted to win the election for the Clitheroe division and whilst he failed to win the seat, his disappointment was short lived as in November of the same year, at the age of just twenty-three he was elected to parliament by successfully winning a seat in Hastings. In July 1871, Ughtred married Blanche Marion, daughter of Sir Woodbine Parish, and Kay-Shuttleworth once again began renovating Gawthorpe Hall to make it suitable for the newly married couple. However, in September 1872, Janet Kay-Shuttleworth passed away in Bad Soden, Germany. Consequently, Gawthorpe and the surrounding estate passed immediately to Ughtred, and just six weeks later, Kay-Shuttleworth had left Burnley and moved to Kirkby Lonsdale where he would spend his time split between Barbon Manor, and his home at 68 Cromwell Road in London. Whilst he therefore still maintained some of his responsibilities in Padiham and Burnley during his later years, it is of little surprise that the majority of Kay-Shuttleworth's attentions were diverted elsewhere.

#### **The Cotton Famine**

In response to the arrival of the cotton famine, a Central Relief Committee was established in Manchester on 20 June 1862. This was followed by the formation of the Cotton Districts Relief Fund, set up in London on 19 July 1862. Lord Derby was Chairman,

and Kay-Shuttleworth appointed as Secretary.<sup>314</sup> However, a short while later, the Committee was restructured and the Manchester Central Executive Committee came into existence with Lord Derby as Chairman and Kay-Shuttleworth as Vice-Chairman. Between 1862 and 1864 the Committee was responsible for the distribution of over £800,000 to operatives affected by the distress.

Despite its considerable interventions in easing distress, the Central Executive Committee was resented by some members of the original committee as a takeover of the London group.<sup>315</sup> Nonetheless, the Central Executive Committee was the driving force behind the relief of the poor, and Kay-Shuttleworth was one of its most energetic members. Smith states of the Central Executive Committee, 'It had an overwhelming task to face: it had to work through local committees and keep in touch with Boards of Guardians; it had to encounter local jealousy and the danger of over-lapping; it had to face the public criticism.....still more important and more difficult, it had to relieve the deserving without injury to their independence....to Sir James this last task was of first importance, for to the violation of this principle he had traced many social evils.'<sup>316</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth occupied the role of Vice-Chairman, and he was involved in the main work of the committee: the raising and distribution of the fund, and the administrative task of checking for discrepancies in returns from local relief committees.

Watts states that during the cotton famine, Kay-Shuttleworth displayed 'intense activity of the brain and persevering energy and administrative ability.'<sup>317</sup> As usual, he threw himself into his latest endeavour with gusto and enthusiasm. However, Smith states that despite the focus of Kay-Shuttleworth's attentions shifting back towards Manchester and overseeing the distribution of relief across the whole of the North of England, he remained especially concerned with the town of Padiham and the poor that struggled outside the gates of Gawthorpe Hall.<sup>318</sup> Whilst this has been demonstrated in chapter six, as Kay-Shuttleworth made an effort to be involved with the local relief effort - despite his time being occupied by the Central Executive Committee - his attendance at meetings was poor, and his membership short lived. In contrast, Kay-Shuttleworth remained involved with the Central Executive Committee for over twelve years, and although he stepped down from his position as Vice-Chairman in 1864 as the suffering eased and the cotton

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<sup>314</sup> BNA: *Yorkshire Gazette*, 26 July 1862, p. 3.

<sup>315</sup> Watts, *History of the Cotton Famine*, p. 310.

<sup>316</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 279.

<sup>317</sup> Watts, *History of the Cotton Famine*, p. 282.

<sup>318</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 280.



trade resumed, it was not until 1876 that he completely resigned from duties. Kay-Shuttleworth's focus had shifted towards a more public initiative.

The impact of the cotton famine also prompted Kay-Shuttleworth to produce two notable publications. *Words of Comfort and Counsel to Distressed Lancashire Workmen, Spoken on Sundays in 1862* is a collection of Kay-Shuttleworth's speeches that he gave to the poor. The tone is highly moralistic and it is doubtful that the poor found much counsel in Kay-Shuttleworth's words. However listening to his homilies was a price they paid for his charity and help. The second publication, *Manual of Suggestions for the Guidance of Local Relief Committees in the Cotton Districts, Arising out of the Experience of 1862-63* was written by Kay-Shuttleworth on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. In it, he describes the organisation of relief boards and the methods of relief which have been found to be the most efficient. The manual covers such topics as the constitution of local committees, scales of relief, and the relationship between local relief committees and Boards of Guardians. Extremely informative, the publication features two particular pieces of guidance that Kay-Shuttleworth argued for in Burnley: that relief should be raised to 2s per head with a supply of fuel and clothing during the winter; and that relief should be given in return for work as 'it promotes the cheerfulness and health of recipients.'<sup>319</sup> The vast and extremely encompassing nature of Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement with the Central Executive Committee demonstrates that undoubtedly, his attentions were turned away from local events in Burnley and Padiham. Nonetheless, he was still helping to improve the conditions of the poor, albeit on a grander scale. He was also able to use his knowledge and expertise to take the regulations of the Central Executive Committee and implement them in Burnley and Padiham which may have helped the poor and placed them in an advantageous position to receive a better standard of local relief and a more organised Relief Committee.

## **Manchester**

The Manchester that Kay-Shuttleworth returned to during the 1860s was a very different place to the one that he had encountered in 1828 during his stint as a physician. In 1835, the travel commentator Alexis de Tocqueville had visited Manchester. He wrote that the people looked less healthy, less well-off, 'more preoccupied' and 'less moral' than

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<sup>319</sup> Fund for the Relief of Distress in the Manufacturing Districts, *Manual of Suggestions for the Guidance of Local Relief Committees in the Cotton Districts Arising out of the Experience of 1862-1863* (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1863).

other British towns.<sup>320</sup> By the time Kay-Shuttleworth returned, Manchester was seen as a symbol of modern life.<sup>321</sup> An urban aristocracy had emerged – men who desired political as well as economic power and Manchester had officially become a city in 1853.<sup>322</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth himself wrote of his return to Manchester in *Sketch of the Progress of Manchester in thirty years, from 1832 to 1862*. Re-visiting the city, Kay-Shuttleworth noticed some vast improvements, particularly in the condition of dwellings. There had also been the establishment of a public free library which had over 56,000 volumes, parks and more abundant means of innocent recreation.<sup>323</sup> Hours of labour had become more reasonable, wages had increased and the price of food and clothing had reduced. However, as in 1832, Kay-Shuttleworth still despised the Irish population and held them responsible for the degradation of the poor. He stated that since the publication of his pamphlet, he had encountered many opportunities to examine his original opinion and had 'no doubt whatever that the moral influence of the immigration of semi-barbarous manners is prejudicial, by example, and personal intercourse, to the habits of the population of with which they mingle.....the ignorant, unkempt and stultish children of a half brutish class of immigrants, render progress in a school difficult, or if they are numerous, almost impossible.'<sup>324</sup>

### **Kay-Shuttleworth's Continued Involvement in Education**

As has been demonstrated, in Burnley and Padiham the introduction of education was Kay-Shuttleworth's main initiative for helping to improve the condition of the poor, and was the subject about which he was most enthusiastic, specifically his ELU which enabled him to implement two of the main educational initiatives that he had formed during his professional career. Kay-Shuttleworth was willing to support the training of students at his own expense, and sacrifice his own time to be involved with the provision of education for the poor. Unsurprisingly, then, outside of the setting of Burnley and Padiham, it was education that remained his number one priority.

In January 1868, Kay-Shuttleworth published *Memorandum on Popular Education*. Although at this point he was no longer formally involved in government and the provision

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<sup>320</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, J.P. Mayer, ed., George Lawrence, trans. (New York: Arno Press, 1979) p. 104.

<sup>321</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 94.

<sup>322</sup> This is in stark contrast to the emergent middle classes of 1832 who had little desire to displace the traditional aristocracy.

<sup>323</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, p. 151.

<sup>324</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, p. 151.

of education, his opinion and expertise were still taken seriously. *Memorandum on Popular Education* was largely an indictment of the Revised Code and pleaded for an extension of the denominational system of education, 'The scholars fail to pass even the low standards under the Revised Code, partly because the principal and assistant teachers lose heart under their work.....The Revised Code has constructed nothing; it has only pulled down.....It has disorganised and threatens to destroy the whole system of training teachers and providing an efficient machinery of instruction for schools' wrote Kay-Shuttleworth <sup>325</sup>. As a solution, he proposed a system of grants and the formation of a district education committee. In September 1868, Gladstone wrote to Kay-Shuttleworth in response to *Memorandum on Popular Education*, 'Your suggestions on the Education Bill deserve the most careful consideration as coming from you, and also in themselves.'<sup>326</sup>

The Education Act of 1870 accepted the denominational system and declared that it was a parent's duty to educate his children, and that no child should be kept out of school because of poverty – two of Kay-Shuttleworth's demands although the Act did not go so far as to award school grants and undo the work of the Revised Code. Kay-Shuttleworth's involvement in the work behind the passing of the 1870 Act did not go unnoticed, and he was awarded a Doctor of Civil Law (DCL) Degree from Oxford University in recognition of his 'great services in the cause of education.'<sup>327</sup> This was a monumental moment for Kay-Shuttleworth, for whom entry to the University had been out of his reach as a youth.

Other educational establishments also captured Kay-Shuttleworth's attention. In 1857, the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS) had been formed by Lord Brougham. With the remit to 'coordinate the efforts of the experts and the politicians', the group pursued topics in public health, industrial relations and education. Kay-Shuttleworth was a member of the committee and virtually a permanent member of its council from 1857 to 1870.<sup>328</sup> He was three times elected President of a department – Social Economy in 1859; Education in 1860; and Economy and Trade in 1866.<sup>329</sup>

Closer to home, Kay-Shuttleworth was involved with the rebuilding of Giggleswick Grammar School. He was one of ten new governors appointed to the school by the Charity

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<sup>325</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, J.P. *Memorandum on Popular Education* (London: Ridgway, 1868).

<sup>326</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 290.

<sup>327</sup> This was a higher doctorate, usually awarded on the basis of exceptionally insightful and distinctive publications that contained significant and original contributions to the study of law or politics.

<sup>328</sup> Ben Griffin. *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain. Masculinity, political culture and the struggle for women's rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) p. 80.

<sup>329</sup> BNA: *Lancaster Gazette*, 29 September 1866, p. 2.

Commission in 1864. A “free school”, Giggleswick was controlled by a body of Governors and the Vicar of the village. Kay-Shuttleworth presided at the first public meeting called in response to a proposal to charge a fee of no more than £12 per annum per boy.<sup>330</sup> Some opposed the introduction of such a charge and as a result of the meeting, the Governors granted thirty free admissions per year. Kay-Shuttleworth earned a reputation as fair, as he chaired the meeting, did not vote, and prepared a memorandum in which he defended the conclusion as being in harmony with previous usage, with the intentions of the founder and with local wishes.<sup>331</sup>

The school required rebuilding and typically, Kay-Shuttleworth placed all of his energies into organising the project. In 1866, he was unanimously elected as Chairman of the Governing body, an appointment that continued to occur every year for the rest of his life reflecting, perhaps, his professional success and status as a recognised and respected educationalist. He was heavily involved in increasing the provision of accommodation for boarders, the introduction of modern subjects into the curriculum, and the appointment of staff. An ancient tradition had seen local boys being sent to the Grammar School for free, in return for their families providing lodgings for boarding students. Kay-Shuttleworth was at the forefront of amending this, and in 1872 a new scheme was approved by Her Majesty in Council that required the payment of entrance and tuition fees for all boys, with the exception of those who were able to win scholarships.<sup>332</sup> By 1873, there were more than 100 students at Giggleswick Grammar School, a huge increase since 1865 when there were between 30 and 40 pupils and consequently, Kay-Shuttleworth's impact was very visible.<sup>333</sup>

The improvements and changes that Kay-Shuttleworth made to Giggleswick Grammar School do not provide an example of Kay-Shuttleworth directly improving the conditions of the poor, but the amount of time and effort he devoted to the restructuring of Giggleswick represents an enormous pull away from his responsibilities in Burnley and Padiham. Clerk to the Governors in 1901, Mr Brayshaw stated that 'Sir James practically was Giggleswick School at a very important and critical stage in its history.'<sup>334</sup> The example is, however, another example of Kay-Shuttleworth being able to implement his own educational initiatives. For instance, he played an important role in selecting teaching staff, as he had

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<sup>330</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 305.

<sup>331</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 305.

<sup>332</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 309.

<sup>333</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 309.

<sup>334</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 310.

done at Gawthorpe School, Partridge Hill School, the Burnley Grammar School, and in the East Lancashire Union. He therefore had the skills, expertise and reputation to undertake an enormous task such as the restructuring of Giggleswick.

By 1872 when he received notification that his proposed at Giggleswick had been given approval, Kay-Shuttleworth had handed over Gawthorpe Hall to Ughtred upon news of Janet's death. Away from Burnley and Padiham, Kay-Shuttleworth's attentions would naturally shift although he had long been involved with the provision of education further afield. For example, in 1843 he had created a village school at Barbon, and in 1866, had provided a site and suitable buildings for a school, schoolhouse and the erection in 1871 of a parsonage for the parish of Barbon, typical landowner activities.<sup>335</sup> He also took part in the reconstitution of Sedbergh School, about ten miles north of Kirkby Lonsdale. The school developed rapidly after Kay-Shuttleworth became involved – playing fields were added alongside a new headmaster's house and boarding houses. The numbers of students also increased and Kay-Shuttleworth had once again used his knowledge and expertise to initiate a further educational success.<sup>336</sup>

### **Other matters in Lancashire**

With his focus diverted away from Burnley and Padiham, Kay-Shuttleworth became involved with a variety of other activities across Lancashire as a whole. For instance, he served on the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction, appointed in 1870, and regularly attended meetings and questioned witnesses.<sup>337</sup> He was a shareholder of the Girls Public Day School Company that was launched in 1872, and used his reputation to visit schools established by the Company to attempt to persuade them to incorporate his own theories of examinations for students and a system of inspectors.<sup>338</sup> Outside of education, Kay-Shuttleworth became heavily involved with the foundation of an asylum for Lancashire and the North of England. Acting as president at the first meeting to discuss the formation of an asylum in December 1864, he featured again in January 1865 when he spoke in favour of the introduction of an asylum and pleaded forcibly for the humane treatment of idiots and imbeciles.<sup>339</sup> As a consequence, the Lancaster Royal Albert Asylum for idiots and imbeciles of the seven northern counties was opened in 1870. Kay-Shuttleworth remained

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<sup>335</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 311.

<sup>336</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 334.

<sup>337</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 310.

<sup>338</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 311.

<sup>339</sup> BLSL: *Blackburn Standard*, 25 January 1865, p. 2.

heavily involved in the project and presided at public meetings in 1871, 1874 and 1875, and was nominated to a local committee to promote the interests of the asylum in the Burnley district in 1872 alongside Colonel Towneley, Reverend Thursby, Major Starkie and other local worthies – further demonstration of his position in the social hierarchy.<sup>340</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth was also involved with the provision of free libraries in both Blackburn and Preston. At a meeting in Preston in 1856, he addressed the audience at length, stating that he believed in public libraries as a way to further adult education. The Reverend Canon Parr thanked Kay-Shuttleworth 'with the thanks of himself and the working men of Preston for the just and delicate manner in which he had alluded to their temperance and forbearance, and self command during a period of great excitement.'<sup>341</sup> In 1860, he appeared again at a public meeting in support of a free public library in Blackburn where he was received with loud cheers. He spoke of his personal associations with Blackburn and his deep interest in watching the development of the town's municipal spirit.<sup>342</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth also told of his memories of Blackburn forty six years ago and 'he remembered that the streets were narrow, with low browed brick houses, unpaved and unsewered, with open channels running down them. And they would permit him to say that the population, characterised by all the virtues and energies of Lancashire population, to a stranger presented rude and repulsive features.'<sup>343</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth concluded his speech by commentating that he had more recently observed that due to the public spirit of the town and the munificence of private individuals, the well-being of the working class had been improved in Blackburn, and he felt that the introduction of a free public library would serve to further enhance this.

Kay-Shuttleworth's novels and his desire for literary success also occupied his later years. *Scarsdale, or life on the Lancashire and Yorkshire border* was published in 1860, albeit anonymously, and *Ribblesdale, or Lancashire Sixty years ago* in 1874. He also worked on a third, unpublished novel – *Cromwell in the North, 1648. A story*. A further publication - *Thoughts and Suggestions on Certain Social Problems Contained Chiefly in Addresses to Meetings of Workmen in Lancashire* was published by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1874. This volume contained details of some of the key speeches he had given throughout his life, including *The Industrial and Social Development of South East Lancashire; their*

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<sup>340</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Gazette*, 4 May 1872, p. 3; and *Lancaster Gazette*, 3 October 1875, p. 4.

<sup>341</sup> BNA: *Preston Chronicle*, 25 October 1856, p. 2.

<sup>342</sup> BNA: *Preston Chronicle*, 25 August 1860, p. 2.

<sup>343</sup> BNA: *Preston Chronicle*, 25 August 1860, p. 3.

*bearing upon the cotton famine; their causes and probable future* (Address at Bacup at the Annual Meeting of the East Lancashire Union of Institutions), *The Laws of Social Progress, as illustrated in the history of manual labour class in England* (Address delivered before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, October 9, 1866), and *The Treatment of Idiots* (Address at a Meeting to establish a Northern Counties Asylum for Idiots, December 21, 1864). Ughtred suggests that Kay-Shuttleworth was a particularly good orator, having long been known in Lancashire as a powerful platform speaker.<sup>344</sup> Certainly he was in demand as a public speaker, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis where he was invited to preside and address many meetings.

Politics also remained important to Kay-Shuttleworth and aside from his devotion to getting Ughtred elected to Parliament; he contested a seat himself for the North East Lancashire division in 1874. Although he plunged himself into the campaign for parliamentary success with typical vigour, he ultimately lost by 77 votes.<sup>345</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth's extensive work remodelling Giggleswick Grammar School and his political career did not directly impact on the improvement of the poor. However, he remained as devoted as ever to the provision of education as a whole, and this gave him the opportunity to further implement his own beliefs and initiatives in developing a system of examinations and inspectors for schools. Whilst these more wide reaching projects did divert his attentions away from local activities, he was willing and able to remain involved in Burnley and Padiham on some level. For example in 1871, he donated public water fountains to Burnley, the ELU remained fully operational until 1872 when it merged into the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Institutes, and the Padiham Trades Hall was open and funded by Kay-Shuttleworth between 1863 and 1870 when it was handed over to the Liberal Club. Furthermore, work to develop Partridge Hill School was still ongoing until 1871, and Kay-Shuttleworth was a lifetime governor of Burnley Grammar School until his death in 1877.

After his death, it has been Kay-Shuttleworth's activities outside of the Burnley and Padiham area that have captured the attention of historians. Specifically, his involvement with the Central Relief Committee and his determination to establish a system of elementary education has become his legacy, and these issues have brought Kay-

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<sup>344</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 336.

<sup>345</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth received 4401 votes compared to the 4478 votes of his conservative competitor.

Shuttleworth the professional recognition that he yearned for throughout his life. This chapter has demonstrated that his interests and involvements outside of Burnley and Padiham remained substantial, and in some ways, diverted his attentions away from Gawthorpe and his responsibilities as a landowner. However, Kay-Shuttleworth remained active in the improvement of the poor and involved with his own initiatives within Burnley and Padiham, still fulfilling his obligations as a landowner.



## Chapter Eight

### Conclusions

The publication of *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes* highlighted some of Kay's main theories regarding the potential improvement of the poor, and enabled him to become better known and more established in Manchester's professional and political circles. The pamphlet also prompted debate on social investigation and urban inequalities, was the basis for Chadwick's *The Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population* in 1841, and was referenced by Engels in *The Conditions of the Working Classes in England*. Young calls it 'a cardinal document' and at the time of its publication in 1832, the *Manchester Guardian* stated 'we can do little more than state our almost entire re-quiescence in those views which Dr Kay entertains respecting the circumstances that have operated to express the conclusion of the poor.'<sup>346</sup> The success of the pamphlet brought Kay-Shuttleworth national recognition, with a twenty-three page article in the Benthamite *Westminster Review*. This professional success saw Kay's transition from a newly arrived student doctor to a member of the professional middle-class. Evidence has been presented of his attempt to create a better position in society, and he strived to gain the respect and approval of his peers. He was able to establish friendships with other distinguished gentlemen who occupied influential roles in Manchester. For instance, through the Manchester Statistical Society, Kay was introduced to William Greg and William Langton, and in 1833 Kay, Benjamin Heywood and Langton established the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society. Kay had first met Heywood when he had become involved with the election of Charles Poulett Thompson as MP for Manchester.

Whilst a desire to better oneself was not uncommon in this period nor unusual, part one of this research demonstrated that Kay's pamphlet was, in part, a repetition of W.R Greg's work - *An Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population and the Causes and Cures of the Evils Therein Existing*. This document was published in 1831, and proves that not all of Kay's theories and ideas were quite his own. Furthermore, Emmett has questioned Kay's use of statistics in the pamphlet, suggesting they were manipulated to paint a more dramatic image of Manchester's urban poor. Emmett also questions Kay's

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<sup>346</sup> Young, *Victorian England*, p. 26; and BNA: *Manchester Guardian* 28 April 1832, p. 3.

decision to reproduce only six out of nineteen sections of the Board of Health questionnaire that was used as a basis for the pamphlet, suggesting that Kay was unable to acquire the remaining thirteen that required personal contact with the poor, thus inferring that he was unwilling to interact personally with the working classes in their own environment. This could suggest that Kay had more devious intentions in his desire to raise his profile. Certainly he was not fully successful in this quest, as in 1833 James Kennedy had refused Kay's proposal of marriage to his daughter, citing Kay as financially insecure and Kay had suffered further public humiliation when he twice lost the election to be appointed as Senior Physician to the Manchester Infirmary in 1828 and 1835. This has led to some historians defining Kay as an "outsider", a title that could have followed him throughout his life.<sup>347</sup> Indeed, some argue that he was continually craving social acceptance and desperately desiring an upwardly mobile route to become a member of the upper classes – the most significant evidence of this being his marriage proposal to Janet Shuttleworth in 1842. Replicating much of the Manchester Board of Health's figures and W.R Greg's work in the *Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes* also adds substance to this theory.

Nevertheless, Kay undoubtedly helped the poor due to his position as a Senior Physician at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, and his role in the treatment of the cholera epidemic of 1831-1832 was significant as he visited hundreds of victims in Manchester. Kay's assertion that he witnessed the first case in the town is perhaps exaggerated, however, as it was Henry Gaulter who was officially recorded as being the first.<sup>348</sup>

Whilst his motivations for moving up the class scale may have been questionable, the research has shown that Kay did have a genuine concern for the moral and physical welfare of the poor. Firstly, before he became a member of the landed elite, Kay had founded Norwood – a district school for workhouse children. Here, he was able to experiment with the educational theory for the improvement of the poor that he had established following a visit to Scotland in 1837 – using students from the pauper classes to be trained as teachers at a low cost to Guardians. Kay received £500 from the Government to begin the trial of the school, and spent three afternoons a week there in an effort to ensure its success. In his 1839 Report to the Poor Law Commissioners, Kay

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<sup>347</sup> Particularly Selleck who called his own research – 'Journey of an Outsider'.

<sup>348</sup> Kidd and Wyke, *The Challenge of Cholera*, p. 49.

stated his opinion that Norwood could successfully provide its students with education and moral and physical guidance, 'they are, in fact, children of the dregs of the pauper population in London, and have for the most part, been reared in scenes of misery, violence, and villainy....the children now at least display in their features evidence of happiness.'<sup>349</sup> Kay's belief was confirmed and as a direct result of his success with Norwood, he was appointed as Secretary to the Privy Council of Education in 1839. Kay's appointment could be questioned by some, as it was his own report that described the success of Norwood that gained him the role. Regardless he was successful in achieving the promotion, and one of his first proposals was to introduce a system of government inspectors for schools. Although there was mild opposition to the idea initially, the theory was accepted in 1846 and remains one of Kay's legacies to the education system.

Secondly, two years after his experiment at Norwood, Kay personally financed a teacher training college at Battersea. Between Kay and his Assistant Poor Law Commissioner colleague Mr Tufnell, £1,283 was spent during the first year of its existence, and £2,000 during the second. Furthermore, Kay moved his mother and sister to Battersea to undertake domestic duties, and even relocated there to contribute to the teaching and administration of the college. This approach demonstrates Kay's dedication to the cause of education, and his belief in the pupil-teacher system as a way to improve the welfare of the poor. For instance, many of his students were from the poorer classes with the first eight pupils selected from Norwood. His enthusiasm for the subject is evident by his commitment to Battersea. Furthermore, Smith states that for Kay, Battersea was 'striking proof of his devotion to the cause.....the thing is unique in educational history, for it is the first and last occasion when the Chief Official in the Education Office has had daily acquaintance with, and direct control, over an actual school.'<sup>350</sup>

Part two of this thesis dealt with Kay-Shuttleworth's activities after he relocated to Gawthorpe Hall and married into the wealthy Shuttleworth family. This aspect of Kay-Shuttleworth's life has previously been ignored in favour of his national endeavours, yet this research has highlighted the wealth of activities he was involved in whilst a member of the landed gentry in Burnley and Padiham. Here, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to act upon the reputation he had established through his professional successes, and he additionally had the disposable wealth and position in the social hierarchy to become involved in local

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<sup>349</sup> PP: 1839 *Fifth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners* (239) p. 93.

<sup>350</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 105.

activities that improved the moral and physical conditions of the poor. Whilst his marriage to Janet could be deemed as a further attempt to better himself, he could have achieved this at a much younger age if he had so wished.<sup>351</sup> Since his unsuccessful attempt to propose to Kennedy in Manchester, he had no apparent love interests and although Janet's family were hugely disappointed with the union, with her step-father stating Kay was 'a great Educationist, but a mere sub-Commissioner of Poor Laws', there is little evidence to suggest that the marriage was anything other than genuine.<sup>352</sup> Moreover, whilst some suggest the landed elite's role was essentially about control and order, this specialised study of Kay-Shuttleworth's activities in a local setting has shown that on some occasions, he was willing to go beyond the usual obligations expected from a member of the landed elite, despite the fact that he had married in to the Shuttleworth family and was therefore not a "traditional" elite. It has also demonstrated that he had a genuine interest in helping the poor and was often willing to interact with them face to face.

At the beginning of his career in social investigation, medicine and public health were priorities for Kay-Shuttleworth in his aim to improve the welfare of the poor because of his education and degree. This preoccupation with sanitary conditions is evident in *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes*, although the pamphlet also features other recommendations for the improvement of the poor – namely education, the strengthening of class relations, and the provision of charity. However, it was education that Kay-Shuttleworth specifically identified as the primary tool for the improvement of the poor and Norwood and Battersea helped him to develop this theory further. They enabled him to establish his pupil-teacher system, and facilitate the introduction of examinations to further improve the provision of education for the poor. Examinations would improve the standard of education, and the pupil-teacher system gave students the opportunity to further themselves and establish successful careers. In Burnley and Padiham, Kay-Shuttleworth's main development of these theories lay in the formation of his East Lancashire Union.

The ELU was formed by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1857. Designed to spread education through the coordination of the work of Mechanics' Institutes, libraries, newsrooms, and improvement societies within an eight mile radius of Burnley, the ELU offered a wide range of subjects open to all. In a similar fashion to Kay-Shuttleworth's earlier pupil-teacher

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<sup>351</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth was 38 at the time of the marriage – some felt this was too old to have children and provide Janet with a heir.

<sup>352</sup> Selleck, *Sir James-Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 185.

system, outstanding students were selected as candidate teachers and given extensive training at evening classes from the two qualified teachers who helped develop their own, and existing teachers' skills. Kay-Shuttleworth was President of the Union, and described it as the 'progressive education of the youth of the district from 13 to 30.'<sup>353</sup> The growing membership figures demonstrate the success of the ELU – in 1857 there were 480 members, and by 1860 there were 1,578.<sup>354</sup>

The ELU also enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to implement a further theory that he had established earlier in his career; a system of examinations and awards, which he hoped would prove to the middle classes that the poor had received a substantial education and were therefore adequately prepared to be responsible and trustworthy employees. Overall, 2,454 candidates sat examinations – 75% of who were cotton operatives. Over 2,000 students passed and gained some qualification. This research has also shown that Kay-Shuttleworth remained involved in the lives of some of the successful students, inviting them and their families to grand dinners at Gawthorpe Hall. In 1874, he nominated one individual – Mr Shore – for the position of clerk of the newly established Burnley School Board. Shore had received ten certificates from the ELU, and had become an organising master within the union. Kay-Shuttleworth's belief in his students was also shared by others, and the ELU attracted support from other local elites such as the Alderman Henry Moore and the cotton manufacturer James Dugdale. The ELU provides clear evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth's devotion to the cause of education, and his willingness to implement his own theories to improve the conditions of the poor. His son, Ughtred, would later state, Kay-Shuttleworth had 'a special and fatherly interest which the originator in this country of the system of pupil-teachers and of training and certificating teachers of elementary schools, took, throughout his life, in the members of what he called, on at least one occasion, his army of light.'<sup>355</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth exercised the informal control that Beckett states was an intrinsic part of the responsibilities of the landowner. He donated water fountains to Burnley, paid towards the construction of All Saints Church in Habergham, and opened the grounds of Gawthorpe Hall to allow members of the public to visit and enjoy the picturesque scenery. Furthermore, he held regular dinners and parties for his tenants. Additionally, he personally financed and led the campaign for further subscriptions towards the construction of

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<sup>353</sup> KSP: *First Report of East Lancashire Union*, 1858.

<sup>354</sup> Dunleavy. (1983) *The provision of education for working people in institutes in North East Lancashire*, p. 23.

<sup>355</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, pp. 327-328.

Partridge Hill School – an infant school, mistress's residence and classroom were the first to be erected at an outlay of £1,100.<sup>356</sup> In 1870, a girl's school was added, and a boy's school completed the block of buildings in 1871. Moreover, Kay-Shuttleworth went considerably further to help the poor and undertook additional responsibilities beyond what could be reasonably expected of someone in his position. For instance, he mediated the Padiham colliers' strike and personally financed the formation of the Padiham Trades School in 1854 and of course the ELU in 1857; and he also reacted to the demands of the public to form the Burnley Rifle Corps. Clearly, he was willing to participate in local society and was able to be actively involved in the improvement of the poor.

Kay-Shuttleworth was able to play the role of a member of the landed elite successfully, due to his professional success and the reputation that he had developed as an expert in education. However, he was also able to fulfil this role not least thanks to his recently acquired disposable wealth and due to his elevated position in society, and the recognition that this brought from Padiham and Burnley's large number of recently arrived cotton manufacturers. This newly formed class of industrialists, professionals and businessmen had rapidly risen through the class structure to own cotton mills and employ a large number of the working class. Kay-Shuttleworth was in a similar position, having rapidly scaled the social ladder. Thompson suggests that industrialization added to fear of revolution and the new class of capitalists therefore looked to the upper echelons of landed society as the only reliable guardians of property and order.<sup>357</sup> Beckett concurs; stating the new middle-classes of the early nineteenth century had relatively little desire to displace the entrenched aristocracy.<sup>358</sup> Traditional class relationships and boundaries therefore still existed and were respected, and this also added to the establishment of social stability.

However Kay-Shuttleworth was not popular with all. In 1862, Anthony Buck Creeke and Kay-Shuttleworth had a disagreement over the rate of relief that should be given to operatives during the cotton famine. This argument was played out on a public platform, as their letters to each other were published in the *Burnley Advertiser*. This is the only evidence of Kay-Shuttleworth not being accepted by members of local society, and may demonstrate Selleck's view that Kay-Shuttleworth remained an "outsider" throughout his life. Furthermore Kay-Shuttleworth's reluctance to stand for the role of President of the

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<sup>356</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, September 23 1871, p. 3.

<sup>357</sup> Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p. 184.

<sup>358</sup> Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 3.

Burnley Mechanics' Institute could also be evidence of this lack of integration. However, in the case of his disagreement with Creeke, the *Burnley Advertiser* was quick to spring to Kay-Shuttleworth's defence, stating 'it is impossible to regard what is proposed to be done for our suffering operatives – for the supply of their bodily necessities, for the education of the children and adults in day schools and of the youths in evening classes, and in all this for the maintenance of the peace and good order of society, without feeling how deeply the district is indebted to the wisdom and foresight, the benevolence and untiring activity of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth'.<sup>359</sup> Any feeling of being an outsider does not appear to be evident in Kay-Shuttleworth's actions whilst in Burnley and Padiham as he was able to use his vast acquired wealth to contribute to the local area and other local elites remained close to Kay-Shuttleworth. For instance, the Moore family were actively involved in the ELU and celebrating its students' successes, and Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth details riding to Lowerhouse with his father to breakfast with the Dugdale family in his reminisces that feature in Smith's *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*.<sup>360</sup>

This thesis has presented evidence, however, that demonstrates that Kay-Shuttleworth had a much stronger interest in his own initiatives to help the poor, and contributed less to those establishments already formed before he arrived in the area. Although he still became involved on some level with these other initiatives, it was due to an expectation of him as a local and influential landowner, rather than because of a desire to make a substantial difference to the lives of the poor. If it had been due to a willingness to help the poor, it is likely he would have been more involved as he was given ample opportunity to do so. This is particularly evident in Kay-Shuttleworth's infrequent involvement in the Burnley Mechanics' Institute.

A further aspect of this research has been an examination of Kay-Shuttleworth's ability to successfully translate his national theories to a local level. For instance, widely regarded by historians as the founder of elementary education, his role as Secretary enabled him to put into practice his pupil-teacher system at Battersea College, as well as a system of examinations and qualifications that were then actioned through his ELU. Indeed, his interest in establishing accessible schools for the children of the poor was also translated to a local level by the construction of Partridge Hill School and he continued to profess his belief in his pupil-teachers by staying in touch with them and nominating them for roles as

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<sup>359</sup> BLSL: *Burnley Advertiser*, 23 May 1863, p. 3.

<sup>360</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 329.

he did with Mr Shore and the Burnley School Board.

However, despite all the activities that he was willing to be involved in on a local level, this research has demonstrated that Kay-Shuttleworth's attentions were easily diverted away from Burnley and Padiham and chapter seven examined Kay-Shuttleworth's activities outside the area. A significant example of this and an event that attracted a great deal of his time and attention was the Cotton Famine, and the associated formation in 1862 of the Central Executive Committee in Manchester, to which he was appointed Vice-Chairman. Kay-Shuttleworth's role was largely administrative, dealing mainly with the raising and distribution of the fund, and checking for discrepancies in returns from local relief committees. Whilst Frank Smith states that Kay-Shuttleworth remained especially concerned with the condition of the poor in Padiham during this period, this research suggests that his involvement with a wider, more prominent scheme actually diverted Kay-Shuttleworth's attention away from the suffering immediately outside of the walls of Gawthorpe Hall. Although he employed a small number of operatives, and remained a Guardian and a member of the Burnley Relief Committee, Kay-Shuttleworth attended only seventeen out of one hundred and twenty Board of Guardian meetings during the period, and was a member of the Relief Committee for just eight months.

In contrast, he remained involved with the Central Executive Committee for more than twelve years – long after the distress caused by the Cotton Famine had ceased. Kay-Shuttleworth's lack of attendance at local meetings is surprising, considering that his role as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner required him to organise the election of Boards of Guardians when he formed new Poor Law Unions in East Anglia. However the knowledge of the importance of the role of Guardians goes some way to confirm that Kay-Shuttleworth considered his role in the Central Executive Committee more of a higher priority than his local responsibilities. This calls into question his true motive for helping to improve the welfare of the poor as it appears Kay-Shuttleworth was always striving to go further and craving the acceptance of his peers. Certainly his national identity was important to him, and after the cotton famine his involvements further afield intensified. For instance, Kay-Shuttleworth returned to Manchester, producing *Sketch of the Progress of Manchester in Thirty Years, from 1832 to 1862* in 1862. He also published *Memorandum on Popular Education* in 1862. This document was the basis for his further significant involvement in national education. Even after his retirement, Kay-Shuttleworth remained involved in the provision of education on a national stage. For example, he pleaded with



the Government for an extension to the denominational system of education, proposing a system of grants and the formation of a district education committee. He was additionally involved in the Education Act of 1870, which accepted the denominational system that he had been so strongly in favour of. The publication of *Memorandum on Popular Education* brought him further recognition from Gladstone (who became Prime Minister in 1868), and also via the awarding of a Doctor of Civil Law Degree from Oxford University, for his 'great service in the cause of education.'<sup>361</sup>

In 1864, Kay-Shuttleworth became heavily involved with the rebuilding of Giggleswick School, and also from 1864 onwards, he was active in the formation of the Lancashire and North of England Asylum. In 1870 he served on the Royal Commission of Scientific Instruction and in 1872, he became a shareholder of the Girls Public Day School Company. Politics also remained important to Kay-Shuttleworth. Part one of the thesis explored how he had become involved with the election of Poulett Thompson as Whig MP for Manchester in 1832, and used his Liberal political interests to network and establish friendships with other influential gentlemen, thus strengthening his position in society. Over forty years later, Kay-Shuttleworth himself contested a seat for North East Lancashire. Although he lost, he spent a great deal of time and effort on this campaign.

In contrast, his involvement in Burnley and Padiham during the same period centred on the already existing ELU and the ongoing construction of the group of school buildings at Partridge Hill. The only new activity that Kay-Shuttleworth became involved in was the Padiham Trades Hall, which he personally financed in 1862. This provided a canteen, a newsroom, classes and meetings for those who had already received some form of education. Kay-Shuttleworth envisioned it as a place for the poor who had attended ELU classes in order to divert their attentions away from the distractions of alcohol, indulgence and moral degradation. Whilst Kay-Shuttleworth continued to be involved in these endeavours in Burnley and Padiham, all three could continue successfully without his day to day supervision. In 1872, Kay-Shuttleworth handed over the Gawthorpe estate and landowner responsibilities to his son, Ughtred, and relocated to Barbon Manor, so it is unsurprising that after this date, his attentions would shift.

For example, the rebuilding of Giggleswick Grammar School demanded nearly ten years of Kay-Shuttleworth's retirement and he was Chairman of the school's Governing

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<sup>361</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth*, p. 198.

Body, responsible for increasing the provision of accommodation for boarders, introducing new subjects to the curriculum, and the appointment of new staff. In addition, he was a life governor of the Burnley Grammar School until his death in 1877, and was heavily involved in the creation of a new Burnley Grammar School in 1874. Kay-Shuttleworth was responsible for overseeing the construction of new school buildings and the recruitment of teachers.

In summary, this research has described and assessed Kay-Shuttleworth's contributions to initiatives aimed at improving the moral and physical welfare of the poor in Manchester, Burnley and Padiham. It has been demonstrated that Kay-Shuttleworth was willing and able to make a considerable difference to the moral and physical welfare of the poor, and he did this in a number of ways in both Manchester and Lancashire. However, he made this contribution on his own terms, participating in activities that he could easily influence – namely those that he was very knowledgeable about, or those that encapsulated his own theories and initiatives. Nonetheless, his interventions at a local level enabled him to actively contribute to improving the moral and physical conditions of the poor. In the early part of his career, he became more involved in activities that would further his own career and help establish him as a member of the middle-class. He also recognised education as a vital tool to improve the welfare of the poor. After his marriage, Kay-Shuttleworth was able to fulfil the role of a member of the landed elite, and in some ways, he was able to go above and beyond what was reasonably expected of such an individual which helped to establish and secure his position in local society, especially in the context of industrialising Lancashire where there was an acceptance of the self-made man due to the many cotton manufacturers who had themselves transcended class boundaries in an effort to better themselves. In many ways, Kay-Shuttleworth was just another example of this, and could therefore integrate better into local society compared to the very traditional aristocratic Towneley's. This also explains why the poor valued his interventions and asked for his expertise.

His interests undoubtedly helped Kay-Shuttleworth to improve the moral and physical conditions of the poor on a local level in Burnley and Padiham and he was willing to contribute his own wealth and time to this cause. However, whilst he was successful in transferring some of his national theories on to a local level, his attentions were also easily diverted back to the bigger picture and the national stage, where he could use his knowledge and status as an educational expert to influence policies, and it was these

activities that really shaped Kay-Shuttleworth's legacy and contribution to the history of education.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Most notable Publications of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth

- *A Letter to the People of Lancashire, Concerning the Future of the Commercial Interest by the Return of Members for its New Boroughs to the Reformed Parliament* (1831)
- *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (1832)
- *Defects in the Constitution of Dispensaries* (1834)
- *The Physiology, Pathology, and Treatment of Asphyxia* (1834)
- *Report on the Training of Pauper Children* (1838)
- *Second Report on Pauper Education* (1839)
- *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England* (1839)
- Paper on the 'Punishment of Pauper Children in Workhouses' (1841)
- *Second Report on the Schools for the Training of Parochial Schoolmasters at Battersea* (1843)
- *The Present Condition of the Administration of the Parliamentary Grant* (1845)
- *The School, in its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation* (1847)
- *Public Education as affected by the Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council from 1846 to 1852, with Suggestions as to Future Policy* (1853)
- *Scarsdale, or Life on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Border* (1860)
- *Four Periods of Public Education* (1861)
- *Words of Comfort and Counsel to Distressed Lancashire Workmen, Spoken on Sundays in 1862* (1862)
- *Manual of Suggestions for the Guidance of Local Relief Committees in the Cotton Districts* (1863)
- *Memorandum on Popular Education* (1868)

- *Thoughts and Suggestions on Certain Social Problems contained chiefly in Addresses to Meetings and Workmen in Lancashire* (1873)
- *Ribblesdale, or Lancashire Sixty Years Ago* (1874)
- *Autobiography* (Never completed) (1874)
- *Cromwell in the North* (Unpublished) (1875)

**Appendix B: A list of the members of the Burnley Relief Committee  
1862-1863**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
John Moore	Mayor, Cotton Manufacturer
Rev. Towneley-Parker	St. Peter's Church
William Robinson	JP, Banker
James Folds	Cotton Manufacturer
Anthony Buck Creeke	Solicitor
J. Massey	Cotton Manufacturer
John Hargreaves Scott	Jeweller
Councillor Kay	Cotton Manufacturer – Spa Field Mill
Councillor Clegg	Cotton Manufacturer – Brownside Mill
Councillor Collinge	Cotton Manufacturer – Burnley Wood Mill
J. Cowben	Cotton Manufacturer – Spring Garden Mill
J. Bulcock	Cotton Manufacturer – Byerdon Mill
R. Law	Cotton Manufacturer – Scar Top Mill
Thomas Hordem Whitaker	Local Elite, JP
R. Handsley	Town Clerk
G. Howarth	Unknown
G. Gawkrodger	Unknown
J. Baron	Cotton Waste Merchant
S. Sellers	Cotton Manufacturer – Healey Royle Mill
Councillor Denbigh	Unknown
S. Smallpage	Cotton Manufacturer – Gannow Lane
John Barnes	Cotton Manufacturer – Bankfield Mill
George Slater	Cotton Manufacturer – Sandygate Mill
J. Benedlack	Unknown
Councillor Parker	Cotton Manufacturer – Old Hallshed

Councillor Dewhirst	Unknown
Rev. Willan	Reverend
Rev. Haraborn	Reverend
Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth	Local Elite
Rev. Thursby	St. John's, Worsthorne, Local Elite
Councillor Lomas	Cotton Manufacturer – Pentridge Mill
Captain Dwyer	Unknown
J. Butterworth	Loom Manufacturer
R. Hargreaves	Unknown
Councillor Chaffer	Quarry Owner
T. Holgate	Farmer
Rev. Flanagan	Catholic
Rev. Dugan	Trinity Church
Rev. Stamer	St. James' Church
Rev. Nicholson	St. Paul's Church
Rev. Mason	Wesleyan
Rev. Strachan	Wesleyan
Rev. Stoyan	Independent
Rev. Gill	Independent
Rev. Shawcross	Independent
Rev. Townend	Free Church
Rev. Hargreaves	Baptist
Rev. Alcorn	Baptist
Rev. Evans	Baptist

Source: LRO: *Burnley Relief Committee Minute Books, 1862-1863*

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