READING, WRITING AND RESEARCH: AN EVALUATIVE STUDY OF CHILDREN IN LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY MANCHESTER.

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Thomas Cockburn

Department of Sociology.

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This thesis examines the responses and perceptions of organisations in Manchester dealing with children and their problems. In particular I look at the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges, the Ancoats Recreation Movement, the local state and a number of local clubs for working-class children and young people. I examine the ways in which these organisations interacted with children and parents in working-class households. I also explore the ways in which the organisations interacted with other institutions such as the poor law, school authorities, religious bodies, sanitarians and feminist groups. I show how these relationships were sometimes co-operative and at other times conflictual. I utilise post-structuralist conceptions of power and discourse to discuss the ways in which ideas of children and childhood were closely associated with the constitution and reconstitution of knowledge.

Relatedly I am concerned with the research process and the role of reading and writing within it. In the thesis I look at my place in relation to the research process, in particular the dialectical interaction between me, the reader, and the textual materials in the archives I worked on. I argue that distinct analytical merits can be gained by focusing on the research process and I provide concrete examples of how this may lead to an improved understanding of the individuals and organisations.

Chapter 1 deals with some of the debates surrounding the increasing use of the `historical perspective' in sociology; such as the differences and similarities between `sociology', `history' and `common sense' understandings of the past; the relationship between memory and history; and debates between `traditional' foundationalist approaches to history and post-structuralist and deconstructionist critiques.

In Chapter 2 I discuss how texts are produced and interpreted in highly complex but also institutionalised ways. In my discussion of the reading and writing of texts, I focus on issues of power and representation in all social scientific accounts. By acknowledging my representational power as a researcher, I argue that my own interpretational accounts of the past are best presented by `writing myself into' my account. By making as explicit as possible my own readings, interpretations, written judgements over the researched I hope the reader is better able to evaluate the content.

Chapter 3 discusses the process of reading the texts of one of my major archival sources, the Manchester Refuges. I demonstrate how I made sense out of the mass of textual objects and stimuli, organising my interpretation into something with an underlying pattern. Through this chapter I discuss the process of reading and how I interpreted the Manchester Refuges', its responses to children and their problems and its relations with other institutions it either co-operated or competed with.

In Chapter 4 I focus on the process of writing about, accounting, reporting, describing and representing the archives of the Manchester Refuges. I outline how I construct, not reconstruct, research data through the constitution of my own hierarchy of meanings.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I analyse the discourses by various institutions and individuals within institutions, who although having similar aims and objectives construct their own distinctive interests and `expertise' that differentiate themselves from rival groups. I discuss the tensions within institutions over issues of `cultural assimilation' in relation to the Ancoats Recreation Movement and the Manchester University Settlement in the Ancoats district of Manchester. Then in Chapter 6 I look at the contestations and tensions between organisations over influence of the local state in relation to services for children.

Also, in Chapter 6, I demonstrate the analytic gains to be made by paying attention to the process of note-taking and writing and locating my work in a time/space structure. By using my fieldnotes as an `information store' I was able to see that the local state manifests itself in highly complex and socially variable ways. By focusing on my writing on the lives of particular people such as Charles Russell and Alexander Devine I was able to see their lives developing over a period of time and taking on some kind of pattern. Relatedly I was able to demonstrate how individual biographies intersect with social structures and how their `individual' actions had considerable social consequences for young people in Ancoats.

Throughout this thesis I maintain that evaluating children in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Manchester cannot beseparated from issues concerned with the role of reading and writing within the research process.

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INTRODUCTION

The title of my thesis is ` Reading, Writing and Research: An Evaluative Study of Children in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Manchester' and the colon between the two parts of the title indicates the dual concerns and focus that my work has. I am concerned with the research process and the role of reading and writing within it; I am also concerned with children in Manchester over a particular time period and with evaluating the responses and perceptions of organisations dealing with children and their problems. However, as will become clear, these concerns are symbiotically related: in my thesis, `you can't have one without the other'. The thesis, then, is a conceptual whole, the focus of which is `researching children'.

The writing of a PhD thesis is a long process, involving a large amount of complex data which has to be reduced down into 100,000 words. These words have to be arranged in a highly ordered format which does not readily allow for the highly convoluted nature of the process of enquiry. Research students have often found it difficult, as a result, to write concisely and comprehensibly about their field of enquiry. It is small wonder that PhD non-completions occur and have become a topic of concern for grant agencies, such as the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), the sponsors of my thesis.

My thesis has taken on three `incarnations' according to my changing intellectual concerns. These concerns could have resulted in writing three different kinds of thesis, but instead I have used each of them to contribute to the version of the thesis presented for examination. These three incarnations, with hindsight, can be understood to have occurred rather like `epochs' over the last four years, with each one of the three stages of my research representing a major, although cumulative, shift in my thinking.

The first stage occurred from the beginning of my research for a substantial period until most of my archival research was completed. Originally I had intended to create a detailed account of children's lives in Manchester between the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the period which Harry Hendrick (1992) has identified as being when the `modern' notion of childhood began. I was originally interested in the institutional response in Manchester to perceived child abuse from about the 1880s, and I correspondingly gathered information on local child rescue organisations, the Boards of Guardians, the courts and the coverage in local and national newspapers. During my work on these sources, I became aware that other individuals and groups of people had also been concerned with the abuse of children, especially local feminists and feminist organisations, the police force, and local evangelical missions.

This trickle of information turned quickly into a deluge as I found that many local organisations were either directly or indirectly concerned with child abuse. For instance, since the eighteenth century Manchester had a wealth of hospitals compared with other British cities and additionally pioneered the growing specialism of children's health, witnessed by Thomas Percival's work with the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary in the eighteenth century, John Alexander and W. B. Stott's establishment of the Dispensary for Children in Manchester in the 1820s, and the development of `paediatric medicine' at the Clinical Hospital for Diseases of Children by Louis Bouchart and August Schoepf Merei in the 1850s (Pickstone, 1985). Similarly local educational institutions were affected by the reality and perception of child abuse and in Manchester local educational authorities' Truant Officers and Industrial Schools came across and necessarily dealt with abused children in their work. I also found that I could not separate a study of the institutional response to child abuse from wider notions of what `childhood' was and institutions created out such perceptions for children, such as schools, children's clubs, movements for the establishment of play areas and open spaces in urban districts, or the influential local Kindergarten movement.

The breadth of the study seemed to grow every time I came across the archival materials of a different institution. It was then that I decided to focus on a particular district in Manchester, that of Ancoats (Manchester Region History Review, Vol.7, 1993). Ancoats was closely associated with contemporary problems of urbanisation and, as the district caught the attention of nineteenth century reformers, a great many institutions and movements were established there for the benefit of local children. It therefore provided a particularly interesting case study. However, even by doing this I still found the material growing and growing. Ancoats already had a Dispensary, but also acquired one of the first Elementary Schools in the city at Every Street, a notorious Workhouse at Tame Street (Kidd, 1985, p.55), and, as I discus in more depth in the thesis, it was also a target for reform from child rescue organisations, religious missions, radicals, feminists, social assimilationists, as well as the local state. Such a rich tapestry of institutional and group activity made extremely problematic what I had originally envisaged as a kind of almost brick-by-brick reconstruction of `institutional responses to children in Ancoats'.

Related to this growing concern with the seemingly endless amount of material I was gathering was a shift in my theoretical approach which formed the basis of the second stage of the development of the thesis. As I felt the danger of becoming lost in the *minutiae* of life in nineteenth century Ancoats, I decided to shift approach or perspective, to emphasise the `theoretical' utility of this data to address the late twentieth century intellectual concern with the `deconstructon of categories'. In doing so, I utilised Foucault's (1973, 1980) and Scott's (1988) conceptions of power and discourse to discuss the ways in which ideas of children and childhood were closely linked with the re/constitution of knowledge. Knowledge of children is always relative and contested politically within and between `epistemic frames'. While exploring various late nineteenth century representations of children and childhood, I hoped to demonstrate how such knowledges were situated so as to further particular

institutional interests, but also to show that in the practicalities of daily life these categories were complexly inter-connected with each other, and with a host of other, and sometimes conflicting, ways of categorising types of people and events.

Foucault was concerned with what he saw as new 'forms of power to judge' and the development of new bodies of knowledge, and his work was:

> "A genealogy of the present scientifico-legal complex from which the power to punish derives its bases, justifications and rules, from which it extends its effects and by which it masks its exorbitant singularity." (Foucault, 1977, p.23)

While his analysis of criminality was not of direct interest to me, I found the four broad transformations of power/knowledge which he focuses upon a useful and fruitful way of analysing children and childhood over the period I was concerned with.

Firstly, there was less interest in the (criminal) act itself, more in what was behind the act, specifically the upbringing, mental health, biography and possible rehabilitation of the subject. Reformers became interested in the circumstances, environment, heredity, instincts and passions of the criminal. Investigators seeking to discover 'what lay behind the act' began by looking at childhoods. Such a focus on childhoods reflected broader concerns about childhood in general; there was a deep anxiety about the effects of the environment, both physical and social, on the growing child. This concern with the child's environment triggered a host of institutions and individuals to monitor, regulate and understand children. These concerns with the child in the largely urban environment form a substantial part of the second 'stage' of my thesis.

Secondly, there was a shift away from forms of retributive action to attempt to neutralise the dangers involved, to 'normalise' the subject. Again, such a focus can be discerned in relation to children. By targeting and 'saving' children, it was felt that their actions could be neutralised before any immoral or criminal act occurred. Such goals

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formed a major component of the `cultural missions' to Ancoats children which I discuss in Chapters 5 and 6.

Thirdly, action increasingly cohered around the myriad features brought to bear by the individualising knowledges of `experts', including counsellors, psychologists, social workers, educators and doctors, and an accompanying dispersal of the new form of power to judge among experts in various often competing disciplines. Certainly in relation to children, numerous and competing contestations of knowledge occurred between groups of experts concerning the form which `appropriate' knowledge and action towards children should take. This is clearly apparent in Manchester in general and Ancoats in particular, as Chapters 3 and 6 in my thesis amply demonstrate.

Fourthly, and relatedly, there was a transformation in the prevailing *telos*. There came into existence a new `political technology of the body', a new `political anatomy', designed to operate on the body so that the subject will govern him or herself as a docile and `useful' individual. The starting point for such a shift in this political anatomy involved the bodies of children. As my thesis shows, it was around children that a new technology of power/expertise cohered, with the aim of enabling children to grow into useful and obedient citizens. I explore this `political technology of the body' in depth in relation to Manchester and Ancoats institutional responses to children, showing how the humanitarian and usually also Christian origins of such institutional formations were also concerned with changing, shaping and thus controlling. As my thesis shows, in relation to the plight of children in Manchester and Ancoats, `radical humanitarianism' and `social control' can characterise an organisation, or particular individuals, at one and the same time.

Despite the growing mass of material had already I gathered and my ambitious theoretical task, the substantive research for my thesis continued to grow, and this stimulated a re-evaluation of what my research involved. This was the third `stage' of

my thesis, and I should perhaps re-state that the two earlier stages were not removed from the thesis, but were instead the foundation for the third and final stage in the process of the production of the thesis, which builds and reflects on these others.

The thesis which follows is concerned with the study of children and childhood from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century in Manchester. That is, it has a dual focus and concern: the process of study, and the topic of study. I had originally drafted chapters discussing constructions of childhood covering `discursive sites' such as the local state, `child rescue' organisations, religious organisations, movements to assimilate the working-class, and youth clubs. However, in carrying out my research, many epistemological issues arose which I felt deserved more thorough attention. A close reflection on the doing of the research yielded conceptual but also `factual' benefits, and it came to assume as much importance as its empirical topic: indeed, I came to see the two as symbiotically related.

From the beginning I had wondered whether my thesis was history or sociology. I found it interesting that commentators on the relations between these two disciplines such as Abrams (1982) argue that there should be no substantive difference over the problems they attempt to answer. For instance, both historians and sociologists have attempted to resolve problems associated with notions of `agency' and `structure'. The comprehension of historical and social processes is a vital component of doing both sociology and history and was a central concern during my reflections on category constructions of childhood in Ancoats.

Thus an important way of `situating' this thesis and my concerns within it was to reflect upon the relations between history and sociology, which I do in Chapters 1 and 2. Such deliberations about the similarities and differences between history and sociology led me to question the role of academic disciplines, not only in relation to

each other, but also to `everyday' knowledges or understandings of the past and the present in society. Of particular interest here were debates about historians' claims to professional knowledge positioned over and above everyday memories and understandings, often achieved around ideas of a single foundational past reality. However, I found that `what history is' differed according to the social context of the person or people making sense of the past: history for one person differed, often dramatically, from that of another. Historiographical texts are best seen as textual constructions of the past created in specific historical and institutional contexts. From such reflections I then became more aware of the textual nature of the social world, particularly as confronted by those who research aspects of the past using archival means. On the one hand I agreed with arguments about the active nature of texts, often produced institutionally and constituting social relations in a number of ways. However, arguments about situational readings where texts are made sense of in `a back and forth way' also instructive. I discuss these approaches to reading in Chapter 2.

My reading of archival materials involved a dialectic interaction between me, the reader, and the texts. However, I was not the totally autonomous researching individual, free to find out whatever I would. Rather, my agency was created through situations and statuses conferred upon me. Although I, as researcher, had overall control over the final account, I was contextually constrained by what I could include and exclude. The concept of an `interpretive community' is useful in understanding this social context and it refutes the image of the isolated researcher/reader of texts by contextualising my work within the wider social and intellectual relationships I am involved in. Of course, interpretive communities often consist of competing factions involved in constituting, contesting and re-constituting various claims to knowledge, and I discuss this in early chapters in relation to the disciplines of history and sociology, and in later chapters around such factions and claims to know about

children as competed in Ancoats from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

Giving analytic attention to the reading and interpretation of texts raises similar issues and concerns in relation to the process of writing and representation. Most of my thesis is composed by different forms of narrative. This writing does not unproblematically represent what I have read and thought, but rather it is a process shaped by a large number of factors. For instance, I write in accordance with the requirements of a PhD thesis; I write about issues that were of concern to me at the time; of what is important to my own `interpretive community'; according to specified genre; and so on. Accepting the crucial importance of the context of writing raises questions about representation and power in research. Written texts constitute what the reader reads (although this is never complete as the reader decides what and when to read and to remember). At least as important, such texts represent from the writer's perspective, albeit somewhat constrained by their interpretive community. The researched, on the other hand, are included only in so far as the writer includes them. This powerful role of the writer has stimulated a number of attempts to re-balance the power of texts. Dialogism, which emphasises a world of largely different meanings, promotes the `voices' of the researched within texts and was useful in considering the myriad of responses and meanings surrounding children in historical contexts. Similarly, microhistorical accounts discuss the plurality of possible interpretations of symbolic meanings in the social world. They have also attempted to emphasise a measure of agency to a historical subject's choices, decisions, negotiations and manipulations. Feminists have attempted to make themselves visible in their accounting during both the research and the writing up of reports, so that by becoming reflexive and being aware of the epistemological uncertainties that exist, the power of the researcher becomes less absolute.

In thinking about these matters, I have tried to explicate the process whereby I 'made sense' out of archival materials. I found the work of R.G. Collingwood a strong source of inspiration, not least because his work anticipates many present-day debates concerning the relationship of the present to the past, the research imagination, the pragmatic approach to research and the nature of historical knowledge. Collingwood espouses an active theory of knowledge, emphasising the historian's (and equally so the sociologist's) role in creating such knowledge, and insisting upon the importance of 'questions and answers'. In demonstrating my 'documentary method' of interpreting the archives, I show how as a reader I was not passive in receiving information, but actively questioned, noticed, interpreted, evaluated and discarded what was in the texts, a process which often compelled me to ask different questions and re-assess old answers.

This focus on the process of writing and representation of archival materials demonstrates that the research process from reading to writing notes to diary to drafts to thesis is not unidirectional and referential but rather dialectical and partial, as I discuss in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. My writing does not reflect the 'real' past social world and events but constructs an account of it. The production of this account is one deeply embedded in the social relations of academic life, but also encompasses my attempt to grasp something of the lives and experiences of those people of the past who, through the documentation of their actions, form the basis of my thesis.

It is important to remember that it is those past lives, their actions and struggles and problems, which provide the legitimacy for historical research. In the case of my particular research, as I discuss in Chapter 3, it was the parallels between present-day and past suffering of children that drew me. Child abuse is and was a terrible abuse of power, and what should be caring. It is not of course the only form of suffering that children experience now and experienced in the past. The children who were the subjects of the organisational, institutional and expert endeavour I am concerned with,

through the archives I researched, lived lives of almost unimaginable hardship. However problematically they did so, these organisations were concerned with the amelioration of that hardship and the suffering it engendered. This is the backcloth to my thesis on `researching children' in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Manchester.

CHAPTER 1

SITUATING THE THESIS: SOCIOLOGY, HISTORY AND TEXTUALITY

Introduction

This chapter looks at how an understanding of sociology can be promoted through the study of history and vice versa. As my thesis research takes place largely on the boundaries between the disciplines of sociology and history, I look at the institutionalisation of both in the first section. I go on to discuss the temporal nature of sociological concepts such as identity and career. The first section concludes by suggesting that understanding historical processes could be a way of resolving the agency/structure debates that have been so fundamental to sociology.

If the tasks of sociologists and historians are largely the same (as Abrams (1982) has argued), then how is it that some texts are produced as historical texts, some as sociological texts, and the practitioners of history and sociology perceive them as `in fact' different? I look at how `history' and `sociology' as disciplines are organised and practised. In particular I examine how highly professionalised disciplines operate as organisations, producing `knowledge' in particular organisationally-specific ways. I then look at how the disciplines of history and sociology and the production of historical knowledge relates to and interacts with people's memory, with an everyday notion of what `history' is I seek to explain the means by which historical knowledge is presented as `more important' and valid.

Discussions of knowledge-claims introduce issues of hierarchy and the contested nature of knowledge. In the third section I examine some of the perceived `threats' to `traditional' foundationalist approaches to history, in particular from post-structuralist

and deconstructionist writings. I discuss the contribution of deconstructionism both to feminism and to a sociological analysis of childhood. I examine some of the arguments made by Joan Scott about the value of post-structuralist and post-modernist arguments in terms of an analysis of gender representations, and I apply these to an analysis of representations of children and childhood. Throughout this chapter I discuss the consequences of debates concerning sociology, history and knowledge on the production of my own thesis.

The Relationship Between History and Sociology

To many people, `sociology' and `history' are as different as the `present' and `past', which these disciplines allege they respectively specialise in. Geoffrey Elton (1969) argued in The Practice of History that sociology, as well as other social sciences such as anthropology, economics and psychology, "are clearly autonomous; they deal in methods, questions and results which are peculiar to themselves" (Elton, 1969, p.21). On the other hand and in contrast, there are "three habits peculiar to history: its concern with events, its concern with change, and its concern with the particular" (Elton, 1969, p.21). Sociologists are often accused of being `non-historical', empirically neglecting the past and conceptually neglecting the temporal nature of social life and the historical specificity of social structure. Similarly, historians are often accused of neglecting the way processes and structures vary between societies; conceptually, they are seen to fail to consider general processes and structures in form of specificities, as well as being blinkered to the relationship between personal acts and social events.

However, some social thinkers have attempted to eschew such dichotomies and seek some form of *rapprochement* between the two disciplines. C. Wright Mills in 1959 attacked the predominant notions of abstract model-building within sociology and

suggested that the `sociological imagination' extended beyond the `grand theory' of Parsons and the `abstracted empiricism' of sociologists such as Paul Lazarsfeld. Mills insisted that:

> "Social science deals with problems of biography, of history, and their intersections within social structures. That these three - biography, history, society - are the co-ordinate points of the proper study of man [sic] has been a major platform on which I have stood when criticising several current schools of sociology whose practitioners have abandoned this classic tradition" (Mills, 1959, p.159).

Similarly in the discipline of history during the 1960s E. H. Carr called for bridges to be built across the frontiers of history and sociology (Carr, 1961). Carr hoped that history could generate theoretically informed analysis of the past if a free flow of influences were exchanged between the two disciplines.

In recent years, reflecting the ambitions of C. Wright Mills and E.H.Carr amongst others, others have called for an end to the distinction between history and sociology (e.g. Abrams, 1982, Burke, 1980, 1992; Kendrick et al, 1990; Smith, 1991). Philip Abrams in the most influential of these discussions argued that understanding structure and change involves the use of both sociology and history, as well as drawing from other disciplines. Restricting analysis of many substantive topics to any one discipline can result in a myopic view and a failure to appreciate a more comprehensive perspective. Abrams also argued that the two disciplines of history and sociology both have the same basic project: a sustained attempt to deal with how people `structure' their world. Both disciplines attempt to understand the ways in which human agency operates through time. Rather than seeing human beings in a dualistic way, in which people either passively accept the social structures in which they find themselves, or alternatively constructing their own world free from the impingement of social constraints or structures, Abrams argued rather that people consciously structure the

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world in which they find themselves by adapting to their own external and constraining surroundings. This structuring can be best seen when looked at over time, and thus sociology must be concerned with eventuation:

> "I would almost say that it is a question of trying to build a sociology of process as an alternative to our tried, worn and inadequate sociologies of action and system. And that is where the problematic of structuring comes in. It re-unites sociology with the other human sciences, especially history. And it does so, not by way of a causal marriage of defective theory to an unprincipled empiricism, but though the re-discovery of an authentic and fundamental common interest." (Abrams, 1982, p.xv)

In order to illustrate the use of a combination of history and sociology Abrams used the important sociological concept of `career', which, he argued could be better understood in the light of a historical perspective.

Within sociology the notion of `career', and particularly career in relation to deviance, has been an important concept, whether concerning the careers of mental patients, law breakers or drug users (Goffman 1968; Young, 1971; Becker 1963). However, sociologists who stress process at a meta-theoretical level have been slow to devote any great deal of attention to notions of how people and sociological categories are shaped and change through longer periods of time. A `biography' need not be seen as a single self in isolation from others or from social structures. For instance, my own current situation of sitting in front of a word processor attempting to write a thesis cannot be understood simply in terms of a linear unfolding of the educational career of a single individual, but must also include influences from significant and less significant others, plus factors such as educational policies, labour markets and funding opportunities.

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Abrams suggests that the problem previously perceived in sociology of how to account for an individual in particular, rather than individuals in general, can be achieved if it is accepted that the notion of identity and career are understood in terms of being organised temporally. Abrams cites the work of interactionist sociologists of the 1960s (e.g. Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1967; Goffman, 1968; Matza, 1969), in which they insist that identities are not a consequence of personal make-up or a pre-given social ascription, but are rather the product of a sequence of action, labelling and reaction in the face of organised power, as well as of situationally specific opportunities and possible constraints and contingencies. The stress here is on the two-sided nature of the process of constructing identity and its inclusion of both private and public elements. As Goffman argues:

> "One value of the concept of career is its two-sidedness. One side is linked to internal matters held dearly and closely, such as image of self and felt identity; the other side concerns official position, jural relations, and style of life, and is part of a publicly accessible institutional complex. The concept of career, then, allows one to move back and forth between the self and its significant society, without having to rely overly for data upon what the person says he (sic) thinks he imagines himself to be" (Goffman, 1961, p.119).

The concept of career involves a number of temporally located stages which must be passed through; there is thus an empirical chronology of the separate biographies of individuals. However, this process of logic and chronology is not fixed or determined, as in more social psychological socialisation theory, but is rather two-sided and interactionally made and remade.

Perhaps paradoxically, there has been a counter tendency in sociology, to produce a static, structural image of process. The notion of childhood, a key concept in my thesis, has been seen thus until fairly recently. Thus sociologists such as Parsons (1964), stressing process at a meta-theoretical level, tended to conceptualise childhood

in primarily developmental and biological terms. Although the category of childhood is of course linked to the biological processes of a `developing' body, these experiences are never simply biological but are also socially and culturally and thus temporally mediated. They are socially and historically constituted interpretations of such processes. More recently it has been widely accepted within sociology that categories such as childhood are thus not static entities. The category of childhood does not exist in isolation from the wider society; and social policies such as raising (or lowering) of the school leaving age, or those affecting youth unemployment, have a huge impact on the definition and experience of childhood (Solberg, 1990), along with wider social changes influencing `mentalities' or social mores and understandings. Thus in a similar mood Hareven (1978) focuses on how individual careers and notions of the family change over time. She stresses the word transitions, as more dynamic than terms like family `stage' or the circular notion of family `cycle'. She outlines how individuals move from group to group, all of which are in motion through chronological time. The structures of the groups and the choices of individuals is closely linked with larger historical processes and the changes in earlier transitions.

C. Wright Mills maintained that the task of the `sociological imagination' is to enable "its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals" (Mills, 1959, p.11). If this is so then sociologists must move away from static notions of social concepts and identities, and in particular should adopt a dynamic understanding of career, recognising that the biographically determined situations people find themselves in are inextricably linked to an interpretation of the past and how it intersects with the present. Our biographical situations are not entirely interpretations, of course, for we also come across and/or inherit material traces of the past which directly impinge upon our lives in the present, for instance, the actions of our ancestors which determined

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where and when we were born, how well-off our parents or guardians were/are, while the jobs or educational opportunities which are available do not result from interpretations but rather material factors temporally located and interpreted and responded to.

An emphasises on the historical dimension is necessary in understanding society, while at the same time stressing the complex interaction of the unique and the recurrent and patterned. Abrams expresses such a position in this way:

> "Historical sociology is not, ... a matter of imposing grand schemes of evolutionary development on the relationship of the past to the present. Nor is it merely a matter of recognising the historical background to the present. It is the attempt to understand the relationship of personal activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time. It makes the continuous process of construction the focal concern of social analysis." (Abrams, 1982, p.16)

Given this close inter-connection between history and sociology, the next section looks at how written texts are presented as specifically historical or sociological.

The Relationship Between `History' and The `Past'

It has been argued that history and sociology have the same goals in their respective interests of overcoming the problem of structuration (Abrams, 1982, p.ix). The immediate question that arises for the purpose of writing my thesis is, what is a sociological or historical piece of work? That is, how are the activities of sociologists and historians similar to and different from those of members of other disciplines and from each other? After all, most academics seek to make sense of their social surroundings, often by reflecting on past events or accounts of past events. Historians and sociologists are producers of knowledge and seek to differentiate their accounts from `everyday' accounts. Within these discipline areas as others, the knowledge-claims made by their members are taken seriously and their claims to knowledge are by

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and large considered to be of greater authority than those of lay members of society, including amateur researchers.

In this section I take the example of history and discuss the distinction between the `past' (as events from a previous time) and `history' (a series of discourses about events from a previous time). Jenkins (1991) identifies three important reasons for making this distinction apparent; firstly, the past has gone, it is irretrievable and can only be `recovered' and `recreated' by `historians' in the form of books, articles or other media. Secondly, history as an academic discipline is hugely influenced by `authorities', and the content of student essays and exams consist of the past according to historians. Finally, the past of marginalised groups tends not to be included in historians' accounts, and the effects of this for those marginalised groups have only fairly recently been discussed (e.g. Rowbotham (1973) as an early contribution to the now 20 year long process of establishing women's history as important and viable).

As far back as the 1920s and beyond, philosophers of history such as R. G. Collingwood, whose work I look at in greater detail in Chapter 3, distinguished the `past' from `history'. Collingwood (1939, 1946) argued that historical accounts were constructed by the activities of historians reading, writing and interpreting in the present. Historians can never directly know and retrieve the past in its entirety, but rather shape the past through the questions they ask and an imaginative re-enactment of the minds of past actors. As Abrams notices, the role of the historian (as well as the sociologist) is to focus and elaborate analysis and criticism around the explanation of structuring (Abrams, 1982, p.318). The centre of this analysis and criticism resides in the activities of the historian and it is these activities which should be used as an analytical resource.

The role of historians and sociologists as producers of knowledge have also interested ethnomethodologial sociologists and post-modernist philosophers (Anderson and Sharrock, 1982; Lyotard, 1984). Such commentators maintain that both historical and sociological accounts are made recognisable by being presented in a particular format which makes them instantly recognisable as being sociological or historical accounts. These accounts are presented as being more `superior', `accurate', or `correct' than other competing accounts.

Abraham Kaplan (1973) makes the distinction between the terms `reconstituted logic' and `logic-in-use'. The latter refers to the day-to-day activities of scientists going about their work as scientists and the former refers to the ways in which these activities are presented in the form of formal reports. Building from this distinction, Anderson and Sharrock (1982) argue that, rather than thinking about bodies of knowledge such as science or sociology (or history) in terms of being a cognitive or political matter, they should be treated as socially organised around the activities involved in doing sociology, science or history. They describe the routine methods for the organisation of descriptions and accounts within a body of knowledge. Any particular kind of organisation of data is simply that - one possibility amongst many, even if the account is the most obvious or `natural'. Any descriptions of social life must show how and why some aspects and not others must be taken as critical, significant or revealing.

For Anderson and Sharrock, "[t]he history of sociology provides an inventory of standard formats" (Anderson and Sharrock, 1982, p.82). It is the ways in which researchers make their work recognisable as one or other standard version that `adequate' descriptive work is achieved. Sociological work, then, for Anderson and Sharrock involves making some descriptions recognisable as sociology by describing processes in a symmetrical way as 'other accounts already provided', and points out the

similarities between the data studies `here' and `elsewhere'. They call this the `contextual shapeliness' where orderliness is `discovered' and enhanced in the reporting process. By this they mean that sociologists, historians or scientists need to come to terms with the inexhaustible richness of the world and the impossibility of ever providing an exhaustive or complete description of it. In writing up a report, researchers face a whole gamut of contingencies; there may be too much or too little data; too much time may be spent on one aspect and not enough on another; it is not enough to publicly admit to personal preferences but rather `good investigative reasons' must be provided. The task of the researcher is to apply the `contextual shapeliness' to his/her own or colleagues's satisfaction.

In this sense, a piece of work can be located as recognisably sociological, historical or scientific but also neo-functionalist, Marxist or structuralist, such locators being made available through the use of procedures which shape the context of the data presented and enhance their orderliness and argument. The active role of the researcher is marked not only in asking questions and understanding the past, as Collingwood maintains, but is also crucial in providing a `contextual shapeliness' to accounts. Relatedly, in the context of history, post-modernist writers such as Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) have maintained that, whilst historians do not invent the historical materials (the archival documents, the letters, diaries, newspapers, etc.) they work with, they do invent the descriptive categories and meanings which these are said to have, because they construct the analytic and methodological tools by which the texts are read and discussed (i.e. textual as well as verbal). In this sense, the world is read as a text, the past comes to us `always already' as stories (narratives), and we are unable to break free of these narratives and describe the world `as it really is', as these `always already' narratives constitute our `reality'. However, there is no totally homogeneous groups of people called `historians' and `sociologists', and what sociologists and

historians understand as discourses differ greatly. Different sociologists and historians interpret the same phenomenon differently through discourses which are constantly on the move, being de-composed and re-composed, and thus require examination as precisely discourses: sets of discussions within a particular framework

For Lyotard, history as a discourse is categorically different from the past. In a similar way to Anderson and Sharrock's `contextual shapeliness', post-modernist writers suggest that various historical `methods' (empiricist, feminist, Annales, neo-Marxist, etc.) have an internal coherency and consistency, and are also `self-referencing'. For such writers, any method which claims to lead to some `truth' is misleading, for the best that could be achieved is an internal consistency within textual discourses. These notions of `contextual shapeliness' and the `self-referencing' nature of historical and sociological texts has epistemological consequences, and in particular the right to lay claim to `expertise' in a specified area. If historical texts are merely accounts and have no absolute truth claim, how then is it that historians lay claim to and are believed to have such expertise? In my view this expertise depends upon historians creating a dichotomous `Other' in their knowledge claims. This `Other' is the notion of memory, which historians contrast with their own more `objective' accounts of the past backed up by textual evidence or rigorous `scientific' methods. History here stands above and often as a correction to memory. However, I will explore such a valorisation of historical accounts and argue that all accounts are socially constructed and contextually produced.

Difference Between Memory and History

A conception of the past is very important to all of us in our daily lives, it imposes on us in material ways, it is part of our self-identity and we all have memories of the

past. While conceptions of memory have been of interest to sociologists for a long time, notably in Durkheim's (1893; 1895) `social-representation' theory and Maurice Halbwachs' (1925; 1951) `group memory' theory, there is a burgeoning interest in the social nature of memory (e.g. Middleton and Edwards, 1990). Jeff Coulter (1979), for example, eschews psychological models and concepts of individuals' memory in favour of the "socially organized character of recollection and forgetting" (Coulter, 1979, p.59). Coulter wishes to study remembering and forgetting as kinds of social action, rather than properties of individual mentality. Middleton and Edwards (1990) similarly see memory as socially conditioned, and outline six ways in which society shapes an individual's memory.

Firstly, people share memories of events and objects which are social in origin. But rather than merely pooling experience and memories, people remember actively. For example, when people reminisce about family photographs, it becomes more than just a sharing of the participants' perspectives. Accounts of shared experiences are contested, people reinterpret and discover features of the past that will become the context for what they will jointly recall on future occasions. Secondly, the past, an event, a person or people, can become the object of intentional commemoration and this is ascribed historical significance. People recall and celebrate events and persons that are part of a cultural identity or understanding. For instance, the storming of the Bastille prison during the French Revolution continues to be remembered annually with Bastille Day in France, while as I finish my thesis `VJ' day is ascribed immense - and competing - significance internationally. Thirdly, the joint reconstruction of the past and more general commemorative understanding provide the frameworks for children and adults to learn what to remember and what it is to remember as part of a social enterprise. For instance, we are all taught `the lessons of history', for example, the events leading up

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to the Second World War are often envoked to either support or condemn the build up of armed forces against a potential aggressor.

Fourthly, telling the right story at the right time to the right people is a social accomplishment. Reminiscences must be referenced at the appropriate time or people risk offending others or suffering embarrassment: remembering important personal familial anniversaries, such as `significant' parental wedding anniversaries, for instance, being a case in point. Fifthly, as Mary Douglas (1986) also argues, institutions organise those things which are remembered or forgotten. It is not simply that institutions create records, archives or photographs, but also that institutions prescribe what should or could be remembered. This is not necessarily conscious manipulation but can be inadvertently done through the process of selecting what to record and remember and those to forget. For example, organisations such as the NSPCC have access to the institutional means to publicise their past child protection practices, yet other, less well known, organisations such as the Manchester Refuges (which I shall discuss in detail later) are less able to discuss their past contributions. Finally, Middleton and Edwards argue that it is through social memory that people gain a sense of their own identity in society. Furthermore, as social practices are systematically remembered, continuity in social life is remembered. They conclude:

> "The crucial notion ... is the objectification of those practices in the social environment, both material and communicative, such that the world we live in embodies in its very design a relation to the past. The integrity of individual mental life is held in place by participation in these practices. In its strongest form this does not just refer to some form of coherence and sense of continuity in our social live but to the social constitution of 'individual' mind. The claim is that the very integrity of a person's mentality depends upon participation in an environment which owes its very shape to socio-cultural practices." (Middleton and Edwards, 1990, p.10)

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However, in what way is history linked to social memory? Is not history by definition located within memory, since it apparently `preserves' the past? Narrative histories told informally are a basic activity for the characterisation of human actions. It is a feature of all communal memory (Sewell, 1992; Somers, 1992; Tonkin, 1993). If we are to play a believable role before an audience of relative strangers, we must produce an informal account of our histories which indicates some notion of our origins and which justifies or excuses our present status and actions. Thus Macintyre (1981) argues that we come to know each other by asking for accounts, by giving accounts, by believing or disbelieving stories about each other's past identities. In identifying and understanding what someone else is doing, we put this in context of an event or way of behaving amongst a number of different narrative histories. We identify an action by recalling instances of that action. We situate someone's behaviour with reference to its place in their life history and their place in the history of the social setting. The narrative of one life is part of an interconnecting set of narratives and from the story of the group(s) from which individuals derive their identity.

Given the importance of social memory, any claim to produce the collective memory thereby claims an extremely powerful position. For a long time history, in the sense of historiography, has seemed to be in charge of the collective memory. The historian was delegated the task of reconstructing the collections of materials and archives into a single account. The historian was thus conceived of as a kind of guarantor of the social memory. But faced with the multiplicity of individual memories, historians were established as professionals to compose the accurate version of the past. History could unify all members of society, no matter how diverse the respective points of view, into a united collective past. However, from its nineteenth century inception, this `univocal' history was challenged by views of history which questioned its epistemological attempt to discover linear temporality unfolding through a mechanistic causality, and instead

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moved towards accepting a plural temporality involving a variety of perspectives both different and complimentary. These included amongst others, historians of action and meaning, Marxists, feminists, the Annales school and oral history.

In terms of developing highly distinctive ways of understanding and conceptualising social memory and its relationship to individual memory, oral history has played an important role. Oral historians are concerned with the commonly held representations found in the oral accounts of people of past events, traditions, customs and social practices. Discussions of `popular memory' immediately extends beyond individual conceptions of memory and stresses social variability. Elizabeth Tonkin (1992) proposes that `the past' does not exist other than in the form of socially constructed representations. For Tonkin, the role of memory is contextually specific, as the occasions in which we remember things is crucial to how `the past' is. Such socially and contextually specific forms of remembering occur through the medium of discourses, which mostly, in academic circles, takes the form of written texts. It is on the nature and form of these discourses and their specific usages that Tonkin's discussion focuses.

The use of memory by historians largely remains focused upon documentary sources. In contrast oral history is often treated as a `new technique' which questions the official historiography that gives pride of place to the supposed dominant actors in history. With the help of oral history the voices of the `common people' can be retrieved. History can thus become a counter-history `from the bottom up', and the versions of ethnic or cultural minorities (Alexander 1990), women (Rowbotham,1973), children (Thompson 1981) or workers (Samuel, 1985) can be reconstructed. There remains the danger here of using oral testimony as recovering the `true events' which official records have omitted. Oral history in this construction could become an

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auxiliary science with positivistic pretensions by proposing that its materials allow the past to be constructed as objectively as possible, to `fill in the gaps' of the documentation to discover the `true' past. Oral history textbooks written from such a position often begin by attempting to clear the doubts of the credibility of using memory as a source. Paul Thompson (1978) in the early days of the oral history `movement', set out the conditions that memory must fulfil in order to satisfy the demands of a `rigorous scientific enterprise'. Thompson goes as far as to provide social psychological laboratory evidence to support the accuracy of memory. Thompson recognises there are problems in the organisation and selection of what is remembered, however, he also argues that traditional documentation has similar problems and similar resolutions through textual criticism, confrontation with other evidence or other documentation.

David Thelan (1989) challenges such positivistic assumptions and argues for an alternative view of oral historians that is not be concerned with measuring the accuracy of recollection against a past reality, but rather with "why historical actors constructed their memories in a particular way at a particular time" (Thelan, 1989, p.1117). Oral history in this view becomes a resource to understand the interpretational relationship between what people remember and the ideological tensions of their past and present socio-economic and political circumstances. Thelan argues that there is a contestation for the possession and interpretation of social memory by current social, political and cultural interests of the present, including a historian's own present interests, which needs to be recognised (1989, p.1127).

The historical narrative tradition has an interdependent relationship with memory, and historians often strive to clearly demarcate their own narratives through the use of `evidence' from conventional memory (Davis and Starn, 1989). Paul Connerton

(1989), for example, suggests that history is different from social memory in that historians are able to `rediscover' what has been completely forgotten through access to texts. Connerton furthermore suggests that history as a discipline can be used to directly re-assess or `improve' social memory and states "a historically tutored memory is opposed to an unreflective traditional memory" (Connerton, 1989. p.16). Such attempts to `improve' social memory positions professional history, over and above everyday accounts, rather than recognising that the everyday can be an interactive resource in historical research.

Such `new' views in fact have a longer history than oral history itself, for Maurice Halbwachs (1951) in Collective Memory warned of the positivist conception of history. Halbwachs here argues that the positivistic discipline of history ruptures the continuity of collective memory which enables social groups to become aware of their identity through time. It does this by situating the past outside and above social groups. Such a history distances people from the past by providing breaks, periodisations, flows of events based on criteria not within the meanings of those experiencing that history. Abstract, all-encompancing, universal history masks the plurality of the collective memories of many groups constituting society. Halbwachs says "history may be portrayed as the universal memory of the human race. But there is no universal memory. All collective memory is supported by a group that is limited in time and space" (Halbwachs, 1951, p.75). Thus professional history and people's memory are closely inter-connected, but with the former often positioning itself over and above the latter. Professional historical knowledge is presented as `more important' and valid than everyday accounts by contrasting itself against mere `memories' which are often muddled, haphazard or mistaken.

Foundationalism, Post-Structuralism and History

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Discussions about the nature of history to sociology, to memory and everyday knowledge raise issues about the nature of knowledge in society. Perceived `threats' to traditional foundationalist approaches to history, are posed by deconstructionist and post-structuralist writings. The central argument posited by post-structuralists and deconstructionists is that historiography provides textual accounts and constructions, not `slices' of the past. Given the primacy awarded to textual accounts, attention becomes focused on the processes in which truth-claims become institutionalised over and above competing discourses of knowledge. From these arguments there has come a challenge to existing historical practices, and to categories including those of `women' and `children'.

In 1991 Lawrence Stone warned, in an edition of Past and Present, of the threat to the subject-matter of history by the linguistic tradition of Ferdinand de Saussure (1960) and Jacques Derrida (1976), the symbolic anthropology of Mary Douglas (1975) and Clifford Geertz (1973), and the `new historicism' of the 1970s and 1980s. Stone warns all historians "no matter what his or her field, period or methodology, who has been significantly disturbed by rumblings from adjacent disciplines to wonder if history might be on the way to becoming an endangered species." (Stone, 1991, p.218) Stone writes as part of an emergent historical `tradition', for earlier Gertrude Himmelfarb (1987) had warned against the effects that `new' history may have on intellectual traditions and political institutions.

The `threat' to the discipline of history was taken to the extreme by post modernist writers such as Baudrillard (1981, 1983 and 1988), who claimed that `history has stopped'. To speak of history and change implies a solid reality. The `modernist' history of the world involved representations through the use of signs, and these signs were seen to represent concrete things in reality. In the scientific discourse, it was

presumed that there was a real world which could be referenced by descriptive textual signs. The sign in post-modern times has become the `hyperreal', which masks the fact that there is no foundational social reality. Baudrillard argues that discourses are increasingly communicated through the electronic media (especially video images), which displace the earlier written, oral or printed media. These new formats change the person's relationship to the `real', maintaining a narrative and epistemological commitment to the simulational logic of the post-modern stage of the sign. The new information technologies turn everyday life into a theatrical spectacle; into sites where dramas that surround the decisive performance of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and age are staged.

Baudrillard's notion of textual (visual, oral, as well as written) representation is at the heart of post-structuralist and post-modernist arguments. Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) characterises `the post-modern condition' as witnessing the `death of centres' and displaying an `incredulity towards meta-narratives'. The `death of centres' refers to the questioning of foundationalist assumptions, where the naturalness and legitimacy of ethno-centric, gender-centric, logo-centric assumptions are questioned. The scientific and rational discourses of the enlightenment have been undercut and made problematic.

Richard Rorty (1989), in <u>Contingency, Irony and Solidarity</u> insists on the need for `solidarity' by encouraging the end of `foundationalism', `essence' and `nature', and an acknowledgement of the contingency of human actions and attitudes. Rorty argues that anything can be made to look good or bad, useful or useless, simply by being re-described. In a similar way to Baudrillard's `simulacra', and the philosophy of Donald Davison, Rorty's `textuality' denies the existence of `reality' beyond language. He denies that language is a medium either of representation or of expression; thus the self

and reality have no intrinsic natures which are `out there' waiting to be known. He argues:

> "recognition of ... contingency [of the language we use] leads to a recognition of the contingency of conscience, and how this leads to a picture of intellectual and moral progress as a history of increasingly useful metaphors rather than an increasing understanding of how things really are ... Only sentences can be true, and that human beings make truths by making languages in which to phrase sentences." (Rorty, 1989, p.9)

Similarly Michel Foucault (1981) criticises a foundationalist conception of history which assumes an unproblematic reality as its object of inquiry. Foucault proposes that historians who claim to work on evidence to uncover `true facts about the past', and so reject those which are false, are unaware that the true/false dichotomy is open to shifts and political reconstructions. What should, then, become of interest to historians is not necessarily the building up of evidence to assess the `truth' of an assertion, but rather an investigation of what counts as truth, what statements are understood as being true and false, and why some statements are valorized and others marginalised.

Foucault relatedly rejects the foundationalist practice of subsuming the complexities of lived experiences into fixed binary categories. Foundationalist frameworks constitute a `grand narrative' of social life, in which everyday behaviour is `measured' as either correct or incorrect according to the criteria of pre-existing categories. Foucault argues that the adoption of totalising categories produces a hierarchy of category typification over lived experience. Foucault questions the totalising of historical objects, a process which bases itself on general frameworks or schema. Analyses of mechanisms of true/false divisions must be directed only to *their specific* practices and procedures. Succinctly, Foucault claims that the objective of history should be the analysis of what practices `governs' statements of scientific acceptability (Foucault, 1980).

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Foucault also problematises the notion of `events' in history, arguing against the use of the term to essentialise the object being analysed as a unitary and possibly inevitable mechanism. To avoid this, Foucault, in two of his works in particular, <u>Archaeology of Knowledge</u> (1973) and <u>Discipline and Punish</u> (1977), advances the argument that `events' such as the internment of the mentally ill and the criminal are not self-evident in the way conventional historians use them, but instead `penalisation' is made up of `already existing' practices, large-scale processes that need to be looked at in detail to emphasise the constant re-formulation of both ideas and practices.

Foundationalist history positions the subject as central within the dominant methods of making histories. In opposition to this Foucault outlines a genealogical method, which is "a form of history which can account for this constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs its empty sameness throughout the course of history" (Foucault, 1980, p.117). Historical agents should be constructed in their conditions and modes of operation. Rather than being seen as having fixed psychological characteristics, historical subjects should be contextualised in their various sites of operation. Foucault thus argues that the self-contained, authentic subject supposedly discoverable beneath a cloak of cultural and ideological myopia is a construct of the humanist discourse which established the subject as having an essential identity and authentic core.

A central argument put forward by post-modernist writers is that there is no historical foundational reality beyond historical texts. These post-modernist debates within historical circles have reinforced the importance that textuality in historical knowledge claims. The awareness of the textual nature of knowledge claims put forward by `traditional' foundationalist historians, such as Himmelfarb and Stone, have

led some post-modernist writers such as Richard Rorty (1991) to argue that researching the past is no longer a necessary or useful academic exercise. Foucault, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of studying the past in order to understand how historical subjects are made in specific historical circumstances. Professional historians have subsumed everyday behaviour into pre-existing categories. Foucault argues that historical study needs to look at specific procedures and practices where statements are given `scientific acceptability', and later in this thesis I examine these practices in relation to the category of `children', although such thinking has also been used by feminist post-moderninsts to analyse the constructions of the category `women'.

Women and Deconstructionism in History

The term `deconstruction' is particularly associated with the work of Jacques Derrida, and is the process of unwrapping metaphors in order to arrive at the logic of binary oppositions, such as subject/object, culture/nature, man/woman, which are seen as always containing elements of domination of one `side' over the other. Derrida (1978) set out to dismantle the `fiction' of the term 'woman', to expose "a non-identity, non-figure, a simulacrum" (Derrida, 1978, p.49). For Derrida, the deconstruction of the term `woman' reaches the heart of the enlightenment logocentrism which seeks to postulate `man' as the universal essential in humanity. Women have always been defined as the subjugated difference, so in order to break free and subvert the structure is to assert a total difference and dispense with any notion of `woman' as a universal characteristic.

Some feminists, influenced by deconstructionism, have analysed the historical construct of the term `women' (Riley, 1988). Denise Riley in Am I that Name? argues that "`women' is historically, discursively constructed, and always relatively to other categories which themselves change; `women' is a volatile collectivity in which female

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persons can be very differently positioned so that the apparent continuity of the subject of `women' isn't to be relied on; `women' is both synchronically and diachronically erratic as a collectivity, while for the individual, `being a women' is also inconsistent, and can't provide an ontological foundation" (Riley, 1988, p.1-2). The advantage of doing this, she proposes, is to attach an importance to the construction of subjectivity beyond simple socialisation theories. This enables a fluidity of feminist political action which can take into account the actual diversity of women's experiences.

Riley recognises the temporality of identity, and proposes that any collective identity, whether racial, class, religious, etc., does not account for `total identity' and that people may choose to adopt other identities at different times. Riley says "you will skate across the several identities which will take your weight, relying on the most useful for your purposes of the moment" (Riley, 1988, p.16). Riley proposes that deconstructionism allows social, political and historical feminist analysis to proceed but without losing sight of the need to problematise key concepts such as `woman' or `mother', keeping clear that the demands for `women' and `mothers' only represent a currently specific and not a universal invocation of essentialised characteristics (Alcoff, 1988, p.428). Riley further suggests that the deconstructionist contribution to feminism allows:

> "the female speaker's rejections of, adoptions of, or hesitations as to the rightness
> of the self-description at the moment; second, the state of current understandings
> of `women', embedded in a vast web of description covering public policies,
> rhetorics, feminisms, forms of sexualisation or contempt; third, behind these
> larger and slower subsidings of gendered categories, which in part will include
> sedimented forms of previous characterisations, which once would have
> undergone their own rapid fluctuations" (Riley, 1988, p.6).

However, many reservations to the feminist deconstructionist project have been voiced by other feminists. Stanley and Wise (1993), for instance, question

deconstructionist arguments which propose to displace the category `women' in feminist social research. They argue that a distinctively feminist philosophy has and must continue to retain its foundation on the category `women' for practical political purposes. For instance, the feminist project currently and for the foreseeable future must retain its argument that women should be treated as part of humanity with the same rights and responsibilities as men. Riley's argument about the ontological experience of `women' as somewhat tenuous, forced in only periodically, is one which silences women's actual oppressions and struggles in their lives. For instance, it is simply not possible for black women to `skate' into the identity of a white woman.

Feminists have also drawn attention to the dangers of allowing the category `women' to become a part of an `ungendered' deconstructionist academic discourse. Megan Morris (1988), for example, observes that the commentary and debates of academic post-modernism centre around the male `enabling figures' such as Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida (to name the figures I have referred to above), rather than, for example, Irigaray, Cixous, Kristeva, Spivak. Morris concludes that her discussion:

> "does not propose to present ... feminist theory as `post-modernist', and it certainly does not propose to salvage feminism for post-modernism. It does presuppose that since feminism has acted as one of the enabling conditions of discourse about post-modernism, it is therefore appropriate to use feminist work to frame discussions of post-modernism, and not the other way around." (Morris, 1988, p.16)

The textual constructions of women in historical texts have been used as a source by some feminist historians, such as Joan Scott (1988), who have been influenced by post-structuralist writings. Scott looks at how representations of gender have not only provided interpretations and descriptions of changes in the social organisation of sexes, but also this links-in with the production of present knowledge of gender difference. Scott argues that in women's history, feminists have tried to change the representations

of women previously left out of history. Working within the existing parameters of the discipline, by uncovering new information about women, such historians thought that they could right the balance of years of neglect. However, this displayed a sometimes naive adoption of positivism, in that the gathering of more material about women did not change the importance attached to the achievements of women's lives and only served to further marginalise women from the centre of the discipline.

Within social history, Scott notes that discrimination against women extended into analytic categories themselves (class, race, worker, citizen). Whether Marxist, socialist, liberal or humanist, the notion of categories of identity were used as if they reflected objective experience rather than modern-day evaluative constructions. By assuming that members of the identity categories had entirely separate needs and interests, historians also implied that these categories were in some sense natural and inevitable rather than socially constructed phenomena. Scott seeks to understand how such categories are constructed and legitimised. She argues that if the concepts are taken to be unstable, open to contest and redefinition, then they require constant reassertion and implementation by those endorsing them. Rather than insisting on the transparency and shared nature of categories, post-structuralists emphasise that the culture's lexicon is always in a dynamic flux. This begs the question of how concepts of gender, childhood and class acquire the appearance of fixity, which post-structuralists suggest requires an analysis of the political construction and implementation of meanings.

In Scott's view, identity is not an objectively determined sense of self defined by needs and interests. Similarly, political action is not the simple coagulation of consciousness of similarly situated individual subjects, such as `the English working-class', (e.g. her criticisms of Thompson, 1961). Politics rather should be seen as the

process by which plays of power and knowledge constitute identity and experience, variably and discursively organised in particular configurations. In this sense political difference within categories such as class, gender, generation, cannot simply be explained away as `false consciousness'. Scott acknowledges the importance of post-structuralist literary criticism in attaching importance to the ways in which arguments are structured and presented as well as the claims made within texts. Scott draws on the exegetical project of literary criticism, in particular the way positive definitions within texts are achieved as the negation or repression of something represented as antithetical to them. All unitary concepts rest on internal ambiguities and so are unstable. Fixed dichotomous oppositions conceal the heterogeneity of either category, and are hierarchical in character.

Regarding the role of the historian, then, Scott's view is that there should be no claim to a neutral position to present a complete, universal and objectively determined story. If one grants that meanings are established through exclusions, there is a related need for reflexivity and self-criticism concerning historians' own exclusions in writing stories. For many social historians, `the archives' is the place where the `facts' of the past are present to be drawn upon. Scott argues that history, through its practices, does not gather or reflect knowledge about the past but serves as a cultural institution endorsing, denying, and announcing constructions.

History, Representation and Children

I have learnt a great deal from Joan Scott's (1988) work regarding how to approach historical texts. Firstly, I accept her argument that instead of seeking single origins of phenomena, for instance the `origin' of childhood, it is best to conceive of processes so interconnected that they could not be untangled. Rather than seeking universal or general causality, it is best to ask questions on the constant day-to-day operation of

processes and figurations. Secondly, I fully accept Scott's (1990) assessment and criticism of Linda Gordon's (1988) Heroes of their Own Lives, in which she modifies Gordon's ideas about human agency. Rather than treating the agency of social worker clients as individualised resistances, the individual subject and the social institutional contexts need to be understood in terms of their interrelationship. Instead of the dichotomised "opposition between domination and resistance, control and agency ... it is a complex process that constructs possibilities for and puts limits on specific actions undertaken by individuals and groups" (Scott, 1990, p.851-852).

Following Foucault (1977, 1978), Scott also argues for the need to replace the notion of power as a unified, coherent, centralised force and to understand it more as dispersed constellations of unequal relationships, discursively constituted in social contexts (schools, reformatory schools, households, orphanages, recreation groups). Within these processes and structures there is room for the concept of children's agency as they attempt to construct an identity. There exist boundaries within relationships for the possible negation, resistance, reinterpretation and "the play of metaphoric invention and imagination" (Scott, 1988, p.42). This too is an argument I am fully persuaded by.

From Scott's book I thus gained insights into how to go about a practice of history which would make me sensitive towards current and past representations of childhood. Looking at the ways in which symbolic representations of childhood are evoked, how and in what contexts these cultural symbols are used, may give insight into the day-to-day constructions of childhood. It is also necessary to look at which normative concepts set forth interpretations of the meanings of these symbols, and in particular how these concepts limit and contain metaphoric possibilities. For instance, an examination of the religious, scientific, political and educational doctrines of the time may provide a useful

insight into the daily symbolic representations of childhood. Of course, historical investigation should not be restricted to `traditional' subject areas of the historiography of childhood history. For instance, an exclusive focus on the socialisation spheres of the family and school ignores children's activities in the labour market or the street. And rather than being restricted to psychological and psycho-analytic approaches to subjective identity formation, it is best to see identities being constructed through a range of activities, social organisations and historical specific cultural representations. Real children often do not always fulfil either social prescriptions or indeed academic analytic categories.

The dominant approach in those aspects of the social sciences influenced by psychological models has been that of child development and socialisation theory (Jenks, 1982). Jenks notes that this approach is premised on a fixed hierarchy of a `rationally' developed adult dominant over the pre-social and biologically determined stage of childhood. This developmental model is apparent in the work of influential psychologist Jean Piaget (Walkerdine, 1984; Urwin, 1985; Burman, 1994). Piaget (1967) identifies four predetermined stages of child development, which lead to the achievement of logical competence, the mark of adult rationality. Developmental social science interprets children's behaviour as `irrational', but becoming less so as the child approaches adulthood. Within such a powerful conceptual scheme children are marginalised beings awaiting their entry into `full' adulthood. The universal words of `the child' and `children' in such accounts is based upon the assumption of the naturalness and universality of childhood. Socialisation here was seen as the mechanism by which social roles became reproduced, and socialisation theory claimed to explain how children gradually `assimilated' their social roles. Central to socialisation theory was the assumption of a model of child development whereby children become `assimilated' to their social roles as they become older and `more rational'. However,

such terms as `assimilate' and `development' served to gloss the phenomenon of change from the birth of a child to maturity and old age. As early as the 1970s, Robert MacKay (1973) maintained that the use of the term `socialisation' distracts investigators from adult-child interaction and the underlying theoretical problem of intersubjectivity necessary in interaction. The child is portrayed in socialisation theory as determined by external stimulii and hence passive and conforming as the socialisation process magically transforms the `asocial' child into a social adult. Similarly, notions of developmental `stages' suggests that the child passively goes through these `stages' to reach adulthood.

James and Prout (1990) point out that the emphasis placed upon the outcome of socialisation instigated a host of moral panics about childhood. They conclude:

> "All children who seemed to falter in the socialisation process were potentially
> included in the new set of categories of 'child': school failures, deviants and
> neglected children. Failure to be harmoniously socialised into society's
> functioning meant, in effect, a failure to be human." (James and Prout, 1990,
> p.14)

Interpretive sociologies were a powerful source for the critique of the developmental conception of socialisation, arguing that the `biological facts' of birth and infancy were constantly evoked to explain the social position of children, with small attention being given to the cultural circumstances of the immense inequalities between adults and children or indeed of wider social inequalities concerning different groups of children, by class, race and gender amongst others. Social historians have also provided a valuable source of criticism of the psychological assumption of a `natural' state of childhood. Philippe Aries in 1960, for example, boldly asserted the social construction of the institutionalisation of `childhood' from the fifteenth century onwards. Aries' thesis has been contested by historians (e.g. Wilson, 1980; Jordanova, 1989); Linda

Pollock, for example, tempers the social constructionist `discovery' of childhood argument by arguing that although past societies accorded children characteristics different from adults, the particular form of modern childhood is historically specific but not something completely new (Pollock, 1983, p.263).

Post-structuralist critiques of foundationalist psychological subject positions perceive categories such as `the child' as created in and through discourses. They see a correspondence between the concepts of the social sciences and the ways in which childhood is socially constructed. Foucault (1977) refers to these notions as `regimes of truth', where sets of ideas are not accepted merely through force of habit, false consciousness or self-interest, but instead through the fusion of ways of thinking with institutional practices. Hence theories of childhood combine with institutional and organisational procedures and practices to produce self-conscious subjects, such as teachers, social workers and children, who think about themselves through those particular ways of thinking. `The truth' about themselves and their situation becomes as a self-fulfilling prophesy.

John Morss (1992) concludes that the developmentalist attitude is one which makes assumptions about natural, regular, progressive changes in human capabilities through chronological ageing. Piaget's ideas are highly influential here still, for even contemporary `progressive' social-context writers within psychology retain the notion of a natural line of development, while Morss (1992) argues that research should deconstruct notions of development. Questions should be asked about why some changes, on some occasions, are treated as developmental stages: What do people (in specific cultures, times and locations) consider to be `the nature of adults and children' and why? What are the implications of changes in paradigms on teachers, social workers, parents, counsellors, child guidance and intervention? Some of the questions

that Morss asks are ones which I endeavour to apply to the particular historical context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Manchester, as I shall discuss in later chapters.

Post-structuralist deconstructionism has been useful in criticising developmental positions in sociology and psychology and for its insightful analysis of discourses. However, some writers are suspicious of deconstructionism and wish to retain the category of `childhood' in an attempt to enable children to speak for themselves at an aggregate and societal level rather than subduing them to adults' understanding of `their best interests' or `their own good' (Qvortrup, 1990). Jens Qvortrup accepts that the category childhood changes historically and culturally, that it is socially constructed, but in order to give children a voice as a collectivity there needs to be a drive within sociology to connect children into a structural group in society, one which is recreated as are other accepted structures such as class and gender. He contends:

> "that children belong to society - not in the trivial sense of simply being there, nor as a reduced form of raw material to be moulded, nor as the possession of the society or the state. Childhood is part of society in the sense that children do in fact participate in organised activities, and it constitutes a part of the social structure interacting in many ways with other parts. Not only are children's activities constructive, and integrated with adults' activities but they are also used instrumentally by adult society." (Qvortrup, 1991, p.14)

The central part of Qvortrup's argument is that children should be treated as a social class, because children analysed as a social group have lower social status and enjoy less privileges than the corresponding dominant group of adults. By looking at childhood as a distinct part of the social structure, attention can be given to the social construction of childhood: and also it can be recognised that the differences between children are less than what is common between them. This sameness, which may be

called `childhood', changes and varies historically and culturally, but at the same time it is foundational upon its differences from other social groupings.

Conclusion

In my view the overall lesson that post-structuralism teaches historians is that historiography provides textual accounts and constructions, not slices of the past (Foucault, 1980). In arguing this position Foucault rejects the notion that a researcher has the truth and argues that everybody has knowledge of their circumstances; it is the battle of what counts as truth through competing discourses of knowledge that is of importance. Relatedly, Pierre Bourdieu (1988) argues that the academic is in a more powerful position to decide what is objective and what is a valid issue to be considered, a view shared by a large number of feminist writings which not only scrutinise the representational underpinnings of historical research but recognise that all research involves the production of the textual representation of a research reality (e.g. Stanley and Wise, 1993).

For the purposes of my thesis, I must recognise the active role that I, as the historical sociologist, take in the production of accounts. It is this active role of the researcher which I discuss at length in the next Chapters. It is not possible for me to uncover any absolute truth about the past, or about the present, but instead I must recognise the plurality of collective memories and histories. In writing an academic thesis, it is necessary to be aware of the powerful nature of my accounting over those of my research `objects', and that the active relationship between my own questions and research imagination and my sources should be open and apparent to the reader. My descriptive account also should at all times be stated as being of just one version amongst many others. Throughout the thesis, I shall focus attention on the constant

construction and reconstruction of childhood in numerous historical contexts. While accepting the `existence' of children and childhood vis-à-vis other structures (adulthood, class, gender, ethnicity), I will focus on how representations of childhood are constructed, used, and reconstructed through time. This is different from somehow discovering a `real' or objective level or foundational essence of childhood or children. The category childhood is historically and culturally variable, but at the same time, I shall propose, it is also one founded around dramatic differences perceived between its category members and those of its binary, adulthood.

CHAPTER 2

SITUATING THE THESIS: TEXTS, READING AND REFLEXIVITY

Introduction

I draw the `data' of my thesis almost entirely from historical sources. I look at
records, notes, newspaper articles, annual reports, diaries, biographies,
autobiographies, advertisements and photographs. In short I look at texts. These texts
refer to some past person, event or thing. The whole of the thesis consists of my
interaction, understanding, re-arrangement and representation of these texts, which are
themselves representations of children, adults, actions, ideas, meanings and events. It is
therefore necessary to discuss the influences which have informed my methodology in
reading, interpreting and using these texts. In this chapter, I discuss how texts are
produced and interpreted in highly complex but also institutionalised ways. In my
discussion of the writing and reading of texts, I focus also on issues of power and
representation in all social scientific accounts. By acknowledging my representational
power as a researcher, I argue that my own interpretational accounts of the past are best
presented by `writing myself into' my account. By making as explicit as possible my
own readings, interpretations, written judgements over the researched, I hope to enable
a reader of this thesis to be able to better evaluate the content.

Texts

Textual materials are generally utilised as referential of something else, a `reality'
lying outside them and of which they are `of', rather than phenomena in their own
right. In cultural and literary studies, semiotics has been used to break the discipline
from an `aesthetic' mode of analysis, which concentrates on assessing the beauty of

texts (Turner, 1990). Structuralist semiotics, such as the analyses of Saussure (1960), has insisted that analysis should not limit itself to the structures of individual texts (whether novels, archives, newspaper articles, etc.); rather such texts should be used as a site for examining the wider structures (of age, class, gender, race, etc.) that produced them.

Acknowledging this, Stuart Hall (1981) argues there have been two broad tendencies within literary and cultural studies which either work through a set of textual representations to read constitutive cultural codes, or work the other way around, by examining political, economic and social contexts in order to track the codes from the culture to the text. Drawing on the more sophisticated model of `ideology' put forward by Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci, cultural and literary critics such as Hall use a textual analysis which is more historical and socially specific. This approach takes notice, not just of signs, signification and referent, but also of their combinations in particular culturally specific discourses.

The use of the term discourse here is itself significant[1], in that it refers to socially produced groups of ideas or ways of thinking available in texts which also need to be located in wider social and historical structures. Furthermore, semiotic influences in literary and cultural studies emphasise the intertextual relations between texts, where texts exist in relationship to other texts. For instance, in making sense of an entry in a Manchester social worker's diary for 4 September 1903, I locate this amongst other texts written from or about this period which I have read and within the intertextual understanding I have of my present moment thinking about the past as well as the text itself. In addition, when we `read' texts we need to be aware that language is *polysemic*, that it does not mean exactly the same thing to different readers. In the case of the social worker's diary entry, for instance, we may read it from competing

perspectives, such as the social worker as someone who `cares for', who `interferes with' or who `surveys' their clients, to provide but one instance of this.

Texts and meanings are never entirely `predetermined' or `natural', but are composed within a system that is dominated by accepted codes. This process is demonstrated by Hall (1980) in an analysis of the mass media, but can be arguably applied to any textual representation[2]. Every moment in the process of communication, from the original composition of the message (encoding) to the point in which it is read and understood (decoding), has its own circumstances (although the encoding and decoding do not necessarily occur at different `moments'). On the `encoder's' side, signifying practices involve a kind of performance, a deployment of what one considers appropriate codes and discourses which follow rules and conventions of production which reflect the dominant way of seeing and representing the world. From the `decoder's' side, Hall sees three positions for decoding. Firstly there is a `preferred' reading which accepts dominant definitions and interpretations of events. Secondly and more commonly, Hall argues that most people develop what he calls a `negotiated' reading, where people accept the dominant definitions but apply to local and particular situations in a more critical way. Thirdly, people may understand the preferred reading but are able to `retotalise' it to an alternative or oppositional framework.

Whereas Hall's typology eschews static text-reader-response models, the interaction between text production, text and reader is further complicated if we accept the intertextual nature of everyday life. For example, Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott (1988) demonstrate the way vastly different dominant readings can be accomplished, in their book on the `multitextual' figure of James Bond. Bennett and Woollacott emphasise the hyphen in the term *inter-textuality*, which refers to the social organisation of the relations between texts within specific conditions of reading. They

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analyse the internal structure of individual texts, the ways in which meanings of the texts may be historicised, how Bond's meaning has changed over time, and the relationship between the films and the novels. They argue that the texts cannot relate even to each other independently of specific social conditions and the meanings in circulation at that time. The term *inter-textuality* forces analysis to move continually between text and the social conditions that frame its consumption, and limits textual interpretations to specific historical locations. The meanings of `James Bond' over three decades have been produced by quite different textual determinants. In one set of inter-textual relations Bond is an aristocratic British hero celebrating imperial `virtues'; in another set of inter-textual relations, the same books are read as Bond being an iconoclastic representative of modern capitalism and not necessarily a British hero. Bennett and Woollacott recognise that texts, readers, and readings are produced culturally amongst a complex set of negotiations and interrelations. They conclude by proposing "that neither text not context are conceivable as entities separable from one another" (Bennett and Woollacott, 1988, p.262).

The ethnomethodological variant of textual analysis of Dorothy Smith (1990) argues against analysing texts out of context, as well as explaining the constitutive nature of a text. She states:

> "The active text ... might be thought of ... as like a crystal which bends the light as it passes through. The text itself is seen as organising a course of concerted social action. As an operative past of a social relation it is activated, of course, by the reader but its structuring effect is its own." (Smith, 1990, p.121)

The activity of the text is dependent upon readers' interpretive practices, which are constituted by social relations rather than individual idiosynchracies.

Smith identifies texts as means of offering ontological access to the institutionalised aspects of everyday life. She notes that texts are operative in a variety of ways in everyday lives: filling in forms, reading newspapers, buying bus tickets, reading instructions. The textual event is as pervasive as the archetypal sociological phenomenon of face-to-face communication. Smith sees the text as a social relation, understanding texts not only in their sequences, but also the relational processes of interpretive practices. Moreover, Smith sees texts as inserted into an order of social relations mediated by texts. Whether intimate textual relations, such as letters or diaries, or `public textual discourse', where texts are apparently detached from the speaker's biography, readers are considered to be anonymous and the movement of messages is assumed to be one-way. Smith (1987) argues that sociology is an ideological practice constituted in an abstracted conceptual mode detached from everyday life. Smith is interested in the `textually mediated relations of knowing and ruling', the written and spoken rules which serve to alienate people from their everyday experiences by institutionally naming, theorising and colonising experiences. The `textually mediated' relations of ruling provide authority and legitimation to an ideology which institutionally seeks to understand and structure experiences. She urges women to understand both the everyday `mundane' world and to utilise the concepts and knowledge that makes connections between the particular and localised. Smith attempts to construct a `sociology for women', in which feminists are acknowledged for constructing as well as interpreting the realities which make up their everyday lives.

Social relations are mediated, and, to a large extent, structured and oriented in their character and course by textual-materials-in-use. These textual-materials-in-use profoundly shape relations by permitting and constraining other textual activities. It is in this sense that texts are `active' constituents in social relations. The ethnomethodological perspective has long insisted that the sense and rationality of

documentary practices are accomplished in local historical settings (Garfinkel, 1967; Atkinson, 1978). Also, as I will discuss in the next section, there have been lively debates within ethnomethodology over how `active' texts are, and to what extent readers shape and understand the textual materials they see (Smith, 1982; McHoul, 1982). The sense-making, reasoning and rationality of documentary practices are available for analysis through textual social practices rather than as something `going on in people's heads'. In social organisational terms, they are forms which externalise social consciousness in social practices, making reasoning, knowledge, decisions, evaluation as properties of formal organisations rather than properties of individuals. This is similar to the argument in Max Weber's (1968) Economy and Society, which proposed that the bureaucratic mode of governing separated the performance of ruling from particular individuals, transferring functions of social consciousness from individuals to the textual practices of formal organisation, thus making the organisation appear independent of particular persons and local settings. The organisational processes that execute, control, regulate, inform and order are loosely co-ordinated as a complex of ruling relations and apparatus.

Smith is interested in how texts function as constituents of social relations. She does not trace back through a text to the determinations of its meaning structure, but rather attempts to explicate discourse as an active social process[3]. Investigation is not restricted to the text alone but to the socially organised practices, such as sequences of talk, that are integral to the discursive process. Much ordinary language refers to the recurrent accomplishments of their social organisation. Smith (1990b) argues the notion of `fact' indicates recurrent orderliness of movement from locally ordered observations to textually mediated disciplines. The process of constructing an objectified form of social consciousness as textual practice is not best understood as going from an initial event to an objective record, but instead as an accomplishment of an event or object in

the process of its textual `inscription'. The process of inscription is one where actualities are converted into a conceptual and categorical order of textual courses of action. The production of factual accounts is an important part of this process. Acknowledging this process of inscribing texts is vital if I am to understand the production of archival texts. Workers in organisations, whether in the past or present day, have institutionalised ways of reporting actualities into conceptual and categorical order. These institutionalised processes of inscription need to be comprehended for a clearer understanding of past action.

Reading

As the above argument above indicates, texts are institutionally produced in highly complex ways. In this section I will focus on the reader and readings of texts. I ask how active the reader is in interpreting texts and to what extent readers can extract knowledge from texts. I also examine some of the ways in which the nature of reading affects what we consider to be knowledge.

Dorothy Smith's (1982, 1987) recommendation that texts be treated as constituents of `broader' courses of action can itself be limiting if we disattend to the importance of the particular social context of reading texts. In debate with Smith's position, Alec McHoul (1982) warns of the danger of separating `technical', `scientific', or `textual-materials-in-use' from the `everyday', `ordinary' or `mundane'. McHoul draws on the ethnomethodological tradition which argues that scientific, bureaucratic or institutional practice draws on the same ordinary activities of `lay' or `everyday' members. As I discussed in the first chapter, Anderson and Sharrock (1982) argue that it is only at the superficial level of vocabluary and syntactic construction, and not the level of

institutional resources, that a generalised distinction between the `everyday' and `scientific' is made.

There is a tendency for some ethnomethodologists, such as Coulter (1979), and Smith to squeeze out the ordinary activities of social life. This squeezing out is done by valorizing textual definitions so that the reader's active participation becomes ignored. McHoul in contrast seeks to investigate the ways in which textual objects get locally produced and sustained as the details of situated occasions of reading. By using Garfinkel's (1967) documentary method, McHoul (1982) investigates how the generalised method of sense-making social actors apply to their situation is highly sensitive to local contextualities. Such local contextualities have profound effects on the reader of texts.

I find the debates surrounding the documentary method useful in unravelling many issues, and accept that the production and reading of texts in terms of a constant back-and-forth process rather than a strictly `linear' manner (Watson, 1992). In Chapter 3, I discuss in depth the process whereby I made sense out of historical documents which formed an archive of the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges. During my archival reading I found a constant interaction between the text, reading and re-reading, to be crucial in making sense out of the archive.

The search for meaning beyond the text has also affected the discipline of literary criticism. The role of the reader in literary criticism this century has been ambiguous, since the 1930s formalist literary theorists changed the focus of attention from the text to the reader as a challenge to the `aesthetic objectivity' of the text (Freund, 1987). It was assumed that the literary meaning was contained in the words of the page and that

a complete understanding of the work could be understood with an adequate training and critical insight.

Formalist assumptions have been challenged by Phenomenologist such Georges Poulet (1969) who adopt a different perspective toward the text and reader by focussing on the consciousness of the reader. The formalist assumption that a reader is conditioned by the stylistic and structural properties of the text is challenged, rather the reader becomes immersed in the author's mode of experiencing the world. The Reader here becomes the centre of attention, it is the reader who is more powerful in relation to the text; however, once the text has started to be read, readers are assumed to suspend awareness of themselves and become "prisoner of the author's consciousness" (Poulet, 1969, p.54). By imputing the meaning of the author into the text, the reader applies meaning to the text.

Iser (1978), like Poulet, sees the literary work as actualised only through the convergence of reader and text. However, as Poulet's reader allows their consciousness to be invaded by another, Iser argues instead the reader acts as co-creator of the work, by supplying that portion of the work that is not written but only implied. The text becomes `concretised' by the imagination of the reader. Each reader fills in the unwritten portions of the text in their own way, which may be manifold or infinite. The text's `intention' is uncovered by the reader, and the multifarious meanings that may be triggered by the text can, for Iser, be traceable to the text itself. Iser does not grant the reader autonomy, or independence from textual constraints, as the reader's activity only fulfils what is already implicit in the structure of the work, which provides the `ultimate meaning' of the text (Iser, 1978, p.98).

Fish (1970) goes further in shifting the central attention from the text to the reader by suggesting that literature is not an object but an experience. Fish concentrates on the reader's moment-to-moment reaction to the language of the text. Fish's method is different from both Iser and Poulet, in that rather than chronicling broad shifts in readers' attitudes and constructions of the `implied reader', Fish instead focuses on the sequences of events as the reader negotiates the text sentence by sentence in a sequence of decisions, revisions and anticipations. The meaning of the text for Fish is not simply the extraction of something from the text, but the experience one has during the course of reading. If, as Fish maintains, meaning is no longer to be seen as a property of the text but rather as a product of the reader's activity, the questions asked about texts should also shift, from `what do texts mean?', to `how do readers make meaning?' The most important source of meaning for Fish is the context of the `interpretive community', which blurs the dichotomy between reader and writer. He says:

"Interpretive communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions. In other words, these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way round. This explains why there are disagreements and why they can be debated in a principled way: not because of stability in the texts, but because of the stability in the make up of the interpretive communities and therefore in the opposing positions they make possible." (Fish, 1980, p.171)

Texts for Fish mean things only when they are read, and this meaning depends on the shared values of those reading them. Variations exist in the process of negotiation between members of interpretive communities with different shared ideas about what the meaning of a given text is. But once negotiation has been achieved, marked patterns exist in the interpretive community. He also (Fish, 1989) argues that no text can be written or read outside of an `interpretive community' engaging in making sense of

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literary and other texts. It is a condition of membership that one can address the common understandings of scholars: without this texts would not be understandable. We cannot get outside of the prevailing norms of our interpretive community through self-critical reflection or `consciousness raising'.

> "A historically conditioned consciousness cannot ... scrutinize its own convictions; for in order to begin such a scrutiny, it would first have to escape the grounds of its own possibility, and it could only do that if it were not historically conditioned and were instead an acontextual or unsituated entity of the kind that is rendered unavailable by the first principle of the interpretivist or conventionalist view." (Fish, 1989, p.245)

Fish's work has been criticised (e.g. Norris, 1990) in that although Fish disputes certain absolute standards of judgement (scholarly integrity, objectivity, interpretive insight), this rejection of a critical judgement leaves aside any criticisms of disciplines or arguments. Fish argues that we believe what we believe (or reject what we do not believe) on the basis of convictions that are always already in place, and which remain wholly unaltered by any such effort of post hoc rationalisation. Fish thus merely accepts the already existing interpretations and argues for a blinkered submission to the conventional `view'.

While Fish's model does represent the text/reader, reader/reader, dichotomy as something complex and `situational', it also in my view fails to deal with social and institutional power in constituting interpretive communities. Freund (1987) argues "Fish's position so far has refused to face up to the ways in which the authority of the interpretive communities might become grimly coercive. The salutory curb on subjectivity, without a corresponding curb on the authority of consensual norms, remains troubling. The appeal to the imperialism of agreement can chill the spines of

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readers whose experience of the community is less happily benign than Fish assumes"
(Freund, 1987, p.110-111).

Fish is correct to point out the crucial importance of the way interpretive
communities, such as academic disciplines, have on the reading of texts. I approached
the archives for my thesis deeply affected by issues and debates within sociology
(which I discuss in detail in Chapter 3). Yet as Freund has pointed out, this
`interpretive community' is not as homogeneous as Fish suggests. For instance, a
sociological approach which uses the experiences of the researcher as a resource may
experience derisory comments about `inadequate obejectivity' of the work undertaken.
Also, the practices of academic disciplines have been challenged from a number of
perspective, some of which I discuss in the next section.

Reading and the Past - Gillian Beer

Feminists as well as post-modernists and Marxists have challenged the coercive
nature of reading and the `interpretive community'. Gillian Beer (1989), for instance,
re-evaluates the value of reading past texts (in her case literary novels). Her main
argument is that there is a danger, and often a practice, of reading past texts in order to
bolster an autocratic emphasis on the self and present. She warns of the dangers of
adopting `evolutionist' assumptions of reading past texts, for such a reading could
result in past authors displaying an `understanding ahead of their time', or having an
`almost modern awareness'. However, Beer maintains that reading literary history
could allow us to recognise and challenge our own cultural baggage and volatile nature
of our `selves'.

Beer emphasises the interactive nature of the text. The writing exists before us, containing words, narrative sequences and an ordering of the text into a `story' or `argument'. Beer questions a simple translation of the reader into a socialised self as previously argued by humanist writers such as Fish. She emphasises the solitary nature of reading, and she notices the solitary way in which readers reflect upon the text within the context of the reader's life circumstances. She notices how each reader interpolates the narrative with faces, landscapes, and meanings which are self-referenced by the reader, and unavailable to others. Saying this, Beer also understands the `self's' communal nature of the reader's `I', reflecting the current social and historical circumstances of the reader.

Influenced by the hermeneutics of Gadamer, Beer perceives the reading of past texts as a way of `stimulating' and understanding some of the prejudices and judgements we as readers make. This kind of understanding does not come about by drawing past work into concepts of `relevance' for today, but by accepting the distinctness of the text from ourselves. Beer accepts the historicity of discourse, but she also demonstrates how an historical period never consists only of its present. She argues that past writing is read within and into the present and in this sense the `periods' of literature such as `Romantic', `modernist' and `realist' stages, are difficult to separate, as the reading of texts take place in a wide variety of circumstances. However, Beer also suggests that the past is quite distinct from the present. While I accept Beer's argument about stressing some importance to textual materials I am suspicious of her view of the past as something irretrievable. As I discuss in depth in the next chapter, Collingwood (1946) argues that if it were, we would not in fact be able to have any comprehension or understanding of the past. The past exists in the form of `traces', whether in the form of artifacts, texts or past ideas.

Beer draws on the work of Tzvetan Todorov (1977), who argued that the process of reading takes place in the `perpetual present' and from this he argues that writing and reading can be separated. Although the time of writing and reading may vary enormously, the space between writing and reading is always there, as the `heat of writing' is cooled by the time it take to print and distribute texts. It is within this space that Gillian Beer suggests the argument with the past takes place. While this notion of `cooling off' may be completely relevant for printed work, a more complex relationship exists in relation to my research purposes, of looking at archival material based on case notes, letters, diaries and minutes, which were written at a particular point with little or no time for re-reading and revision, however, as I shall suggest later, it is a useful way of thinking about and using my own fieldnotes of this archival research.

In the texts of the past, researchers are presented with particular representations of the social order. The text may inform awareness of historical conditions, and provide not only the `context' but also the `instantiation' of the present reading. This `instantiation' does not mean we are reading as past readers have read, as present readers read along their own temporal, cultural and personal lines. Treating the reader as sovereign who silences or hears whatever they wish does not recognise other experiences or ask alternative questions. Texts contain more than mere questions that the reader's experience necessitates: they may bring sharply into focus patterns of debate and past discursive practices. Furthermore, texts may offer the reader questions they may not have asked and even provide experiences not chosen by them, rather than being restrained within a particular `interpretive community'. From this we can see that the interconnectedness between the text and the reader is hard to separate. The reader's own context shapes what is being read and how it is being read. Conversely, the content of texts can profoundly shape the interpretations of the reader.

Gillian Beer addresses the ultimate power of the reader, which is to cease reading the text or to forget the reading once completed. However, even this does not allow the conclusion to be drawn that the text has no impact, as texts can still be `read' in mind, brooded over, repudiated or forgotten. Beer theorises truncated and even baffled readings, treating this as a resource rather than something to be sidelined and ignored. `Failed readings' are treated as a dialectic between text and the mind of the reader, as the reader's thoughts meander or move at tangents to the text. In the process of reading readers also anticipate possible futures in the text, or different possible texts which may read in the future. Furthermore, texts once read do not stay inside their covers. They combine inter-textually with other texts, forming networks of thoughts and interacting with our `other' experiences.

Writing; Forms and Representation

Much of my thesis consists of narration and description of texts, produced through the twin activities of reading and writing. It is this latter process of writing I now look at further. What is written is vital in the representation of past social action. Writing is not a straightforward action representing my thoughts and `findings' in an unproblematic fashion, but is shaped, among other factors, by my own auto/biography. The act of writing is also shaped by the writing conventions of the time, not only in literature and poetry but also in the writings of sociology, history and other formal academic disciplines. Carolyn Steedman (1992) contrasts writing from speech and speech-written-down. Writing occasions constraints, as a material process. Writing consists of literary forms which are available to the writer at various points in historical time. In Steedman's earlier biography of Margaret McMillan (1990), she discusses the history of literary genres and what forms they permit and what forms they inhibit. These forms, she argues, vary according to the context of the time, and, in the case of

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Margaret McMillan, as a woman writing about public political issues, these forms of inhibition and permission were particularly pertinent.

Since Marx, people have been interested in the production of writing as an act of ideology within material circumstances (Marx, 1973; Smith, 1974, Stanley 1990c). Marx argues in Grundrisse that the practice of any writing, like the production of any commodity, takes place in material circumstances (Marx, 1973), such as places to write, word processors, sponsorship, supervision, academic influences and examination criteria; and all these are inextricably linked. In this sense all academic work is a social practice, including the figure of the `lone figure' of the PhD student. Furthermore, the writings of academics are ideological, not merely because they are a collection of ideas, arguments, analysis and findings, but because they are also a systematic ordering of a hierarchy of meanings and positions for the assimilation of those meanings. The `writing up' of reports is an ideological social practice by which we make sense of the social process in which we are located and it is also textually bound.

Over the last twenty-five years anthropologists have focused particular attention on how the writing of `Other' cultures are deeply embedded within power relations (Said, 1978). There has also been a focus on `text making' by anthropologists which highlights the constructed nature of accounts (Clifford, 1986). Post-modern anthropologists such as Stephan Tyler (1986) have attempted to introduce a more dialogical production of a text, encouraging a more co-operative and collaborative text eschewing the previous anthropological canon of the `transcendental observer' in accounts. However, Tyler's text also displays non-dialogical means of centring and privileging `the ethnographer' and excluding `other' ethnographic accounts such as feminist or interactionist ethnographies (Stanley, 1990a). In addition, other anthropologists (e.g. Geertz, 1988) have argued that an essentially textual approach can

be applied to ethnography, as an anthropologist's ability to convince a readership is based upon their ability to collaborate with the reader in producing a `convincing' text: that they successfully understood the culture they investigated. The criteria for judging the success/failure of this understanding does not rely upon any `findings', `propositions' or `properties', but comes rather from the text's relationship to canonical form, or, in Foucault's (1977) terminology, the way texts correspond to the `founders of discurvity', such as a Freudian or Marxist (or Foucauldian!) text. Geertz acknowledges that Claude Levi-Strauss (1961) in <u>Tristes Tropiques</u> concerns himself not with the representation of a cultural reality but with the process by which meaning is derived from the text. Levi-Strauss abandons a foundational epistemology and precludes any chance of `final' results and understanding, as priority is ascribed to the task of translating texts to texts. As Geertz suggests of <u>Tristes Tropiques</u>:

> "The extreme textualiste nature of the work, foregrounding its literariness at every opportunity, echoing other genres one after another, and fitting well no category but its own, makes it probably the most emphatically self-referring anthropological text we have, the one that absorbs the `why' most shamelessly into `how to write.' Further, like all of Levi-Strauss's work, its relation to `cultural reality' ... is oblique, removed, and complexly tenuous, an apparent coming-near that is actually drawing-back, so that it puts the established conceptions of the nature of ethnography into question." (Geertz, 1988, p.21)

Fabian's (1983) <u>Time and the Other</u> asserts anthropology's direct relation to cultural domination, arguing that the discipline's discourse of time and space acts as an ideological instrument of power. He explains how anthropologists have shaped time to accommodate the idea of a one-way history, in which `natives' are removed from the present inhabited by the anthropologist. Quintessentially this can be seen in the evolutionary anthropology and sociology of the turn of the century, which developed a notion of `naturalised time' in which other cultures were assigned slots on an evolutionary schema. Even in modern times, Fabian argues that the Other has been

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kept in another time through a rejection of emphatic listening and a taken-for-granted unidirectional observing which always denies the "coevalness to its Other" (Fabian, 1983, p.152). Fabian's arguments can also be extended to social groups within Western cultures such as women and homosexuals (Stanley and Wise, 1993).

If the writing of anthropology, and all writing where claims of analysis or description are being made, is problematic and there can never be a `true' representation in the realist sense, how then can one proceed to write? At least four suggestions have been made which I will now discuss. Firstly a `dialogical representation' strategy has put been forward by Mikhail Bakhtin. Secondly, there is the use of `thick description' advocated by Clifford Geertz (1973) and adopted by some `microhistorians' (e.g., Levi, 1991). Thirdly, the recognition of `narrativity' as a perspective on events, including the dialectical relationship between time and narrative in depicting meaningful human experience in the flow of time, has been proposed by Ricoeur (1984).

Dialogism

The `dialogism' of Bakhtin (1981) has been influential in a number of different fields of thought ranging from literary criticism, linguistics, anthropology, psychology, sociology and history (Holquist, 1990). Like social thinkers such as Saussure (1960), Mead (1934), Freud (1973) and Wittgenstein (1968), language and dialogue is placed in Bakhtin's work at the apex of social relations. A dialogue for Bakhtin is an utterance, a reply, and most importantly the relation between the two. In a dialogic world nobody has their own way completely, as they are plunged in constant interaction with others. The social self is primarily important, and meaning is achieved in

struggling interaction with others, in a similar way to George Herbert Mead's (1934) use of the `I' and `me'.

Bakhtin uses the term `heteroglossia' to refer to a conception of the world where people are surrounded by the myriad of responses they may make to a particular point, but any of which must be framed in a specific discourse selected from the many available responses. The principles of dialogism assume that at any given time there are a set of highly unstable conditions at work that give words uttered a meaning that is different from what would be given at other times. The conditions that make these differences are found in the language itself but also in conventional forms, such as particular academic procedures, which could dismiss some dialogue as inappropriate or trivial or valorize others. For Bakhtin all utterances are `heteroglot' in that they are shaped by forces the particularity and contextuality of which are practically beyond systematization.

The strength of Bakhtin's work for social studies is that it allows for a complexly intertextual frame of analysis. The central concern of the self's dialogue with the otherness of itself and of other human beings has been used by anthropologists who wish to emphasise a world of largely different meanings where great centripetal and centrifugal forces shape discourses and bring together dialogues in meaningful ways. This, Bakhtin argues, would allow a more dialogical relationship between the researcher and the researched in which power differences can be overcome. It would overcome a form of anthropological history which is not concerned with `prehistoric anthropological societies' but rather accepts the axiom that all societies exist in time and are inherently unstable and dynamic (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992). Relatedly, for historical purposes the concept of heteroglossia could replace traditional notions of

the `Voice of History' to a stance that accepts the notion of varied and opposing voices (Burke, 1991).

There are of course criticisms to be made of dialogism. Thus Said (1989, p.210), criticises Bakhtinian dialogism and heteroglossia within anthropology as "one of the several fashionable theoretical correlatives that fail to address the urgent situation of crisis and conflict" in anthropology's past and present relationship with colonialism. At the heart of Said's complaint is the argument that although recent trends highlight processes of otherness and ways of promoting possibilities of sharing and mutual understanding, they fail to make any definite observations about power differences and socio-economic constraints which shape human relations. Any use of dialogism in the social sciences must be able to acknowledge and make clear these constraints and positions of power. Strathern (1987b) has also criticised dialogism's assimilation of `Other' viewpoints, and in particular that of feminism, into mainstream academic discourses. For Strathern, feminism proceeds from the initial and unassailable fact of domination, and attempts to incorporate feminist understandings into anthropology, sociology, history or a new rhetoric of dialogue are incompatible with the fundamental hierarchical power relationships embedded in academic and other discourses.

Thick Description and Microhistory

Historians use of small-scale localised studies to support more general historical assertions is not new, for instance Michael Anderson's (1971) Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire used such a a small localised setting, Preston, to established a more detailed description of past lives. However, some variants of the new `microhistory' attempt to reduce the scale of observation and analysis to an

intensive study of documentary materials[4]. The aim here is to enable a historical description of behaviour which allows:

> "an action and conflict model of man's (sic) behaviour in the world which recognises his - relative - freedom beyond, though not outside, the constraints of prescriptive and oppressive normative systems. Thus all social action is seen to be the result of an individual's constant negotiation, manipulation, choices and decisions in the face of a normative reality which, though pervasive, nevertheless offers many possibilities for personal interpretations and freedoms" (Levi, 1991, p.94).

Microhistorians seek to find out the measure of agency within the general structure of human society. They also seek to emphasise the plurality of possible interpretations of symbolic meanings in the social world. The best approach to find out such things, they argue, is a reduction in scale of the context of investigation. As Levi demonstrates, microhistory shares many characteristics with interpretive anthropology, in particular with Clifford Geertz's (1973) notion of `thick description'.

Geertz seeks to eschew deducing law-like theories from a set of observations. The intention is rather to describe significant events and to fit them into an intelligable structure. This has two important consequences for the writer. Firstly, anthropological texts are products of the anthropologist's imagination and interpretation and his or her capacity to relate those events to the reader; thus this approach recognises the enormous amount of power the interpreter has over both the reader and the subject. Secondly, interpretive anthropology accentuates relativism and adopts a `weak' theoretical standpoint. Geertz adopts `weak theory' in the sense that there is no striving towards universal laws but rather theoretical inputs are directed towards a better interpretation of that one culture.

However, Levi draws attention to what he sees as two important limitations of Geertz's schema for a formulation of microhistory. Firstly, whereas Geertz sees public signs as having a homogenous meaning, Levi notes that such signs may have a multiplicity of meanings and proposes that it is the fragmented and differentiated multiplicity of representations which ought to be the object of study. For instance, the symbolism of a coronation ceremony for Geertz seems to speak to everyone in an undifferentiated way, while for Levi conflicts and solidarities pervade groups in a dynamic way. Customs and the use of symbols are polysemic. Secondly, although thick description makes it very hard for simple causal mechanisms to be adopted, it also creates problems for the boundaries of research and for hopes of adequate explanation. Although Geertz adopts a Heideggerian conception of interpretation, he fails to adopt the importance Heidegger (1962) attaches to `significance' in his own work.

From interpretive anthropology, the microhistorical approach seeks to incorporate into the narrative the procedures of research itself, its documentary limitations, techniques of persuasion and interpretive constructions. This approach eschews the traditional assertive, authoritarian, objective discourse adopted by historians and seeks to present the researcher's point of view in the account. It does not naively attempt to adopt a `dialogue' with the subjects, but rather allows the reader chance to participate in constructing a historical argument along with the writer. This is something which engages me, as will be apparent in later chapters. However, the microhistorical approach is by no means problem free. For me, the serious danger of adopting the microhistorical approach is its tendency to strive for a basically referential `more realistic' or `closer to truth' description of events than other approaches. This Levi speaks of "the search for a more realistic description of human behaviour" (Levi, 1991, p.94) in order to "refute relativism, irrationalism and the reduction of the historian's work to a purely rhetorical activity" (Levi, 1991, p.95). As I hinted earlier, I am

opposed to a `right/wrong' foundationalist notion of `reality', and for the existence of a more competitive and contested sociology of knowledge where notions of truth, reality and objectivity are not reducible to one overarching set of evaluative criteria.

Narrative Analysis

British historians until the 1950s utilised a style of writing which treated this as a medium for telling the `whole truth' about the past. In the 1950s philosophers of science, Carl Hempel and Ernest Nagel among others, challenged this hegemony by positing strict hypothetico-deductive method to ascertain `scientific' historical laws through which past events could be interpreted and explained. Subsequently, both of these positions have been challenged through a re-evaluation of procedures of narrative. Thus Paul Ricoeur's (1988) Time and Narrative argues that all history, including structural and positivistic history, consists of some form of narrative and it is to the actual construction of analytic narrative that attention should be turned towards. On a related point, Hayden White (1973) argues that the moment a historian chooses one particular form of discourse, and not another, this shapes the production of historical knowledge by both including and excluding information for the reader. In this sense, White argues that "the historian performs an essentially poetic act, in which he (sic) prefigures the historical field and constitutes it as a domain upon which to bear the specific theories he will use to explain `what was really happening in it" (White, 1973, p.x).

The importance which needs to be attached to the process of writing history is also emphasised by Hexter (1971), arguing that historians communicate knowledge of the past by narrating unfolding processes in history. Similarly Collingwood's (1939) Autobiography attaches crucial importance in the doing of history to the questions

historians posit and the imagination used in answering them; while Hexter depicts historical narrative as being of crucial importance. Writers of history attempt to communicate processes in the past by writing narratives that explain the unfolding of events. On this Hexter says "narrative is the most common mode of historical explanation because it is often the kind of explanatory answer solicited by a kind of question that historians very often asked" (Hexter, 1971, p.30).

Writers of history use their knowledge of how the narrative ends to decide how particular historic episodes should be portrayed. Hexter emphasises the interaction of forward-looking uncertainty and backward-looking knowledge. Protagonists stand in between, not knowing what will occur in the future (the consequences of their and others action), while the historian looks back, with the benefit of hindsight, at the larger flow of events. Hexter also sees actors in history as so caught up in the events which surround them that they are unable to do anything about the conditions by which they act nor see the consequences of their actions. In addition, connections among historical events become apparent only in the long run, often after the death of the protagonists. In Hexter's view, only the historian has the ability to apprehend large-scale human events. My main problem with Hexter's argument lies in his assumption that historical agents are absolutely vulnerable to the omniscient narrator. Taking Hexter's argument to its logical conclusion, it does not allow any space for past actors' agency. It does not allow for human awareness of at least some of their actions being taken into account in historical representation. Hexter's position also presupposes that the past is a single and determinate realm, which once made explicit is at odds with other rival stories.

Aggregating historian's narratives over and above those of historical agents, as I think Ricoeur does, is something I also find deeply problematic. Louis Mink (1978)

suggests historians use narrative forms which ascend to a definite conclusion within the specific space of a story. The requirement for shapeliness in any one account makes it difficult for different accounts to be pasted together to make a `master' narrative in any particularly `true' or `correct' way. Many historians recognise that their narratives do not and cannot reproduce `what actually happened', not least because these represent things from a particular present-day point of view. They also recognise the representational power of the narrating historian over past protagonists. As Peter Burke argues, historical "narrators need to find a way of making themselves visible in their narrative, not out of self-indulgence but as a warning to the reader that they are not omniscient or impartial and that other interpretations besides theirs are possible" (Burke, 1991, p.239).

Reflexivity and Research

One way that researchers have attempted to make themselves visible has been through conducting research reflexively. By focusing on the conduct and writing up of research by the researcher around the research process they engage in, it is argued that issues of power and representation can be at least partially overcome. In one early engagement with this idea, Alvin Gouldner's (1970) The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology argues that reflexive sociology starts with "the very primitive assumption that theory is made by the praxis of men (sic) in all their wholeness and is shaped by the lives they lead" (p. 489). Gouldner calls for a constant self-referencing of the sociologist to his or her self and their position in the world. This is necessary for, according to Gouldner "`facts' have often been yielded by their personal experience rather than research" (p. 484). Rather than knowledge being produced from an external `discovered truth', it is contingent upon and grows out of the knower's encounter with the world and their effort to order their experience with it. He argues:

"Insofar as social reality is seen as contingent in part on the effort, the character, and position of the knower, the search for knowledge about social worlds is also contingent upon the knower's self-awareness. To know others he (sic) cannot simply study them, but must also listen to and confront himself." (Gouldner, 1970, p.493)

Certain biases or partialities profoundly influence and blur the sociological gaze. For instance, the influence of the social origins of the individual researcher have been pointed out by Gouldner, specifically their class origins, while more recent work has focused upon the influences of gender and ethnicity. Gouldner also points to the position the analyst occupies, not just in the broader social structure sense but also within the microcosm of the academic field. Sociologists owe a great deal to their situational field where they define themselves in part in relational terms, whether emphasising differences and distance or similarities with other sociologists.

There has been a considerable discussion of reflexivity, one aspect of which has been prompted by the huge debates surrounding rationality and the possibility of translating the meanings of one culture to another (see Winch 1958; Wilson, 1970) and also from within the same culture (Strathern, 1987). These debates, together with Khunian developments in the sociology of science, have seriously questioned the `special' nature of scientific knowledge. As Steve Woolgar (1988) has argued, this has enabled a form of relativism associated with anthropology to conduct a social study of science which treats the achievements, beliefs and knowledge-claims of science as socially and culturally contingent. Woolgar suggests that, by applying the principle of relativism to other people's research, crucial questions can be raised about researcher's own practices. In particular it raises analytic issues concerning our representations of reality.

There are two dichotomous theories of reality, each on an end of a continuum (Watson, 1987). Firstly, a correspondence theory of reality, which seeks to make accounts directly mirror a reality. Difficulties in obtaining a direct symmetry between account and reality are presented such as problems of bias, valid methods used or the (un)availability of data. The possibility remains however in the matching of discourse with reality. At the other end of the continuum, there is a constitutive theory of reality. According to this view, accounts of reality are constitutive of reality. For ethnomethodologists such as Garfinkel (1967), reflexivity is a property of accounts, which are intentional communications which describe features of a situation. For Garfinkel reflexivity features in accounts because people not only describe a situation, but are also deeply embedded within it. This can be seen in two ways. Firstly, accounts have consequences within the settings in which people are embedded. They are not disinterested views with no consequences. Secondly, the accounts and setting they describe mutually elaborate and modify each other in a back and forth process. Accounts describing a setting are made up of expressions which derive their specific sense from that setting. From an ethnomethodological perspective, then, reflexivity is a pervasive feature of all accounts. Any attempts to remedy accounts through the `elimination' of `bias' and an application of a correct method would be futile as the account, or representation, is not distinct from reality or the object described.

According to Woolgar (1988), traditional conceptions of the natural sciences depend upon a firm distinction between a representation and the research object. Scientific knowledge communities sanction procedures for accomplishing adequate connections between representations and the object of study. Furthermore, the aspects of `reality' which a researcher describes as most important are generated through interaction and negotiation with the researcher's knowledge community. From this, Woolgar maintains

that traditional scientific communities seek to deny any similarity between the representation (which adheres to preconceived methodological practices) and the object being studied (which is a different entity being `apprehended' by the practices of the researcher.

Woolgar relatedly argues that the conception of `reflexivity' for positivistic scientists is conceived of as being a replacement word for `introspection' or `reflection'. Introspection used in this traditional way is usually concerned with improving the adequacy of the connection between the analyst's representations and the object of those statements. Thus the distinction between the representation and the object is maintained and the fact that the author constitutes and forms part of the `reality' thus created is ignored or at best marginalised.

Steier (1991) outlines what he calls a `constructionist' approach to reflexivity. He acknowledges how reality is shaped by people's knowing activity and its consequences. For Steier, the research process itself must be seen as socially constructing a world or worlds with researchers included inside rather than outside of the body of their research. Constructionism recognises that we come to `know' that which we claim to know through employing a modelling process. In describing the social world, the categories and standards that we apply in order to make sense of our constructed world are immersed in models we have constructed explicitly or else we implicitly sustain categories and the tacit conventions of the language of our research community. Steier, influenced by the work of George Herbert Mead, argues that researchers should focus on our own experience in conducting research, but not in an introspective or solipsistic retreat from the social world and research community. We must recognise that self-reflexivity is a social process, rooted in language, not inside one's head. Such notions of conversation and dialogue with the moving backward and forwards between different

dialogues is important. By holding out our own research structures and logics as themselves researchable, and by examining how we are part of our data and research, we become less self-centred and accept the reciprocal process as of our work.

The research process is a form of action, where it is necessary for the researcher to orient their activities in relation to other possible courses of action. This transforms the role of the researcher from a technical functionary pursuing a specified form of (foundational) knowledge, and places responsibility for the conduct of the research directly with the researcher. Each researcher then carries an obligation to reflect on the nature of his or her activity.

The focus on the reflective practices of researchers has three advantages which Gareth Morgan (1983) outlines. Firstly, it encourages a better understanding of the interactive way in which a researcher tackles the data may allow the researcher to become more sensitive to the people and events they are studying. Secondly, it would permit different research strategies to be seen as different research `voices' in a conversation about the nature and status of knowledge. Finally, by reflecting on the nature and claims of research strategies, it would deliberately minimise commitment to a favoured point of view and encourage an exploration of the full diversity of research strategies as much as the full diversity of social life.

Notions of reflexivity have been criticised from other quarters than those who wish to retain a strong, traditional, `scientific' status for the social sciences. Filmer (1975), for instance, argues that if the attention to reflexivity is given then it would `crowd out' other things from research. He argues that too much emphasis would be given to epistemological and methodological issues rather than direct analysis and explanation. In a similar way Bell and Newby (1981) maintain that such an `obsession' with

reflexivity quickly develops into social scientific `narcissism' and accounts become over-bearingly ego-centric.

Such criticisms, I would suggest, arise from a partial understanding of reflexivity, focusing only on those notions of reflexivity which argue for the intellectual introspection of the researcher. But, as Bourdieu (1990a) argues, the practical operations of research such as coding routines, `data cleaning' procedures, rules of thumb in field work, and even diary keeping, are not just nuances of the individual researcher but are part of the permanent practices of sociology. Bourdieu suggests that this tendency towards `introspection' is part of the symbolic grace attached to notions of the individual, undetermined or `free-floating' nature of Western intellectuals. The value of reflexivity for Bourdieu is its ability to unearth the social nature of research practices and individuality through an examination of the researcher's own *habitus*. Far from encouraging narcissism or solipsism, reflexivity invites researchers to recognise the specific social referents of their thoughts (Bourdieu, 1990b).

The notion of reflexivity as a recognition of the ways in which individuals researchers are deeply interconnected with social structures has been a base assumption of a large amount of feminist research (Stanley and Wise, 1983). For instance, Cook and Fonow (1986) situate reflexivity as one of the fundamental principles in feminist methodology and epistemology. Reflexivity for feminists refers to the tendency of feminists to reflect upon, examine critically and explore analytically the nature of the research process. Harding (1991) has argued that all background assumptions, cultural agendas and influences must be rendered visible and their power recognised. They will then be open to critical examination by readers of that research. Feminist researchers have provided reflexive accounts in a large number of specific studies which have

encouraged me to reflect upon my own actions, reactions and relationship *vis-à-vis* my research subjects.

In terms of the practice of writing my own thesis, the importance of reflexivity lies in recovering and sustaining something of the epistemological uncertainty that exists at the start of any sociological inquiry, before our textual constructions solidify the concepts and categories we use. In order to interrogate the representation as we practice it, Liz Stanley (1990b) argues there should be "a textual recognition of the importance of the labour process ... as researcher in reaching interpretations and conclusions ... an analytic (not just descriptive) concern with the specifics of how we came to understand what we do, by locating acts of understanding in an explication of the grounded contexts these are located in and arise from" (p.62).

Reflexivity is also important in locating the `findings' of my thesis. During my archival work I confronted diaries, records, cases files. The `facts' derived from these do not `speak for themselves', but rather the bulk of my work is devoted to articulating and making sense of them - placing them in the context of other textual `facts' (other archival sources, sociological theory or historiography). As Geertz (1973) has pointed out, the retrieval of `facts' is necessarily a series of constructions upon constructions; however, although `facts' are made, they are not made up. The events we see documented or the stories we are told constrain us and our recounting. Through making explicit my own constructions of `facts', it would be possible for people in different locations with different perspectives to follow my reasoning but arrive at perhaps different understandings of my data.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that knowledge is both individually and socially constructed. People understand both as individuals locked in our own unique self-consciousness and at the same time as social beings through shared interpretations, meanings and understandings. I have highlighted the highly textualised nature of the social world, where each text comes into being inter-textually in relation to other texts which are institutionally constituted. As I have argued through the work of Dorothy Smith, texts form a `practical consciousness' organising social action. Texts and language are not merely referential of actions, but are a constitutive feature of action. In the case of historical archives, minutes and agendas for committees, for example, are not simply reflective of meetings, they are an essential and inseparable part of the action. Textual analysis is highly productive sociological enquiry. Texts such as scientific articles, ordering catalogues, taxation forms, social work referral notices, letters, instructions, institutional rule books, organise the social action of groups and are a configuration of meaning available to a researcher. In the thesis which follows I draw on the above discussion by looking at the processes where my own thesis was produced. I look at my relationship with the archives, how I read the texts, interacted with their contents and open up the processes to the reader of how I came to know what I know about the archives. Relatedly, I also discuss representational issues concerning writing by looking at my own writing process. The process of writing is not something that unproblematically represents what I know or have done. Writing is something that is shaped by a large number of factors. I discuss the ways in which my writing was shaped and the possibilities and constraints to that writing. For example, I discuss aspects of my auto/biography which I believe has deeply effected my text, the `interpretive community' to which I write and the appropriate textual genre by which a `thesis' is contrasted to `notes'. I discuss the relationship of my own life to the lives of

those living in the past. This process of writing raises the important issue of representation and power of the research writer over the reader and the researched. I seek to make this process visible in this thesis by writing myself into the text. This includes reminders of the active role of the researcher and constant reminders that my textual account is just that, an account, which stands alongside, not above, other accounts which may be provided. I also try to introduce a vivid description of my research in order to provide the reader with some form of judgmental powers to accept or reject any claims to knowledge which I make.

[1] The term discourse is of course used in a variety of ways by a variety of differing number of people. For instance, Foucault and other post-structuralists use the term quite differently from speech therapists. Within sociology, post-structuralists, ethnomethodologists, feminists and Marxists sometimes use the term differently. In this thesis I use the term in the Foucauldian sense.

[2] Textual analysis also exists within ethnomethodology, feminism and hermeneutics, meaning something sometimes radically different. I use the textual analysis in the Foucauldian sense which analyses the `epistemic' claims to knowledge.

[3] Smith follows Garfinkel's (1967) notion of the `documentary method of interpretation' - a set of lay methods of practical reasoning which constitute people's sense-making. The documentary method is a foundational set of mundane reasoning procedures tacitly held and used at the level of membership rather than exclusively used by a professional social scientist. The core of the documentary method is the members' imputation of an underlying coherent pattern to an array of particulars or appearances.

[4] The work of `microhistory' became available to me through an article by Giovanni Levi (1991), an edited collection by Fredrik Barth (1978) and through the work of Alan Macfarlane (1977) and Peter Laslett (1965). It has similar aims and premises as symbolic anthropological and sociological ethnography of Geertz.

CHAPTER 3

READING THE REFUGES AND THE DOCUMENTARY METHOD OF INTERPRETATION.

Introduction.

In this chapter, I discuss aspects of my research in one of the major archival sources, the 'Manchester Refuges', that I used. In this I draw substantially on Garfinkel's (1967) notion of the 'documentary method' of interpretation, that is, how I made sense out of the mass of textual objects and stimuli, over time organising my interpretation into something unified and with an underlying pattern. The documentary method is not a particular specialised method of sociological inquiry such as a survey, or a method which uses written sources only. Rather it is a form of reasoning in which particular understandings or interpretations are used to demonstrate an underlying pattern. Garfinkel endorses a phenomenological approach to sociological analysis which focuses on the meaning of objects, events and persons for social actors and how this influences subsequent social conduct. Garfinkel proposes that the documentary method is an unavoidable feature of all acts of mundane perception and cognition. Documentary evidences are interpreted on the basis of 'what is known' about the underlying pattern. Underlying patterns are thus derived from individual documentary evidences, and individual evidences are interpreted on the basis of 'what is known' about the underlying pattern. Each is reinforced by the other.

The importance of the documentary method cannot be overstated for my research on the files of an organisation such as the Manchester Refuges. Organisations keep information in records, and it is subsequently extracted and encoded from these by researchers. What the files 'reveal' depends not only on what is in them but also how they are read, as the information can be combined in different ways and understood to illustrate different things. There are no firm rules as to how information in records can be combined,

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consequently an assortment of connections can be made numerous possibilities arise for understanding what might have happened in a particular instance. Given the assortment of possibilities for understanding people's accounts, Garfinkel argues that rather than taking statements at face value, it is necessary to study the accounting practices embedded within them. There are two ways in which the notion of accounting has importance for this thesis. Firstly, there is how my own accounting activities are organised as researcher, interpreter and second order reporter. Analysis such as Latour (1987) and Bloomfield and Vardurakis (1994) discuss the crucial role of the reporter of information as `establishers of reality'. This reality is established through the textual control of the polysemicity of possible readings, by `telling it like it is'. While conventional scientific and social scientific reports conceal the accounting procedures, the focus of this chapter is to make these explicit. Secondly, in what follows I also look at how I <u>read</u> the archival texts. This process of reading was a vital part of the documentary process, for in the act of reading we seek to `make sense' of texts. In the case of my archival work, my reading of texts was constitutive of the research I was undertaking. Along with writing (which I discuss in the next chapter), I will argue that the process of reading, rather than being shut away and made invisible intellectually, should become an important focus for unpacking academic knowledge claims.

As I became aware of the reading aspect of the research process, a number of other issues concerning the documentary method also came to light. I address these by discussing Collingwood's ideas about the appropriate task of historical researchers and compare his views with my own experiences. I look at the importance of questions to the researcher; at the active presence of the researcher, which Collingwood argued was both unavoidable and necessary; at the use of the researcher's imagination in comprehending the past; and finally at the importance of utilising historical `traces' in building up an understanding of the past. Central to my interest in these matters is the dialectical

interaction between the text and the reader, how both are necessary to the documentary process of building up a comprehension, interpretation and understanding of the past.

The Manchester Refuges

I first investigated the archives of the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges and Children's Aid Society as part of an undergraduate dissertation. My initial concern was to make sense of the child abuse controversies of the time of my writing (most notably the child sexual abuse controversies surrounding the Cleveland Inquiry of 1988). I came to use historical sources almost by accident, because my initial preference was to interview social workers and clients of today. However, there were many obstacles to conducting such interviews. Firstly, there was difficulty in gaining permission from senior managers, given that child abuse was and is such a sensitive issue. Secondly, there were difficulties in getting co-operation from busy social workers. Thirdly, had I got this far there would have been immense problems in gaining consent from all parties at case conferences, and in interviewing clients. My supervisor consequently suggested that I look at what a historical perspective could provide to understanding child abuse. She suggested that I begin by looking for specific cases in newspapers of the time, particularly in the early/mid 1880s, the time of the <u>Pall Mall Gazette</u> `revelations' by W. T. Stead, and of endemic child sexual corruption in the city of London. The search for cases was the beginning of a two year search for `knowledge' about child abuse in the past.

Looking at newspapers of the time, particularly <u>The Times</u>, <u>Manchester Guardian</u>, <u>Manchester Courier</u>, and <u>Manchester Weekly News</u> brought only limited success. There were quite a few cases of child cruelty and neglect reported, but due to the complex nature of the court procedures there was very limited opportunity to follow these cases up in other archival or official records. Consequently I was restricted to what the newspapers

reported, which was very meagre in its detail. In order to find cases where there was more in depth textual material available I had to look elsewhere. It was at this point that I contacted the Manchester City Archives, situated in the Manchester Central Reference Library. The City Archives contain records of the Manchester School Board, Poor Law Guardians, Jewish groups, Methodists, women's suffrage organisations, local businesses, charities, the papers of politicians and other important manuscript collections. I looked for cases in the archives of the Manchester School Board, the Manchester and Salford Ragged School Union and the Board of Guardians. These sources, although very informative, still contained insufficient textual data on specific cases.

Alongside my search for `primary materials', I began reading literature which paralleled my own interests and greatly influenced the way I approached the archival materials. Perhaps the greatest influence on the way my research progressed was Linda Gordon's (1988) Heroes of their Own Lives, although Harry Ferguson's two papers (1990, 1992) provided useful comparative data on the NSPCC. Gordon approached her archives in Boston, Massachusetts with similar sociological and historical influences as I did on a smaller scale in Manchester. Socialism and feminism played an important role in her approach, and such frameworks were of profound importance for me also. Gordon also argued that child abuse is historically and politically structured. By this she meant that what is seen as acceptable or unacceptable violence changes over time, and that violence amongst family members is deeply embedded in power relations between people. I pieced together the structure and activities of the people whose lives appeared in part in the archives I worked on, and did so in the light of comparisons with and contrasts to Gordon's and other related research.

Following Gordon, I hoped to find out some of the gendered aspects of the structure of some of the historical organisations involved: who made the decisions, men or women?

was there any feminist activism in any of the organisations centring on the abuse of children? were there any links with external feminist organisations? Also following Gordon, I learnt the richness and importance of case files as a source. Case files provide an important point of entry into the organisationally bound practices of case workers. Case files provide data on how workers made sense of their clients and defined their own roles in relation to clients. They also provide a way of seeing conflicts between the case workers and their clients, although of course from the organisationally-bound viewpoints of the workers.

After reading the work of Gordon and Ferguson, I came across Annual Reports of the Manchester Refuges for 1891, 1893 and 1894, held at the Local Studies Unit at the Manchester Central Reference Library. These reports contained brief and optimistic summaries of the organisation's work, including the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Branch which had operated formally since 1884. I also found a 1921 book by William Edmondson which commented on the work of the Manchester Refuges and in particular the work of one of the organisation's founders, Leonard Kilbee Shaw. Both the Annual Reports and the Edmondson book cited cases of abused children to illustrate the work of the organisation. However, the cases cited were obviously `sanitised' for publicity purposes, as I will discuss later.

Harry Ferguson's (1990, 1992) papers discussed the contributions to nineteenth century child protection by Ragged School Unions. Ragged Schools in Manchester were organised centrally by the Manchester and Salford Ragged School Union, so that children could be "rescued from a life of sin and misery, well educated, and placed in comfortable positions in this life, with the brightest hopes for eternity"[1]. The Union targeted districts where children were felt to be "suffering want, privation and cruelty"[2] and operated a house-to-house visiting service which by 1876 consisted of 28 Visiting Officers. The Ragged

Schools became interested in a host of important issues relating to children and campaigned on young people's crime, temperance, `social purity' and abuse, as well as educational provision. Despite the huge range of interests towards children shown by Ragged Schools and the well documented archive collection, there were still no case files of individual people. The minutes of committee meetings, although very informative about people and events important to the organisation, held only limited clues as to the practices and principles of Ragged School teachers, visiting officers and campaigners.

I then looked at the archives of the Manchester School Board hoping to find some reports by teachers or truant officers who may have come across cases of child abuse. However, I did not find any specific cases to look at here or through my enquiries regarding the Board of Education files at the Public Record Office. However, during my work at the Manchester City Archives, I did come across the very informative and detailed archive collection of the Manchester Refuges, containing over 200 large volumes of minutes, registers, office diaries, correspondences and most importantly case files. The organisation began through concern with the poverty of children in the city of Manchester in the late 1860s. Concern with child poverty then extended to a broader concern with child abuse and suffering. As Leonard Shaw stated:

> "Little children have been bought here emaciated to the skin and bone by deliberate intention by inhuman parents; some branded with hot irons; some a mass of weals, the result of brutal punishment from a so-called guardian; many diseased through gross neglect; many wayward wanderers" (quoted in Hughes, 1973, p.9).

Thus, I had found the source which was to pre-occupy my academic interest for over a year of highly concentrated research.

The impression I have given above is of a linear progression of my research from vague initial enquiries about broad issues of child abuse to a rich archival source followed by a

detailed reading, a synthesis and then herein a successful `write-up'. However, this masks a host of discoveries, digressions, disappointments and decisions leading up to the `discovery' of the Refuges' archives, followed by more of the same during the reading and reporting stage, and it is these I want to focus on, the detailed aspects of the documentary method as I experienced it in my archival research.

I have already referred to the frustration of not being able to pursue cases reported in the newspapers. This was compounded by the difficulty in untangling the many and highly complex changes in the legal system from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, changes which made it extremely difficult to trace cases reported in newspapers within the documentation produced by the courts and held at the Public Record Office in London. This was made even more difficult because cases reported in newspapers would often be selected for their special and unique circumstances. Such circumstances would have been of considerable importance to contemporaries and for this reason of interest to historical researchers, but understanding `the special' also requires knowledge of `the mundane'.

Once I commenced looking at the problem of child abuse historically, I became acutely aware of the advantages of the historical perspective. Chambers (1992) discusses the need for historical analyses to provide sufficient explanations of welfare issues. By looking historically we can learn that the social problem of child abuse is not something which has arisen in the last 30 years, as is popularly believed, but that Victorian Britain developed a systematic child protection practice in response to what was perceived by contemporaries as a serious social problem.

Sue Wise (1989) argues that child abuse is not an event but a process, that behaviour becomes `harm' becomes `abuse' when key persons involved in the process of labelling shift definitions and understandings, and then the consequences of this are mediated

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through a range of cultural practices which institutionally reconstruct and reprocess what is `abuse'. Thus discussion about the processes of abuse can only be understood through the use of some form of investigation of the temporal and historical specifics. Also, as Gordon (1988) maintains, social problems arise from and are dependent upon political processes involving pressure groups such as feminists, child reformers, educators and religious groups. Historical methods are necessary for a sufficient comprehension of the shifting social and political processes involved. Ferguson (1990) similarly argues that historical understanding is crucial as many of the problems facing social work agencies today have historical precedents. For example, the interactions between agencies and homes are constituted through "complex struggles and encounters of a long historical duration and character and cannot simply be laid at the door of some simplistic notion of individualised professional `failure' or post-1970 malaise in practice common to most contemporary interpretations" (Ferguson, 1990, p.141).

As well as looking at the records of the local Ragged School Union and School Board, I tried to locate other relevant sources. I searched for Manchester Poor Law Guardian records, but these were lost during World War Two[3]. I also looked for archives of the City Missions, which were organised by mainly nonconformist religious groups such as the Wood Street primitive Methodist mission, and the Wesleyan missions at Gravel Lane, London Road and Oldham Street. However, I found only Annual Reports and publicity materials which were not `private' enough for me to be able to examine how they identified and dealt with particular cases of child abuse. Gordon (1988) insists upon the importance of feminism for the emergence of family violence and abuse as an issue in late nineteenth century Boston. As Joan Scott (1989) points out, Gordon provides no evidence that feminists had any direct impact on the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. However, the influence of feminism can be demonstrated if we look at the wider social and political arena and not just this specific agency. Feminists in particular

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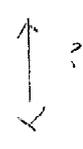
identified and challenged issues which have been traditionally considered `private' such as marital reform (Holcome, 1983; Shanley, 1989), campaigns against wife beating (Tomes, 1978) and exploitative sexuality (Jeffries, 1985; Bland, 1994). Feminists also involved themselves in other influential campaigning organisations; for instance, they proved to be a crucial presence in the organisations surrounding protests against the Contagious Diseases Acts (Walkowitz, 1980), and became increasingly involved in charities and then latterly local government (Hollis, 1987).

Contemporary feminism does not occupy a central place in my research. However, I was very much aware of feminist involvement in public debates at the time, and of feminists working behind the scenes to further the interests of both women and children[4]. I investigated child abuse cases in feminists organisations such as the Manchester Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), and I later made use of the feminist press and publicity campaigns, such as Theresa Billington-Grieg's demonstrations at Manchester Police Court during child (as well as abuse of women) abuse cases (Hollis, 1987).

Questions and Research

The above chronological account of my interests leading up to my entry into the archival stage of my research indicates some of the preconceptions I brought to this. I did not confront the archival records with a blank mind; rather I was familiar with a range of academic debates, concepts and influences. A picture was beginning to take shape from these influences in the form of questions. Collingwood (1939, 1946) attaches immense importance to the idea of a historian asking questions, arguing that it is these questions that form the starting point in all edifying historical enquiry. In fact Collingwood conceives that the questions asked are inevitably tied to questions of knowledge. Collingwood

rejects foundationalist assumptions of knowledge; that is, the philosophical position that enquirers can know something `in itself' or by its essence. Collingwood argues instead that foundational assumptions cannot be understood separate from a prior comprehension of the questions asked.

The asking of questions is the most central component of not only historical but all types of knowledge, where "the obscurist subjects can be illuminated by asking oneself intelligent questions about them instead of simply gaping at them" (Collingwood, 1946, p.274). Collingwood cites examples ranging from philosophy and science to crime detection. Collingwood's notion of question and evidence illuminates the practical nature of not just historical but all types of scientific enquiry[5]. The nature of the question and the type of evidence at hand are important. On this he says:

> "every time the historian asks a question, he asks it because he thinks he can answer it: that is to say, he has already in mind a preliminary and tentative idea of the evidence he will be able to use. Not a definite idea about actual evidence. To ask questions which you see no prospect of answering is the fundamental sin in science, like giving orders which you do not think will be obeyed in politics, or praying for what you do not think God will give you in religion. Questions and evidence, in history are correlative. Anything is evidence which enables you to answer your question - the question you are asking now. A sensible question ... is a question which you think you have or are going to have evidence for answering." (Collingwood, 1946, p.281)

Collingwood's arguments about questions and answers were echoed in my own thoughts as I started work on the Refuges' archives. The asking of questions is an important part of the documentary method. However, I take issue with Collingwood's distinction between a `sensible' question, which can be practically answered, and those questions ("the fundamental sin in science") which cannot be practically answered. If I understand Collingwood correctly as proposing that questions are important only in so far as they can be adequately answered, then I must take issue[6]. I found that I could

distinguish those questions which could and could not be directly answered by the evidence at hand. But I also found that I needed to ask more general questions that could not be adequately addressed by the documents no matter how detailed and informative I hoped the records might be. For instance, asking general questions such as `who are these people who have produced these statements in the Refuges' archive?' or `what use are these statements to me?' are too broad to be of analytic use, but are still a vital stage in the questioning process. I do not see that asking oneself such `impossible' questions as a `fundamental sin', but rather as an important and necessary component of research. It is from these questions that one begins to ask secondary and more practical (or `sensible') questions: the documentary method is in fact reliant upon such questions at its most basic level.

The first big question I asked myself was `who are these people?' From this general question came a plethora of subsidiary questions such as: `what is this organisation?', `how big was it?', `what services did it provide?', `who was responsible for the founding of it?', `who was in charge of the day to day operation?', `what motivations did the workers and founders have?', `what politically, religiously or personally influenced them?', `was there any feminist involvement?', `how did they treat the children, the parent or the local community?', `was it class biased?' and so on.

Alongside these subsidiary questions were more `present worldly' practical questions like: `will this `discovery' help as far as my attempt at academic qualifications go?', `will I be allowed in to use this source?', `what would my supervisor think?', `would it help to answer the questions I have already?'. These latter questions included `are there be relevant cases of child abuse?', `If so will they be sufficiently detailed?', and these `practical and answerable' questions came directly from the previously asked but at that stage

unanswerable questions. The unanswerable questions had a fundamental effect, shaping later questions which were more practically addressed in my research.

In order to understand archival statements, Collingwood argues that a past actor's statement could not be exegesised without appreciating the motivational questions he or she was asking prior to writing the archived document. These questions are rarely stated as such within such texts, as statements are written in the contemporary context "for those who are `likely to be interested', which means those who are already asking the question to which an answer is being offered; and consequently a writer very seldom explains what the question is that he (sic) is trying to answer" (Collingwood, 1939, p.39). In order to know the questions being asked, historical methods of reconstruction must be used.

In reconstructing the questions of the workers in the Manchester Refuges, I encountered considerable problems. Collingwood (1939) argues that statements were written for their contemporaries who already were asking the same questions to which the answer was being offered. The institutional case file presented its own problems, problems different from the presumably narrative historical statements Collingwood has in mind. Case files, prior to 1914, consisted of notes written by the caseworker(s), summarising contacts with and information from or about clients. There are many inter-agency memos, notes, information and documentation (such as legal contracts) kept in the organisation's files. Historical reconstruction of questions was a necessary activity for me in trying to understand these memos, notes and documentation. However, case files mostly contain notes from caseworkers written hurriedly, eclectically, incompletely and with varying degrees of description. The overall impression is that the comments were not specifically written for communication with fellow workers, but were rather notes and reminders for the writer themselves. Case files were sometimes not written for people who already knew the question at all, but rather consist of statements such as personal reminders and notes.

In short, historical statements are not only propositions for an answer, as Collingwood seems to indicate, but can provoke further questions, or be themselves a part of formulating and asking - rather than answering - such a question.

Collingwood argues for the overwhelming importance of pre-emptive questions to any form of enquiry. However, in my experience of archival work I found that I had different earlier questions from those I asked later in the research process. These later questions came after reading the documents, not before, and occurred to me out of puzzling comments, silences or gaps in the data. For instance, I had no conception of the tensions between the NSPCC and the Manchester Refuges Prevention of Cruelty to Children Committee at their amalgamation in 1894. The Annual Report for the Refuges in 1894 declared that the amalgamation "in no way affects or limits our work on behalf of the homeless, neglected, or suffering children, it merely hands over the enforcing of the law in the cases of cruelty to the National Society."[7] In fact I became aware of this tension, not through the existing literature I had read, or public statements from either organisation, but by noticing silences in publicity documents, motions proposed and noted upon at meetings and expressed frustration in case files on this issue.

There were many instances of an important chain of questions arising from complexities, contradictions and gaps in the data. For instance, a scribbled note "Orphan: Been in Alsops for 6 months, left 3 weeks ago because the Brigade Major ill treated him" found at the side of an Admission Book (Admission Book, 1889)[8], raised questions about the treatment of children in the Rev. Alfred Alsop's Methodist Mission, corroborated by another case (Case Files 1889)[9]. Related questions arose when I noticed the existence of the organisation's own signed pledges (see Appendix 1), while child adoption forms in abuse cases both before and after 1892 raised questions about the importance or effectiveness of the 1889 and 1891 Prevention of Cruelty to Children legislation. This

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legislation supposedly enabled voluntary organisations such as the NSPCC and the Manchester Refuges to legally remove children from abusive parents. However, the Manchester Refuges had used methods of persuasion very effectively to remove children from abusive parents without going through the courts.

The Active Presence of the Researcher

Collingwood's theory of knowledge places emphasis on the researcher's role in the creation of that knowledge. Past thought is not merely an `object', `ready-made' to be assimilated within today's knowledge, but is actively pursued, often in the form of an argument. Social actions enacted in the past can only be understood by reference to the thought practices of past agents, and the possible explanations offered must satisfy the researcher's own criteria for validity. According to Collingwood, researchers are always an active presence, and this presence is unavoidable and needs acknowledgement concerning the intellectual processes involved.

Michael Oakshott's (1933) Experience and its Modes observes that historians, when they think about past statements, are actually organising their own present consciousness; and this can be demonstrated when we reflect on the impossibility of separating `that which we come across' from our `interpretations of it'. Data or materials, according to Oakshott, are not independent of the experience of the researcher. Archival researchers begin from documents and construct in their own minds a picture of the past; the working of their mind is central. In my research, my experience of the data profoundly shaped the selection of material for attention and constructed in my own mind successive versions of what went on in the past. Most notable here was my focusing on cases of family-based child abuse. By so focusing I purposefully ignored paying attention to other children who entered the institution, such as orphaned, abandoned, disabled children, or the children of

sick or disabled parents. I also purposefully ignored abuse which took place outside of the family. The cases which caught my attention were only a small minority of the children that the organisation was concerned with. The Refuges not only provided children with residential accommodation, but provided other services, such as maintaining holiday homes in Lytham, Morcambe and Bethesda, providing many Manchester children with holidays. I could also have explored the prison visiting and `probation' services it provided more amply. My main interest was concerned, however, with a specific part of the institution's activities, and I focused thus purposefully for very specific reasons.

By searching for cases of children abused by family members, I did not actively search for abuses by the institution itself, although there were plentiful references to the existence of this, such as the common discussion of flogging and beating `problem' children, and I have already indicated the existence of documentary evidence concerning the existence of a harsh regime in Alsop's Homes. My brief excursions into the records of the Gordon (Memorial) Boys' Home[10] similarly led me to believe that the tone of the entries centred around evaluating each child's obedience to an institutional framework of `discipline and punishment'. Entries by case workers expressed considerable concern when authority was disregarded by the boys and would record when punishment was dispensed. Prochaska (1994) similarly discusses the disciplinary tactics of staff to Reformatory School girls, in particular the voiced fears of `immoral' contamination. Limiting my attention to parental abuse perhaps also blunted the severity and compulsiveness of social work at the time. For instance, I was at the time of my original research largely uncritical of the emigration policies of the organisation, seeing these from the organisation's viewpoint as an answer to a pressing problem. I now realise that a considerable number of the cases of `orphans' dealt with by the Refuges in fact discussed living parents, and that the viewpoint of the documents I was dealing with was that these were either unimportant or, more usually, the source of the child's problem, its cause and not in any way an answer.

The `shape' of my research did not simply rely upon my subjective interests, foibles and biases, but rather was framed by the material which I read. For instance, redressing the class biases and attitudes of the case workers was constrained by the textual material available. Unlike Gordon, I had no realistic chance of adequately looking at issues of child abuse "from the perspective of the poor" Gordon, 1988, p.8), as they did not have a `voice' which was available to me as researcher (and indeed, I cannot accept that Gordon had this either). Instead I could only look at things from the case workers' point of view, but understanding and recognising their perspective as one of many and itself shaped by organisational possibilities and constraints. However, it is only this one perspective that I had access to, that of the case workers, for they wrote the organisational materials that constituted `the archive' with which I dealt.

I was also constrained by these materials concerning what kind of abuse I could look at in any depth. For instance, I would have liked to have learnt more about child sexual abuse at the time, if it was recognised, how it was interpreted and dealt with. However, although there were numerous examples of child sexual abuse cases in the case files, the subject of the time was, in the words of one case worker, seen as "a most unspeakable and unthinkable wrong" (Admission Register, 1878)). This taboo nature of child sexual abuse discouraged case workers from in-depth description, commentary and debate. Such vague language was not only used in cases of familial sexual abuse, but more widely `unspeakable wrong' and `immoral surroundings' descriptions were used and which were rarely elaborated upon[11].

Thus while a researcher is certainly actively present in reading archives, the researcher is not the solely important constituent of knowledge, for the textual framework and contents themselves play a fundamental role in the research process, and these are

organisational and not merely individual products. It is the dialectical relationship between these complex factors which is of prime importance in the reading of archive materials.

The Historical Imagination

Collingwood (1946) borrows from the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1933) the notion that humans utilise universal cognitive categories that make knowledge of the world possible. However, Collingwood's theory of historical enquiry moves away from the fixity of Kant's concepts. For Collingwood, "the historian is his own authority and his thought autonomous, self-authorising, possessed of a criterion to which his so-called authorities must conform and by reference to which they are criticized" (1946, p.236). The autonomy of historical thought exceeds the selection of historical materials. Historians also construct a picture of a subject, partly drawn from the material authorities, but also the historian's own powers of constitution. A proper historical method evaluates statements critically. A historian:

> "puts his authorities in the witness-box, and by cross-questioning extorts from them
> information which in their original statements they have withheld, either because
> they did not wish to give it or because they did not possess it." (Collingwood, 1946,
> p.237)

Collingwood describes `constructive history' as the historian interpolating between statements. The act of interpolation is significant as it is the only way legitimate historical construction is possible. The making sense of history involves the imaginary inference of `filling in the gaps'. For Collingwood, the historical imagination is "that blind but indispensable faculty without which ... we could never perceive the world around us, is indispensable in the same way to history: it is this which, operating not capriciously as fancy but in its a priori form, does the entire work of historical construction" (1946, p.241). However, the historical imagination consists of more than imaginatively `filling in the gaps' between gaps in data, for Collingwood sees it as a touchstone in deciding which

alleged facts are genuine. The picture of the past that the researcher produces has to utilise adequate sources to warrant its construction. This is not to say that history is on a par with literature, for - and unlike literature - an historical account must be localised in space and time, needs to be internally consistent and must stand up to interrogation against the evidence available. Nevertheless, the creative use of the researcher's imagination is crucial in the documentary process.

The historian, together with the here-and-now which forms the total body of evidence available, is thus a crucial part of the process of knowledge production. The researcher can only see things from the here-and-now, with the evidence which exists in the here-and-now. By situating oneself in the complexity of the here-and-now, researchers become aware of the multiplicity of the present, not only in social life in general but also in reading and interpreting the data available. These can never be entirely known, and the infinite process of past time can never be envisaged as a whole. The impossibility of knowing reality (both past and present) in its totality, with all its complexity, is a fundamental problem for the realist historicism which seeks to 'tell it like it really was'. Historical knowledge is unavoidably and necessarily partial. The production of knowledge thus relies on the constitutive role of the researcher for its ordering and portrayal.

With my own archival work on the Refuges one of the first thoughts which occurred to me concerned the 'incoherent' structure of the records. This is not only in the sense that the organisation had only a rudimentary and basic administrative structure compared to the sophisticated information systems of social work today, consisting of gaps, anomalies, missing documents and so on, but also (and more importantly in relation to my argument here), when I first looked at the records I was not aware of the structure of the organisation, apart from the largely elliptical information provided in its Annual Reports for 1891, 1893 and 1894. I was informed by these that the organisation attempted to

improve the lives of a host of unprivileged children, be they abandoned, lost, neglected, abused, orphaned, sick, disabled, run-aways, or young offenders. It involved itself in the welfare of approximately 2,000 children each year. It found children jobs, arranged holidays, trained, housed or prepared them for emigration. It also operated a Prevention of Cruelty to Children (PCC) Branch which took up to 100 cases of cruelty to court each year from 1891 to 1894. However, there were still things I did not clearly understand. The Annual Reports were documents produced for publicity purposes. They were written for people who, in Collingwood's terms, would `know the questions the statements were answering'. The Reports targeted a strata of Victorian society believed to be sympathetic to the aims of the organisation. They sought to suit a specific audience, to court favour, and in particular to attract donations and sponsors. Thus they were written to appeal to the interests, concerns, fears and sympathies of these readers. I was unaware of much of the interests, fears and sympathies of middle class Victorian Mancunians, and thus the text assumed a certain degree and depth of knowledge which I did not have. I wondered what were the organisational attitudes to the poor, how its workers dealt with parents and the children, and so on. In short, I wondered what lay behind the glossy veneer of the Annual Reports, how the organisation operated `on the ground'. To address such concerns I needed to look at the records of the day-to-day operations merely hinted at and glossed in the Reports but inscribed in day-to-day depth and terms in the archival records.

The first records held by the organisation began in 1870 for the Central Refuge building in the Strangeways district of Manchester. The Central Refuge at this time had three significant kinds of records. Firstly, there was the Diary Book, where events were logged each day by a voluntary worker. The Diaries contains notes of children's names who approached the institution, brief notes about the condition of the child, their social circumstances (orphaned, abandoned, found wondering, selling newspapers), contacts with parents or guardians. The quality of the detail depended upon which worker was on

duty, how busy they were and whether the workers considered things important enough to be noted. For instance, one case worker listed the food served to each child, measuring the weight of bread and measures of tea served, whereas others hardly wrote anything, many days being left blank. The second kind of record was the Admission Books, which were far more structured, although less detailed. The pages were clearly divided into sections asking for the date, name of the child, age of the child, parent(s) name(s), address, the ability to read or write, condition, when the child left, and why the child left. The Admission Books, although more consistently completed, were less detailed than the Diaries and consequently less informative of caseworkers' day-to-day operations.

From the entries in these two kinds of records, and my own construction of the ways in which this agency operated, I began to build up formative ideas of its 'administrative system'. Briefly put, children would come to the attention of case workers[12]. On entry the child would be noted in the Central Refuge Diary. Prior to 1874 cases would then be entered into the Admission Book and investigations would then proceed. Cases here were very partial, as some entries would have the dates of entry, name, age, parental name, residence, literacy, and condition entries filled in but would then end. Those children accepted by the Refuges would be stated, but only some of the refusals were filled in. Presumably, cases which for some reason or another did not develop would have been considered too unimportant to merit noting. In 1874, a third kind of record was initiated; this was the Application Books, which provided more detail about the types of investigations that were made. Applicants' stories were checked by case workers who visited parents, guardians or neighbours to verify the child's claim. They consulted police, Boards of Guardians, school boards or employers to find out more information about the clients. The Application Books tell also of placements of children with relatives, guardians, apprenticeships, Workhouse, entry into the army and navy or one of the Refuges' other

Homes. It was also informative by virtue of the number of cases (for the 1870s the majority) which were refused entry.

By the late 1870s, the organisation had expanded considerably. As well as the Central Refuge, there was a Little Boys Home, a Little Girls' Home and an Orphans' Home. Each of these sub-organisations had their own registers from which they would generate reports of the clients' behaviour and progress. Children left the main institution in a variety of different but gendered directions. Some entered military services, others craft apprenticeships, some were boarded out with other families, some prepared for emigration or domestic service. Administratively there was still some form of after placement monitoring, with letters sent out to employers and progress reports being received from those children who emigrated to Canada from Annie MacPherson's, Maria Rye's, Barnardos, Stephenson's, Quarriers and the Children's Aid Society[13].

During the 1880s the Refuges expanded further, with the opening of Emigration Homes for both boys and girls, a Children's Night Shelter, Gordon Boys' Home, Bethesda, Working Lads' Home, Brigade Boys' Home, Working Lads Home, and also sea-side and Summer Camps were established. Fortunately for me, case files began to be used in 1886 general comments about a child and their progress were then contained within one file, so that I no longer needed to follow cases through the all registers. The was often extremely difficult as entries in the Application Book would not be found in the Admissions Book and *vice versa*. Although there was additional information to the case files kept in the registers of the respective specialised institutions, still the case files made it easier to follow the decisions made in most cases.

The changes in the structure of the organisation, and an understanding of its administrative system, were not `there' available to me in clear statements, but rather I had

to combine the statements which were provided with my own understanding of how organisations work today. Drawing on my own experiences working in administration for the civil service and from descriptions of social work administration today, I could `best guess' the general procedures of child care (see Wise, 1989), from the initial `referral' or the first time a child came to the attention of the caseworkers. In a form similar to today, there was within the Refuges' system an assessment procedure, checking the merits of each client as case workers made follow-up visits and corroborated claims with other organisations. Decisions on whether to accept or reject children were left to each individual case worker, with acceptance of residency, adoption and training considerations going to Committee meetings[14]. The committee meetings have parallels with today's `case conferences', as people from other organisations were present, with the opinions of doctors, police and teachers being called for (Shaw, 1990).

I could thereby construct a basic understanding of how the children were treated, and the key organisational procedures and practices within the Refuges. From the registers and case files, there are brief `glimpses' of the treatment of children in the actual Homes. The purpose of the children's' stay was to train and discipline them so that they would have a greater chance of outside employment. I found evidence to suggest that the regime was harshly rigid and hierarchical: for instance an entry in 1870 for B. Thatcher[15]: "Flogged 12 strokes for his disruption" (Research Diary, 1991, p.24); or "uncontrollable temper, she doesn't wish to learn" (Research Diary, 1991, p.31). This strict discipline was not something disguised or hidden, indeed quite the opposite if the pseudo-military `parades' of shoe-black brigades and other published photographs are anything to go by. One mother found that she could no longer cope with her son and wished his entry into the Homes to `discipline' him (Research Diary, 1991, p.49). Many boys were training for placement in the army and navy where the importance of discipline has never been in doubt. Similarly for girls, there was concern expressed about discipline, in particular

obedience, hard work and punctuality. In the case files of girls, often placed outside of the institution in domestic service, there would often be reports of satisfaction and concerns with the girls over issues related to obedience and hard work. Unlike the boys, I never saw any mention of physical punishments such as flogging and beating. Cases can be followed after the children were allocated placements outside the institutions with guardians and employers, both in Manchester and abroad. There were also follow-up procedures which the Refuges operated for monitoring their clients after they left the organisation. These included follow-up visits, reports, and in some cases extensive correspondence between client and case workers.

Thus my understanding of the organisation was something achieved, the result of a lengthy investigation process. I looked for signs of administration which I considered appropriate to the running of a nineteenth century child welfare agency. Of course my earlier understanding of this changed when certain organisational statements led me to review my conceptualisations, relatedly I subjected the statements of the organisation to critical cross questioning, and this was done more rigorously the more I came to understand about the period and how other Victorian welfare organisations operated, so that I could make constructive comparisons. But even early on in the research process, I attempted to go beyond the words of the Annual Reports and to look 'behind-the-scenes' to try to grasp how the organisation identified, accepted, rejected, treated, placed and followed up on their cases. Finally, my research experience reinforced Collingwood's view of the relative autonomy of the historian's mind at work. The statements of the organisation, the 'facts' of my data, were considered genuine and useful if they fitted my own criteria of validity, or my own analytical understanding, rather than relying on the ready made statements found in the archive. In this sense the foundational view of knowledge, which strives to measure an historical 'reality' beyond the question one asks

and the answers one looks for, is fundamentally at odds with the actual working practices of the historian as I have experienced these.

`Traces' of the Past in the Present and Interpretation

No documentary method would be possible if researchers were not able to `fill in' gaps or in some form empathise with the people studied; consequently Collingwood (1939) argues that past events should have left `traces' in the present which researchers use as evidence. These `traces' are more than material bodies of evidence, for instance, ink marks on pieces of paper; they also include processes of thinking. The historian must be able to think themselves into the frame of mind of past social actors. In order to achieve this, historians must have some knowledge, skills or expertise of the people they are studying. A well-known example given by Collingwood (1939) is of trying to understand why Nelson wore his medals and insignia at the Battle of Trafalgar, for this made him an easy target. This seemingly `irrational' action can be explained or `rationalised' once early nineteenth century notions of honour, duty and military leadership are taken into account. Collingwood argues that by re-enacting the thoughts of someone acting within such codes of honour, courage and leadership, the reason for Nelson's seeming folly becomes clear. It is these broad processes of thinking and which understandably constitute the appropriate knowledge "that the historian must re-enact the past in his own mind" (1946, p.282). I have alluded to my thinking about administrative practices of today[16] which I then utilised in comparatively thinking about the administrative systems of nineteenth century social workers. Collingwood argues that it is these kinds of ways of thinking, whether military notions of duty or case worker's administrative understandings, which are still in existence in the thought processes of today. In this sense `the past' is not something dead and gone, "but a past which in some sense is still living in the present" (1939, p.97) - and for

Collingwood it is only when such 'traces' are available that 'historical understanding' can come into being.

Within the context of my research, this notion of the 'traces' of the past was important for me, for it replaced understanding the past as 'events', with a notion of history as 'processes'.

The task of a historical researcher is to understand that aspect of the past which has survived in archival documents. One of my tasks was to get to know what the person who wrote entries in registers or scribbled case files seemed to have meant by them. Collingwood in The Idea of History argues in some detail that this involves the historical researcher thinking those 'past' thoughts again for his or herself. In this sense, I did go through the processes by which a case worker would arrive at a decision or course of action, focusing my attention on what it was that the case worker was trying to do, what 'the question' was to which this was 'an answer'. This can best be shown by discussing an example of this process; and I will now use the example of the particular case of a 13 year old boy who I will call John Dawes[17].

John Dawes was age 13 in 1889, and found by a Prevention of Cruelty to Children Committee (PCC) investigator Joseph Popplewell on the streets in Bolton "in a neglected condition". A report was sent, along with the boy, to the Refuges and both were dealt with by case worker Thomas Ackroyd. In his report Popplewell states:

> "this boy is one of a family of seven all illegitimate – the mother has cohabited with the father for 20 years. He is ill in Bolton infirmary and the mother has sold all the furniture, drunk the money and turned the boy into the streets – He was found sleeping out and mixing with the worst company." (see Appendix 2)

This report provides a good deal of information. Firstly there is the primary status of interest by the institution, that Dawes was found in a "neglected condition". Although Popplewell does not describe what he actually means by a `neglected condition', from second hand commentaries[18] of the condition of young working-class boys in general (as being, poorly nourished, not washed, wearing cheap clothing, etc.) I can only expect the child to have been in an extremely destitute condition.[19]

Ackroyd was also given information about some of John Dawes' personal background. His father was in hospital, and although the nature of the illness is not mentioned it can be assumed that it was serious as working people would only reluctantly enter hospitals (Pickstone, 1985). Taylor was also informed separately that Dawes' father's occupation was a labourer, and I can imagine the intensive financial strain the family would have experienced through his loss of earnings during his illness. Ackroyd is also told about Dawes' six other brothers and sisters. Ackroyd later arranged for the six other children to be closely "monitored". Popplewell then tells of John's mother in a damning way, that she "sold the furniture, drunk the money and turned the boy into the streets". Concern over the mother's drinking was reinforced in a later letter from Popplewell, where he states "his mother is hardly ever sober". Case workers' concern about alcohol can be seen in two ways, firstly, by virtue that the majority of abuse cases coming to their attention were put down to alcohol abuse, and secondly, being drawn largely from non-conformist backgrounds the influence of the temperance movement upon them was likely to be significant. As well as fears of intemperance, the passage quoted above illustrates conventional, bourgeois religious and moral beliefs when Popplewell describes all seven children as "illegitimate" despite the fact that the mother and father had been cohabiting for 20 years. The bunching together of neglect, illegitimacy, `questionable' moral environment and intemperance portrayed a picture of moral danger in Dawes' domestic environment. The `danger' at home was matched in the eyes of the case workers by the

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danger of the streets, when it was stated that "(h)e was found sleeping out and mixing with the worst company". In another letter Popplewell reiterates "there is nothing before this lad but a degraded and criminal life".

Present day readers can come some way to understanding this in the context of the nineteenth century fears of juvenile crime and the need for separating children from `corruptible' elements in their lives which may lead to a criminal career. Such concerns over juvenile crime are in existence today, as witnessed by the aftermath of the murder of James Bulger. In the late nineteenth century, such anxieties were manifested in the movement to separate children from adults in workhouses and prisons, the establishment of reformatory and industrial schools, the introduction of juvenile courts and an increasing emphasis on the need for an adequate education system. This concern with crime was in addition to other nineteenth century fears about children and drink, other drugs and sex.

Thomas Ackroyd was presented with the referral of a 13 year old boy in a "neglected condition", whose family was experiencing dire poverty through his father's ill health, and was arguably in `moral danger' both at home and amongst his peers. Given Ackroyd's Congregationalist background and his strong views on child care, I assume that he takes Popplewell's concerns about moral `danger' at face value. So Ackroyd could choose to ignore the case, or to act upon it. On deciding to act, Ackroyd demonstrates both the limits of protective legislation in 1889 and also the effectiveness of the strategies prior to the implementation of the 1889 Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. Ackroyd visited the mother and, finding himself in agreement with Popplewell, suggesting that the boy's best future would be away from the family. Without legal powers of removal, Ackroyd was left with the strategy of persuasion, apparently effective as John Dawes' mother signed the legal document placing Dawes in the care of the organisation (see appendix 1) with stringent conditions. Unfortunately there is no account of how Ackroyd achieved this, so

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how much `persuasion' and of what kind was necessary remains unknown. However, by virtue of the fact that the document was signed on the first visit, the neglected condition he was found in, and that the boy was not subsequently re-claimed, suggests that his mother was not too hostile to the idea.

Once the boy was removed from the family environment, a decision was required about what to do with John Dawes. There were various options available to Ackroyd: he could have been put out to `foster parents'[20]; or trained as an apprentice in Manchester; trained for the armed forces; or found an apprenticeship. It was decided however that John Dawes would be instructed into farming and go to Canada, where he was found a position working on a farm. The primary reason Ackroyd provided for this decision was that he would be far away from any `bad influences' from his mother or that he would come across while on the streets. Emigration was increasingly being identified at that time as a highly beneficial option for children of poor parents as well as neglected, orphaned or abused children.

I construed Ackroyd's motives for being a child protection worker as centring on his evangelical beliefs, where religious action was not concerned with sacramental dues, but rather with worldly actions. In addition to this, Ackroyd's Congregationalist background attached considerable importance to notions of obedience and place within ordained hierarchies. Ackroyd seemed to me perceive himself to be in a privileged position to assist children and indeed considered it sinful to ignore the conditions of the children entering the Refuges' shelters.

By re-enacting something of the thinking processes of Ackroyd, a clearer understanding of the case workers' world emerges. Although of course it is not possible to re-enact their exact thought process, it is possible for the researcher to place themselves in the case

workers' situation to the extent of understanding something of what lay behind the 'on the page' statements. Such individuals in their shared social 'culture' and frameworks of values and understandings, although without reducing individuals to determined objects of these. In addition, as I have already noted, the feasibility of re-enacting past thought is dependent upon the existence of traces of such thoughts in the present. With the case cited above, there are indeed traces of past thinking today to which I have access. For instance, elements of the morality displayed by Ackroyd and Popplewell are still present today. My own Roman Catholic upbringing provided me with insight into some of the uncompromising moral standpoints (for instance over the unrecognition of cohabitation as a legitimate partnership, as well as the 'sinfulness' of neglecting children, alcohol abuse, etc.) as well as the compassionate side of religion which takes pity on the poor, less privileged, neglected, the vulnerable and motivation to change these 'earthly' conditions and which drives people to such work as case workers. As well as Christian attitudes, there are also traces of other understandings of the time period in which the case files were produced which still manifest themselves today, such as individualistic explanations of poverty, laying blame upon individual weaknesses and 'misfortune'.

Interaction Between Text and Reader

As reader, I had control over what I read, what I chose not to read, how to read, and what to make of what I read, but I still felt there was a degree of compulsion exerted by the archival texts over what I understood, for I did not see and understand exactly as I wanted in a unidirectional way. This constraining aspect of texts over the active reader I now discuss via some examples of archival texts which have in a sense 'compelled' me to re-assess and change my mind about fundamental aspects of my understandings of the activities of the Refuges' case workers.

For approximately a year I completely accepted the non-denominational public stance of the Refuges. Non-denominational policy was one of the organisations' founding principles expressed in its Trust Deed:

> "To receive homeless and destitute children in Manchester and Salford and district. To give immediate admission to such without distinction of creed. To provide such with suitable food, clothing, and industrial training. *To educate such in Christian teachings based on the bible only.*" (My emphasis, quoted in Edmondson, 1921, p.8)

The Refuges claimed to be firmly non-sectarian but Christian and it admitted and dealt with children who claimed to be Protestant, Anglican or uncommitted. If children claimed to be Roman Catholic they were referred to the Catholic Children's Home in Salford. There was an appearance of co-operation with the Methodist Missions, especially with Alsop's mission at Wood Street. The Refuges were so enthusiastically non-denominational that provision for Catholic boys to worship at a Catholic church was made at the Summer Camp for Poor City Boys in Southport.[21]However, this non-sectarian commitment sometimes led to confrontation as in the case of Bruce Murray, aged 10, in 1889.

Murray was given refuge on recommendation from a Blackburn Ragged School teacher, James Dixon. On his case file it was declared that his mother was dead and his father was ill in a workhouse hospital. On admission the boy and the father declared themselves Protestants, and after the papers were signed Bruce Murray was prepared for emigration to Canada. In the case file was a letter from the Blackburn Boys' Home dated March 1888. This letter tells of two priests (presumably Roman Catholic) who were seeking to find out where Murray was staying. The impression given was of fanatical priests trying to locate and presumably claim the soul of Bruce Murray: "[t]hey seem to be leaving no stone unturned to get to know". Once again the confirmation of the father as a Protestant is re-asserted. The last part of the letter urges caution over this issue to the

point of watching correspondences. If there were any further doubts, Dixon states that the parental background of the child is "dreadful" with his father lately marrying a "prostitute who is a catholic". This line about the new wife being a prostitute provides statutory powers of removal under the `immoral surroundings' clause of the 1880 Industrial Schools Act. Taking this letter at face value, and considering the often cited commitments by the Refuges to non-sectarianism, I was initially convinced of the best motives of the organisation. However, while continuing work in the archives I came across the case file of John's sister Eliza Murray. Contained in her file was another letter dated January 1889 from James Dixon, addressed to Leonard Shaw, which provided me with a new interpretation of the first letter. This second letter states that the father himself does not know the whereabouts of his son and his daughter, and that he "has annoyed us with other Catholics about the matter". The impression here is that the father is after all a catholic, contrary to the information in the first letter where he did supposedly "affirm himself to be a Protestant". The position of the Catholics seems less `strident' if the father was being denied communication with his children by an organisation not committed to his own faith.

The contents of this second letter thus led me to re-appraise one of the central policies of the Refuges. Additionally, it provided me with an insight into the bitter `battle for souls' being conducted by religious organisations at this time. Not only was there clear evidence of religious tensions in the case of Bruce Murray and his sister, there were also tensions in other cases too, for instance, the reluctance shown by the Refuges to co-operate with the Wesleyan Methodist Mission at Oldham Street (Research Diary, 1991, p.42)[22]. Even in some of the published work of the Refuges there were implicit `swipes' at competitors. Thus the story of Edmund Joules is that the "rough diamond" Joules terrorised those working at the Wood Street (primitive Methodist) Mission; however, after entering the Frances Street Refuge Joules' character was transformed and he subsequently became an

able seaman winning the Bronze Medal of the Royal Humane Society (The Christian Worker, April, 1882).

The comparison of a range of archival materials provides a number of ways of interpreting the same documents. The letter concerning Eliza Murray changed my perception about the religious rivalry of the time, so that when I looked at other archival data I could now see the religious tensions which had not been visible to me before. This change in interpretation is but one example of how the questioning process changes through any process of detailed research. When I review my research diaries now, I see things in a different way by having different interests and asking different questions. One of the primary differences in the `questions' in Collingwood's sense is that when I look at my fieldnotes now, rather than looking for cases of child abuse, I am instead interested in the ways `childhood' as a whole was interpreted, as I shall discuss in some detail regarding organisations concerned with children in the Ancoats district of Manchester in chapters 5 and 6.

Conclusion

The complex and inseparable interaction between the text and the reader is of vital importance to the development of questioning, interpreting and understanding in the research process. Readers are not passive receptacles of information; they constantly and actively question, notice, understand, interpret, re-evaluate, change their mind, fail to notice or forget. However, texts are not inert, and have a profound influence in shaping the minds of the reader, inviting the reader to ask different questions, re-assess old answers. Readers' thinking depends upon what has been learned from the experience of actively reading, and reading depends upon how readers see ourselves in the world in which we live. In this sense the activity of research is not merely `recovering the facts', for

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`facts' must exist in the minds of those perceiving them. `The facts' are highly partial and constitutive elements of a framework stitched together by the preoccupations and intellectual concerns of the researcher, not of `the past' itself. Recovery of the past thus becomes a matter closely interconnected with the intellectual autobiography of the person researching and the analytical concerns involved. In the next chapter I push these ideas further, looking at `writing the past', both by historical subjects and by researchers investigating the past.

[1] Minutes of the Manchester and Salford Ragged School Union, 30 December 1885.

[2] Manchester and Salford Sunday Ragged School Union Annual Report 1887.

[3] However, Manchester City Archives do hold records of the nearby Chorlton Board of Guardians which I found and used later in 1992.

[4] For a discussion of feminist friendship networks and behind-the-scene involvement see Levine 1990; Stanley, 1985.

[5] What Collingwood names as 'scientific' is markedly different from what other philosophers call 'scientific'. Other understandings of 'science' include positivistic, 'realist' or 'idealist' ones, which Collingwood (1946) discusses in The Idea of History.

[6] I revised my opinion about this criticism, when on reading The Idea of History again I noticed that Collingwood stressed importance of 'presuppositions'. He valued a close analysis of these 'presuppositions' as part of his arguments about the a priori nature of scientific endeavour.

[7] 25th Annual Report of the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Welfare Society, 1894, p.21.

[8] An Admission Book was a register where children on entry into the main Strangeways Refuge were booked into, with the child's name and brief details being noted.

[9] The case was largely illegible but had, for 'reason for entry', that "third time boy escaped from Wood Street ... Asked for admittance here."

[10] An institution attached to the Manchester Refuges, specifically for older boys. It specialised in providing limited skills for boys (such as carpentry, shoe-making, sea-faring) but also included inculcating 'obedience' and 'discipline' on boys with a view to a future apprenticeship or emigration. The Gordon Home also provided residence for newly released child prisoners.

[11] However, the Refuges used cases of rescuing children from 'immoral surroundings' in their publicity. Two cases were described in detail in their 1891 Annual Report and in Shaw's thirty year review written in 1900. The term 'immoral surroundings' sound a rather vague, imprecise and supercilious description of behaviour. It was nevertheless a concrete legal category used as a means of removing a child from a certain environment in the 1880 Industrial Schools Act.

[12] From entries in the Application Books, most children entered the institution via the Night and Day Shelters on their own free will. However, children came to the Refuges' attention from a variety of sources; they could be handed into their care by magistrates, brought in by the police, School Board or Sunday School teachers, by neighbours, clergymen or members of the public. The Refuges also operated street missions through the city, especially at night, searching for lost, distressed or poorly looking children.

[13] Annie MacPherson and Maria Rye had established an emigration service transporting street children from British cities to Canada in 1869. The policy of emigration received both considerable support and condemnation. It was supported by organisations such as the Refuges, Barnardos, the NSPCC. It was fiercely criticised by Andrew Doyle, a Local Government Board Official from Dublin, in 1877 for ill usage and exploitation of young children on Canadian farms.

[14] Unfortunately these Minutes of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Committee (PCC) are not available.

[15] The names of clients in the whole of this thesis are not their true names for reasons of confidentiality. see note 17 below.

[16] Not least here my own administrative experiences between the ages of 18 and 22 when I worked in civil service offices.

[17] As part of my access agreement, I am obliged not to reveal the real names of clients. I have subsequently made up pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

[18] There are a wide variety of descriptions of poor boys, written from middle class commentators such as Ellen Barlee (1863), Junius Junior (1860), Leonard Shaw (1880), Charles Russell (190). Descriptions from working class writers have hardly portrayed them in a better light; see here Arthur Laycock (1898), Ethel Carnie (1911). For a fuller discussion of children in literature see Heritage (1980) and Cunningham (1987).

[19] The Refuges workers were deeply concerned with hygiene. On entry children's clothes were fumigated, children were cleaned and presented with blue uniforms. Even on their summer camps children's clothes were fumigated (see Manchester Evening News, 12 August 1900). Given the perceived state of `ordinary' working class children, a `neglected condition' must have been serious.

[20] Although the words `foster parents' were not used, the effects were the same. Often described as "placed with a suitable family".

[21] Manchester Faces and Places, 1900, p.149,

[22] When I later finished work on the Oldham Street Missions archive, I went back to my notes on the Refuges and noticed that there were very few reported cases after 1886 where the Oldham Street Mission operated to the East of the city. This patch included the district from the Infirmary at Piccadilly to Ancoats, although the Refuges did have numerous cases from the part of the Oldham Street circuit stretching along Oxford and Peter Street. The explanation is partly because of an increased evangelising zeal by the Oldham Street Mission under the leadership of Samual Collier, William Johnson and George Evans Watson.

CHAPTER 4

WRITING THE REFUGES, WRITING THE PAST

Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the documentary processes of reading a body of archival texts, produced by case workers of the Manchester Refuges. In this chapter I focus on the process of writing about, accounting, reporting, describing and representing the archive in a form designed to communicate to other academics. When writing research, the representational power of the researcher is paramount over the researched, although the reader of the final text has in a sense the last interpretational word. I will argue that in the act of writing the writer has the power to select, reconstitute, fill-in and leave out details, and is thereby able to constitute their own hierarchy of meanings over and above those of the researched, whether these are dead historical agents or alive participants in an ethnography or survey. In short the researcher constructs, not reconstructs, not only the body of research data but also the framework of understanding used to interpret this.

The researcher-writer can attempt to limit, although not overcome, the hierarchical nature of these accounts, that of the researcher and those of the researched, by opening up the processes of reasoning behind the inclusion of some data, statements and conclusions and the exclusion of others. It is on these issues in connection with my work on the Refuges and other archives that I focus in this chapter.

Describing the thinking processes behind writing in its entirety would be impossibly long, and largely uninteresting, if by 'thinking processes' I meant my every thought, bodily sensation, mental meandering, day dream and so on. However, recognising the act of

writing as a purposeful activity of communicating *categorical* or theoretical knowledge suggests that the processes of thinking can be made both manageable and pertinent to describe. The object of writing this is to communicate not only pieces of knowledge or `facts' to other academics, but also that these are always partial and particular, what many feminists, Donna Haraway (1988) among them, has called `situated knowledges'.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the information that an archival researcher considers important is premised upon the categories of understanding and the issues of interest to those living in the present. The bulk of the information contained in the case files of the Refuges is of limited interest to a `common reader', consisting of the organisation's mundane daily notices, lists of names, information about the children, such as their ages, addresses, family background, length of stay, predicted costs, notes and reminders. Information in the archive needs to be `of interest' to me, the researcher, to attract my attention. From this interest I then make a decision as to whether I feel it is `important' or not, and if I think it is I make a note of the piece of information. The criteria of what is, or is not, `important' has its agenda set in the present. For instance, my own approach to the Refuges' archives was premised upon current social and academic concerns with child abuse, the construction of childhood and the development of child welfare institutions. When I discussed the process of reading in the previous chapter, I argued that `the facts' are highly partial and are constitutive elements of a framework woven together by the intellectual concerns and preoccupations of the researcher. For instance the concern today with HIV/AIDS has encouraged a multitude of historical studies of sexually transmitted diseases and the moral panics which surround them (see Frank Mort, 1987). In this chapter I begin by reiterating some of my current concerns which have provided shape and meaning to my research and so to this thesis, for knowledge-claims it makes are solidly embedded within my own life situation and intellectual concerns.

Beyond the general issues of representation and referentiality, I discuss in this chapter the immediate processes of writing I experienced during the course of my research. I look at the long process of writing, re-writing, the importance of note-taking, drafting and re-drafting. I argue that a discussion of the writing process is not a narcissistic indulgence, but rather provides vital clues as to how an author decides to represent their data. Another aspect of writing which is often unrecognised is the creation of `Others' in academic texts. Often in accounts of the past, the researched are described as being more `primitive', `naive', `less developed' or `less sophisticated' than those of us in the present, and this constructs the research subjects as subordinate to or of less importance than the persons, events and understandings of today. This also provides a window into some of the mechanisms of representational power, for here the researcher takes on the role of `expert' over both the researched subjects and also their own contemporaries who are not in an equal position to make their own minds up about the knowledge-claims being made by the writer. The writer has access to research `data' which others do not. Readers have only the information which the writer chooses to provide. The representation of information is almost unidirectional from the researcher to the reader, positioning the writer as `in the know'.

Finally I will argue for the importance of an understanding of the intellectual autobiography of the author in making sense of the writer's relationship to the text. I examine the ways in which my written texts are anchored to my life situation and with other `selves', both in the present and in the past. By scrutinising the way in which my research account is embedded in networks of other selves, I hope to dispense with arguments which claim that researchers can construct texts which are `mirrors' of an external reality separate from the contextualised location of the person providing this textual account.

Writing the Refuges

I have already discussed the importance of my finding specific cases of child abuse to my initial research approach. When, however, I 'wrote up' some of the archived research in my undergraduate dissertation in the spring of 1991, I used the cases simply as illustrative examples to back up assertions in my dialogue with questions of concern to me as I wrote, such as the size of the organisation, the influence of its founders, who supported and financed the organisation, how influential such people were, and what issues were considered important. I was primarily interested in child abuse and the workings of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (PCC) Committee, the case workers' motives, their ideas of about the 'causes' of abuse and how they dealt with individual cases. The cases which I found were used differently in my undergraduate dissertation compared with how I had initially read them. The cases were not used to 'make sense' of the bulk of the archival materials, but were rather treated as illustrations of clearly defined topics. That is, while of course the final piece of writing was profoundly shaped by the contents of the archive, the structure of the dissertation was based upon my 'final interpretation' of those statements I considered to be important and relevant. It was only by reading the archive and then writing my notes that I came to realise that the most commonly cited reason for abuse or neglect was alcohol abuse. I was thus able to appreciate the overwhelming support expressed by case workers for temperance.

The interests and concerns of researchers do not remain constant but change, sometimes radically, over time. By the time I wrote a Masters thesis two years after my undergraduate dissertation, my intellectual interests, concerns and preoccupations had shifted (Cockburn, 1992). I was less interested in the meanings of child abuse in the past, more in the general position of children in late Victorian and Edwardian society. This

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broader interest shifted the focus of my attention from the Refuges alone, to the Refuges as one of a number of organisations interested in the welfare and protection of children. I saw the role of the Refuges as only one, although within the north of England an important one, amongst a number concerned with children and childhood. Relatedly, I became less concerned with understanding children and childhood historically, and more with childhood as a historical construction. This change in intellectual focus had a profound effect on the nature of writing which I produced.

What is written by a researcher is also premised by what evidence there is available in the first place. For this reason I would not attempt to write a history from the perspective of the clients of children's protective agencies, as Gordon (1988) attempts to do (although I certainly attempted a reading which would be sympathetic to the clients). In the case files there is only one voice available, which is that of the case workers. Thus to re-read the content of those files from the point of view of the clients would be difficult indeed. The accounts of the case workers are pre-eminent in my fieldnotes because these are the only accounts available[1].

Researchers write mainly about the powerful, for the evidence which remains is by and large theirs. The documents may have been shaped by the practical problems which the writers faced at the moment of writing. Collingwood (1946) argues that historical study is conducted to explain practical or `real' problems which arise. In Collingwood's case in the 1930s, these problems were the dangers and threat of fascism, which provided a strong impetus for his philosophical and historical as well as political writings (Boucher, 1989). There were also other practical problems associated with the research itself. Collingwood (1939) gives the example of his experiences on archaeological digs with his father, where knowledge came about through trying to answer concrete problems such as explaining the existence of specific archaeological artefacts. The social and political problems of the

world affecting my life and thought today are extremely complex. This complexity has led some writers to argue that society has become 'post-modern' or 'late modern' (Bauman, 1992; Giddens, 1991). While these debates are both huge and beyond the purposes of this thesis, the general feelings and condition of significant social change impinges upon my life in profound ways. This is not least due to the debates around these issues on the university campuses of which I am part. The debates within sociology about post-modernism and post-structuralism have encouraged me to take an active interest in issues surrounding the production of and claims to knowledge. However, the origins of the interests I have about such questions precedes my comprehension of post-modernism. The primary influence has been my interest and involvements with issues associated with feminism. Stanley and Wise (1993) have pointed out that feminist concerns with knowledge, reflexivity, representation, foundationalism and difference pre-date more recent and apparently more 'respected' writings associated with post-modernism or post-structuralism[2], and this was certainly so concerning my own introduction to these issues.

Following from feminist concerns, I recognise child abuse to have existed and to have been closely associated with (male) power. Consequently I looked at the Refuges organisation in terms of how it provided an institutional resource for children[3], but at the same time I also attempted to be alert to the way case workers would shift blame onto women in cases of abuse[4], and particularly so when concern was expressed that mothers would bring their children up in 'immoral surroundings' (Case file 1889, Research Diary, 1991, p.40; also 1893 Case, p.61). I also appreciated the fact that the Refuges were sometimes used by women and children to protect themselves from violent husbands/fathers. Similarly, I was keenly aware of the national and local contribution by feminists to the promotion of child protection and welfare. I explored this in my Masters thesis, arguing that if looked at over a long term period, then the contribution of women, such as Frances Power Cobbe, Milicent Garrett Fawcett, Josephine Butler and others, to

the passing of child protection laws was of paramount importance (Cockburn, 1992). It is therefore interesting that I did not explore this further in my doctoral research, instead focusing on a different set of topics.

There are also other present day concerns which have influenced my interest in childhood. According to James and Prout (1990), there has been a renewed concern with children within the social sciences, which they term a 'new paradigm' in the sociological study of childhood. This movement within sociology (of which I consider my own work to be part) can also be located with wider concerns and re-evaluations of childhood within society. Children have entered the realm of public debate in a variety of ways. I already mentioned the perception of a rise in reported cases of child abuse. There has also been a growing demand for charters for children's rights. There are expressed concerns about the policing of the behaviour of children, quintessentially demonstrated during the outrages surrounding the 1993 murder of James Bulger (see James and Jenks, 1994). Finally, as Jenks (1994) has discussed, perceptions of 'the child' should be contextualised in the 'late' or 'post' modern world where individual identities are seen as increasingly fragmented and traditional identities are seen to be eroding. My research has been deeply effected by such wider debates and issues, influencing the way in which I look at child abuse, understand the case workers' concern with discipline and control. the categories of which they use, the interaction between the agency and households, and the role of the state.

Narrative and Representation

When I read my research diary, with a view to 'writing up', I was overwhelmingly concerned with establishing 'an argument' which corresponded with 'the data'. It was during this 'writing up' that I became concerned with questions of narrative, that is, a piece of writing and an argument with a beginning, middle and end. In the previous

chapter I argued that it was not possible to retrieve the past, to `resurrect' it, in Abrams' (1982) term. My research diary consists of entries, transcriptions and notes of statements in which the original writer had commented on people, events. The interpretation of this material might differ between the original writer and his or her contemporaries, but the reality of the event would be shared, although the reality may be contested, between the case worker and the client, or the case worker and other case workers. However, these statements are accounts or historiographies, not history or `telling it like it was' in a foundational way. `Narratives' have attracted a good deal of attention from philosophers, historians, literary critics and social scientists. From the largely positivist wing of the social sciences and humanities, narratives have been criticised as distorting the subject matter and imposing a falsifying narrative structure on the past (Mandelbaum, 1967), or for failing to provide an adequate covering-law explanation (Hempel, 1942, 1966). Others such as Hayden White (1978, 1987) have argued that constructing a narrative involves the "projection onto the facts of the plot structure of one or another of the genres of literary figuration" (White, 1978, p.4). Some historians have lost, abandoned or even scorned narrative explanations (Novick, 1988). White (1987) perceives modern scientists and artists as exploiting a perspective on the world that does not pretend to exhaust other descriptions or analyses. We do not look for the `current' or `real' representation of a landscape between a comparison of a Constable or a Cezanne, and so too must we not reject histories on account of their failure to represent something `real'. White argues that when choosing `what constitutes the facts', historians invokes metaphors which orders the past, present and future.

White follows Neitzche's (1975) The Use and Abuse of History in arguing that `objectivity' for the historian is the same as for an artist and is to "weave the elements into a single whole" (quoted in White, 1978, p.53). There is no disclosure of `facts' but there is a disclosure of the world of power and beauty. White argues that historians seek to

refamiliarise us with events which have been forgotten either through accident, neglect or repression. They usually choose a `traumatic' event such as a civil war, political crisis or historic `landmark'. However, he claims that histories are not about `events' but instead about possible sets of relationships which may or may not be demonstrated. These relationships are not immanent in the events themselves but in the mind of the historian reflecting upon them. The old distinctions between the `real' and the `imaginable' are as futile as the distinction between history and fiction. Similarly to Collingwood, White argues that the `actual' can only be constructed by means of the `imaginary'. Historical narratives are complex structures in which a world of experience is imagined to exist under two modes: the `real', and that which is `revealed' to have been illusory in the narrative. White concludes that historians must recognise the fictive element in their narratives to dispel notions of `correct' perceptions of the way things `really' were.

There are of course a number of ways in which researchers `impose structure' on an archival source. Firstly, as I argued above, they select the data which they consider as relevant according to their own interests and concerns. Secondly, writers draw up beginnings and closures to their accounts, and the `facts' are integrated or configured so that a unity or coherence is established. For instance my dissertation covered a certain time, 1884-1894, which made sense in relation to the argument I was making, but I doubt whether the case workers perceived these dates as a narratavised `whole' with a beginning, middle and end. Thus narrative structures are `imposed' onto accounts of the past, where relevance is applied, closure attained, and a coherence or unity is created, where in Paul Ricouer's (1984) terms, an *emplotment* of the past is achieved. Ricoeur (1991) maintains that emplotment is a synthesis of heterogeneous element. Firstly, it is a synthesis between the events or incidents which are multiple and a story which is unified and complete. Secondly, it organises together components that are as heterogeneous as unintended circumstances, discoveries, chance or planned encounters, conflictual and collaborative

encounters and unintended results. Finally, emplotment synthesises, on the one hand a succession of events that is open and theoretically indefinite; and, on the other hand, the story told presents another temporal aspect characterised by integration, culmination and closure and in relation to which a story receives a particular configuration.

Some commentators on narrative, such as Barthes (1975), Mink (1978) and Lyotard (1984), have argued that research accounts should abandon any referential claim to some form of truth or accuracy. However, I find this anti-referential argument unhelpful for making sense out of and writing about an archive, how could I relate what I have seen to others without recourse to some narrative structure? Indeed the `criticisms' of narrative offered by Barthes, Mink and Lyotard themselves constitute a highly coherent narrative. It is unavoidable to use some form of narration and according to Norman (1994) historians inevitably make some form of referential claim in their accounts. It is necessary in my view to accept the intertextual nature of the world and to focus on the formation and perpetuation of discourses speaking referentially to and about each other. Other writers have argued that narratives do not necessarily seek to achieve referential legitimacy. Gadamer (1978) argues that histories must be seen, not as simple representations of what once was, but as practically oriented attempts to reshape our effective collective understanding of the past.

Rejecting narrative as merely a clumsy `imposition' on the past does not adequately characterise the processes of doing research. Researchers select, piece together, interpret, arrange, imagine, interpolate, and so on, as part of the "dialectical character of [social] inquiry" (Ricouer, 1984, p. 73). Researchers interact dialogically with historical records, recognising the limits the records place on possible constructions of the past. Crucially, for Ricoeur, as far as historical representation is concerned, mimesis has less to do with imitation than to praxis, that is, the subject matter of history as produced. Narrative

discourse does not reflect or passively register a world already made, but rather chronicles are perceived, reflected upon, fashioned and created, in the same way that agents fashion the world to which they inherit from the past. Historical narrative serves as an index of the kinds of actions that produce the events we wish to call historical. It is precisely this indexical character of historical narrative that assures the adequacy of symbolic representations to the real events to which they speak. The narrativisation of historical events effects a symbolic representation of the processes by which human life is endowed with symbolic meaning. In this sense the writer's account is not entirely invented or imaginary but is grounded in the researcher's experiences and readings of past statements. For instance, my discussion (1992) about the influence of the Refuges throughout the North of England, particularly around the campaigns to alter employment legislation, was based upon evidential statements which I found in the archives. Furthermore written accounts of the past are evaluated by the reader, who understands that these are after all contextualised accounts. It is also important to recognise that real lives and real events do exist, even if we interpret, construct and reconstruct these accounts in a variety of ways. The recent historical writings which portray a `rosy' picture of children's participation in Victorian family life (Holman, 1988), the marginalisation of women's contributions to marital reform (Stone, 1990), or claims that the Holocaust never occurred, need to be challenged. It would be impossible to engage with these ideas without some form of narrative.

Given the unavoidable use of narratives in the representation of the historical past and present day, some have argued that narrative and narrativity as concepts of social ontology. Margaret Somers (1994) argues that it is through narrativity that we come to know and understand the social world. It is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our identities, by locating ourselves within other stories (Personal Narratives Group, 1989). Philosophers such as Alasdair MacIntyre (1981) and Charles Taylor (1989)

argue that we come to know who we are by locating ourselves or by being located within social narratives. I locate myself in the social narratives of age, class, race, gender, education and so on. This does not mean that I locate myself within these narratives in any final, constant form, as these narratives are changing both over time and between social contexts. However, despite the dynamic nature of these narratives, there is a clear narrative structure to any 'life story' I may tell about myself (Bertaux, 1981). The notion of "narrative identity" (Somers, 1994, p.605) provides flexibility in accounting for people's shifting identities and confirms the unavoidable need for narratives in making sense of not only our lives, but also of 'events' and 'processes'. However, in my view it does not sufficiently recognise social constraints, that the categories of age, race, class and gender are institutionally as well as inter-personally constituted (Scott, 1988).

The Writing of Diary to Text

Questions about narrative construction become crucial in research when 'writing up' occurs, but this is not the first time of course that researchers write. Writing is not an event but a process. Researchers, for instance, write research proposals, and letters to other people exchanging and formulating ideas. My original research proposal for both funding and acceptance onto a PhD course in Manchester preceded the time when I initially 'began' my research (i.e. when I was first registered on the course and my first grant cheque was paid). While the content of my original research proposal is very different from the final nature of my thesis, it was a significant and crucial stage of my 'writing up', if only because without initially exploring the issues, and then moving on, I would never have arrived at the position I hold now. Presumably this process will continue and in years to come I may have quite different ideas than those I discuss now.

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There is another stage of writing during the research process which has recently attracted academic attention especially from anthropologists, namely the taking of `fieldnotes' and then the use of these as `the data' that an ethnography is `of' (Sanjek, 1990). Historical researchers also make notes, and I treat these as constituting the `fieldnotes' of historical research. Thus when I worked on the Refuges' archive I took notes[5], transcribed information I thought was or might be of interest, I scribbled comments, observations, exclaimed frustrations, discussed what the information I was looking at would mean. I made connections with other texts within the Refuges' archives, or other archives, and with other literature such as contemporary commentaries, and I linked all this information with the interests and concerns of today. I expected to use my notes as *aides memoires* which would point me towards textual `evidence', stimulate memories of important points and awake my sociological imagination. My fieldnotes are not a reflection or transcription of the archive but rather an active *re-working* of the archive and my relationship to it. Keeping my fieldnotes in the form of a research diary, I was very much struck by Dorothy Sheridan's (1993) comments on people keeping diaries for the Mass-Observation archive. Like those in the Mass-Observation archive, my fieldnotes diary was at times fragmentary. My fieldnotes diary demonstrates considerable shifts in the direction of my research, it also describes the `dead-ends' I experienced during the research process, and some information which I did not develop in this thesis. Reading my fieldnotes now, there is a distinct lack of finality, the entries of each day assume another day of research to come. The entries I continue to make now also describe my research as something continuous and without end.

My research fieldnotes are refractions of social life, they document traces of lived past lives. But they are second hand recorded fragments of past occurrences, available to me through statements made by all of the `many authors' of the archive, and in my fieldnotes

they become third hand: there were events, then these were recorded by the case workers, and then re-transcribed by me during my research.

So even prior to my `writing up' the thesis itself, a complex process of reading, interpreting, writing and re-writing has taken place in the production of my fieldnotes diary, my notes from and about the investigatory process I engaged upon. As James Clifford (1990) argued about anthropological fieldnotes: "whether it is writing down, writing over, or writing up, the work of the ethnographer is intertextual, collaborative, and rhetorical" (p.68). There is no clear `leap' between the diary/fieldnotes and the writing of the final account. There are also drafts, re-drafts, formulative ideas written to colleagues in letters, or presented in academic seminars both formal and informal. The written product of any research is a construction, and does not directly reflect and convey the reality it is supposed to represent. The questions, ambiguities, complexities and sometimes contradictions expressed in the research diary (and in other places, both written and verbally expressed) are ironed out and presented in a clearly formatted, decipherable and understandable way to the reader(s) the author has in mind. As Stanley and Wise (1993) have argued:

> "[t]he specifically rhetorical means by which the complexities and confusions of research are brought to clear and definite conclusions and findings are a key element in how the `authority' of researchers is signalled to others, both to outsiders and also to other members of the researcher's particular epistemic community." (Stanley and Wise, 1993, p.219)

I continue in greater detail the discussion of fieldnotes in Chapter 6, while here I move on to issues concerned with the representation of `the other' within research accounts.

The Construction of `Others'

There has been a great deal of discussion about issues surrounding the writing, researching and representation of research subjects, since at least Hegel's (1978, 1985)

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early nineteenth century concerns with the `otherness' of the past. For Hegel (1978), our very consciousness of ourselves arises when we confront another consciousness, one external to us. The interaction portends self-knowledge through mutual recognition. However, relations between the self and other can be markedly one-sided and unequal. This, Hegel argued, occurs when the observer/self defines itself as pure `being for itself' and the other as `being for another', whereas Hegel argued that true respect and recognition occurs when the self sees itself as both being for itself and being for another. In other words, when the self sees itself as forming part of the same phenomenological universe as the other or others. Simone de Beauvoir (1949) noted the importance of men's representation of women as `other', that men portray themselves as the norm by which Others, namely women, are measured and found wanting. Women are the subjects of research and inquiry, in which the differences of women from male-as-norm are observed, noted and problematised. By problematising the differences between men and women, and subordinating everything female to male, the objectification of women is effected beyond philosophical and social scientific discourse into women's everyday lives.

Women are not the only `other'. Thus Edward Said (1978) has noted the discursive strategies used by Western writers to represent non-Western people as different and Other to the West through the construction of `exoticism', and proposes that the construction of Otherness forms part of a whole edifice of knowledge and power. Within anthropology Fabian (1983) notes that the processing of time within anthropological texts retains the cultural domination of the West, achieved through the use of `evolutionary time', in which non-Western cultures are posited as something Other, `less developed' and anachronistic, whereas anthropological texts assume a readership which believes in the `advanced' situation of Western academic culture.

Such constructions of otherness are also to be found within sociological and historical writing. The otherness of the past is also at the heart of debates surrounding the relationship between the past and present, within.

Richard Rorty (1991) among others arguing that the past (other) bears no relation to the present. Rorty does not condemn the study of the past but only what he sees as 'our' present interest in self-justification. This links with Rorty's belief in a 'future-oriented' philosophy of science where there is a distinct assumption of 'progress', where mistaken ideas of the past are best forgotten, and where the past is invoked and discussed, only to demonstrate how far 'we' have come. Charles Taylor (1985), on the other hand, takes a different approach, arguing that not only is the present shaped by the past, but that 'self-understanding' is achieved by looking at the relation of the past and the present. He says "[i]n order to understand properly what we are about, we have to understand how we got where we are" (p. 28). Taylor does not think that those in the present here an absolute and privileged standpoint. Nevertheless, he is confident that it is possible to uncover the past sufficiently that so we will come to see how constituted we are by it. I have difficulty accepting both Rorty's and Taylor's positions in their more extreme formulations. I find it unhelpful to accept the absolute dominance of the present to the exclusion of the past, as Rorty argues, or indeed the exclusively constraining nature of the past upon our present lives, as Taylor maintains.

Taylor's (1985) emphasis on the importance of the past over the present in my view must be qualified. Some aspects of the past have been forgotten and removed from the memories of all, and here there would be no written clues to bring these actions or ideas back to the attention of those in the present. People also have considerable control over their circumstances and to emphasise the structuring power of the past too greatly could devalue individual agency. When one also looks at past documents, the *alien* nature of the

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past and its distinct differences to the present world become apparent. For instance, I can only consider as alien the deep religious fervour felt by the Refuges' case workers, which was radically different to the religious feelings experienced by most people today (although I suspect some fundamentalist or evangelical Christians may hold very similar views). And; contrary to Rorty (1991), it seems to me that the past impacts on the present in a multitude of ways. While the past can only be perceived from the perspective of the present, this should not be taken to mean that the past is somehow meaningless and unimportant to the present.

Some aspects of the past impinges on the lives of those in the present in the form of 'traces'. Traces of the past exist in the form of material consequences of past activity. For instance, current social work is premised upon the physical construction of buildings, the adoption of a certain administrative system, legal precedents, the existence of other organisations, all of which were established in the past. Not only are present lives impacted upon in terms of physical surroundings, but also traces of the past impact upon the present by way of ideas and beliefs. In an earlier chapter I explored this idea of 'traces' when I looked at the possible historical understandings which would arise when thoughts of the past are used in the present[6], and it seems to me crucial in countering post-modernist ideas about the past and in establishing a firm basis for historical inquiry. Also, there is a psychological importance to historical understanding (see Carr, 1961; Marwick, 1970). People find it necessary to search for their 'historical roots', and to situate themselves within narratives which proceed from the past to the present. People can thereby locate themselves within history, and such interests can be illustrated by the enormous interest in 'family history' and tracing of family trees (Erben, 1991)[7]. History, and the study of the past, is used to answer questions about how social life has got to where it is today, to provide answers or a perspective on current social problems. In addition, at a philosophical level, contact with the past brings people of the present in

contact with the `Otherness' of the past. In Hegelian thought, people can know themselves by contact with Others, through which they can make contrasts and comparisons with other selves. When the Otherness of the past is contacted the past can be perceived as something which is both living within and alien to those in the present.

Although the past holds great sway over current lives, the past is `colonised' through the process of historiography. This provides distinct problems when writers wish to represent the past actions of others. There is the severe temptation to portray past actions from the `colonising' circumstances of the present in terms of `evolutionary' or `teleological' explanations. For instance, it could be argued that in the beginning child protection was performed by amateur religious zealots and has now progressed to the highly trained, informed and enlightened profession which it is now. Yet this attitude fails to value the past contributions of case workers. It also does not respect past Others, whose actions may be alien to the researcher but which deserve the use of the same empathic understanding which we offer to the researched who live in the present (Jurist, 1992). In this connection, it seems to me that a most impressive achievement by the Refuges' case workers was the management of custody decisions without using the courts or having a range of legal powers. Custody of children could be obtained only with the expressed wishes of the parent or guardian. One can only imagine the immense degree of skill to persuade parents of such an important decision with apparently so few failures. The case workers, it must be remembered, were operating before any clear legal, practical guidelines and had no powers of serving Place of Safety Orders (PSO) which social workers have at their disposal today. Instead, they operated on a more individual, day-to-day basis of persuading parents about what was or was not the best course of action for themselves and/or their children. Inspector Ashley wrote in 1893 that he did sometimes threaten legal action (Annual Report, 1893), but no legal custodial battles were reported, and nor did I find any in my archival research.

The power that researchers hold over `subjects' has been well discussed and attempts have been made to overcome differences of representational power. One of the most influential `methods' to overcome this imbalance attempts to provide `dialogical' accounts. Thus Rorty (1989) has argued that it is necessary to conduct dialogical accounts in all writing, in opposition to foundationalist research which takes no account of the researched and `silences' Others' voices. Rorty amongst others argues that there should instead be `conversations' within texts between the writer and the various Others which the texts are `about': there should be an exchange and sharing of viewpoints rather the positing of the writer's account over and superordinate to the voices of the Other(s). However, while challenging the `monological' claims of traditional knowledge, dialogism in my view subverts the imperatives in which judgements are to be made. If as researchers we need to maintain some referentiality of our knowledge-claims, then this requires some basis for making evaluative judgements. In the case of past case workers, establishing dialogical description would undermine any evaluations concerning various of their moral stances. Moreover, such dialogism is largely fictive, for there are limits as to what past `voices' exist, and anyway it is I the researcher who constructs `their' dialogue. Some social groups `speak' louder that others, so for instance, by using the case files I would be able to construct only a dialogue between myself and the case workers, for no other groups (such as clients and children) have sufficient `voice' within the text to enter the dialogue.

Within feminism there has been a great deal of debate around the treatment of others in academic, and other, accounts (Sawicki, 1986; Grosz, 1990; Stanley and Wise, 1993; Lennon and Whitford, 1994). The bulk of the controversy recently has been centred around an evaluation of the nature of `difference' to academic feminism. The crux of the debates centres around the challenges to middle class, white heterosexual feminist hegemony within academic feminism, with the experiences of Others (such as working-

class, lesbian, black feminists) challenged the then `mainstream' feminism within academic departments. This challenge required a re-evaluation based on the recognition of our inter-relations with others. Some feminists such as the philosopher Anne Seller (1994) have attempted to dialogically understand and represent Others, but Seller argues there additionally needs to be a recognition and analysis of the context of historical circumstances and power relationships, to avoid the relativist pluralism of abandoning concepts such as `knowledge' and `justification' and instead see these concepts as to be agreed with or contested. I found this distinction useful in order to expose my own knowledge justifications and reasons for arriving at my own propositions and arguments. It was through my engagement with and representations of the Others of the past that I became genuinely aware of my own power situation. The more I wrote, the more I came to accept that my understandings and perspectives of the past were not things that were absolute and closed, that I did not one day `know' in a final and closed sense, but rather my ideas were instead evolved through interactions with the texts of Others.

I also became aware of the change of my own institutionalised role as `expert' concerning my archival sources and children during this time-period. I realised this when I first presented a paper to fellow postgraduate students, when they asked questions about the contents of my research as if I had some exhaustive knowledge on the subject. Similarly, when I was negotiating access to the Methodist archives, the superintendent assumed that I knew about everyone and everything to do with child care at the turn of the century. I was treated very well, provided with drinks, my own room to work in, and I was asked at the end of the days I worked there about `what I had found out'. My institutionalised position, the authority of a postgraduate student, allowed me access to the data which perhaps I would not have had outside the academic establishment. Embarrassingly, I also found myself contributing to this image as I feared both loss of face and that they might change their mind about giving me access and co-operation. The

archivist at the Manchester City Archives also treated me in a privileged way over other library users tracing their family trees. She assumed my work to be `serious' and so more `important' than that of family historians; she would serve me first, look into different catalogues for information that might be of interest to me and interrupted conversation with other members of the public to help me.

However, there were I felt constraints on what I could say. At the simplest I could not `invent' my data. I felt a compelling moral responsibility to provide an account as accurate as possible which would give a reader as great an insight as possible into the contents of the archives. This was partly due to feeling an ethical duty to recount things as accurately as possible, while being at the same time aware of the problems of adopting this `realist' position. I was also constrained about what I wrote through the existence of other people writing on similar topics who would be able to `see through' any deliberate false accounting. The limit on false claims also comes from the thought that other researchers would in the future read or `check-up' the archives and would therefore see that my data was a product of a too fertile imagination or a gross mis-reading.

In short, research writers have some power over the researched and the reader. However, there are nevertheless some constraints imagined or real, which prevent researchers from writing what they like. It is in this sense that writers of sociology, history or anthropology most differ from writers of fiction, not simply the shaping of the evidence at hand. That is, there are institutional relationships which exert pressure to create a text which adheres to the referential claims as closely as possible.

Writing the `Self' into Research

Taking the above argument another step forward, my understandings, reasonings, and knowledge of the past was firmly rooted in my own circumstances. The past lives I am most interested in are closely associated with my own life as a researcher. My experiences of reading, interpreting, sense making and describing archival and `secondary' texts have unfolded through time during the development of my career. In ways the writing of my research has become autobiographical.

As I noted earlier my research fieldnotes are messy and in comparison with the original archival material, which is `tidy' and `ordered'. In fact, the very purpose of taking fieldnotes was in order that I could gain a clearer or shorter account of the data from which I would piece together a narrative which would make sense to myself, examiners and colleagues. My reading of the archive was never `complete', as I would skip texts I considered to be unimportant, was unable to decipher some of the scribbled handwriting, and presumably missed or failed to notice some pieces of information.

The process of writing has been invaluable in crystallising my thoughts and helping to make sense of my archival data. Through the purposeful activity of writing, ideas were clarified, fashioned and crafted. The thought that another person would read my words and share my ideas urged me to be clear and specific about what I was trying to communicate. Through writing this Chapter I have modified things which I originally wanted to say because I realised that this did not fit in with what I was saying earlier, or that it was not relevant at this stage, or because I had changed my mind about the reasonableness of this or that argument and so on. In ethnomethodological terms, I had begun to find `the rules' both of my archival `data' and also of writing a thesis. Such rules include keeping to a consistent line of argument, making texts legible, provide an access

for a reader to understand what I am saying by providing `cues' for an imagined reader to draw upon his or her stock of knowledge, and so on. As a writer, I reflexively contribute to the sense of the scene which is undergoing development as a sequence of events. It is for this reason that I strongly disagree with Foucault (1980) and Barthes (1977) when they argue that the author's role in the production of texts is negligible. On the contrary I have found the role of the author to be constitutive, and therefore conclude that the authorial process should be made more open for readers to make up their own minds about referential claims.

Through the research and writing processes, I have become more acutely aware of my self as one deeply embedded with those around me, both in the present (my partner, my supervisor, my friends, etc.) and with those in the past. When I write I become conscious of the intertextual nature of my own `research self'. The readers of academic texts are traditionally introduced to some of the intertextual constructs of the authors `research self' through introductory acknowledgements and citations, but also through the language of the text; for instance, the use of terms such as `governmentality', `discourses', `genealogy' or `regimes of truth' provides the reader with access to the intertextual influences of the author (for full discussion see Atkinson, 1990). At various points I have stated the major influences on my work and/y bibliography is full of references to people whose work I have found useful. Every time I read a thought-provoking piece of writing, every meeting with my supervisor, participating in some relevant seminar or conference, I became aware of changes in how I thought and its relation to my `topic'. Hardly a day goes by when I do not re-assess, confirm, challenge, clarify or re-interpret the nature of some aspect of my thesis. This process has sometime resulted in `paradigm shifts' in the Kuhnian sense (Kuhn, 1962). For instance, I originally started with a foundational belief of somehow recovering the `true meanings' of past child protection work. My initial frustrations and uncomfortableness of being personally `unable' to achieve this through some personal

deficiency gave way, after reading Stanley and Wise (1983) and other texts (notably Scott, 1988), to the position I am arguing in this thesis, which accepts the contingent and localised nature of knowledge. Thus, there was an assemblement of my `self' from academic influences, and this `self' was not a static object experiencing the world unchangingly and impartially, but was highly volatile.

Such influence was not necessarily from the `leading' or `great' names within the social sciences. It has been less through `influential' writers that I experienced changes in my research self, and more through my daily interactions amongst academic peers, my reading and writing, discussions with my supervisor and life outside of the university. It was these more intimate interactions in which ideas were shaped, rethought and re-constituted. For instance, in my fieldnotes diary (Research Diary, 1992, p.10) I describe the clarification of thoughts from the previous 9 months archival work which formed the basis of my M.Phil. thesis. In a meeting with my supervisor on 7 May 1992 I established an empirical and theoretical framework from which to begin `writing up' an M.Phil. (Cockburn, 1992). During this meeting we discussed a possible convergence between my archival work and theoretical debates within sociology around citizenship, which I could organise and locate within the context of the sexuality, education and employment of children in the nineteenth century which was the social context for the `modern' view of childhood (Hendrick, 1990). The constitution and formulation of ideas for my M.Phil. then was established in a small-scale setting in far more effective and useful way than reading an `influential text'. Similarly, my use of ethnomethodological thinking did not come entirely out of reading Garfinkel's work; instead, I developed a growing respect and valuation of ethnomethodological ideas through discussions with other students who `were ethnomethodologists'. These discussions led me to perceive the contribution that an ethnomethodological analysis could provide for my thesis, for instance regarding the way scientific, sociological or historical accounts are constructed. The notion of the indexical

nature of language was something I found useful when applied to archival statements, as a means of understanding the importance of the context and circumstance of their production. These examples are some of the many 'small interactions' which have led to considerable changes in my relationship to the research process. By acknowledging the importance of these frequently less discussed influences, I position myself as closely interconnected with many others, not just the 'leading figures' within the discipline.

These experiences with my contemporaries and the realisation of the close interconnections between people in countless ways encouraged me to be cautious of emphasising the 'great historical figures' in the past about which my research was concerned. William Edmonson's (1921) and my original account of the Manchester Refuges emphasises Richard Taylor's and especially Leonard Shaw's role as the 'leading' or 'founding' figures of the organisation. While the influence of these two men was enormous, the temptation to see the organisation as being 'of' these two men alone should be resisted for many other people played an important and influential part in the Refuges' history. Liz Stanley (1985) has discussed the importance of friendship 'networks' amongst nineteenth century feminists to the formation of Olive Schreiner's ideas; So too were Shaw's child saving plans strongly influenced by his own friendship networks.

One such network of immediate importance for the day-to-day running of the organisation was formed by the work colleagues in the Refuges, most notably Richard Bramwell Taylor, Thomas Ackroyd, James Chapman, Gilbert Kirlew, Walter Thurlow Brown and a host of workers in each of the Refuges' Homes. Shaw also became interested in children at the same time as other 'child savers' in different cities, most notably Annie MacPherson and Thomas Barnardo in Bethnal Green, Thomas Stephenson in Lambeth and Bolton, William Quarrier in Glasgow and Louise Birt in Liverpool, and there were connections between each of these people. Shaw, being concerned with children, was also

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involved in the Manchester Branch of the YMCA, along with his less well-known assistant Jane Newette, and was close friends with the YMCA's Honourable secretary Arthur Kinnaird. Within Manchester, Shaw had connections and close associations with Alfred Alsop's Wood Street Mission, Mrs MacAlpine and Annie Ireland at the Cambridge Street Mission for Young Girls and with the local Ragged School Union and School Board. Another network Shaw was involved with was the 'business elite' of Manchester, many of whom were very sympathetic to philanthropy in general, and children's protection in particular. The Refuges were particularly well supported both financially and socially by Sir Benjamin Heywood, William Atkinson, Herbert Philips and John Rylands, men very influential with other business people and amongst bourgeois Manchester social circles. Shaw was intensely evangelical by nature. By the early 1880s Shaw was a fervent supporter of American evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody, on whose visit to Manchester "thousands were turned away from his appearances at the Free Trade Hall" (The Christian Worker, 1882). This visit and tour of Manchester was arranged by Shaw himself and put Shaw in close co-operation with other evangelicals in the city, most notably Frank Crossley of the Manchester City Mission and the feminist Ellice Hopkins, who Shaw persuaded in 1881 to open a conference organised to publicise the policy of emigration.

Interestingly, women who devoted a great deal of time and effort into the organisation yet were kept out of the spotlight, and this included Shaw's and Walter Brown's wives. In fact, so little was said about them that I do not know their first names and only know them as Mrs Shaw and Mrs Brown. Both women wrote case notes, made decisions and both were renown for their "care given to those little ones most severely hurt and distresses" (quoted by an unknown case worker, my Research Diary, 1990, p.55), although their contributions seem substantial and worthy of more recognition.

Perhaps the most glaring `silence' about women in the publicity around the Refuges concerns Jane Newette. Jane Newette was actively involved in the Manchester Refuges, the YMCA and other Manchester charities. She was involved in the movement to improve workhouses in Manchester and the surrounding area. She had forged close links with Dwight Moody and the Massachusetts Children's Aid Society, in fact moving out to Massachusetts in the middle 1880s to manage the development of the Northfield Home. Within the Refuges she pushed hard in the mid 1870s for the establishment of a Girls' Home which opened in 1878 and wrote regular articles in The Christian Worker. This certainly does not sound like the workings of a supportive but peripheral woman helper, and yet she receives no discussion in Shaw's 30 year overview (Shaw, 1900) nor in Edmondson's book (Edmondson, 1921).

These circles of friends are located at a particular time, in the early 1880s. Shaw's circles of friends did not remain static but changed, both according to which social situation he was moving in - be it Refuges work, business circles, religious circles or political motivation - and also through time. By 1900 Shaw had a different circle of friends, although remained close to some of his friends from the early 1880s, most notable Thomas Ackroyd and Gilbert Kirlew. But there was also a new set of people concerned with child welfare. Henry George, John Peers Ellison, John Harrison, Edward Oldfield Junior and Joseph Ashleigh were prominent and influential in Refuges activities. The organisation became financed by John Champion Needham, who was also close friends with Shaw. Outside of the Refuges, Shaw forged close friendships with the Reverand Ambrose Pope, who helped establish the Boys Brigade in Liverpool Street, and Thomas Johnson, who was involved in a Home for Working Girls set up in Charter Street. Shaw, although not intimately connected with him, also knew Samual Collier. Collier was Superintendent of the Manchester and Salford Methodist Mission, based in Oldham Street, and he certainly had a powerful influence on children to the east of the city.

Shaw's social networks were thus diverse, widespread, dynamic and in a constant flux. Shaw's achievements with the Refuges should not be seen as those of a single person, for instead the organisation succeeded through the unacknowledged work of a great deal of people, and certainly many women and presumably a great deal of other men also, who never received recognition. I was able to apply my growing realisation of the inter-connectedness of people's selves and achievements to myself. Rather than being the `lonely researcher' ploughing through an archive and grappling with the writing process, my own life was not only closely interconnected with others in the present but also in the past. For instance, the development of my thinking about child case work in the period of my study was closely associated with the work Leonard Shaw, T.H. Ackroyd, Gilbert Kirlew, Richard Taylor of the Refuges and Samual Collier, Alfred Alsop (A. Delver), Ethel Carnie, Charles Rowley, Alan Clarke (Teddy Ashton), T.C. Horsfall, C.E.B. Russell, Alexander Devine, Frederic Shields, Emmeline Pankhurst and many others in Manchester over that period who were interested in children's welfare and protection. From this I also came to re-assess policies towards children. Thus Shaw and his associates valued less state interventionism than the NSPCC, which was formed later in 1884, apart from curbing children's employment and as a legal tool to enforce parental responsibility. By reading the effects of the Evangelist Dwight Moody on Shaw's life, I was also provided with an insight into the massive evangelism which coloured much of the `child reform movement' of the 1880s.

Conclusion

Finally here, my close association with case files has introduced me to a very private and often painful part of many people's lives. Through the case files I could read decisions, reports and plans for children's lives. I could read descriptions of the clients histories, at

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times gaze on the photographs of rescued children. I also experienced compassion, sadness, gladness and at times anger over the condition of those often tragic lives. Accepting this, I find it difficult to accept the positivist image of an objective researcher neutrally reporting data. Research is complex, continuous and rooted in the living self of the researcher. Written research texts are disparate and interactional, and become coherent through revisable narration until the `final' product appears. They should be seen not as closed, completed and final, but rather as reflexive re-presentations of the researcher's relationship to the research process.

[1] But this does not mean that clients' agency cannot be looked at or understood. As Joan Scott (1990) suggests Gordon could analyse the case workers statements closely. Scott instead argued for a different notion of agency beyond the autonomous will of individual subjects argued by Gordon. A different conception of agency posits agency and subjectivity as a discursive effect which constructs possibilities for and puts limits on specific actions undertaken by individuals and groups.

[2] The issues associated with postmodernism and the 'linguistic turn' in the humanities and social sciences had their precedents in the 1930s (for example Collingwood and Oakshott) and arguably beyond into the German neo-Kantian tradition in the last century.

[3] The second largest number of children entering the institution came in on their own free will through the Night or Day Shelter, the highest number being taken in by parents, usually a mother.

[4] With the case of Richard Mitchell (Diary, 1991, p.49) the Refuges' PCC investigator W. Barlow failed to acknowledge the good character of the boy's mother despite two letters of reference from the mother's employer, the local clergyman and the boys' ragged school teacher. The beatings (inflicted by the boy's step father) were, according to Barlow, the fault of the mother's neglect.

[5] When I refer to my fieldnotes which I call my Research Diary, I do not wish to give the impression of an organised re-writing of my research later that day, week or month. My research diary does not look like an ordered, day-to-day account. Rather it has varying degrees of organisation, for instance the first few weeks I actually typed up my work at regular times. As I progressed and became more involved in the research the re-writing became less important to me and it is now a collection of pieces of paper with scribbled notes, photo copies of pieces of data, jottings in at least four different books, two box files and a cabinet drawer of A4 paper. I have dictated things onto audio tapes, and I have collected photographs, newspaper cuttings and post cards. The 'original' writing is interspersed with comments I later added during re-readings.

[6] Ideas created in the past impinging upon us can also be illustrated when we consider the historical 'origins' of ideas such as democracy, liberalism, socialism, science and the enlightenment, religion and so on.

[7] The demands made by family historians on the archivist's time was resented. She perceived me to be doing 'serious' research (i.e. not a family historian) and would serve me first and put my requests to the top of the pile.

CHAPTER 5

READING AND RESEARCH: ANCOATS AND CHILDREN

Introduction

During the reading for my research, I found numerous references to the district of Ancoats. This was so much so that I decided it would be beneficial to focus my reading towards the district of Ancoats. I found focusing on a smaller scale helpful in making sense of the cacophony of textual representations of children and childhood in the past and it also helped narrow down my scrutiny to a more limited and manageable period of time (between around 1850 to 1914) and space. By reducing the scale of study, I did not wish to discuss fewer themes and issues than if I had a broader time scale or had extended my area of interest beyond Ancoats or Manchester. However, the degree of selection in my reading and writing was still very significant as I had to confine my thesis to a `manageable' size of 80,000 to 100,000 words. Thus while looking at a more limited social context, I felt there was a distinct advantage in that I could go into greater detail and pay more attention to the complexities and contradictions that existed.

However, in relation to the discussion in the previous four chapters, I was then confronted by a problem with how to continue with my thesis. Originally in this chapter, I had written a text adhering to `traditional' foundational approaches to knowledge and facticity. I `told it how it was'. I narrated an account about children in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Ancoats. When I first wrote this and the chapter which follows, the thesis fractured into two `halves'. On the one hand I had argued for and discussed a more reflexive and active presentation of `data', yet on the other, in the `second part' I provided a Foucauldian analysis of the activities of various institutions and their discourses about children within the district of Ancoats. In this latter discussion I presented a `closed' discussion of the research process. This

illustrates something of the pressures researchers feel to provide `finished' accounts, even while `knowing better'.

But of course, this ran against my argument in the first four chapters of the thesis. In these I here stressed the changing complexity of reading, interpreting, writing, re-reading, re-interpreting and re-rewriting during research. Yet in the original versions of chapters five and six, I wrote in terms of directly relating the contents of archival texts to the reader, with little mention of the intervening processes located in my original reading of the texts and then my writing about them. I subsequently decided to completely re-write these chapters, so as to contextualise the knowledge claims I had originally stated, doing so in a way consonant with the arguments and ideas presented and discussed in earlier chapters.

In this and the following chapter I look at some of the processes that exist `between the lines' of the original versions. Of course, I do not attempt to describe the research process in its entirety, but rather to lay open some of the major interpretations, decisions, shifts and re-interpretations that I made during my research. I expose what was buried and what was jettisoned, and exhibit to the reader the shifting intellectual concerns that I had during the reading, interpreting, writing and re-writing of these chapters and the effects these changing intellectual concerns had on the way I wrote about my research. Relatedly, I discuss how some of the practical problems associated with social research become intellectual problems, and how both practical and intellectual issues have shaped the emphases, and changes in emphases, during the research process. The order of my accounts of my research went through various temporal shifts. I also discuss the effect that the real or imagined audience to the thesis had on my writing.

In this chapter, I focus in more depth upon the relationship between reading and interpretation. The importance of reading cannot be overstated, not only in relation to

the archival and historical texts but also to my own theoretical, and thus interpretational, position. My original discussion, as I have already outlined, was influenced by the work of Foucault (1977, 1980), who argued that discourses about particular subjects and categories are highly contested by a number of institutions. These institutions may have similar aims and objectives, but each constructs their own distinctive interests and `expertise' that differentiates them from other rival institutions or groups. I do not wish to give the impression that these `knowledge claims' are clearly divided; on the contrary, in my original discussion I highlighted the inter-connection of ideas and practices between various institutions. Very often, as I discussed in the previous chapter, the inter-connections were in the form of networks of friends, colleagues and acquaintances who moved within and between the organisations, or the connections could also be in the form of shared ideas, understandings or practices, across wide geographical separations.

Children and `Cultural Missions' to Ancoats

An understanding of the process of reading is vital to the documentary method of interpretation. It is through the reading of texts that a comprehension of the past is possible. My reading of archival texts constituted the `imaginative' picture of the past in my mind. I was not there to directly `experience' the events I was interested in, so the only access I had to that time period was through the texts that were available to me. The `imaginative' picture I have of the past and my `knowledge' of the period under discussion are dependent upon what I have read. There is a close connection between reading and knowledge in relation to my changing understanding of various `cultural missions' to Ancoats children. In addition, I also explore the connections between reading and the research questions that occurred to me during my archival work.

Children at the end of the nineteenth century were the target of a type of activity which Audrey Kay (1988) calls `cultural missionary work'. I became aware of this type

of work after finding references to and being told about the Ancoats Recreation Movement, which operated in this district of Manchester from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The aim of my reading was to build up a picture of the type of mission society in existence in the late nineteenth century and then to begin to understand the action of people involved in them. The most useful way to build up this picture I found was to read about the lives of the people involved in various social activities to do with children. In the case of the `cultural missionaries', the person who was most prominent in the work in Ancoats was Charles Rowley[1]. Charles Rowley, or to be more precise my readings of the life of Rowley, provided me with a linking thread through texts scattered across the various archival sources. The bulk of the documents concerning the Ancoats Recreation Movement was not located in one particular archive or library, but was spread between three libraries - the Manchester Central Reference Library's Local Studies Unit; Manchester City Archives; and the Working Class Movement Library in Salford, in particular here the papers on Ethel Carnie, C. Allen Clarke and newspapers such as The Cooperative News, The Woman Worker and journals such as The Wheatsheaf, Teddy Ashton's Northern Weekly and Tum Fowt Sketches.

The documentary process here was different from that concerning the Manchester Refuges discussed earlier, in that, rather than reading and interpreting a body of texts, I had instead to begin with fragments and build these fragments into a more complete picture. Beginning from a reading of Rowley's life, I began to read about his social milieu. I started from his own writings in books (1904, 1905), reports, minutes, publicity, articles, letters, and journals, but I also read biographies and profiles of him by Ivor Rushton (1959) and Audrey Kay (1993) in particular. The Ancoats Recreation Movement revolved around the organisational skills of Rowley; however, it was also deeply embedded in relationships with the Bennet Street Sunday School, the Saint Paul's Literary and Education Society, the Ancoats Free Library, the Manchester Branch of the Sunday Lecture Society, the Manchester Literary Club and the

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Manchester Art Museum (which I discuss below). Also, the more I read, the more I came into contact with other significant people in Ancoats who had more to do with children and childhood than Rowley himself. Rowley was primarily interested in the education and enlightenment of working-class men, and it was instead men such as Frederick Shields, Allen Clarke (Teddy Ashton), Charles Russell and Thomas Horsfall who were directly concerned with children in Ancoats. Also women such as Ethel Carnie, the Fothergill sisters and Janet Blair either wrote for, read to or developed services directly for Ancoats children in ways far more significant for children's activities than Rowley. In fact women such as these were closely interwoven with feminist networks both nationally and across the city, and they used resources in Ancoats to develop services specifically for women and children.

The importance of Ancoats to representations of Victorian and Edwardian Manchester is undoubted. Kidd and Wyke (1993) have suggested that Ancoats "is certainly one of the most referred to parts of Manchester yet there has been little serious historical analysis of a district that, in the early Victorian period, contained over one quarter of the township's population (p.3)." Indeed Ancoats today does not attract the attention of other more `notorious' districts in Manchester such as Moss Side, Hulme or Cheetham Hill. However, in the nineteenth century Ancoats represented a great deal of the ambivalence many Victorian commentators felt about the industrial revolution in general and Manchester in particular.

Thus Engels in The Condition of the Working Class in England, written in the 1840s, declared that in Ancoats "no more injurious and demoralising method of housing the workers has yet been discovered" (p.92). W. Chambers' 1849 articles on `The Cotton Metropolis' published in the Morning Chronicle praised Ancoats:

> "Here ... you will find the truest specimens of the indigenous Lancashire
> population, and hear the truest version of the old Anglo-Saxon pronunciation.
> Ancoats, we have heard a Manchester man say, is to Manchester what
> Manchester is to England. The type of the true Lancashire spinner and weaver

lingers in its dark alleys and undrained courts in greater purity than in any of the more recent, more improved, and more healthy districts. Ancoats, is, in fact, Manchester" (Quoted in Jenkins, 1974, p. 12).

Nonetheless Chambers warned of the hidden dangers of Ancoats, the threat behind the modern veneer:

> "Many of its streets, particularly the great throughfare called Oldham Road, are magnificent in their vast proportions; but the thousands of by-lanes and squalid courts, the stacked up piles of undrained and unventilated dwellings, swarm with the coarsest and most dangerous portions of the population. Here the old and inferior mills abound; here the gin-palaces are the most magnificent, and the pawn-shops the most flourishing; here too the curse of Lancashire - the `low Irish' - Congregate by thousands; and here principally abound the cellar dwellings, and the pestilential lodging-houses, where thieves and vagrants of all kinds find shares of beds in underground recesses for a penny or twopence a night." (quoted in Jenkins, 1974, p.13)

Things had not improved by the late nineteenth century when the Rev. William Muzzell, of St. Mark's Church, Holland Street, Ancoats, complained:

> "Our atmosphere is dense with smoke, containing poison from innumerable chimneys, chemical works, and other works of an offensive nature, and this foul and lurid atmosphere has to be breathed day and night. On the north side of the parish we have the City Health Works, where the city's refuse is dealt with. Imagine this nuisance depot, where 8,000 pails of refuse are dealt with daily, where 83,000 tons are manipulated annually, which is reduced to 46,000 tons by burning, the difference between the two sets of figures being evaporated into the air we have to breathe; where decaying and corrupted animal and vegetable matter are carted ... Adjoining are the Bradford Road Gas Works, with the smells sui generis polluting the air. On the other side, we have a series of works of an offensive character, destructive to animal and vegetable life, and most injurious to buildings. These are chemical works, alum works, soap and bone works, horse-slaughtering works ... along the side of the Rochdale Canal."
> (Quoted in Manchester Faces and Places, Volume 2, 1890, p.26)

Similarly John Christian, a preacher in 1888, of the Daniel Street Wesleyan Chapel declared:

> "it would be difficult to find a place in the city or any other where the people are so miserably huddled together. Houses with a family in every room from the ground floor to the attic are found full of men, women and children, filthy in the extreme. There may be seen on any day, in the streets adjoining our hall, poor little half-starved, half-clothed children, uncared for by parents, and neglected by all."[2]

As this quotation from John Christian illustrates, these wider concerns with the condition of Ancoats soon homed in on the plight of children in this inhospitable environment. Yet this image of Ancoats simplifies the heterogeneous characteristics of the district. The census returns for 1851, for instance, indicates a wide social mix of occupations, including a large number of skilled workers, artisans and shop keepers in the district (Census Enumerators Returns, 1851), a mix which continued into the twentieth century.

As Asa Briggs' (1982) has argued, there were middle class fears that the nineteenth century separation of classes due to urban expansion might lead to civil disorder. It was in the light of this that I read about the efforts of the Ancoats Recreation Movement, whose members believed that Ancoats inhabitants' lives could be brightened and improved through the influence of literature, art and recreation. This spreading of `culture' began and continued with a missionary zeal. It was believed that through artistic cultivation and self-improvement the poor could escape their appalling conditions, a belief Rowley's biographer John Rushton (1959) called "an aesthetic approach to social problems" (p.iii).

From the Ancoats Recreation Committee Proceedings at the Working Class Movement Library in Salford, I discovered that the Committee was set up in 1882 at New Islington Hall, Ancoats. The committee members were primarily artisanal or upper working-class along with notable middle class members. The primary activities in the early years were to provide Bands to play in parks, operate a Cottage Window Gardening scheme and to open New Islington Hall's art exhibition (Ancoats Recreation Committee Proceedings, 1882). From 1882 until the formation of the Ancoats Brotherhood[3] in 1889, the Committee aimed to reform working people's taste. Lord Derby's opening address states the aims of the organisation:

"If we cannot take the people to a brighter region, then we may at least give them the chance of seeing something that is not sordid and squalid ... I say it is our duty to counter work those temptations created by the monotony of employment and to introduce such elements of a higher civilisation that may soften and refine undeveloped natures." (quoted in Kay, 1993, p.47)

Rowley's importance to the establishment of the Ancoats Recreation Movement was vital. His connections were very wide-ranging and included `high-brow' cultural circles in Manchester, in spite of his modest Ancoats background. Rowley mixed with the social milieu of those in the Sunday Lecture Society, the Royal Manchester Institution, the Manchester Literary Club, the Ruskin Society, the Whitworth and Manchester Art Galleries. The members of these organisations would intermix at soirees, concerts, *Conversaziones* and `At Homes' and such connections and networks were crucial in establishing and maintaining an ambitious society on the scale of the Ancoats Recreation Movement. The Ancoats Recreation Movement also had close connections with the Manchester Mechanics Institute, Owens College and some local trade unions. The lecture topics reflected these connections, featuring discussions on science, history, literature and art. In these circles Rowley met others such as H. Howarth, John Watts and William E.A Axon, also from modest backgrounds and who would become deeply involved in Ancoats organisations and societies. The major connecting thread that linked these numerous groupings was provided by the work of Charles Rowley.

Most of the Ancoats Recreation Movement lectures and events aimed to `elevate' the lives of working men. However, there were also attempts to provide activities for women, such as singing and cookery classes, and children were offered story-telling, but these other activities did not last long (Ancoats Recreation Committee Proceedings, 1886). Although children were not the primary targets of the Ancoats Recreation Movement, the image of the child was often, at least implicitly, present in the movement's activities. Also other related `cultural missions' in Ancoats certainly targeted its activities to include children. For example, the Brotherhood's lecture classes were aimed at adults but a great many of the lectures revolved around children

and childhood as a `social problem'. Thus its 1906 winter programme included lectures by C.E.B. Russell on `The Young Criminal' (Ancoats Recreation Committee Programme, 23 October 1906), Thomas Ackroyd on the work of the Manchester Refuges (Ancoats Recreation Committee Programme, 30 October 1906) and Thomas Johnson of Charter Street Ragged School on punishment (Ancoats Recreation Committee Programme, 20 November 1906). Similarly the Fawcett Debating Society[4] of the Ancoats Brotherhood in autumn of 1906 had nine debates, four of which concerned children; Miss M. Lees led a debate on `The Poor Law with Regard Children', Mrs Arthur Schuster on `The Use and Abuse of Corporal Punishment', Miss Coignton on `Education in America' and Mrs Bayfield on `The Social and Industrial Condition of Children' (Fawcett Debating Society Autumn Schedule, Autumn 1906). The activities that the Ancoats Brotherhood provided specifically for children were in the form of classes for singing or music.

The works of both Rushton and Kay both presented Rowley's life in terms of the Ancoats Recreation Movement. In both Rowley's life is closely inter-connected with the life of the Ancoats Recreation Movement and the Ancoats Brotherhood. The story begins (except for brief biographical introduction on his origins and influences) with the foundation of the Ancoats Recreation Movement, and his life develops alongside, then declines and ends with the folding up of the Movement after the 1914 War. While these biographies were extremely useful in providing me with a `pattern' or `overview' of texts on Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement, they did so in a way that corresponded to the `achievements' style of biographical writing. This is the kind of biography that document's the `achievements' of a person or organisation; for instance, Rowley's `background' in Rushton's biography is closely, indeed causally, related to his future achievements, such as his schoolboy knack of enthusiastically organising friends into `brotherhoods', and this is bestowed significance in the light of Rushton's later pre-occupation in explaining Rowley's achievements with the Ancoats Brotherhood.

My own readings approached Rowley in a different way, I was primarily concerned with Rowley's (and the Ancoats Recreation Movement's) attitudes to children. I was less bothered about Rowley's friendships with the Russian royal family than with the entertainments and instructions which the Recreation Movement provided for children. While I do not deny Rowley's drive, organisational skills and influence in establishing an interesting and influential organisation, these aspects of his character were of only limited interest to me. Thus other than providing a useful summary overview of the organisation, I only picked out small rather peripheral aspects of the biographies that related to children. My readings of other texts to do with the Ancoats Recreation Movement had emphasised different things and had different points of interest. Indeed, in relation to children, different people came into prominence in my reading: those people in Ancoats who had arranged things, painted or written specifically for children, such as the Fothergill sisters, Ethel Carnie, Frederick Shields and Emily Gertrude Thomson. Indeed, as I continued to read about the Ancoats Recreation Movement, I was soon convinced that it was only one of a variety of `cultural missions' to Ancoats, and that other organisations more explicitly used reading, art and literature to influence children.

Reading about the Ancoats Recreation Movement, I became increasingly interested in the lack of provision for children. The events that did concern children could not be traced back either to Rowley or to other Ancoats Recreation Movement Committee members. Yet in Ancoats at the time there were certainly a large number of `cultural' services available to local children. This encouraged a re-appraisal of the questions I was asking in my research. Rather than asking questions and searching for connections between the Ancoats Recreation Movement and children, I investigated what other organisations might have been operating in the district simultaneously. From this I then became aware of another key organisation providing substantially more services to children than the Ancoats Recreation Movement: the Manchester University Settlement.[5] The Settlement was primarily an educational establishment providing

classes and lectures for men, women and children, yet the Settlement merged with the work of Ancoats Hall (which I will discuss below) in providing Elementary school children with classes, concerts and dramatic entertainments. In addition, the Settlement organised readings, games, outings, Christmas presents, penny banks, clubs for boys, clubs for girls and field club excursions for children. There was a particular emphasis on getting children into the open air, and not only were there regular excursions to the countryside but Ancoats children were entertained in the gardens of university professors. `Recreation schools' for children operated from 5.30 to 7 o'clock weekdays and Saturday mornings in order to keep children off the streets until their working parents returned. In 1904 a `vacation school' opened for children left alone in the parental house or on the streets during the school holiday period. There were close connections between the University Settlement and the Ancoats Recreation Movement, with close collaboration between the two organisations in relation to arranging lectures and debates, but clearly a prime focus on Rowley's organisation changed to include a wider range of people and activities and specifically to include the Settlement.

The more I read about the Settlement, the more convinced I was about its relevance to children and the more impressed I was by the services offered. For instance, the Settlement took a pioneering lead in the education and well-being of disabled children, beginning with `Cripple Parties' at the Settlement in 1896. The Santa Fina Society was started in 1907 by two women residents[6], Helen Fisher and Janet Blair, to help educate disabled children in Ancoats. Santa Fina, so called after an Italian saint, developed into an `Invalid Children's Aid Association' in 1913 that was important in establishing and developing medical services for disabled children in the inter-war years (Mohr, 1991).

Santa Fina worked in association with the Manchester School Board, which began a `Physically Defective' (PD) School at Swinton in 1904. The Santa Fina arranged for special go-carts, `merlin' chairs (chairs with special arms and foot rests) and easy

access toilets. Santa Fina also established its own day school for disabled children, where special lessons were taught, a full-time nurse employed and an improved diet through school meals offered. The school opened in 1911, with 12 children, expanding to 40 children the next year (Manchester University Settlement Annual Report, 1911/12). The Manchester Education Committee moved the Santa Fina School to the New Cross district of Ancoats in 1913, where the school was renamed the `Lancastrian School'. Janet Blair, head of the Women's House, in the 1913 Annual report declared:

> "the Settlement Council have much pleasure in recording the progress of the Cripple Day School. When the school opened there was no provision in the city for the daily education of children excluded from the elementary schools by reason of their infirmities. The Manchester Education Committee have now realised the value of the work, and from June this year took over the school as one of their special schools. The initiation of this work is a piece of pioneer work with which the Settlement and especially the Santa Fina Society may well feel deep satisfaction." (quoted in Stocks, 1945, pp.43-44)

Santa Fina also offered broader services for disabled children, providing `Cripple Parties', some financial assistance, wheelchairs, handicraft classes and Convalescent holidays. From 1908 there was an expansion of interest by the Santa Fina, not just with `crippled' children, but also with children with learning disabilities, mental problems, epilepsy and suffering from blindness.

After reading about the University Settlement and reflecting upon the reading process, I became newly aware of the close and dynamic relationship between reading in the research process and the role of questions posed in that process. Reading is not just directed by set questions being asked, as if the content of the texts has no bearing on what those questions are and how they are being asked. Rather, both the types of readings and the types of questions are inseparable from each other. Through reconsidering these issues already discussed in one way in my earlier chapters, I then developed an interest in reading in another sense, as a means of `doing things with children'.

Children's Reading in Ancoats.

As I noted above, I became aware that Rowley's organisation ran in parallel with the University Settlement, operating with similar aims in Ancoats. From reading newspaper reports of council meetings, Manchester Faces and Places and Rowley's own journal,[7] I also came to realise realise that there were previous `cultural missions' to Ancoats, notably including a Free Library that opened in an old shop in Great Ancoats Street as early as 1857, with a new building being constructed in Every Street (where the Settlement building was) in 1867, designed by Alfred Waterhouse.[8] The new library contained 16,500 books and a large selection of newspapers and magazines; a full time librarian[9] appointed and a separate reading room was provided for boys[10]; and W. Arthur Jordan said of the Ancoats Free Library that "no one who frequents our free Library can have failed to notice the numbers of boys between 11 and 16 years of age who attend 2 or 3 times a week to return one book and take out another" (Odds and Ends, Vol.41, 1895, p.311). The most popular books taken out by the boys were those of G.A. Henry, who wrote novels about the wars of the British in India, Canada and the Continent, with 411 lendings; next were the novels of Jules Verne numbering 431; then Captain Maine Reid (41); then George Manville Fenn (37) (Odds and Ends, Vol.41, 1895, p.313). The elevating nature of libraries can be demonstrated by Alexander Ireland's[11] address in 1891:

Henly

"Think of the thousands of young men and women scattered among our towns, earning their honest livelihood by various trades and occupations, some of them of a very monotonous and fatiguing character - young persons, many of them, with tastes and aspirations above their humble surroundings, naturally wishing to beguile their hours of leisure in some way that will be pleasant and instructive. Here they have an ever-ready means of access to what will conduce to this end, giving them what they long for and daily look forward to - gradually leading to the formation of improved habits and tastes which will abide through life." (Quoted in Manchester Faces and Places, Vol.3, 1892)

The more I read about children in Ancoats, the more I realised the importance of reading as a cultural instrument to instruct the young into moral habits. From my reading of the archival texts, I noticed that there were distinct strategies to bridge the

huge social gulf between the classes through the encouragement of reading. Through

the widespread dispersion of books, ideas and influences could be passed on to the

poor without there being much physical contact between middle and working-class

people. From its records held in the Manchester City Archives, references in other

books and finally Joan Hassall's (1980) thesis, I became aware of the importance of the

St. Paul's Literary and Education Society. From the eighteenth century on, the

Anglican Church in Manchester had established a Literary and Education Society to

act in collaboration with local Churches and Sunday Schools. To my knowledge only

one Literary and Education Society remained into the twentieth century; this was in

Ancoats and attached to St Paul's Church, Bennet Street. This was not only a place of

instruction for over 100 years, but it also educated Charles Rowley in his youth and

became the base from which Rowley compiled his Odds and Ends journal. The task of

literature as seen by the Church, according to one member of St. Paul's, was "to bring

in the masses to its inner circle, to teach them what life is and what it was meant to be"

(Odds and Ends, Vol.28, 1882, p.143). Thus the cultivation of moral standards

through literature was a stated aim. For some, raising of standards through literature

was not something that was to be achieved through 'modern' writing Charles Rowley,

for instance, condemned much modern literature as "evil-written simplicities" and

instead Rowley argued for the return to the artistry of classical times where "we are

filled with wonder, for instance, when we go to Florence, that a city of such beauty,

with art stores of priceless blessing power, should evolve into modern work of such

astounding uselessness" (Odds and Ends, Vol.28, 1882, p.143)

Yet Rowley's view remained a minority one. Reading of all types was encouraged

by cultural reformers for very small children. The St. Paul's' Literature and Education

Society encouraged the use of fairy tales that would turn children's attention to more

cultivated questions, and George Bernard Shaw, as a visitor to the society, argued that

fairy tales provide an access point to history for children. Fairy tales, he argued, could

introduce children to notions of love, to good or bad, or to moral dangers and the

longings of the human heart (<u>Odds and Ends</u>, Vol.41, 1895, p.280). At St. Paul's fairy

tales were used didacticly in combination with the Bible in order to teach children

moral lessons. Arthur Haddon, also of the Bennet Street Sunday School, suggested

that some fairy tales and stories in scripture contain "a message which is of inestimable

value to us, if we only make use of it. If we wish to attain to righteousness: to live

noble lives, to do unto others as we would wish them do unto us; the best course we

can follow is `to train ourselves': to keep our bodies in bondage to the mind and spirit"

(Quoted in <u>Odds and Ends</u>, Vol.41, 1895, p.299).

The importance of popular literature in Manchester has been discussed by Margaret

Beetham (1985), especially after the repeal of the Stamp Acts. The Manchester

Literary Club symbolised the emergent local Manchester writing which was led by

publisher Abel Heywood, with Heywood calling for an increase in local publishing in

response to the flood of cheap London literature pouring into the city in the 1880s.

The Literary Club's members were largely self-taught from non-professional families,

such as Charles Hardwick, J.H. Nodal and Ben Brierley,[12] and who wished to

perpetuate the ethic of self-help and self-education, firmly located in the locality of

Manchester. Commitment to local culture was also manifested with an increasing

interest in Lancashire dialect expressed in Lancashire poems, stories and tales and

children's stories were written. Of particular note here was the writer C. Allen Clarke

(also known as Teddy Ashton), whose writings in <u>Teddy Ashton's Northern Weekly</u>

and <u>Tum Fowt Sketches</u> aimed to amuse and entertain but were also aimed at adults,

and there was a sharp political edge to the stories published, which discussed the social

condition of Lancashire and supported trades unions and the Independent Labour Party

(Salveson, 1987). Clarke's writings were widely read by a large number of North

Western people including many Ancoats children. Furthermore, Clarke's works

encouraged other local children's story-tellers to write such stories down and publish

them in local newspapers and periodicals. In Manchester such stories were regularly

contained in such disparate but respectable journals as <u>The Cotton Factory Times</u>, <u>The</u>

Saturday Review and Manchester City News. Clarke's writings were also at odds with Rowley's assimilationist beliefs towards the working-class. Clarke strongly valued, and often published, the stories and poems of the Lancashire men and women who he lived near, which was in marked contrast to Rowley's promotion of `high culture' to the working-class. Reading about this difference of opinion aroused caution in me as to the proclaimed homogeneity of Rowley's organisation, as the case of Ethel Carnie demonstrates.

Ethel Carnie had close connections (although often unhappy and acrimonious) with Ancoats and the Manchester University Settlement. Carnie wrote stories for adults and children and campaigned vociferously for material improvements in the lives of working-class children. Carnie's parents were weavers near Blackburn and she had a `British School' education. She began writing poems published in The Woman Worker from 1907 on, which described factory life. In her journalistic writings Carnie condemned the half-time system of educating working-class children: where "factory life has crushed the childhood ... It has ruined the health of those who would have been strong but for the long hours of unremitting toil and the evil atmosphere" (The Woman Worker, 9 March 1909, p.1). In 1909 Carnie, with the assistance of Robert Blatchford, was writing articles for such publications as The Woman Worker, The Red Letter, Horner's Weekly, Co-operative News and Woman's World. When Carnie moved to Ancoats in 1909, she devoted her time to writing stories. Such stories, published in The Wheatsheaf, contained vivid descriptions of the harshness of working-class life and especially the lives of young women. They also chronicled young working-class mothers' struggles to provide their children with `an adequate childhood'. For instance, in `The Giver' the story centres on a young mother whose husband becomes unemployed during a strike, but rather than "become a slave to thrift, it is better to give to our children" (The Wheatsheaf, December 1913, p.3), and this theme of struggling to provide for their children adequate `childhoods' reappears in `Keeping Christmas' (The Wheatsheaf, December 1911, p.4), `The Incapable' (The

Wheatsheaf, April 1914, p.2) and `The Tame Rabbit' (The Wheatsheaf, February 1914, p.2). Carnie also wrote a number of children's stories published in W.T. Stead's Books For Bairns series in 1909 and The Lamp Girl in 1911. In 1913 Carnie, as a pacifist, had enough of the nationalistic leanings of the Ancoats Brotherhood and the Settlement and moved to Crumpsall in North Manchester, writing anti-conscription tracts for the British Citizen.

After reading about all these commitments to local culture and dialect, I became increasingly perplexed by Rowley's favouring the use of classical texts and eschewing popular fiction including Lancashire dialect writings. In all the lectures, readings and `At Homes' of the Brotherhood, popular fiction in this local sense was never discussed at a formal level. However, there were people closely connected with the Brotherhood, such as Alan Clarke, Ben Brierley[13], Margaret Harkness[14] and Ethel Carnie, who were passionately involved in promoting English dialects in literature and art. These people were sharply at odds with Rowley's opposition to Lancashire dialect, something which demonstrates some of the tensions which must have existed in the Ancoats Movement. Reading and the determination of reading was a highly contested terrain in which the hearts, minds and loyalties of working-class children were the prize. There was a parallel process of my becoming aware of nineteenth century interests in the effects of reading and texts, and my understanding of the importance of reading to my own research. There were similar questions being asked by nineteenth century cultural missionaries and myself, including about the extent to which reading shapes understandings, interpretations, knowledge, ideologies and beliefs. The fact that these cultural missionaries were so acutely anxious about the quantity and quality of children's literature demonstrates the importance they attached to reading. Interest in and intertextuality of reading and the material world is not simply a twentieth century concern, but has earlier important precedents.

Children and Art in Ancoats

In the previous section I have pointed out the (almost coincidental) connection between my intellectual interest in the process of reading and the concerns with reading expressed by nineteenth and early twentieth century cultural missionaries. During my research I also became acutely aware of the concerns expressed not only about the effects of the written word on minds, but also with the effects that visual texts had. Nineteenth century reformers' concerns were classically manifest in anti-pornography campaigns, which feared the dangers visual sexual and erotic images might have on young people (Marcus, 1974). However, there was also the other side to this, the `elevating' potential of visual representation. If evil, ugliness or depravity could be visually represented, then so too could beauty, culture, civilisation and virtue equally be impressed upon people.

That working people in general, and children in particular, could be `elevated' not just through literature but also through art was a point of view clearly demonstrated by the work of the Manchester Art Museum in Ancoats. The Manchester Art Museum had very close links with Rowley's organisation, including through a close friendship between Thomas Coglan Horsfall, the leading figure behind the Art Museum, and Rowley, while other connections included an overlap of members on both committees by Axon, E. Pythian, George Milner and Nodal, while Horsfall, Milner, T.R. Wilkinson, Frank Crossley and Herbert Philips had overlapping membership not only of the Manchester Art Museum and the Ancoats Recreation Movement Committees, but also that of the Manchester Literary Club, the Sanitary Association, the Statistical Society and the local Ruskin Society. The Art Museum contained oil and water colour paintings, engravings, etchings, lithographs, chromo-lithographs, pieces of sculpture and casts. As well as fine arts, the Museum also contained industrial arts such as fabrics, wallpapers, tiles and furniture by designers such as Walter Crane and William Morris. There was also a specifically established `Children's Room' containing

illustrations of fairy tales by Crane, Caldecott and Greenaway, portraits by Ford Maddox Brown and scenes by Helen Allingham (see Handbook of the Manchester Art Museum, 1888).

For Horsfall, art would become an educator of the poor, raising them up to a higher level of humanity. As Horsfall wrote in a letter to John Ruskin in 1877:

> "I want to make art a teacher. I know that while our town children are allowed to live in filthy houses, to wear filthy clothes, to play in filthy streets, look up to a filthy sky, and love filthy parents, there can be very little in them - compared, at least, with what under different conditions there could be - that books or art can `educate'. But there still is something - far more than we have right to expect. How many of these children, when they grow up, do not become drunkards, do not beat their wives! When I see how good those already grown up are, how kind, as a rule, to each other, how tender to their children, I feel not only shame that we have left them unhelped for so long; but, too, hope, believe, that in our day we can get as many people with common kindness and common sense, to work together, as well as enable us to give to them effective help ... So long as people are helpful to each other and tender to their children, is there not something in them that art can strengthen and ennoble. Can we not find pictures, old or new, that will bring before them in beautiful forms their best feelings and thoughts?" (Quoted in Cook and Wedderburn (eds), 1909, p.278).

Horsfall was linked with the national movement for the cultural assimilation of the working-classes espoused by John Ruskin. Ruskin believed that the middle and upper classes should provide those civilising agencies that the poor city dwellers lacked, to turn the working-class `savages' into `noble savages', with education in general providing the key means here. The Manchester Art Museum, for Horsfall, was formed not only to provide a cultivating effect on the poor, but also to connect city dwellers with nature and beauty, and in particular Horsfall concentrated on exposing children to the beauty and enlightenment of art, yet another connection with Ruskin. He argued that art would enable Ancoaters:

> "to gain the power and the wish to discriminate between beauty and ugliness ...
> All the people possessed of great sensibility to beauty who are known to me
> have, in infancy, habitually seen beautiful things, especially beautiful natural
> objects, - flowers, trees, grass, birds, butterflies, clean clouds, blue sky, and

during the years in which the feelings and the mind receive their earliest impressions, have gained innumerable pleasant associations with the beautiful things amidst which they have lived. They have also very early been led by the influence of older people to notice some of the differences between beautiful and ugly things. Art, too, has very early begun to have an important part in their training. The influence of many beautiful things which they could never see reached them through pictures, and, by the same means, the influence on their thoughts and feelings of beautiful things which they sometimes saw was often renewed and strengthened." (Horsfall, 1882, p.577)

Children living in Ancoats, however, rarely "see anything in or near their homes which is beautiful. They have no chance of becoming familiar with birds and flowers, trees and grass, and ferns (Horsfall, 1882, p.579)." Thus the Museum contained many plates of wild flowers, garden flowers, butterflies, moths, trees and birds[15].

Art for Horsfall would not only expose Ancoats children to nature, but also show the better side of human nature and demonstrate social and moral values. Horsfall believed in the innate goodness of people, a goodness which might be corrupted by the wrong social conditions, but he also believed that this goodness would be revealed given the right form of instruction. Art should be didactic and teach children, who were born good, some moral, political and practical lessons. Thus the Art Museum formed close contact with the Manchester School Board, arranging for school trips to the Museum, which doubled the annual attendance at the Museum from approximately 35,500 visits in 1891 to over 77,000 in 1896 (Harrison, 1985, p.137). There was also a plan to circulate loan collections of pictures, casts and pottery to local schools[16]. Where "[e]ach thing in the collection will be provided with a clearly printed explanation, and, when this is possible, with a description of the process by which it is made. Each collection will include some good coloured pictures of common wild and garden flowers, ferns, grasses, forest trees, common birds, moths, and butterflies, and some pictures, - engravings, photographs, and even chromo-lithographs, - of such pretty places as town children see when they are out of town, - country lanes, woods, fields, farmyards, shipping, and coast scenery, - and of buildings and places and events

which they read of in the Bible and in their geographical and historical lesson-books" (Horsfall, 1882, p.579).

The Art Museum was meant to be something more than just an art gallery. It was to be a centre of rational recreation and was promoted as a `People's Parlour', where music, lectures and entertainment would be a distraction from local Public Houses and Dance Halls. This was part of a movement by the radical middle class intelligensia to connect with the working-classes nationally, and the establishment of a `People's Parlour' in Manchester was reflected in a similar organisation being established in London's East End for the London poor. The curator of the Art Museum, Henry Brooke, in his diary[17] provides an insight into the activities of the Museum Hall, describing singing and choral classes for children, and Monday and Thursday evenings set aside for music and reading for children, with Wednesdays being children's entertainment nights. Children put on performances of their own such as Red Riding Hood in 1889, and children's parties were also organised as well as regular Lantern Shows.

People who came to read to the children included Methodist University Lecturer J.G. Phythian and novelists Jessie[18] and Caroline[19] Fothergill. In 1889 there was "A complete forest of little heads around Miss [Caroline] Fothergill, all straining to hear the Tales read and to look at the pictures of the book which Miss Fothergill - good naturedly held up for them to see (Diary of Henry Brooke, 28 February 1889)." On the night of her sister Jessie's reading to the Ancoats Juvenile Society, "many of them restless and leaving the room after the first reading, but their places supplied by others who had been waiting outside (Diary of Henry Brooke, 17 February 1888)." One Wednesday, Mrs Willoughby "and daughters entertained the children this evening (with songs and readings) they were very good indeed and attentive and evidently aroused with the Scotch songs" (Diary of Henry Brooke, 2 February 1889). The entertainment and story tellings attracted the "very essence of Ancoats juvenile society" (Harrison,

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1993, p.69), which accounted for the close observation of the children's behaviour and the elements of surprise with the good behaviour expressed by Henry Brooke in his diary.

Art was not simply used to instil virtues into children but was, along with written texts, a means of persuasion and propaganda. In relation to issues surrounding children, Frederic Shields' portrayal of children was significant. Shields came to live in Manchester in the 1860s after an education at a London Mechanics' Institute and a life of tramping between Liverpool and Manchester in search of work.[20] From early in his life he had experience of being a Ragged School teacher, although he had "little patience or ability to control the very rowdy boys who frequented the classes in those days" (Edwin Gibbs, Ragged School teacher, quoted in Mills, 1912, p.51-52). Shields, although living in poverty, attended events at the Manchester School of Art where he met John Hammersley who introduced him to influential artists such as John Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Maddox Brown, Holman Hunt and Edward Burne-Jones. Shields also taught at the Winnington School for Girls. However, it was in relation to his artistry, rather than his teaching, that Shields became involved in working with children. While living in Manchester, Shields produced pictures of children living within an urban environment, such as Bobber and Kibs (Figure 1, see also sketch in Figure 2). In 1866 Shield painted One of Our Bread Watchers, the painting was completed at the time of the Royal Commission on Employment of Children which served between 1863 and 1867, a picture (Figure 3) of a young girl sitting in a rough shelter during harsh weather. Shields used this painting to raise consciousness about the condition of working children, who "were left from dawn to dusk, armed with wooden rattles, in shelters rudely constructed of gorse and hurdles, to scare birds from the newly sewn corn, a small fire being lighted on the ground ... to keep the poor little bird-watcher from freezing" (quoted in Mills, 1912, p.109). In the same year Shields completed The Bugler (Figure 4), showing a boy in an over-sized coat playing a bugle amidst a battle raging around him, which Shields also

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FIGURE 7

BOBBER AND KIBS
(1856)

Fiuure 2

A STREET STUDY

Manchester, about 1857

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Figure 3

ONE OF OUR BREAD WATCHERS

(1866)

FIGURE 4

THE BUGLER
(1866)

used to publicise children's working conditions and to support legislation restricting the employment of children. Shields' paintings were didactic representations of children, whose childhood was `lost' in the adult worlds of work, the street and war. In 1880 Rowley commissioned Shields to paint various portraits of children for the Ancoats Art Museum which were to hang in the Children's Room. Rowley hoped that Ancoats children would relish seeing pictures of children similar to themselves and through this would learn to appreciate art and high culture.

Another famous Manchester artist concerned with the position of children in society was Emily Gertrude Thomson. The local newspaper Momus[21] described Thomson as "without rival in Manchester" (Momus, 19 February 1880). Thomson was a close friend of Shields, who encouraged her to turn to design rather than painting; and it was in the field of design and in china painting that Thomson achieved national recognition. In 1888 Charles Rowley commissioned Thomson to draw sketches for children promoting his social and religious messages. Rowley, reviewing one of these drawings (Figure 5), described Thomson as "at her best when depicting the grace, innocence, and beauty of childhood .. nobody who has marked the exquisite tenderness of delineation, the sweet freshness, and the spiritual vitality of these charming figures that go direct to the heart, can doubt for one moment the kind of subjects with which she is most in sympathy" (Odds and Ends, Vol.34, 1888, pp.174-5). Again one notes the didactic quality of these pictures. Childhood here is portrayed as something special and magical, a far cry from the perceived ugly corruption of Ancoats.

In addition to the use of art in introducing Ancoats children to nature, Rowley and other cultural missionaries set out in 1888 to connect people directly with nature by promoting gardening at home. Given that most Ancoats dwellings contained no gardens, Rowley encouraged the cultivation of window-boxes for "those who languish in the blackest shadow of the great city to brighten up the homes with green leaves and fresh flowers" (Odds and Ends, Vol.34, 188, p.106). Art was used to popularise the

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FIGURE 5

Dawn is not distant,   God is still God, and
Nor is the night starless,   His faith shall not fail us,
Love is eternal!   Christ is eternal!

Dawn.
    Original Drawing
        By
            E. G. Thomson

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cultivation of window boxes, as shown in Emily Thomson's drawing 'Window Gardening in Ancoats' (Figure 6), and B.A. Redfern[22] stated that such "healthy looking, refined and lovely children and such vigorous specimens of floriculture as are there depicted are hardly typical of Ancoats life under present conditions, but let them hope with me that it is merely an anachronism, and will no longer be an anachronism after the nineteenth century" (Odds and Ends, Vol.34, 1888, p,107).

The Impact of the Visual

Such debates about art and visual images made me aware of the impact of visual images on my own research experience. Visual images have had a great effect on my research in a number of ways. Pictures shape understanding in profound ways, not simply in relation to the moving and instant pictures on television screens, but also dramatic pictures in newspapers, magazines and posters (Sontag, 1973). Businesses find it important to portray 'an image' through a logo or symbol, and it is therefore surprising that so little attention is paid to a critical appraisal of the images that researchers come into contact with. It is true that some writers, such as Berger (1972), Barthes (1977b), Baudrillard (1983) among others, have provided detailed analysis of visual representations on understandings of social phenomena. Also feminists have long pointed out the effects of the public images of women on women's everyday lives (Lovell, 1980; Rose, 1986). However, the effects of visual imagery on researchers remain marginal to research methodology debates.

The first way in which visual imagery was important to my research was the way in which nineteenth century pictures 'speak to' me in the late twentieth century. For instance, the paintings of Frederic Shields and Emily Thomson portray boldly the ideas they had as to what childhood should be, and as a twentieth century observer I could 'read into' the pictures a host of discourses surrounding the 'sacrilisation' of childhood, the juxtaposition of children and nature, the perceived 'cruelty' of an unregulated

FIGURE 6

"King Solomon
in all his Glory
was not arrayed like
one of these

Window Gardening in Ancoats

Original Drawing
By
E. G. Thomson.

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capitalist job market, and so on. This is not to suggest that visual images are in any way `superior' to written texts, but certainly written texts are not necessarily more `informative', `analytical' or `factual' than visual ones. Secondly, I found that visual images often enabled me to keep a sense of the presence of past people in my research. In particular, the often disturbing photographs taken by child rescue organisations such as the Manchester Refuges, Barnardos, or the NSPCC, ensured that I remembered that the `subjects' of my research were real people and not abstracted intellectual concepts, and lived and often suffered in ways now inaccessibly deprived. Thirdly and relatedly, photographs of people such as Rowley, Leonard Shaw, Thomas Barnardo, Samual Collier, contributed to my assessment of their characters. For instance, when looking at the photograph of the 1900 Manchester Refuges Camp Committee (Figure 7), I was aware of the `relaxed' pose of the men in the photograph, quite different from other `stiffly' formal poses of nineteenth century business people. For instance the Chairman (sic), Leonard Shaw, and the Honorary Secretary, Thomas Ackroyd, are sitting down cross legged and leaning on the table. The committee members, although standing up, seem to have no need to maintain social distances, as John Peers Ellison leans on the table where the founders are seated, also Edward Oldfield is leaning on the back of the chair where Thomas Ackroyd is seated. This photograph informed me that these were a group of men who felt relaxed in the company of each other, different from some of the very formal portraits taken at the time. Thus I was given a perspective on the kind of relationships which might have existed between the members of the organisation which was not readily available through written statements.

Fourthly and finally, pictures also describe, by providing illustrations and often telling stories of historical actions. In Figure 8, for example, the photograph shows quite the opposite of the previous portrait, with the boys standing in a pseudo-militaristic hierarchy and clothed in uniformed trousers, jackets and caps. The older boys are near the centre, often in charge of the large drums that take the centre of the photograph. At the back is the domineering banner of the Francis Street Industrial

figure 7

CAMP COMMITTEE.

Mr. L. K. Shaw, (*Chairman.*)   Mr. T. R. Ackroyd (*Hon. Sec.*)

Mr. H. George.   Mr. J. Peers Ellison.   Mr. J. B. Harrison.   Mr. E. Oldfield, Junr.

FIGURE 8

Labels on photograph: L. K. Shaw, Jas Chapman, W. T. Browne, R. B. Taylor, Thomas Wright

Banner text: BOYS REP... INDUSTRIAL... ...KERS ST... STRIKE...
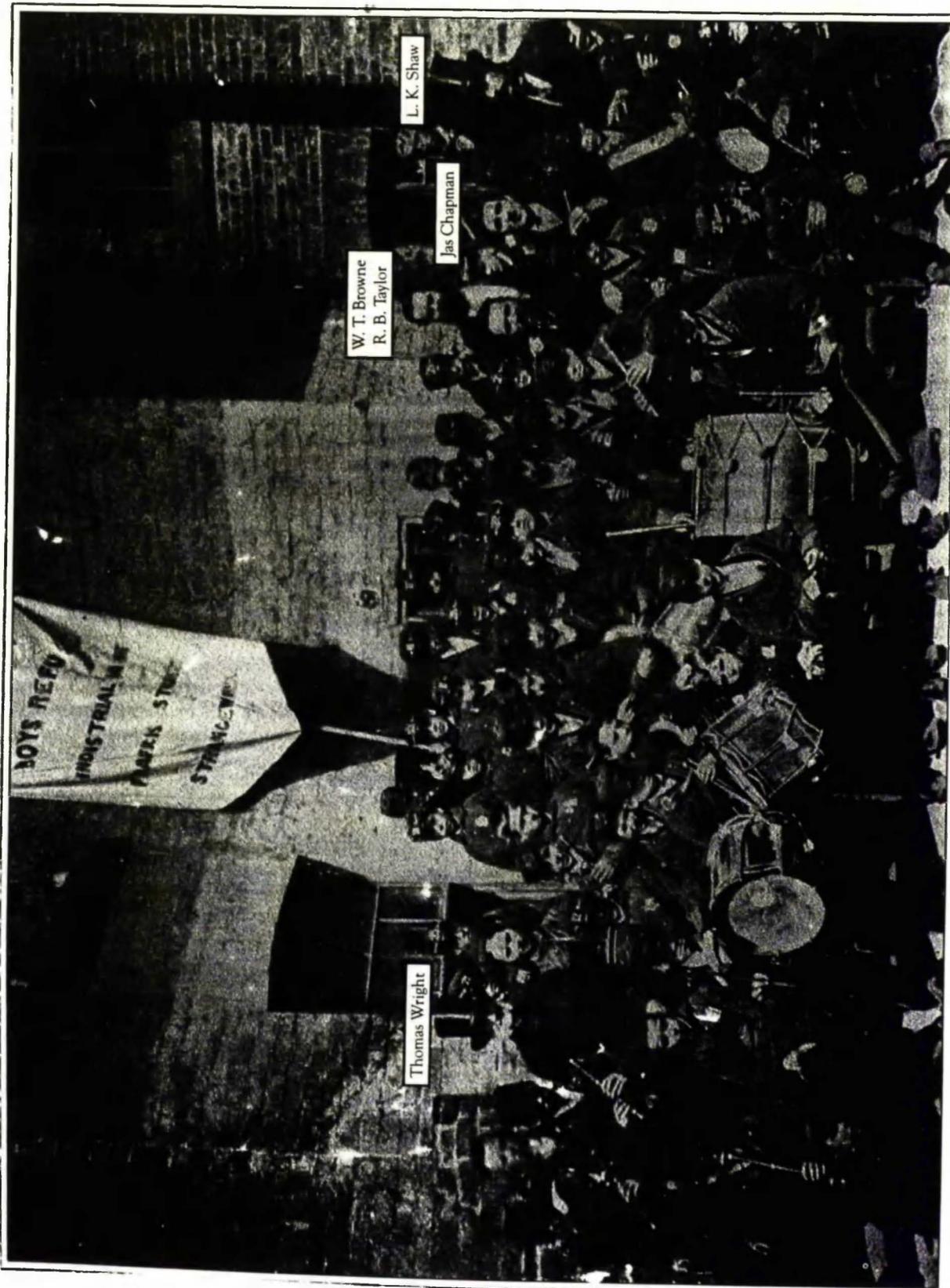
Home. In the context of this photograph, I read the reports of disciplinary problems and the description of the these Boys' Bands marching through the city streets. Also, in the case of Figure 9, originally printed in <u>The Child</u>, the work of the Lady Visitor is illustrated. The picture shows the Visiting Lady standing over three girls one scrubbing the top of the stove, another cleaning the stove grate, while the third girl sweeps up. Along the edges three boys sit watching (presumably) their sisters vigorously engaged in cleaning the stove. It demonstrates the widely different expectations of boys and girls about their respective household roles.

Such visual images are `relics' and are an important legacy of the past, and such `traces' have impacted upon my research in a number of important ways. It was, for example, vital for me to have a mental `picture' Ancoats over that period, of what Children's Clubs would have been like, of Rowley and Shaw doing things or of buildings. These mental images were modified or confirmed when I saw visual images in the form of photographs, drawings, paintings or actually going to look at the sites as they are today. Valorisisations of the importance of historiography and written texts to historical understanding in my view fail to take into account the subtle effects of visual images on the historical imagination.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that a close attention should be paid by researchers to the processes of reading. In Chapter 2 I argued that reading was central to the documentary method, while here I have looked at some of the complexities involved in reading which challenge the view that `truth' can be unproblematically retrieved from archival texts. As I have discussed, my reading played a far more interactive role in relation to my interpretation of `cultural missions' to Ancoats. While my reading was directed by my own research agenda, and I read texts, or parts of texts, which might throw light on my particular research problem and consciously chose to ignore others,

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by a serendipitous drawing on a variety of contemporary writings, my reading brought forward new and challenging information which changed my assumptions.

It was thus that I became aware of the Manchester University Settlement and the Manchester Art Museum and the importance of their roles as `cultural missionaries' to Ancoats. Further, readings about the lives and works of people such as Horsfall, Allen Clarke, and Ethel Carnie amongst others, alerted me to their importance in the lives of Ancoats children and enabled me to re-evaluate the nature of the organisation. For instance, the Ancoats Movement, rather than being homogeneously grouped around Charles Rowley's plans and aspirations, consisted also of tensions, conflicts and differences. These differences were clearly visible as I read about people such as Allen Clarke, Ethel Carnie or Margaret Harkness, who had diametrically different views about working-class assimilation than Rowley.

I here argued that _written_ texts are not the only, nor necessarily the most important, to representations of the past are available to those researching in the present. I noted the strong influence that visual images had on reading and interpretation in my research. I have also discussed another `trace' of the past, the similarity in the concerns of those I was reading about and my own intellectual puzzles concerned with reading.

As I have argued in earlier chapters, reading and writing are closely linked elements in the research process. In the next chapter I discuss the importance of note-taking and re-reading fieldnotes and the interconnectedness of both within the `writing up'.

[1] Charles Rowley was undoubtedly the chief instigator behind the Ancoats Recreation Movement. Rowley was born in 1839 at Cornwall Street, Ancoats. He was taught by father, who was himself a self-educated man, having attended the Miles Platting Mechanics' Institute. Rowley Junior began teaching at Bennet Street Sunday School, a school set up to provide religious instruction to working class children, organising whit walks, parties, celebrations, lectures and a Band of Hope (Hassall, 1986). At Bennet Street he formed close friendships with some of the teachers which "inspired him to make his first attempt at a `Brotherhood' with the `Jacobs', whose objects were the enjoyment of rambling, sociable discussion, and the intention to stick together and avoid girls" (Rushton, 1959, p.26).

[2] Quoted in the Second Annual Report of the Manchester and Salford Wesleyan Methodist Mission, 1889, p.34.

[3] The notion of a Brotherhood appealed to Rowley and in 1889 he form the Ancoats Brotherhood. The Brotherhood was primarily, although not entirely, a male middle class movement. Activities organised included `At Homes', formed Reading, Rambling and Cycling Clubs. The objects of the Brotherhood were to encourage:

"1. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man,
2. The State exists for the people who should be educated, happy and contented.
3. Love of the country, Love of the people of other countries. Convenors of all that is good. Reformers of all that is bad." (quoted in Rushton, 1959, p.88)

The task of the Brotherhood was to cultivate social feeling and encourage the pursuit of knowledge. This was in the tradition of the Working Men's College Movement of Christian Socialism (Sadler, 1924) and Working Men's Clubs (Dockray, 1927). Although the Ancoats Movement targeted specifically adult working men, children also were identified as the unfulfilled potential of the future. The 1884 Catalogue contained a quotation from Plato's Republic:

"The young citizens must not be allowed to grow up among images of evil, lest their souls assimilate the ugliness of their surroundings. Rather they should be like men living in a beautiful and healthy place: from everything that they see and hear, loveliness, like a breeze should pass into their souls." (Catalogue of the Fifth Exhibition of the Ancoats Recreation Movement, September - October, 1884, p.8)

[4] Speakers and those present at the Fawcett Debating Society were all women, under the secreteryship of Miss Compton and Miss Brierley.

[5] The Manchester University Settlement began in 1895 when C. H. Stoehr, a botanist, and Dr Annie Anderson, MD, moved into Ancoats Hall. Ancoats Hall was formerly a seat of the Moseley family and later run by the Art Museum. The Manchester University Settlement was modelled on the settlement at Toynbee Hall in East London set up by staff and students from Oxford and Cambridge Universities (Briggs and Macartney, 1984). At Toynbee Hall, Oxbridge graduates would visit the poor, run classes and clubs, take children on country or seaside excursions. Encouraged by Professor A.W. Ward, the principle of Owens College, a Settlement was established in Ancoats. The task of the Settlement was to augment responsibility towards "the claims of the poor, the sick, the suffering, the neglected, the outcast, pressing upon one another as they did in dolorous competition" (Stocks, 1945, p.5). In the Constitution the Settlement was "founded in the hope that it may become common ground on which men and women of various classes may meet in goodwill, sympathy and friendship; that the residents may learn something of the conditions of an industrial neighbourhood, and share its interests, and endeavour to live among their neighbours a simple and religious life (Ancoats Recreation Committee Annual Report, 1896/7 p.1)."

[6] Feminists became actively involved in the Settlement, and not only did leading Manchester feminists such as Alice Crompton (joint Warden), Christable Pankhurst, Eva Gore-Booth (running the `Ancoats

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Elizabethan Society') and Theresa Billington (Settlement Associate) take active and permanent interest in the movement, but also other notable feminists such as Charlotte Despard, Isabella Ford, Ellen Wilkinson, Eleanor Rathbone and Margaret Ashton participated in debates at the Toynbee or Fawcett Debating Societies (run in association with the Ancoats Brotherhood). The importance of women, particularly Mrs Humphrey Ward and Octavia Hill, to the London Settlement has been acknowledged (Sutherland, 1990). Similarly, the drive, influence and energy of the women in Manchester needs to be noted.

[7]Rowley's journal was entitled Odds and Ends, and contained not only Rowley's own writings but also other writings and pictures from Rowley's friends and acquaintances.

[8] The architect of Manchester's neo-gothic town hall.

[9] The first woman librarian appointed in the country.

[10] Although Girls were allowed to use the Boys' library.

[11] Alexander Ireland was a member of the Public Free Libraries Committee of the Manchester City Council, who took over the Ancoats Free Library in the 1860s.

[12]Caroline Fothergill and Florence Eves organised a reading and literature circles for women.

[13] Ben Brierley published Ben Brierley's Journal between 1876 and 1891, where he published fiction, poetry and articles which were of local interest.

[14] Harkness (often publishing under the name 'John Law', whose most famous novel A Manchester Shirtmaker (1890) was about the appalling work conditions of Manchester 'sweatshops'. Harkness was also an active member of the Social Democratic Front.

[15]Children's recreation had been a concern by philanthropists for some years. Herbert Philips set up a Committee for Securing Open Spaces for Recreation and was a life long Chairman and Treasurer. The Committee would buy spaces in the city which they would convert to play spaces, for instance it was the Committee for Open Spaces which helped buy the Shakespeare Garden in Ancoats. The Manchester and Salford Playing Fields Society also campaigned vigorously for the provision of open spaces for children. Even when the Manchester Corporation became responsible for parks through the Manchester Parks Committee in the 1890s, both the Committee for Securing Open Spaces for Recreation and the Playing Fields Society continued in their struggle for the provision of adequate open spaces.

[16]See also Thomas Coglan Horsfall (1884) The Use of Pictures and Other Works of Art in Elementary Schools.

[17] Diary of Henry Brooke, 1887-9.

[18]Jessie Fothergill was a famous local novelist. Jessie set her novels such as Aldyth, Healey and Temple Bar in local locations often drawing on her own observations of working class life. Her most famous novel The First Violin reached national acclaim in 1883. For more extensive biography see Mercer (1890).

[19]Caroline Fothergill was less famous than her sister Jessie, but passionately involved in the Manchester Literary Society and in the Art Museum. Not only did she read to children, but she also took Ancoats children for rambles "over the moors, along the roads, into every nook and corner of Todmorden Valley" (Black, 1906, p.189).

[20]Shields' interest in children and young people was reflected in his marriage to an uneducated 16 year old when he was 40. This social gulf and estrangement perhaps manifested itself with her tragic suicide three years later. Shields on his own death left his money to children's charities.

[21]Momus described itself in its subtitle as "an illustrated, humorous and critical paper", characterised notable figures in Manchester and attempted to bridge the gap between popularity and the arts. This was often achieved through the use of `gossip' type columns, cartoons and special features.

[22]B.A. Redfern organised the Shakespeare Garden in Ancoats. The Shakespeare Garden was cultivated from land brought by local philanthropist Herbert Philips and worked on specifically by Ancoats children.

CHAPTER 6

WRITING AND REPRESENTATION: RECONCEPTUALISING THE LOCAL STATE AND CHILDREN'S ORGANISATIONS IN ANCOATS.

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the process of writing in research in relation to a number of aspects of the way ` the local state' operated in Ancoats in respect to children. When I discuss writing, I do not however, wish to sever the process of writing from the process of reading in social research: indeed, as I have argued earlier the processes of writing, reading, re-writing and re-reading are closely and continuously interconnected. I start this chapter by looking at the process of note-taking in my research and argue that a focus on this `stage' in the research is crucial in connecting the reader with some of the interpretational decisions I made while in the archival `field. In addition to this, I demonstrate that there are analytic gains to be made by paying attention to the process of note-taking and the subsequent re-reading of my notes, in that this enabled me to think of the nature of the local state operating in Ancoats at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with respect to children. I then go on to discuss the `write-up stage'. In particular, I discuss my decision to focus on the lives and works of Alexander Devine and Charles Russell in locating my work in a time/space structure. I found that a focus on the lives of key people enabled the `narrativisation' of my research, by which it becomes more easily comprehensible to the reader of the thesis. This focus on the lives of individuals also provided me with valuable insights into the way individual lives interact with social structures, subverting the agency/structure dualism evident in much social research (Abrams, 1982). I end the chapter by focusing, not on what I wrote into my research and why I included it, but rather aspects of what I left out.

The State, Voluntary Organisations and Children in Ancoats

Reflecting on the problems of trying to make sense out my notes and the context of the construction and reconstruction of those notes is clearly important as I have written `fieldnotes' or `diaries' throughout my research[1]. From the beginning, I approached my note-taking and diary-writing as a sociologist versed in the practices and techniques of ethnography. With this (largely interpretivist) sociological background, my research notes and diaries read in parts as an `ethnography' of different libraries and archives, and they included almost as much description of the setting and the people in those settings as they did the content of the archival texts. For instance, I recorded other people who were working, especially if they were regulars there; I also described procedures used by archivists (which varied widely not only between institutions but between different archivists and librarians within each institution); I recorded my own emotional details, such as frustrations at `not going anywhere' in a particular form of enquiry; I even recorded my envy at other researchers' laptop and portable computers while I scribbled with my pencil and paper.

Attention to the way that such note-taking affects final written accounts has been neglected by historians, and the relationship between archival texts, interpretation and historiography is typically treated as unproblematic or self-evident. I wish to challenge this assumption through the example of my own research experience of writing and handling fieldnotes in archives. In relation to my thesis as a whole, paying attention to note-taking demonstrates the reflexive construction of written accounts and narratives of the past. During archival work, such note-taking is a store for information and assists the shaping and crystallisation of ideas. As Pratt (1986) has noted for anthropological note-taking:

"Fieldnotes is (sic) an intermediate step between the immediate experience of interaction and the written outcome ... no matter how much one may understand the

other, it doesn't have a certain kind of reality until it's put into fieldnotes." (Pratt, 1986, p.32)

Although there are differences in anthropological and historical fieldnotes (not least in that anthropologists' subjects are generally alive embodied people), there are useful similarities, including their use for the recording of data, the positing of ideas, and as an *aide memoir*.

By re-appraising and re-working my fieldnotes, I was able to reconstitute these reflections and fragmentary accounts into `a narrative' of various past institutional practices in Manchester in general and Ancoats in particular. The reading of my fieldnotes had twin importance, both to give me a representation of my own research, and also as a crucial stage in my sense-making of life in Ancoats 100 years ago. In this chapter I discuss how my reading and re-reading of my fieldnotes enabled me to create a distinct pictures of the past. In particular, I focus on how I formed a picture of the local state and voluntary sectors' involvement with children in Ancoats from these fieldnotes.

As with the `cultural missions' discussed in Chapter 5, there was no single set of documents in a library marked `The Local State in Ancoats', but rather my understanding and portrayal of the role of the local state was threaded together from a variety of disparate statements acquired from a number of libraries and archival holdings. The model of the local state I had in mind was less to do with lifting a reified conception from out of large volumed `histories of Manchester Corporation' (e.g. Redford, 1939, 1940), more to do with the local institutional and statutory practices of government concerning everyday life in Ancoats. These instances of government did not come straight from the primary sources, but were mediated by hunches, personal experiences, imagination and my reading of recent post-structuralist theoretical analyses of governmentality (e.g. Rose, 1990; Wickham, 1992).

In my original Chapter 6, I provided a `closed' narrative of the local state's activities in Ancoats, omitting the long and complex procedure of constituting a model and problems in the ensuing interpretation of the data. It is true that I did `back up' my assertions by providing references to archives and I do not wish to belittle the importance and necessity of academic and scholarly referencing. However, merely referencing statements, no matter how rigorous and detailed, does not reveal the processes of a researcher's interpretative activities. By not dealing with the processes of reading (as I argued in chapter 5), note-taking and interpreting the notes taken, a highly complex and protracted stage in the research process is cloaked. As Judith Aldridge (1993) argues, ignoring this intermediate stage in the research process, as most scientific and sociological literature does, is a form of "textual disembodiment" (p.54) where in the production and producer of knowledge is removed from the account. From a surveillance of my notes, I have become acutely aware of the importance of time and temporality in research. Not only am I reminded of the last three years of my life stretching behind me, but I am also made aware of the ways in which I have stitched together, arranged and re-arranged the textual statements written at various periods during the research process as though these took place in a single temporal order. Most research reports and statements are arranged and organised into neat accounts, divorced from the time and place of their production. It is the production of such disembodied `end products' of research that Paul Atkinson has in mind when he describes the "poetics" of ethnographic writing (Atkinson, 1990, P.3) and is something I want to scrutinise in this chapter.

Thus in this version of Chapter 6, I discuss the role of my research diary/fieldnotes in relation to a particular theme in my original draft, that of the role of the local state concerning children. Originally I offered a description of the state's activities towards children via reference to various `sources'. However, what was omitted was an account of how I built up my interpretive understanding of the local state's activities regarding

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children. In what follows I illustrate how an interpretive and creative reading and use of my research diary/fieldnotes constituted my understanding of the local state's activities. In doing this I wish to emphasise the *constructive* nature of social research, which does not directly reflect the reality it seems to represent. I also demonstrate with reference to specific examples the vital role of fieldnotes in constructing narratives in academic accounts. Furthermore, by `exposing' the complexities, ambiguities and occasionally contradictions within my research diary/fieldnotes, a valuable insight is provided into the highly complex nature of the past social life I investigate.

Chaotic Notes, Ordered World

The impression that a newcomer would gain from reading recent history and historical sociology is of research being conducted in response to existing historiography or theoretical insights. However, while a reading of the existing literature was vital to me in providing a broad map or grid around which I attempted to plot the archival texts I dealt with, `the literature' fell short of providing a thorough or adequate explanations of the local state's role in child protection practices in late nineteenth century Manchester. My fieldnotes contain many questions and puzzles I came across within the textual field of the archives. Fieldnotes are produced at a stage in the research process where the researcher feels "ambiguity, a dissolution of most or all categories and classifications, role reversals, a suspension of numerous rules and a period of seclusion" (Turner, 1974, p.12). During this "liminal period" (Jackson, 1990, p.9) ideas are fresh and closely tied to the context of their production and only later, during the `writing up' period, are these notes are shaped into a coherent narrative form. As I discussed in Chapter 3, my initial interest was with issues surrounding child abuse, and it was in this area that I noticed the local state becoming increasingly involved. During my early research I was struck by a recurrent question as to why local school board officers and Ragged School teachers, council officials and local

child rescue organisations were less concerned with supporting legislation proposing legal interventions in cases of child abuse, but much more concerned with curtailing children's employment. In particular, I noted in Chapter 3, I was puzzled by the only moderate support given to the 1889 and 1892 Prevention of Cruelty to Children (PCC) Acts, chiefly sponsored by the NSPCC. If the existing literature (Behlmer, 1982; Ferguson, 1990,1992) and sociological theories (Foucault, 1977; Donzelot, 1980)) are to be believed , there was no systematic child protection practices prior to the late 1880s legislation. I attempted to answer these puzzles by reinterpreting both the archival texts and the present-day commentaries. As I came to realise, there was in fact a long tried and practised child protection policy in operation prior even to the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act (Cockburn, 1995), let alone the 1889 and 1892 Acts.

If the existing models and of commentaries on the local state were inadequate for my investigation into Ancoats, I had to build up my own blueprint of institutional practices. I began by looking at what pieces of legislation school board officers, local government officials and voluntary organisations used in their day-to-day activities. By looking through my research notes *post hoc*, I noticed, even from the 1890s, a regular invocation of legislation other than the PCC Acts or the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885. The major piece of legislation used by child protection organisations prior to 1889 was the Industrial Schools Act of 1868, which permitted that "any person may bring before two justices or a magistrate any child apparently under the age of fourteen years that comes within any of the following descriptions, namely: That is found begging or receiving alms ... that is found wandering ... that is, found destitute ... that frequents the company of reputed thieves" (quoted in Pugh, 1980, p.8). This wide-ranging piece of legislation was invoked regularly, although rarely actually enforced, by school board officers and child protection workers throughout the 1870s. The state, as in earlier legislation to curtail children's employment in factories, intervened to act as parents in *loco parentis* where

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parents were failing to provide for the physical, mental and moral welfare of their offspring. My sense of the importance of the 1868 Industrial Schools Act was reinforced when I later read my notes of the 1867 transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS)[2], where Edward Allworthy MP argued that:

"those who visit the homes of the poor witnessed scenes of misery indescribable - children huddled together in cellars and garrets irrespective of age or sex, often without light or heat, a little straw for beds, and a few rags to cover their nakedness. The natural result of their parents' neglect was infant mortality and enfeebled bodies, while their surroundings and want of education inclined them to all evil; but, beyond all this, thousands of parents trained their children to plunder society and prostituted them to the most vicious courses. Here, then, was the prolific source of crime, disease and death; and yet the State had hitherto acted on the principle of non-intervention. If the natural parents were so insensible to their duty, the State should step in and take their place." (NAPSS Transactions, 1867, p.296)

After reading these debates and concerns about the welfare of children in NAPSS transactions, I became intrigued as to how government authorities had treated children prior to the passing of the Industrial Schools Act in 1868. The local authorities in Manchester were concerned with the plight of vulnerable children from an even earlier date. The situation of children was the object of reform from at least the 1820s, when women such as Elizabeth Fry campaigned for children to be separated from adults in workhouses (Hollis, 1987). From newspaper and journal articles, I was aware that the Swinton School in Manchester had long stood as the symbol of the Manchester authorities' concern with the plight of poor children. The education of pauper children was seen as one of the best ways to protect children from the corruption of adult paupers. It was also believed that education would equip children to be able to support themselves and not be a burden on the state. One contributor to Manchester Faces and Places as late as 1896 declared that:

"it frequently happens that children who daily see the shiftless and hopeless life led by their parents, grow up equally indifferent - if indeed, they have, which is doubtful, knowledge of anything better. That such children should be provided with a moral and physical training that shall tend to eradicate the ill-effects of their early

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experiences, and, at the same time, be furnished with an education to fit them for useful positions in later life, is freely admitted; but the accomplishment of these desirable ends is difficult of attainment." (Manchester Faces and Places, 1896, p.20)

By the 1860s only a few numbers of Poor Law Schools existed, as unions were only allowed to establish schools under the 1848 Poor Law (Schools) Act. Manchester was one of those unions that pressed ahead in establishing these special schools, even ahead of the 1848 Act, by building the Swinton School in 1845 and commencing to build two more Poor Law Schools at Monsall and Ardwick.

From my fieldnotes I made connections between different organisations and then found out more about particular institutions. The Annual Reports of the Manchester Local Government Board continued to praise the Swinton School as the pride of Manchester Board of Guardians. I found Swinton's reputation praised in other literature such as Hopkins' citation of Charles Dickens who, in Household Words, described Swinton:

> "We went into the play-ground of the junior department, where more than a hundred and fifty children were assembled. Some were enjoying themselves in the sunshine, some were playing at marbles, others were frisking cheerfully. These children ranged from 4 to 7 years of age. There were some as young as a year and a half in the school. The greater number were congregated at one end of the yard, earnestly watching the proceedings of the master who was giving fresh water to three starlings in cages that stood on the gravel." (quoted in Hopkins, 1994, p.180)

The schools also included Catholic[3] and Protestant Chapels and playgrounds. But Swinton did not just meet the approval of the established religions, Robert Blatchford of The Clarion also praised Swinton during his visit in 1892 noticing "there are over 600 boys and girls, varying in ages from three to fourteen ... The children are well fed, well, clothed, well housed, well taught and well treated (The Clarion, 10th September 1892)."

The importance of the intermediary role of my fieldnotes can be demonstrated when considering these statements. My fieldnotes provided me with a connection between the

Swinton Schools and a widespread approval of that school. Blatchford's approval I found in my notes of my work on <u>The Clarion</u> collection at the Working Class Movement Library in Salford in February 1992; the Catholic Church's approval I noticed while researching the Catholic Church's interest in children about a year later. Thus it was through reading my fieldnotes as an information source in its own right that I came to bring these things, researched at different times in different places, together. Bishop Manning's campaign to open a Catholic Chapel in Swinton, however, contrasted the host of corroborating statements as to the efficacy and humane treatment of children in this institution, with Roman Catholic agitation for religious parity. Fieldnotes contain confusing and often contradictory information, not necessarily because of `poor' or `unfinished' research, but because the social world it is trying to reflect is also often complex and contradictory. The structuring of the social world within research accounts occurs in the writing stage, where, as Paul Atkinson (1990) notes, the order and patterning happens in the narrative construction of `writing-up'. However, `writing-up' is not a single stage, and it has acted as a check on my producing a simple narrative by tying me to the messiness of daily data, where complexities become a <u>valuable</u> research resource generating interesting questions rather than being an `inconvenience'.

Fieldnotes and the Historical Imagination

My interest in the Manchester Poor Law Guardians was complicated by the fact that their archives were lost during the Second World War, which inhibited the amount of information I had access to concerning their treatment of children in general as well as in Ancoats in particular. Yet the Manchester Board of Guardians received enough comment within other sources to enable me to gain some interesting insights into the operation of the organisation. These comments were processed and organised by gathering together

material primarily concerned with other institutions, groups and activities. Thus despite the increasing number of residential Poor Law institutions for children in Swinton, Monsall and Ardwick, I noticed there was also a conflicting move to end the institutional confinement of children. From looking at the neighbouring Chorlton Board of Guardians[4] archives of the 1890s, it seemed there were objections to the residential confinement of children in workhouses after regular outbreaks of opthalmia and ringworm within Workhouse institutions. These objections came from a number of elected officials on the boards, spanning feminists such as Emmeline Pankhurst, medical practitioners such as Dr Nolan and Dr Doherty, and clergy such as Rev T. Horne. James Stanhope-Brown (1989) in his discussion of the Chorlton Guardians refers to the particular opposition by Emmeline Pankhurst and Doctor John Milson Rhodes to the institutional confinement of poor children. Opposition was also voiced in letters to the Manchester press to the institutional confinement of children within the workhouses of Manchester[5], not least by conservative commentators arguing that such mixing might lead to the `transmission' of bad habits and indolence from older paupers to the young[6].

The authorities in reacting to this pressure had two options open to them. The first and most expensive option was to provide out-door relief to poor families with children from the Rates. Comments made to the Poor Law Commission of 1907 demonstrate that out-door relief in Manchester was far from generous or successful in making dents in the problems of poverty. In the Poor Law Commission Report of 1907, one investigator's visit to Ancoats stated that the "children are under-nourished, many of them poorly dressed, and many barefooted. The houses are bare of furniture, for there is not sufficient money to buy sufficient food or boots, and any extra expense has to be met by selling or pawning furniture" (Webb and Webb, 1923, pp.507-8). It was cited that 16 per cent of total paupers (receiving outdoor relief) were children, four-fifths being children of widows, one

eighth of deserted wife or prisoners wives. In less than one-sixth of the cases there was no father at home and thus these was a whole reliance on the income of mothers or children[7].

The second option was comparatively cheaper and involved the Manchester Board of Guardians accelerating its efforts to remove as many children from residential institutions. Thus Manchester, in conjunction with South Manchester and Chorlton unions, encouraged a programme of emigration for its young inmates, where Mr Stephens of the Manchester Guardians assured the children of "a land full of promise and opportunity and unlimited sunshine" (quoted in Stanhope-Brown, 1989, chapter 8). The Guardians used the Manchester Refuges as a conduit in this policy, moving children from workhouses and cottage homes to either the Central Refuge Home in Strangeways or Rosen Hellas training Home for Girls. On the day the boys were to leave for Canada, the Manchester Guardian described:

> "Breakfast, a packed lunch and inspection parade, and finally the trek across Manchester Cathedral and Chethams School as they walked in the direction of Deansgate. People stopped to stare as the marching boys walked up John Dalton Street to Albert Square ... After filing into the Great Hall of the Town Hall, the boys were stood to attention whilst his worship gave a speech and then handed each boy a new silver shilling. In the wake of all farewells, the boys continued their short journey across Peter Street and on to the Platform of Central Station." (Manchester Guardian, 15 March 1908).

This shilling from the Mayor, in addition to a `gift' from the Guardians of "a suitcase, change of warm clothes and prayer book", was all the boys had to start a new life in Canada.

Thus from a reading of my fieldnotes I was able to arrange, reshuffle and collate moments in the research process and arrange them into `coherent' narratives about aspects of local government policy. This arrangement of fieldnotes does not mean a presentation of statements which is directly referential to any objective `facts', but consists more in an

ordering, sense-making and interpretative exercise to provide clues and coherence to my research project. From this process, I was able to develop a picture of the activities of the Manchester Poor Law Authorities and so understand vital policy decisions made by board members. But I also found that the Poor Law Guardians were not the only form of local governance over this period. The nineteenth century also witnessed the rise of municipal politics exemplified by the building of neo-Gothic Town Halls in most northern English towns and cities including Manchester. It was the local corporation and the pressure groups which grew up around it that I found to have had an increasing impact on the lives of children in Ancoats.

Notes and the Construction of Narrative

Growing throughout the period under study, and now synonymous with local government in this area is the Manchester Corporation or Council. In the period I am concerned with this adopted an increasingly interventionist role in the lives of Manchester people, including children. My understanding of the role of the Manchester Corporation on the lives of children was shaped by my fieldnotes and by reading previous historiography. However, the entity called 'Manchester Corporation' and its acts of governance towards children was built up from reflections and an identification of topics for study within my enquiry. I will now illustrate some of the operations of the local state as thus constituted through three other fields of focus in my research: local Manchester hygienists, feminists, and local voluntary organisations. Each of these 'topics' described and categorised in my fieldnotes provided me with a (slightly different) way of understanding the local state's changing role in children's lives. History books about the Manchester Corporation (e.g. Simon, 1938; Redford, 1939-40) rarely mention its role in relation to children, even though its actions regarding children are illustrative of the increasing impact the Corporation had on the lives of Manchester people more generally.

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Hygienists and the State

I came to an understanding of the Manchester Corporation through the commentary of another voluntary organisation, the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association (MSSA) and the attached Ladies Visitation Society (LVS). Initially I focused on the Corporation's policies towards the hygiene of the environment in which working-class children lived. I identified the corporation's response to high infant mortality rates, facilities such as baths, washouses, laundrettes, regulation of water and milk supplies, as an important aspect in children's lives. Furthermore, in recognition of the MSSA's interests, I also identified the Corporation's housing policies and leisure facilities as being a vital function of local government services. I was following the work of Nikolas Rose (1990) here, aware of the effects these services would have on the surveillance and control or governance of the young population, for I did not want to describe a historical account which was only aware of the `progressive' benefits that the extension of the local state would have on Ancoats and Manchester people.

The MSSA was founded in 1852, and consisted of an alliance of medical men, chemists, clergymen, business leaders and establishment figures (Ryan, 1973). The role of the MSSA was varied. It was partly an organisation committed to spread issues of health education to the poor, campaign for improvements in the environment and other medical concerns. The MSSA consistently expressed concern about the hygienic circumstances in which the working-class lived. In relation to children, particular attention was paid to the massive killers of whooping cough, diarrhoea, measles and bronchitis. The MSSA applied pressure for adequate and affordable medical services to be provided by infirmaries the Infirmaries to the poor. It also lobbied the Manchester Corporation to provide wash houses, sanitation, clean water and open spaces. The MSSA reports and annual

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conferences provided a detailed commentary on the activities of the Manchester Corporation in relation to their sanitary and environmental policies. Central to the MSSA's concerns was the condition of working-class children in the poor districts of Manchester. The Manchester Corporation was increasingly drawn into the lives of children through the regulation of their environmental conditions. By the twentieth century, the death rate in Manchester had declined dramatically from 39 per 1,000 in 1852, to 27 in 1890, to 21.6 in 1902 (Manchester Courier, 2 April 1902). While some diseases were on the decline, however, the infant mortality rate remained obstinately high. The Manchester Corporation responded to these high rates of infant mortality, and it was the first local authority to employ (6 full-time and 8 part-time) sanitary visitors in 1890 (Pickstone, 1985). The Corporation purposefully employed working-class visitors, who would presumably relate better to poor mothers of newly born babies, including those in workhouses, and the visitors also monitored tuberculosis cases. From 1902, all midwives had to be registered with a local authority and the Manchester Corporation employed a woman doctor, Dr Margaret Merry Smith, to supervise them. In addition to this, the Ladies Visitation Society also employed health visitors who received lists of newly born children who had to be visited daily.

From newspaper accounts and MSSA reports, I was thus able to build up a picture of the local state's activities from the perspective of a different organisation. The notes I originally took focused directly on the work of the MSSA and the LVS. However, it was through reflecting on this work by reading my fieldnotes that I became aware of the growing influence of the Manchester Corporation. A brief scribble in my research diary noted:

> "Horsfall, T.C. Marr, Fred Scott, Brockelhurst, Rowley, Axon, all on the Manchester Corporation Sanitation Committee as well as MSSA. Illustrates strong influence of the voluntary sector ... but MSSA now acting as a pressure group

towards the council rather than being the provider of services." (Research Diary, 1994, p18)

In 1901 the Manchester Corporation opened its first Public Washouse at New Islington, Ancoats. The plan was to dispense with women's `family washday' and instead women could bring their families to the washouse to wash themselves, their children and their clothes for three half pennies per mother. The Baths were fitted with the latest designed appliances for washing clothes (Manchester Guardian, 30 May 1902). The Corporation under the guidance of its Baths Committee[8] attempted to set up washouses across Manchester. However, the idea was withdrawn when it was realised that `professional' washerwomen would utilise the public facilities to bring in private work. The original idea of the Ladies Visitation Society was to construct a network of Cottage Washouses across the city, which were piloted in Ancoats and Hulme, although the network never really developed.

The council was increasingly cited as providing leisure facilities for children and young people. By the turn of the century Alderman Walton Smith, chairman of the Manchester Corporation Sanitary Committee, called upon the working-classes of Manchester to utilise the Corporation facilities and "train their children to use ... all places of wholesome recreation, museums, picture galleries, concert rooms, gymnasium, swimming baths, fives-courts, playgrounds, botanical gardens, drill grounds, and shooting ranges as fully as possible (Manchester Guardian, 15 March 1908)." Each of these facilities were either built, financed or run by the Manchester Corporation.

The Council was also pressed to save children from the effects of overcrowding. T.C Horsfall argued that the "one remedy for the existing overcrowding of houses, and the one means of preventing new houses from being overcrowded, was the adoption of the local authorities of a standard of population for a given surface, not only of floor space, but also

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of the surface of the earth, which should in no case be exceeded; the establishment of a system of careful inspection of all inhabited buildings, for the purpose of ascertaining that the standard was not exceeded, and of a system of police authority for removing all discovered excess of population, with the wise, unhesitating firmness of a surgeon operating for cancer" (Horsfall, 1901, p.1). Horsfall's experiences of dirty, cramped and noxious Ancoats incited him to write:

> "We need a system which will begin at once to supply Manchester with at least ten thousand new houses with wholesome environment, that is, built with intervals between the houses, on streets wider than those which we now create in new parts of the town, and of which each of the less wide shall open into a wide street - some of wide streets to be planted with trees - built according to a carefully-prepared plan which provides a small play-ground within easy reach of every group of houses, and a planted open space, large enough and attractive enough to tempt persons who are too old to play games, to seek in it often the fresh air, the change of scene, the sight of vegetation, needed by all dwellers in towns." (Horsfall, 1893, p.4)

The local Corporation was being identified as having responsibility for the condition of housing within Manchester, and calls were made to provide local government with the power and autonomy from Westminster to formalise this. This boosting of the standing of Corporate Manchester was seized upon by leading Councillors. For instance, Frank Brockelhurst declared in 1902:

> "There must be an authority in every town which is able to make plans for the proper laying out of streets and open spaces ... an authority well-informed respecting the needs of the community ... and possessed of the power and the will to compel all who build to comply with its plans and regulations ... The town for which the authority acts must be rich enough to be able to afford easily to buy the large amount of land needed for the provision of wide streets and open spaces, and to pay for gymnasia, and other public buildings." (Manchester Guardian, 15 March 1908).

Feminists and the State

I also noticed that Manchester Corporation's policies towards children and infants was deeply influenced from another source, that of the powerful local feminist networks which existed both within elected institutions such as Poor Law and Education authorities as discussed by Patricia Hollis (1987), but also located around the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) and reported in their newspaper The Common Cause. Again, my understanding of a major part of the Manchester Corporation's activities towards children was realised only when I looked at this other set of social practices, that of feminist activism towards children. I originally went through the Women's Suffrage Archive and read copies of The Common Cause primarily to find out about feminist organisations' treatment of issues concerning children; it was only later in reading my fieldnotes that my focus shifted onto the Manchester Corporation as a productive site for feminists who wished to influence local government policy, for example by being elected to local boards. Reports of grassroots feminist activities in my sources also illustrated the role the local Corporation was having not only on the lives of women but also children, in particular via local feminist contributions to the debates surrounding infant mortality. Through the work of Manchester feminists I was also able to build up a picture of the range of services available to children in education and also services for children with various disabilities.

In The Common Cause discussion about infant mortality reached its peak in a five month serialisation between May and September 1909. The image portrayed of poor mothers was not one of 'ignorant' women, as in the 'masculine' medical discourse in journals such as the Lancet, but of women fighting to survive in a harsh home environment and a hostile job market. Feminists such as Margaret Murdoch argued that rather than simply concentrating on the dietary and hygienic needs of the infants, mothers too needed

close attention, health and sympathy. Attention and support should be offered in the ante-natal period, as the "germ-cells which in uniting produce the future child must both be of good quality, and unaffected by poisons of alcohol, syphilis, tubercole, etc." (The Common Cause, 19 May 1909, p.67). Murdoch also argued that during birth special attention needed to be paid to the mother's health, as well as the infant's. Murdoch questioned the standard of services which doctors provided to poor women and suggested a more prominent role should be assigned to midwives. Finally, following birth, the health needs of the mother were important in assisting lactation and maintaining a healthy supply of milk. It was not just sufficient to provide education to mothers, although education was also a vital service, but to also provide the material conditions for good health.

In a later issue of The Common Cause, Dr Mildrid Burgess discussed the issue of employment and mothers. Rather than demanding that women remain at home, Burgess acknowledged the need to boost the income of working-class households. Her solution to the overworking of mothers was to increase wages which would allow female workers to take out insurance policies. There should also be a "provision of meals for expectant and nursing mothers, the establishment of crèches to take charge of the infant while the mother is at work" (The Common Cause, 27 May 1909, p.92). In an editorial discussion of the Local Government Board's Report on Infant Mortality in 1908, The Common Cause (15 March 1908) opposed the Report's recommendation on legislation ending women's employment in factories. The proposals, it was argued, were contradictory as these were applied only to factory workers and not to charwomen or washerwomen, although there was no evidence of why one type of work was `more harmful' than another.

While elected to the Manchester Corporation, Councillor Margaret Ashton involved herself in providing practical and material assistance to mothers with young children. Such assistance included the provision of clean milk, nurseries, crèches, sanitary and housing

improvements. She helped establish six council run clinics for babies and mothers in Manchester (Jones, 1983). She also successfully campaigned to open five Schools for Mothers, where mothers were taught skills on how to wash, feed, and dress a baby properly, and to provide the mother and child with at least one nourishing meal. In 1910 the Manchester Corporation, sponsored by Margaret Ashton, also provided funds for the opening of a Women's Refuge Home in nearby Angel Meadow, which also catered for some of the women's newly born children (The Common Cause, 25 August 1910).

Feminists also worked to increase services to children on educational bodies. Perhaps the most famous of these pioneering feminists on government bodies was Lydia Becker, Manchester School Board (MSB) member and organising secretary of the National Society for Women's Suffrage from 1867 up to her death in 1890. Becker in particular worked to promote the education of girls, provide free school meals and apply a rigorous regulation of liquor being sold to children (Parker, 1990). Becker, in alliance with `progressives' on the MSB such as Oliver Heywood, John Watts and the School Board Clerk Charles Henry Wyatt, opened the Mill Street Day Industrial School in Ancoats in 1886. The Mill Street Industrial School achieved a high reputation and in 1892 a Home Office Inspector visited Mill Street counting 94 boys and 92 girls, where "every effort is made to keep the children as clean and decent as possible. There has been little sickness this year" (quoted in Meakin, 1977). Attached to the school was the Mill Street Hospital where children were sent in cases of illness; and the school appointed a woman doctor, Annie Anderson, to specialise in the health needs of girls (Guest, 1961).

By 1887 Becker and her progressive allies on the Board had won the resources to provide free school breakfasts for children. At Every Street Board School, Ancoats, out of the 1,000 students, 191 received breakfasts. The Manchester School Board by the turn of the century, despite the loss of the driving force of Becker, continued in its provision of

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school meals and medical examinations. The Board became concerned with more than just the schooling of children, claiming responsibility for some of its pupils' health and welfare needs, a function which was later assumed by the Manchester Corporation, which took over the running of Manchester schools after the phasing out of the Manchester School Board and the introduction of Local Education Authorities after the 1902 Education Act was passed.

The Board also became responsible for the special needs of some pupils, such as children with learning difficulties and disabled children. The most famous pioneering work for `feeble-minded' children in Manchester was originated by Mary Dendy. Dendy's work started from her earlier campaigns in both the Manchester and Chorlton Boards of Guardians to pick out mentally ill and autistic children from workhouses and provide them with special treatment (Dendy, 1899). Later in a paper to the Manchester Statistical Society, Dendy argued for the total segregation of `feeble-minded' from `normal' (1908), and in 1898 Dendy helped form the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-minded, which in 1902 opened the first colony for `feeble-minded' children near Alderley Edge, 13 miles south of Manchester. The `David Lewis Colony' was set in 30 acres of agricultural land, and the plan was to provide an idyllic rural life style for `feeble-minded' children separate to and protected from city life.

Local feminists more generally campaigned to protect `feeble-minded' women and girls, who they believed to constitute a large proportion of girls who entered prostitution, from the outside world. In 1909 the women on the Salford Board of Guardians refused to support the passing of the next budget over the removal of a `weak-witted' girl from the protection of the workhouse (reported in The Common Cause, 29 April 1909). Dendy also worked to give `feeble-minded' children special treatment in all of Manchester's schools. In 1905 her pressure on the Manchester Local Education Committee was rewarded when

three Manchester Special Schools were opened. Each school, under the supervision of Hillary Dickens, provided special education for between 12 and 20 children. The concept of the schools were based on the lines of a non-residential version of the David Lewis Colony, where the children were taught about farming and the care of animals in addition to more formal schooling. In 1905 the Manchester Education Committee, responding to the pressure from Dendy, opened two Residential Schools for Crippled Children. The schools were set in 15 acres of land and staffed by a Matron, 14 nurses and 13 servants caring for 120 children. The Residential Schools were one of the prides of the Manchester Education Committee, pioneering the `open air teaching' which was used nationally after the War in the education of tubercular children (Bryder, 1992). The Manchester Residential Schools catered for children suffering from rickets and paralysis as well as tuberculosis[9].

The local state also had to cater for children as part of its new statutory duties in regard to child custodianship, in particular through its close connections with local Poor Law Authorities. Under the Children Act of 1908, children who were "caused to experience unnecessary suffering or injury to health ... assaulted, ill treated, abandoned and exposed. If, ... the neglect was of such a character as to justify proceedings against the parent ... a Justice may make an order to remove the children to a place of safety which includes a workhouse" (Poor Law Officers Journal, 13 January 1918). Thus local government up to 1914 became increasingly involved in the welfare and protection of children. It became responsible for the care of destitute, disabled, blind and those children who had committed offences. It was concerned with the education of all its under 14 year-olds and the provision of leisure facilities such as parks and play-grounds. It was also assuming responsibility for the general environment of children such as the houses they lived in, the streets they walked in, the water they drank and the air they breathed. This changing role was instigated by powerful influences from local hygienists and also from the persistent

activities of local feminists who identified the plight of children as being closely linked to their own struggles.

Voluntary Organisations and the State

One reading of my fieldnotes shows the ever increasing role of the Manchester local authority over the lives of children. However, this gives the impression of a clear progressive increase in the role of the local state in children's lives, while reading my fieldnotes from the perspective of my work on the archives of various voluntary organisations tells another story, that of a re-deployment of voluntary organisations through them staking claim to particular `expertise'. I have already mentioned the role of *their* the MSSA in influencing Council policy. Other parts of the local state had even closer connections to the voluntary sector. For instance, the police in Manchester worked closely with the NSPCC in child cruelty cases, and indeed the Chief Constable of Manchester, Robert Peacock, was a committee member of the local NSPCC branch (Lancashire Faces and Places, 1901, p.4). Courts also co-operated with voluntary organisations, with, for example, the Manchester City Justices in 1901 agreeing to send all young remand prisoners to either a Police Matron or the Manchester Refuges (Manchester Courier, 4 January 1902).

The major site of contestation was not necessarily between the local state and the voluntary sector but between voluntary bodies themselves. An organisation which became increasingly aggressive in its campaign to raise public knowledge of its existence was the NSPCC. The NSPCC by the turn of the century was the largest organisation specifically established to counter child cruelty (Ferguson, 1992). The Manchester Refuges' PCC `disbanded' in 1894 so as not to interfere with the newly established Manchester branch of the NSPCC. The NSPCC established itself as the organisation of most paramount

importance in the fight against child cruelty. The organisation sought domination over public opinion through an aggressive advertising policy. This was mainly through the policy of shocking readers with photographs of some of the worst cases of malnutrition, children with beaten faces, or photographs displaying the assortment of 'weapons' used to assault children. These photographs were accompanied by articles and examples, usually by the director of the NSPCC from 1906, Robert Parr. Robert Roberts (1971) recalled that in the Manchester office "the NSPCC displayed photographs of beaten children and rows of confiscated belts and canes" (p.4).

The tensions between local voluntary organisations were dramatically manifested in a debate in the journal The Child, when the NSPCC wished to consolidate their position as experts by seeking to become the central national organisation concerned with child welfare as a whole through its attempts to establish and control a National Child Welfare Bureau in 1912. This was in fact in response to the British Institute of Social Service, which was developing its own Central Child Welfare Bureau:

> "to which all workers for child betterment could turn in their perplexities and difficulties for information and counsel. For lack of direction we make many errors; for the want of knowing we leave much undone. A co-ordinating centre would lessen our sins of confusion and omission. Moreover, the literature relating to child life is so extensive and valuable that it is most desirable that it should be rendered available for every worker." (Dr T.N. Kelynack's address to the British Institute of Social Service, October 1911. Reported in The Child, November 1911)

The NSPCC response in The Child in April 1912 was to establish its own National Child Welfare Bureau. This was opposed by Thomas Ackroyd of the Manchester Refuges, in November 1912. Ackroyd's article in The Child opened with the declaration that "What Manchester thinks to-day England thinks to-morrow" (The Child, November 1912, p.158). The article described the scale on which the Manchester Refuges operated in the city and concluded:

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"Great as is the work now being accomplished and legitimate as is the city's pride at the splendid service rendered by a large army of voluntary workers, there is still much that remains to be done. One of the needs which I feel to exist is that of a Children's Bureau for the whole of our city. Such a Bureau could investigate the condition and need of the child, physical, mental and moral; it could study the problems which surround its life and the various State, municipal and philanthropic agencies might co-operate in the development of all that makes for social progress." (The Child, November 1912, p.158)

There was an eventual compromise which restricted centralisation to a Central Bureau of Information on Child Welfare co-ordinating information in London. This compromise involved relations between the three largest child welfare organisations in the capital being mediated by a committee, which directed "(a) inquiries concerning children's homes to the Children's Aid Society; (b) inquiries from those needing information of a general character, and for the preparation of pamphlets and speeches, etc., to the British Institute of Social Service; (c) inquiries as to neglect and cruelty to a child, or the laws relating to children, including questions of public policy, to the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (The Child, February 1913, editorial review)." The NSPCC however, remained the senior partner as Richard Parr, of the NSPCC chaired the co-ordinating committee.

The process of re-evaluating my fieldnotes proved highly instructive in the way it illustrated the complex nature of the local state. The local state's many faceted format manifested itself according to the perspective subject of the fieldnotes I was looking at. Firstly, the local state existed in a highly complex relationship to local voluntary organisations. Whatever voluntary organisation I approached the local state from, a somewhat different `face' was suggested. For instance, when I looked at the local state from the point of view of feminist organisations, it could be seen operating (or in some cases not operating) in highly significant areas of people's `private' lives. Alternatively, when I approached the local state from the concerns of policing or law enforcement a highly public and visible entity manifested itself, appearing sharply different from the form

it took in its subtle dealings with powerful voluntary organisations such as the Manchester Refuges or the NSPCC. Secondly, using my fieldnotes as a resource to understand the local state emphasised the scale and complexity of the entity, and it also suggested that any attempt to generalise its role as increasingly progressive or decreasingly involved in the lives of children would be unsafe, as the relationship between the local state and highly diverse voluntary sector remained heterogeneous and equivocal.

Fieldnotes demonstrate the temporal nature of social research, being textual `moments' written down over a long period of time. As I have already noted, my earlier drafts of chapters 4, 5 and 6 provided a neat account of the local state's involvement in the lives of children in Manchester in general and Ancoats in particular by being divorced from the activities of the person producing the narrative, the researcher actually researching and re/thinking. Readers of research texts are generally not familiar with reading the `raw' statements which appear in a researcher's fieldnotes, but rather rely upon the researcher to act as a transforming conduit between the mass of archival data (and of course also other types of data such as ethnographies or surveys) and the descriptions and explanations offered in `finished' formal academic texts. Fieldnotes connect the researcher with the field of enquiry while in the academy, and as I noted earlier anthropologists who have focused on the role of note-taking in the research process have discussed this mediating and connecting role of fieldnotes. On this point, Jackson (1990) proposes that:

> "fieldnotes connect the anthropologist to home and to the anthropological profession, and, upon return to base, to the field." (Jackson, 1990, p.11)

`Conduit' suggests a smooth flow, while the connecting nature of fieldnotes also permits the often contradictory demands of `the field' and `the academy' to be channelled to each other. `A PhD' necessarily has coherence, while the research it is ostensibly `of'

may have little of this quality; and such contradictions can perhaps help explain some `non completions'.

By paying attention to my own fieldnotes, I also became aware of the `self' in research. These statements which I read, re-read and reflected upon were both `me', in the sense that I wrote them in the first place, but were also not me, in the sense that I could look back at my `researching self' from a different perspective and temporally further down the research process. I discussed above how this changing relationship between myself, the archives and my fieldnote accounts of these archives affected my final text. It affected this not in a negative sense, but positively, used as a resource to make different connections, take on board the complexities of the social world to reconceptualise aspects of my field of enquiry. As I have noted earlier, fieldnote taking and appraisal of those fieldnotes are not single unified `stages' with a neat beginning and end, but is a complex process of writing, reading, re-reading, re-writing while working in the archives but also afterwards. In addition, working with fieldnotes of course continues into and becomes blurred with the `actual writing' of the thesis, which I now move on to discuss.

Writing, Lads and `Girls': Older Children and Youth in Ancoats

There are two broad aspects attributed to writing that I am concerned with here. On the one hand writing defines, creates, objectifies, formulates the self, others and the world; it is thus reflective and constitutive. On the other hand, writing is also a means of communicating with others; it transmits feelings, observations, ideas, information, requests and so on. Writing is personal and public, often both at the same time. When a writer describes his or her inner most thoughts feelings in a poem, it is a manifestation of something personal and private. Yet these thoughts are written down in a form available

for others to read. Writing, along with speech and `body language', is a means by which

private thoughts are made public. It is a form of communication where not only personal

thoughts and feelings are transmitted to another, but also in which a limited or localised

form of public knowledge is dispersed to a wider audience. The writing of my thesis is one

such form of communication, where I have communicated about the contents of a number

of archives, on a particular topic, to a conjectured reading audience. The thesis writing

aims to present the complexities of the archives researched in a coherent manner which

will; enable the reader to appreciate the sociological and historical significance of these;

thus, using Goffman's (1959) metaphors, the processes of writing can be characterised as

involving both `backstage' personal reflection and preparation, and `frontstage'

publication[10].

Writing is arguably the most important means of communication in `the academic

community' today; written texts are available in the form of books, journals, letters and

now electronically via the Internet. Social research writing, whether thesis, report, paper

or monograph, is typically presented as a straight-forward affair, with the `completed'

research presented through the `neutral' medium of conventionally organised reports.

However, despite the best efforts of some researchers, the writing of research is never

entirely neutral, for the written texts are located in relation to the phenomenon being

reported upon in order to achieve a sense of neutrality and facticity. In this discussion, I

focus on the processes of personal and public writing by breaking down my own writing

process to reflexively discuss decisions about what I chose to include or exclude.

The ways in which anthropologists and sociologists, and in particular ethnographers,

have presented their knowledge claims have been discussed by Paul Atkinson (1990) in

The Ethnographic Imagination. Atkinson demonstrates the various `tropes' by which

ethnographers convince the reader that they have indeed been to, experienced and

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sufficiently understood the particular social setting they are reporting, and are sufficiently competent and qualified to make descriptive or analytic claims stemming from this. Atkinson analyses and typologises the various forms of narrative or `poetics' by which the ethnographer <u>persuades</u> the reader. But of course the process of writing does not begin with the `writing up' of the research project. As I discussed earlier note-taking involves a great deal of writing, reflection and re-writing. However, some commentators have suggested that a `beginning' can be identified in writing, usually in the construction of drafts. Regarding this first draft stage, commentators have identified two broad methods of writing. Erika Lindemann (1987) has described the `brainstorm', where researchers write everything down and include as much material as possible. After this initial brainstorm, the writer edits the texts into an identifiable and coherent structure by correcting grammar and providing a consistent and understandable sequencing of sentences. Alternatively, Kenneth Roberts (1993) proposes that writing proceeds from notes in a clear and methodical manner, bypassing the radical editing which Lindemann discusses. However, my own experiences of writing involved both elements. My original draft did involve a careful planning and structuring from my fieldnotes, but I also `brainstormed' various passages and topics. Furthermore, the `beginning' of the very first draft writing occurred before I wrote about fieldnotes, through `reviewing the literature' and in communicating with other academics.

Originally in working with older children in Ancoats, I laid out my themes thematically. I began by organising my notes into clusters of information around the various organisations. For instance, I gathered my notes on the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club, Livesey Street, Ancoats;[11] next I brainstormed my information onto the word processor and then edited this, often using the cut-and-paste, into various themes surrounding the club. In the case of the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club, the name of Alexander Devine[12] was invoked in many issues of the magazines and in administrative documentation. For the purposes of

understanding the role of Hugh Oldham's, I found it helpful to write about Devine and his involvement with organisations for young people. By focusing on Devine I was able to contextualise the organisation, for the benefit of both the reader and myself the writer, because writing about Alexander Devine clarified and gave form to a great deal of the work performed by the Club. I thus came to appreciate how individual biography and social structures interconnected, and I was able in this writing to undermine the dualism of individual and society. Elements of brainstorming and of planned narrative are apparent in this process, as I drew in information from a large amount of sources and pieced together a recognisable and relevant `story'.

A focus on a person's biography and its relationship to social structures I have found provides a valuable insight into the motives and, concerns of those people, while by writing about expected standards of behaviour and the provision of specific activities, I was, concomitantly and concurrently, piecing-together new modes of social control, new institutions, new ideas of citizenship. When I state `new' here I do not necessarily mean unprecedented, but rather an understanding that these could take a new form at different times, in different social contexts, and form the perspective of different groups, organisations and individuals.

Few Manchester people wrote about and worked with working-class youth as much as Charles E.B. Russell, who I also discuss. Russell had connections with Ancoats through the Church Lads' Club at St. Andrew's and in 1898 he moved in to the University Settlement in Ardwick and took up rooms at the Ancoats Museum. In 1902 he established his own Lads' Club at Heyrod Street in Ancoats. As with my writing about Devine, my writing about Russell is also concerned with bridging the dichotomy between the individual's life accounting, whether in the form of a traditional biography or the writing down and justification of their actions, and the historical location of that self-construction.

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In the case of Russell, I came to understand that the expression of his fears about young people's threat to the social order was linked to his concern for their material environment, and both lead on to his arguments about instilling in working-class boys a sense of duty, religion, self-respect and self-control.

Alexander Devine and The Hugh Oldham Lads' Club

My brainstorming derived from particular parts of my sources; for instance, from my notes of the days I looked at the Clubs' magazines The Owl and Huw Oldham Lads Club Weekly News (Weekly News), I learned that the Hugh Oldham[13] Lads' Club was situated in Livesey Street, Ancoats "for the boys living in the slums surrounding Oxford Road (The Owl, July 1894)." The Manchester Grammar School from 1888, with the finance of Herbert Philips, had set up a permanent centre of contact between the wealthier pupils of the Grammar School with those in Ancoats (Weekly News, 11 October 1905).[14] The Owl listed the programme for the winter season of 1897, which gives some idea of the range of facilities and services at Livesey Street. There were a number of sports and games available, particularly football and athletics, with a gymnasium, boxing, billiards, draughts and chess and hot baths. There was a library containing books, newspapers and magazines including Chums, Boy's Own Paper, Black and White and Athletic News. There were also a variety of 'educational' activities including brass work, chip carving, bent iron work and a club band. From these magazines I established the Club's Christian Socialist influence, for in 1905 each boy was presented by the organiser J.L. Paton[15] with a copy of John Ruskin's Unto This Last. Although Ruskin's ideas were very influential in Christian Socialists nationally, he was not formally a member of the Christian Socialist circle of Frederick Denison Maurice, Tom Hughes and Frederick Furnivall; indeed John Ludlow reproached Ruskin for keeping aloof from the Christian Socialists but taking up some of their ideas in his published work (Harrison, 1954, p.65ff).

For the boys there was a `Mutual Improvement Society' with papers from invited speakers on topics such as `Socialism', `Is Our Taxation System Just?', `The Shady Side of City Life', `Gambling', `Athletics'. The debates were sometimes "very lively with the boys passionately arguing their corner" (Weekly News, 18 January 1905). Of particular note and success was Maude Rogers' debate on Women's Suffrage, which transformed a hostile audience: "so powerful were her arguments that on the discussion 37 voted for women's suffrage and only 6 against" (Weekly News, 16 December 1908). The Club also operated an Employment bureau for the boys over 13 (Weekly News, 11 October 1905).

Despite this impressive list, the most important activity engaged in by the organisation was the arrangement of seaside or countryside camps. Camping pervaded the clubs' literature with both The Owl and the Weekly News publishing special Summer Camp issues with reports, stories, limericks and photographs of past camping expeditions. Future camping expeditions were discussed, with articles on cooking, personal hygiene, and camping tips like how to light a fire, tie knots, pitch a tent, etc. The letters pages would contained letters from boys reporting positive experiences and enjoyment of past camping expeditions. At the camp the boys would be woken up and before breakfast exercised, after meals they would take part in military-like drills and then either go on rambles or play football. Evening meals would be followed by songs around a camp fire. The systematically ordered days were an important part of the camps and were considered by the organisers as adding to the `healthy' influence on the boys, with one contributor wishing the boys were as well behaved in Ancoats as they were at camp (The Owl, December 1901). The organisation was enthusiastically patriotic, especially prior to 1914. For instance, during the Anglo-Boer War a special feature appeared in The Owl encouraging the boys to support the country (The Owl, December 1901). There were

regular letters and reports from South Africa during the war and they invited ex-club members who were in the armed forces to meet the boys.

My comprehension of The Lads Club was greatly enhanced and structured through reading biographies of Alexander Devine, particularly that of Frank Whitbourn (1937)[16], Devine's own writings,[17] and his connections with other organisations and their literature[18]. From these texts I was able to draw up a coherent 'life story' of his involvement with boys in Manchester. At this stage, the life of Devine formed the unifying thread to my understanding and writing about the Hugh Oldham Lads Club. His life provided a temporal chronology in which to situate the activities of the club. In the mid-1880s, prior to his involvement in Hugh Oldhams, Devine established a 'Working Boys' Institute' in Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester. The Institute had a reading room, a gymnasium, evening recreation classes, a penny savings bank, evening concerts, swimming and cricket clubs. The Institute was instigated in the belief that, after working boys were finished for the day, they would have too much spare time that could lead to idleness and boredom. The institute's gymnasium was fitted and furnished through funds of the Manchester Corporation. The second lads' club, the Hugh Oldham, opened in Livesey Street, Ancoats, in a disused Police Station, followed closely by a third club that opened in Gorton the following year. The three clubs together were called 'The Manchester Working Lads' Association'.

By reconstructing and writing about Devine's life and involvements I felt as though I came to understanding more about Devine and the people who established Lads' Clubs. It reconfirmed my appreciation of the influence of Christian Socialism upon people who wished to make contacts with the Ancoats poor. Devine was a particular admirer of the work of the Christian Socialist Thomas Hughes. Devine was motivated by a 'cultural mission' of spreading middle class ideals among working-class boys, and this 'mission' was

largely due to his fears of the potential threat of working-class youth (particularly boys) to the social order. For instance, Devine suggested that the boys of the Manchester Grammar School would instil a special sense of comradeship in the club similar to the public schools of Eaton and Harrow (Whitbourn, 1937). Like the University Settlement, the Art Museum and the Ancoats Brotherhood, there was some discussion of religion in the clubs' journals, and guests such as the Dean of Manchester lectured to the boys (The Owl, December 1901). Like the University Settlers and salvationist Frank Crossley, Devine claimed to be an Ancoats resident and to "be living cut off from all associations and family ties, in the middle of Ancoats" (quoted in Whitbourn, 1937, p.91). For Devine, the Lads' Clubs would encourage boys to value qualities of comradeship and democracy reinforced by Christian ethics. This form of Christian Socialism Devine believed would benefit the nation as a whole. For Devine the clubs were there to create:

> "... a loftier race
> Than ere the world has known shall rise;
> With flame of freedom in their face,
> And light of knowledge in their eyes.
> They shall be gentle, brave and strong
> To spill no drop of blood but dare
> All that might plant man's lordship firm
> In earth and sky and sea and air ..." (The Owl, November 1889)

Other youth organisation leaders expressed such a concern with training future citizens. Walter Butterworth of the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade, Baird Street, Ancoats, suggested club leaders should endeavour "by means of club, drill, Bible classes, and by the education of the lads in the principles of the Church of England, to train the youths of Manchester into honest, sober, and manly citizens" (Odds and Ends, Vol.50, 1904). Major Moore, also of the Baird Street Branch, suggested camping holidays would give the boys "the advantages of spending a holiday amid healthful surroundings, but also are trained in habits of usefulness, helpfulness and obedience (Manchester Faces and Places, No.8, 1897, p.13)."

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Alexander Devine's experiences as Correspondent for the <u>Manchester Guardian</u> at the Police Courts in the early 1880s brought him in contact with young offenders, an experience which is likely to have influenced his later concerns about young people and their threat to the social order. Devine became particularly concerned with gangs of young men known as `scuttlers':

> "A `scuttler' is a lad, usually between the ages of 14 and 18, or even 19, and `scuttling' consists of the fighting of two opposed bands of youths, who are armed with various weapons. In a collection of these weapons which I have in my possession ... are the following: old cutlasses, pokers, pieces of strap having iron bolts fixed to the end of a piece of string and used for whirling around the head, specially made pieces of iron, ... knives, and loaded sticks." (Devine, 1890, p.2)

School teachers, according to Devine, also complained about the gangs, as they had "but little authority over them, as they are not allowed to correct them properly, or to instil in their minds anything like the respect for authority" (quoted in Devine, 1890, p.5). The reason for this lack of respect, Devine believed, was due to:

> "base literature ... there is no doubt that they engender a morbid love of horrors and atrocities that may account to some extent for the many acts of violence committed by lads of this class" (Devine, 1890, p.5)

This and the fact that they had no place to spend their free time other than in "listless idleness". The `cure' perceived for this was the provision of Lads' Clubs so they could do something `constructive' with their time. Also, as a remedy against `base literature', there should be constructive lectures and debates in the club and the provision of libraries with more `appropriate' books and magazines.

Juvenile crime was a problem which Devine was deeply concerned by and prescribed remedies for. Devine argued that the `hardened' offender should be removed from the streets into an institution, in order to reform the offender away from the corruption of city

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life. However, as it was believed that young offenders should not mix with adult prisoners, specialised institutions were proposed. In 1888 Devine, together with Leonard Shaw, planned to open a Boys' Home for young offenders to complement or supplement the Industrial and Reformatory Schools. In 1889 the Gordon[19] Memorial Boys' Home opened for "Juvenile delinquents" under the organisation of the Manchester Refuges (Gordon Boys Home History Book, 1890-1). From the Gordon Boys' Home's `History Books'[20] I gained an insight into the kind of regime to be expected and which Devine promoted. The boys, referred usually by a Magistrate, on entry were photographed and their background details filled in. The boys would receive some form of industrial training, usually basic literacy, numeracy and drill. The boys were released to gain experience of work. Regular reports were noted from both employers and attendants, with particular attention being paid to behaviour and discipline. If the boy's behaviour remained good, a position was usually found for him in semi-skilled employment.

However, the boys who went to the Gordon Home were often deeply disturbed, having suffered neglectful or abusive upbringings. Such boys found it difficult to be passive and obedient within the strict regime of the home, and if a boy was considered `disruptive' or `disobedient' then the punishment of flogging was soon dispensed. Alexander Devine was a firm believer in flogging, describing two types of flogging:

> "One is the flogging of boys under the age of 14 with a birch rod, the strokes not to exceed twelve. I have seen many juveniles punished in this way, and, except in cases of very small boys, the birching is not at all a severe punishment. The other flogging is in the case of robbery with violence, or, I suppose, for prison offences. The instrument ... is usually what is known as `the cat'. This punishment is, I believe, a most severe one, and one that only men of strong physical power can endure, and therefore its use ... would undoubtedly be cruel and unmerciful." (Devine, 1890, p.7)

Despite the support of the Gordon Boys' Home from the local judiciary, the Home closed down in 1891, partly due to Devine's financial problems and partly due to the

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existence of reputable school board industrial and reformatory schools in Manchester (Guest, 1961). However, Devine's aims and practices of a `closed institution' (Goffman, 1968) informs us greatly of his motivations in establishing the Lads' Club Movement, which by 1893 numbered about 50 clubs in Lancashire alone (Pugh, 1980, p.70). The Gordon Boys' Home, on opening, received support from influential people such as Florence Nightingale, Lord Derby and Colonel Howard Vincent, and this latter was to instigate the First Youthful Offenders Act (1854), which increased powers to local magistrates to separate young from adult offenders in gaol.

Charles Russell and The Heyrod Street Lads' Club

In the above section I have provided a narrative or `storyline' about the history of Lads' Clubs in Manchester using a `biography' of one of its founders Alexander Devine, used to structure my arguments about the larger organisation to which Devine was attached. This attention to biography also provides a way of understanding how biography and structures connect, how such clubs were established by particular individuals, at certain times, for specific reasons and amid particular fears. In my research on Ancoats, I was influenced by the work and writings of other individuals, which also influenced my understanding not only of the impact of these individuals on youth organisations and so the lives of young people in Ancoats at this time, but also of the relationship between networks of individuals and formal social organisations and the emergence of new social mores.

Charles Russell is an interesting person in this regard. Russell was an acknowledged `expert' (see, for instance, The Child, 1911, p.589) on young working-class men through his writings such as Manchester Boys (1913), The Making of the Criminal (1906)[21] and Young Gaol Birds (1910). Russell also served on The Manchester Education Committee,

where, in spite of his keen interest in working-class boys, he also devoted a lot of attention to the welfare of girls (Russell, 1917). He was Chairman of the Manchester and Salford Playing-Fields Association and in 1911 he was appointed to the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools.

There was a distinct ambivalence displayed by commentators on working-class boys, a context in which Russell was reacting. On the one hand there was the image of the `Ancoats Rough', a popular image amongst the Manchester middle classes which was characterised in George Shore's (1882) essay in Odds and Ends, where he writes:

> "In every large town certain districts acquire certain reputations. One part will be known as including the educated and refined portions of the community whilst another will contain the less refined and ill educated people who earn their bread by the seat of their brow. In Manchester the district where the working-class mostly congregate is known as Ancoats." (Odds and Ends, 1882, p.342)

The `Ancoats Rough' is described thus:

> "from the age of 14 he will gradually throw off any parental control ... One of his first actions will be to learn to smoke and next to drink. For amusement he will frequent Music Halls or Dancing Rooms. He will be inculcated by his shopmates with all the aspects of Horse Racing and will many times loose hard earned money in gambling. For a few years cricket and football will afford him a means of recreation but these will be stopped as he gets deeper and deeper into the mire of `roughdom'... The genuine `rough' is often out of work and he may be found loafing about the door of any public house on the chance of picking up an odd gill or two. Lacking the strength of mind necessary to reject pernicious advice, the embryo Rough will eagerly listen to the impure and degrading thoughts which aged men have no shame in uttering and will not be slow himself to use the same disgusting language." (Odds and Ends, 1882, p.346)

For the future:

> "The education of his children will be a subject to which he will devote very little thought, they will be left to the same kind of training which he had and the result will be the same. They in time will become Ancoats Roughs and this vice is perpetuated from one generation to another transmitting the evil propensities of the fathers to the

children and they in their turn will bequeath them to their descendants." (<u>Odds and Ends</u>, 1882, p.349)

But on the other hand, people such as Russell argued that young boys were victims of their own circumstances, their poverty, abusive relations, squalid conditions, lack of facilities, mundane work, and so on. This belief in the redeemable nature of working-class boys was one of the catalysts for the formation of Lads' Clubs. The founders of these clubs believed that religious instruction, military drill and citizenship training would form the foundations for a more hopeful future.

For an insight into the motivations behind the Lads' Club movement, Charles and Lillian Russell's history of the movement is a good source. Expressing re-occurring concerns about the Ancoats working-class similar to those put forward by Rowley, Horsfall and Devine. Firstly, there was the fear that young men were a threat to the social order:

> "Thus it was not till the later decades of the nineteenth century, when the ruffianism of youths had reached such a pitch as to become an absolute danger to the community that attention was thoroughly roused, and men who had the welfare of the city and country at heart grew apprehensive and began to cast about for some means of checking so alarming a development." (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.6)

Secondly, like Devine, the Russells argued that the increase in juvenile crime was caused directly by boredom in working-class lives, where "little or no attention is paid to the provision of decent dwellings, open spaces, facilities for amusement, health for body and mind, cleanliness, much less beauty" (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.6). In the view of the Russells, `scuttlers' only existed because of the conditions they lived in. Thus working-class boys in Ancoats and other urban areas were products of their environment, a grey, densely packed environment, devoid of colour, nature or beauty:

> "Where thousands of human beings are herded together in narrow streets, dingy and dirty and dull, where one house or cottage is exactly like the next; where workshop and home are so close together that the eye is never cheered and the imagination never stirred by diversity of form or colour, where fields and parks are so far away

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they are but rarely seen, the conditions exist which, when realised, made it unnecessary to search further for the causes which filled the streets by night with bands of unruly young savages." (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.7)

The solution was to organise the clubs around three clear objectives. Firstly, the clubs were to provide recreation and amusement to dispel the boredom and create an interest in the lads' lives. Secondly, they were to provide education "to give them some conception of the meaning of *esprit de corps* and fair play. It endeavours all the time to educate the members, to teach them self-respect and self-control, decency in manners and speech, cleanliness, obedience and order, to further their social instincts, and to widen their interests by the encouragement of reading, games of intellectual skill like chess, and the various hobbies dear to boys" (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.15). Thirdly, the clubs were to instil religion, so as "to awaken their higher nature or further their spiritual development" (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.15). Russell summarised the aims of the club as:

> "Fitness ... in the sense of all-round fitness for the duties and pleasures of life ...
> With equal simplicity it leads itself to the interpretation in its physical, mental and
> moral aspects." (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.17)

Behind the task of keeping lads off the street was the Club's role in building and moulding characters and physique in order to make them "happier, healthier, and better citizens than they are likely to become if they spend their leisure in loafing about the streets" (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.1). Such an attempt to mould citizens was overtly present in the literature and the models of character conformed to those associated with "new liberalism" prior to 1914 (Freeden, 1978). The Russells argued:

> "The qualities likely to make the best man are cheerfulness, self-respect, and
> independence of character. Kindness to and protection of the weak, readiness to
> forgive offence, desire to conciliate the difference of others and, above all, fearless
> devotion to duty and unflinching truthfulness." (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.71)

Relatedly, Charles Russell in his <u>Manchester Boys</u> (1913) argued that:

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"Boys should be taught to take an active interest in local, as well as in Imperial politics. We think we live in a democratic age; but how few are the working men who care deeply for the government of their own city, or their own ward, except where personal interests are at stake; how few trouble to understand the problems with which the government, in which they nominally share, is grappling. They are too apt either to be indifferent, or to listen uncritically to the politician on his flying visits." (p.79)

The style of the clubs was a combination of military exercise, discipline and obedience. A public school ethos was encouraged with the rewarding of badges, the existence of club `houses' to encourage a healthy rivalry, and an ethic which promoted the interests of the club over the individual member. The ideally suited workers were seen as retired army officers, who would best display the all-important qualities of being even tempered, friendly and having sufficient `go'. At Heyrod Street, there were regularly arranged contacts between the lads and the police, to encourage trust and respect. However, unlike Alexander Devine, the Russells did not encourage the physical punishment of the lads. Instead the best means of discipline was "to use tact, simple rules and to respect the independence of the boy" (Russell and Russell, 1908, p.78). The Heyrod Street Lads' Club by 1908 provided for over 1,000 lads in Ancoats and the 18 clubs in Manchester and Salford had 14,000 participants (Russell, 1917, p.8). At Heyrod Street the facilities included indoor games such as billiards, darts, dominoes, bagatelle, boxing, wrestling, fencing, weights and gymnastics. Sport was encouraged, especially football and athletics. Educational activities included drawing, ambulance, music, geography, commerce and the provision of a well-stocked library. Interestingly, there was also an attempt to `culturally assimilate' the working-class youths and in particular to counter the `penny bloods' literature on sale:

"There are, it must be admitted, still in existence those execrable publications, known as `penny bloods' - tales of reckless and impossible daring, of bloodshed, of successful thieving, and ridiculous adventure. These are usually purchased by the rougher kind of boy, and in may instances have served so to inflame their reader's imagination as to cause him to run away from home, and attempt one or other of the

foolish and often evil deeds, of which he has read in these pernicious prints."
(Russell, 1913, p.98)

Finally there was also the summer trips to the country, the seaside and the annual camp.

The boys were also encouraged to mix with girls (although girls were not allowed to be members of the cubs) through periodic dances, excursions, rambles, cycles, tennis matches and lectures. There was also a mixed choral society at Heyrod Street. However, these were highly controlled circumstances which the club leaders attempted to use to instil in the boys a sense of chivalry and respect for women. There was an emphasis on 'real friendships' between boys and girls based on common interests, and not 'frivolous' friendships, which presumably included friendships based on sexual attraction.

Russell's interest in the welfare of boys developed beyond the 'respectable' sons of artisans, skilled, and semi-skilled workers at the Heyrod Street Lads' Club. Russell, with his fellow University Settler Ernest Campagnac, began observational studies of the street-trading children of Manchester (Campagnac and Russell, 1903). Campagnac and Russell plotted the 'varieties' of child street-traders, whether the more 'respectable' ice cream sellers, organ grinders and vendors or the beggar, loafer or petty criminal. A street-boy is:

> "usually the son of either very poor or very dissolute parents, and finds his home, for such he calls the wretched place that shelters him at night, in the lowest quarters of the city, and here from earliest childhood he has run about the slums at will without being restrained by any one except the elementary schoolmaster. As he grows older it is easy to understand that the wild free life of the streets has for him an attraction which altogether outweighs the dull routine of workshop or factory. Religious influences barely touch him; he is without pale of all well-ordered organizations for boys ... he slips through every net which the social worker may cast to catch him."
> (Campagnac and Russell, 1903, p.21)

For Russell it was the harsh material and social circumstances of city street life that led boys to a life of crime, where, "in the foetid atmosphere of our ill-balances, clumsily-

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developed civilization, a youth who commonly grows up familiar with every kind of vice, with no moral backbone, no sense of civic responsibility, no care for his own true welfare, often actively anti-social, whether as parasite or criminal" (Russell and Russell, 1906, p.59).

The entry into crime according to Russell came from three influences. Firstly, a harsh material lifestyle, both in the sense of poverty and also the boring and unfulfilling work, was all that most working-class boys could look forward to. Secondly, there was corruption by `hardened' criminals, the corruption usually happening in gaol or police cells. Finally, there was the influence of bad parents which in the Russells view was the fault of the mothers. In The Making of the Criminal Charles Russell and his future wife Lillian Rigby describe the `usual upbringing' of a young offender:

> "`Home' at the best means for him a small cottage with only two or three rooms; possibly his family lodge in one room in some dilapidated, dirty house in a mean, narrow street. Within, too often, is a slatternly, ill-favoured, idle, gossiping woman he knows for his mother, since it is she who from his infancy has pushed him and smacked him, and kicked him, and shrieked at him, with raucous voice and foul words." (Russell and Rigby, 1906, p.3)

However, working people were never entirely bad. There was an ambivalence about Russell's writings, which on the one hand condemned the ignorance and the poor surroundings of working-class districts such as Ancoats, while on the other hand it described positive qualities. Thus street children, although beyond "moral, educative and civilizing influences", nevertheless had "a certain dare-devil spirit which enables him almost to laugh at the many hardships of life - a youth with many potential uses and excellences" (Russell, 1910, p.2). It was never entirely the child's fault that they began a life of crime, for there were usually other, external, problems and pressures which dragged children down. Even the mothers of these children were credited with some positive virtues:

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"who has also tended him in several sicknesses, and varied neglect with kindness and rough affection in a manner strange and puzzling to the observer, but for the fact that the mother's instinct is always there. Many of her most fierce and wordy battles, indeed, have been with her equally fiery neighbours who have, as she thinks, maligned her son." (Russell and Rigby, 1906, p.3)

This lack of blame was important for Russell's rehabilitative plans. The causes of crime and poverty were not due entirely to sin or hereditary factors, and Russell provided explanations of youth crime and misbehaviour such as poverty or poor socialisation. Most importantly, people could be reformed and rehabilitated, and Russell firmly believed that with the right environment boys would reject crime. Thus he was an enthusiastic supporter of Industrial and Reformatory Schools (Campagnac and Russell, 1903). Furthermore, "with plenty of good food, healthy exercise, better housing, ... there is no reason why a district like Ancoats should not produce a type of youth worthy to be called an Englishman" (Russell, 1913, p.16).

I was keen to illustrate how certain for me key writers of the past helped shape my written `findings'. If it was not for the lives of these others in the past and the written texts they produced, there would be no hope of writing a history of children in Ancoats. From the writings of Devine and Russell, I was able to construct a typology of past notions of children and adolescence in Ancoats. These individual constructions of childhood and youth did not come about in a smoothly progressive manner, but were erratically produced, were full of sudden spurts and delays in the development of ideas and practices, and were punctuated by many detours and diversions in the form of alternative ideas and practices. It is only in retrospect and in re-interpreting these writings that the `character' of these constructions can be discerned and written about. I have provided an account of some of the social institutions for young people in Ancoats by writing about a small number of the major architects. However, it is important to emphasise that there were a

good many other people also deeply involved in the planning, establishment and running of these institutions. Their motives, ideas and practices may have been at odds with those of Devine or Russell, yet it is these two dominant `voices' which I have made most visible due to the archived existence of their writings. Thus my writing inscribes a rather two dimensional and consensual view of Ancoats children's organisations: difference and dissent, such as Harrison (1954) has researched surrounding the Working Men's College in London, is notably absent from my account. Its absence is due to two factors. One is the absence from archival existence of records of sufficient depth to recover this aspect (for example, as well as formal college records, Harrison also had available the diaries and other papers of the college teachers, council members and students). The other is the approach I have chosen, the focus on two individuals whose writings and views then constitute the particular perspective from which my own account proceeds. My writing about Ancoats youth organisations and cross-class relationships is closely associated with particular individual people's biographies, in what these individuals thought and wrote about those structures, but, on the other hand, my understanding of a substantial part of their lives and works is one which `reads' these in terms of the social structures they `inhabited', as people who were classed, aged, and sexed and so on.

Catholic Reaction to Evangelism: Interpretation and Reinterpretation

Representation in research is affected not only by the texts available to a researcher but also by their interpretation of those texts. I now look at how my interpretation of religious reactions to children in Ancoats was shaped by the texts at which I looked but also through the work of other researchers which substantially influenced my own work. The focus of the original version of this chapter reflected the sources which I found and had access to. Those sources were the Methodist Mission collection at Manchester Central

Reference Library; the biographies of Frank Crossley and Samual Collier; the archives of the Manchester Refuges' Boys' Rest and Lodging Home; the collection of The Clarion at the Working Class Movement Library, Salford; and the Manchester and Salford Wesleyan Methodist Mission collection held at its current location on Oldham Street, Manchester.[22] Due to the extensiveness of this material, the location of Ancoats and the Missions' effective action, the greater part of the original chapter described the activities of the Mission and responses to the Mission. By focusing attention on nonconformist religious activities, I later came to think that I had misrepresented the importance of the work of Roman Catholic organisations. I was originally aware that the Catholic Church must have had a considerable influence on the local Ancoats population, as many of the inhabitants were Irish or of Irish descent. In 1851, around 44.6% of all two parent families were headed by Irish born couples and 55.6% of single parents were Irish born (Rushton, 1977, p.166). In addition to the Irish population, by the end of the century Ancoats had become home to a highly visible Italian community (Rae, 1988; Kidd and Wyke, 1993). This large Irish and Italian community maintained its traditional adherence to the Roman Catholic faith (Werly, 1973; Campbell, 1986; Ria, 1990). The Catholic Church built churches in Ancoats; St. Patrick's in 1832, St. Anne's in 1847, St Michael's in 1869, and St. Albans's in 1878. However, I first understood the Catholic Church to be unenthusiastic about consolidating its position in Ancoats, perhaps because the strong formal allegiance expressed by the large Irish born population gave the Catholic hierarchy a sense of security. The lack of visible action by the Catholic Church seemed in marked contrast to the lively evangelism of non-conformist denominations in the district throughout the nineteenth century. Yet this original interpretation has been challenged by another researcher, Edna Hanmer, discussing Roman Catholic responses to women but also addressing the poor in general and also children (Hanmer, 1993, 1994).

In my original interpretation, I had read the lively Protestant evangelism in marked contrast to what I saw as a distinctly staid response from the Roman Catholic Church. However, this interpretation can be said to derive from concentrating on the "social-mindedness of the Roman Catholic Church" (Lowe, 1976, p.129), an interpretation supported by the lack of information on the Catholic Church in the public archives of Manchester and Salford in comparison to Protestant and Anglican faiths. However, there are extensive archives on the Catholic Church's activities in Manchester in the Salford Catholic Diocesan Archives, as discussed by John Davies (1993). Of particular relevance to my own research are the documents therein relating to the Salford Diocesan Rescue Society that operated in Ancoats from the 1880s.

Catholic interest in Ancoats (and working-class) children seemingly started in 1886 when Bishop Herbert Vaughan[23] responded bitterly to what he perceived to be proselytism by evangelists causing a `leakage' of souls away from the catholic faith. In particular Vaughan was concerned with the activities of evangelists in Ancoats, a district Vaughan understood to be predominantly Irish and therefore the reserve of the Catholic Church. Vaughan set out his ideas in the 1886 pamphlet <u>The Loss of Our Children: A Work for the Catholic Protection and Rescue Society</u>. In it he argued that "[i]t appears that refuges, ragged schools, soup kitchens and such like attractions are constantly used as a basis to lure away our children and detach them from their faith. This is perhaps natural, for these undertakings are frequently promoted or managed by philanthropists of strong religious persuasions, who believe in impressing religion on the minds of the young, and of course have no other religion to offer than their own (p.13)". The children most at risk from proselytism were the children of the poor and the destitute, "the bait is always a material or temporal benefit. The soul is bought and sold for a mass of pottage (p.35)". The bishop identified seven causes of child `leakage':

"1.Orphanage, from the loss of one or both parents.

2. Pauperism, occasioned by illness and the visitation of God.

3. Drinking habits of parents, producing thriftlessness, poverty, religious indifference, and a general degradation of mind and body, in which the children participate.

4. Marriage entered upon as a mere contract, disregarded as a grace-giving sacrament, received sacrilegiously in sin, without due religious persuasion. The fruits of such unholy marriage constantly turn out ill.

5. Mixed marriages, which divide and weaken the religious influence of parents on their children, producing religious languor and indifference, and frequently ending in apostacy or entire loss of faith.

6. Worldliness of parents in conforming to the false maxims and wicked ways of the world. Faith languishes, mass and sacraments are neglected, ignorance prevails; the children are ruined by the example of their parents, or corrupted by bad companions whom they are allowed to associate with, and by their own unchecked evil inclinations.

7. The education of Catholic children under non-Catholic or anti-Catholic influences, and their isolation in service, while still young among persons hostile to their faith."
(Vaughan, 1886, p.17)

Bishop Vaughan then identified a 5-fold strategy for stopping the leakage. Firstly, he called for the formation of Vigilance Committees attached to parishes to ensure that every Catholic child was brought to a Catholic school. In 1913 a House was also established in Ancoats for Catholic girls and women entering the city from Ireland and elsewhere as an alternative to the Church Army House, City Mission or the notorious Lodging Houses. Secondly, he called for the establishment of Catholic homes for destitute children, night shelters, refuges, and industrial or certified schools. This was directly modelled on the Manchester Refuges (Jenkins, 1974). A Catholic Boys' Home opened at Ardwick in 1886, and later another at Patricroft, offering residential care, adoption, boarding out, industrial training and emigration policies. A Girls' Club opened in Angel Meadow in 1894, near to and in direct competition with the Refuges' Boys' and Girls' Club. By 1898 the Catholic Homes had places for 718 children and assisted more in their homes (Jenkins, 1974, p.186). Thirdly, he called for a consolidation of those Catholic organisations working for the benefit and protection of boys and girls after they leave prisons, workhouses or schools. Bishop Vaughan's predecessor, Bishop Manning, campaigned for the special

treatment of Catholics within Poor Law establishments, where Catholic children were given Catholic instruction. Since the 1860s a Society of St. Vincent of Paul (for boys) was formed for this particular purpose and in 1885 a Catholic Girls' Mutual Aid Society was founded for the protection of girls leaving Catholic children's institutions. In 1902, the Sisters of Charity established centres at Rumbold Street and St. Vincent Street, Ancoats, for the rescue and protection of children. In 1903 they were dealing with 12 cruelty cases involving 35 children (Jenkins, 1974, p.193). Fourthly, Bishop Vaughan argued for a particularly Catholic system of emigration. In 1887 Father Rossall was appointed Emigrant Chaplain, his task was to find places in French-Catholic farms in Quebec, Canada. Rossall worked in association with A. Chilton Thomas of the Catholic Emigration Society in Liverpool. Again, there was a close modelling of this policy on that of the Refuges' emigration policy to send children to Canada. The Catholic Protection and Rescue Society, based at the Bishop's House, Salford, in 1889 sent 26 children from the Manchester area to Canada, a trend sustained up to the 1930s[24]. Finally, Bishop Vaughan called for a whole-scale concentration by all Catholics to improve the morals of the young:

> "greater encouragement to be given in public elementary schools and elsewhere to temperance and habits of thrift; greater insistence upon the proper reception of the sacrament of marriage; the discouragement of mixed marriages as most dangerous and pernicious; systematic co-operation on the part of confraternities and other parochial societies, such as St. Vincent of Paul's, in visiting the homes of children exposed to danger, getting them to Catholic schools; instructing and interesting them after they have left school by means of amusement, of cheap Catholic literature and by friendly intercourse." (Vaughan, 1886, p.35)

In spite of Vaughan's bitter criticisms, the Protestant societies vigorously denied the charge of proselytism, stressing the fact of destitution as the sole criterion of their interest in any particular child. Once having admitted a child, they argued that they wished to make known the reality of the fatherhood of God, and in doing this could only use the tenets of their own religion of evangelical Protestantism. However, as I noted in Chapter 3, the Refuges were not at all times entirely sincere in such public proclamations of innocence,

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having contrived to separate some children from their Catholic parents. But it is unhelpful to search for which party was at fault and it is more useful to see the religious instruction of children as a site of contestation. Bishop Vaughan stated an uncompromising position in regard to the Voluntary Societies operating in Angel Meadow, Ancoats and other districts of Manchester:

> "But as we believe that their religion, not being the Catholic, is false and displeasing to God and themselves excusable only on the ground of invincible ignorance of the true faith, Catholics can have nothing to do with their prayers, their rights or their religious instructions. It is therefore wrong for Catholics to receive temporal and material benefits, if in return for them they are expected to compromise with religious error, or to sacrifice the precepts of their own religion." (Vaughan, 1886, p.15)

Yet this original focus on the Catholic action after the period around publication of Vaughan's article did not take into account the much more extensive and widespread prior action by Catholics on behalf of children. The major source of my re-interpretation occurred after my hearing about the work of Edna Hanmer (1993; 1994)[25] on Elizabeth Prout's mission with girls[26]. Prout came to Manchester from Shrewsbury and taught at a school attached to St Chad's, Cheetham Hill[27] in 1847. In 1849 with the support of the local priest Father Gaudentius Rossi she opened a Girls' School in George Leigh Street, Ancoats. The school, based in a disused warehouse, taught 140 girls between the ages of 8 and 13. Two years later Prout founded her own order, the Congregation of the Sisters of the Cross and the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Passionists devoted their lives to the education and service of the poor, most were from humble backgrounds, the four Sisters attached to George Leigh Street were originally domestic servants, a seamstress and a powerloom weaver (Hanmer, 1994). In 1854 the order moved to nearby Levenshulme and offered education to poor girls across Manchester rather than restricting themselves to Ancoats.

On finding this example of catholic concerns about the welfare of catholic girls I began to notice that Elizabeth Prout's dedication to Ancoats girls was not isolated. The Roman Catholic Church from the early 1840s had already established educational provisions for large numbers of Irish Catholic children in general. Indeed the Report of the Select Committee on Manchester and Salford Education in 1852 stated that Irish Catholics were "making greater efforts to support their schools ... than any body of Christians" (quoted in Lowe, 1976, p.148). In the Ancoats district there were two Catholic schools in St Albans, established in 1863, under the leadership of Rev John Gornall and in St Michael's from 1864, with Fr. Hill as the educational curate. At St Michael's children were taught a large measure of Church discipline with the ritual saying of the `Our Father', `Hail Mary' and `Glory Be' before each lesson, as well as interrogation about Sunday church attendance (Rae, 1988). Each of the Churches by 1876 had St Vincent de Paul sisters attached to them for work amongst the general poor of the parish, these Sisters often coming in contact with the plight of poor children. The Catholic Church was also active in working with older children. In 1862 a branch of the Catholic Young Men's Society opened up in Ancoats for "mutual improvement and extension of the spirit of religion and brotherly love ... prayer, frequentation of the sacraments, public lectures, private classes, a library and a reading room" (quoted in Lowe, 1976, p.152). In addition, it should be noted that services were not solely provided for the Irish catholic population, for Ancoats also contained of a large Italian population[28]. By the 1890s the *Balilla* - a society for Italian youth - was established along similar lines as the Lads' Clubs, with the purpose of arranging trips for boys to visit Italy. The Ancoats Italian community grew particularly in the 1870s, as a result of the mass immigration of rural peasants (Ronchetti, 1990). In 1876 three of the four teachers in the St Albans's school were from the local Italian community and some lessons were conducted in Italian (Rae, 1988).

My initial interpretation of the Catholic reaction towards children in Ancoats changed fairly radically. Rather than seeing Vaughan's reaction as something new, I came to understand it as being located amidst a wider network of already existing catholic children's organisations. This change in interpretation had repercussions, for I could have presented my original chapter's emphasis on non-conformist interest in children prior to the 1880s and by virtue of the documentary sources available that version would have been an `accurate' one, yet my shift in viewpoint also suggested a corresponding shift in emphasis presenting a rather different narrative of religious reactions to children in nineteenth century Ancoats.

Representation and Writing: Girls in Ancoats

The content and emphasis of this thesis is closely connected to my own biographical situation; what I have included or excluded has been dependent upon my own intellectual biography. This connection between intellectual biography and research writing is one I now discuss in relation to what I left out of this chapter. The process of writing inevitably involves the selection of material to be included and in doing so it also excludes other material. In my original draft chapter, I concentrated primarily on clubs for boys, leaving little time to look at issues surrounding clubs for girls and the types of activities associated with these. I write about girls contrasting their treatment in relation to the treatment of boys, and thus contrasting anxieties about girls' domestic and marital roles which were expressed instead of the public order anxieties articulated about Ancoats boys. However, this perspective can be substantially challenged by turning my interpretive lens to focus on the anxieties around Ancoats girls, rather than interpreting these as `the opposite' of anxieties about boys.

In Ancoats there were fewer clubs for girls than for boys. Girls' clubs tended to be an addition to or an extension of clubs designed for boys. In the Churches there were clubs for girls; for instance, the Girls' Club at St. Philips' run by Miss A.G. Ashton caused Henry Brooke to comment on the size and behaviour of the girls group on its visit to the Art Museum (Diary of Henry Brooke, 24 June 1889). But on the whole fewer girls attended these groups and there were dramatic differences in girls' clubs aims and activities. The primary difference was the gulf in expectations of girls and boys. For those running Girls' Clubs, the girls' position was presented as closely tied to the domestic home, and consequently the activities designed for girls were structured around this. For instance the Oldham Street Methodist Mission's Junior Girls' Class taught needlework and hygiene, whereas the boys were taught arithmetic, history and geography (Our Greeting, 1891, p.124).

There was certainly a distinctly domestic role perceived for girls. High School Girls were encouraged to assist the 'Women's Help Society' at Starr Hall, Ancoats. As with the boys of Manchester Grammar School and Chetham College, girls from local high schools were encouraged to make contact with poorer women and girls in Ancoats. Lucy Sousby co-ordinated the girls' work at Starr Hall, in 1895 advising the girls attending a meeting of the Women's Help Society that "your first duty is to be good at home - unselfish, obedient, hardworking, tidy, good-tempered (Sousby, 1895, p.2)." Yet there was also a need to help the mothers and girls of the poor, for "how it must feel for the sick to lie on beds of rags, alone all day, thirsty, sore, and aching, and no one to make them comfortable or help the long day pass, nothing to expect except a drunken father or mother (Sousby, 1895, p.3)." The girls were encouraged to go out into the homes of the poor to comfort the sick and to help poor mothers in their domestic tasks. There was no organisation where high school girls and working-class girls could mix socially, and there were no sports clubs,

reading rooms, lectures. Unlike the boys, the girls' only contact with poor girls was in their homes, usually when one of the family was sick.

The University Settlement and Ancoats Museum, however, organised more activities for girls than for boys. For instance, in the Winter Programme for 1910 there were Little Girls' Clubs on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings; Little Girls' Penny Bank on Wednesday evening; and a Senior Girls' Club on Monday and Wednesday evenings. No specific Boys' or Lads' Clubs were run by the Settlers (this was probably due to the large amount of Lads' Clubs run by Churches and Russell in the Ancoats area), although boys were invited to the general Children's entertainments (Winter Programme, 1910/11).

In Ancoats there were more activities for older `girls'. The most famous, and specific to Ancoats, was Mary Browne's Mill Girls' Association. From the age of sixteen Mary Browne was deeply concerned with the condition of Mill Girls in Ancoats. In the early 1880s she had founded the Ancoats Mill Girls' Night School in order to provide the female `half-timers' with an adequate level of education. Browne's educational ideas were not quite as culturally `high brow' as those of the Ancoats Brotherhood or the Settlers, being more religiously based. Although the Mill Girls' did visit the Ancoats Art Museum on at least one occasion[29], one of the objectives, according to the Christian Worker, was to instil Christian virtues; however, the improvement of literacy, numeracy and domestic skills amongst the working female population was also important (Christian Worker, Vol.11, 1896). Will Melland of the Manchester Guardian recalled that Mary Browne recruited girls by "wandering into the slums night after night, searching for lost, abandoned or destitute girls" (Manchester Guardian, 19 December 1933). Browne's Mill Girls' Night School proved popular amongst the local girls who were eager students, there often being more students than the teachers could cope with. This popularity suggests that there may have been far more to the school than was made `public'. That is, it is highly

unlikely that it would have attracted so many girls to its activities if it had been merely a proselytising organisation. In 1895, with the support of Miss Roberts, the sister of the Mayor J. Foulkes Roberts, the organisation expanded to become the Ancoats Mill Girls' Association[30].

The Mill Girls' Association not only continued its educational function, but also provided an employment bureau, recreational activities and a contact point for girls in distress, again suggesting a role beyond merely `installing Christian virtues'. The Ancoats Mill Girls' Association was not attached to any particular religious group but in 1910 became an associate, although not full member, of Lily Montagu's National Organisation of Girls Clubs, part of the National Union of Women Workers, where the education of girls was seen as "educated to the duties of citizenship" and premised on their roles as wives and mothers (The Child, 1911, p.80).

Unlike the Ancoats Mill Girls' Association's, contemporary definitions of `a girl' did not necessarily see this as ending at eighteen. The Girls' Friendly Society (GFS) considered any unmarried woman, whether 13 or 30, as a `girl' and therefore eligible for membership of their society. The GFS was an Anglican organisation with its roots in the mid-nineteenth century attempts to rescue `fallen women' and the `Maiden Tribute' revelations in the Pall Mall Gazette in 1885. In addition to these concerns over girls' sexuality, there was also the perceived need for contact between the social classes. At the 1887 Conference of the GFS, the Bishop of Bedford referred to the society as "one which was likely to add to the all-important work of bridging over the gulf between classes, and said it was wonderful how many bridges were being built day by day and how many foundations were being laid in order to fill up this terrible gulf (The Times, 29 April 1887)." In the 1884 members guide, the objects of the society were stated as:

"1. To bind together in one society ladies as Associates, and working girls and young women members, for mutual help (religious and secular), for sympathy, and prayer.
2. To encourage Purity of life, dutifulness to parents, faithfulness to employers, and thrift." (Girls Friendly Society Members Guide, 1884)

The GFS, however, was a Diocesan organisation and not based in Ancoats. Ancoats `girls' who may have been members of the GFS would have entered through connection with the local Churches and have been of `impeccable' character. The GFS was also strictly denominational and excluded Catholics, and in a strong catholic area like Ancoats where there was also determined evangelism by the Salvation Army and the Oldham Street Mission, they would have struggled to recruit members.

There was an ambivalence displayed towards working-class girls, but this ambivalence was premised not on potential crime and civil disobedience, but rather on girls' potential sexuality. There were fears of urban seduction and immorality leading girls to a life of vice, prostitution, and drunkenness, but a more sophisticated form of domestic instruction and, in the case of the Mary Browne, an acceptance of the necessity for girls to look forward to some form of occupation other than motherhood, shifted the practical as well as moral emphasis. Regarding prostitution, there were more sympathetic voices than the moral absolutes of the social purists, and between 1912 and 1916 a group of Manchester Anglican feminists, led by A. Maude Royden, set up a Women's Trust to study the causes of prostitution and its effects on children. In its report the Trust argued:

"The prostitute's story commonly begins with the ruin of childhood, the brutal shattering of illusions natural to the young, the reckless despair of the unlucky, or the callousness due to poverty so urgent that no ideal emotions can develop." (Royden, 1916, p.3).

The sensationalistic descriptions of kidnapping and seduction in the `Maiden Tribute' revelations were replaced by more measured and `scientific' explanations by the Women's

Trust, where "prevention, rather than rescue or punishment, is the watchword of the future in this as in other aspects of social suffering and degradation" (Royden, 1916, p.20). Ignorance, bad housing, over-crowding, poverty, stress, heredity and `mental deficiency' were used as explanations for incest and the `ruin' of daughters, where "these drunken parents, fathers who violate their youthful daughters, elders who so callously exploit their own flesh and blood, cannot be regarded simply as monstrosities, born with instincts different to those of other human beings. Their vices are at least some degree and in some cases the products of environment" (Royden, 1916, p.20-21).

The main protection available to girls was the provision of adequate academic and sex education to enable more self-awareness and autonomy, for "self-respect of body and mind ... forms so strong a barrier against viscous habits and promiscuity in the decently nurtured man and women" (Royden, 1916, p.30).

By shifting my focus so that boys were moved from being `the norm', what comes into view are the ways in which for many Ancoats activists it was working-class girls' sexuality which was the prime threat to the social order and to future citizenship. Unfortunately this realisation came too late to form a central focus of this chapter, but it does show the importance of `writing itself' in the processes by which ideas and understandings change, and also the importance of `thinking laterally' regarding constructions of the gender order made and used in this time period.

Conclusion

I began the Chapter by arguing that there was a strong reason for focusing on the process of note-taking in research. The taking of fieldnotes is a <u>crucial</u> stage in any

research. It is here that the focus and attention of the research is formulated and revised, where the interpretation of the research material is often explicitly stated and decisions as to what is to be included or ignored are made. As a consequence of `hiding' this stage in the research process because of conventions regarding the nature of `published, finished work', research reports of all kinds become separated from the `doing' of research and the reader of the report is kept at a distance from the research process. By applying analytic attention to my fieldnotes, and my re-reading of my fieldnotes, a new and different conception of `the local state' was facilitated, for by using my fieldnotes as an `information store' I was able to see that `the local state' manifests itself in highly complex and socially contingent ways. If I constructed the local state from the writings of leading Manchester feminists, it appeared very different than if I wrote about it from those of the local Sanitary Movement. In these two cases the `same' local state not only acted and behaved in markedly different ways, but the officials who comprised the state were different and also the main actions of these officials were at times at odds with each other.

Next I looked at the `draft writing' of the Chapter and my struggle to write and organise what I wanted to say. I paid particular attention to the ways in which I organised a narrative around biographies of particular people, Alexander Devine and Charles Russell, not only because of their importance in relation to the two organisations that I looked at, but also as a way of structuring my account. Again a focus on this seemingly `backstage' process enabled some analytical benefits. Primarily, it provided the means by which I could see how individual biographies intersect with social structures and how their `individual' actions had social consequences for young people in Ancoats, and also to gain some understanding as to the how and why these people did what they did. One example here being Devine's concern with young men being influenced by his experiences as court correspondent with the Manchester Guardian, while another is that the ethos that was encouraged in these clubs was premised on these men's experiences in public schools. By

constructing biographies of them, I was able to see their lives developing over a period of time and taking on some kind of pattern. A focus on the crafting of my writing also enabled me to take into account the complex and erratic nature of the establishment of the Lads' Clubs and their works. A focus on the `doing' of writing subverts the view which perceives history as progressing in neat stages; indeed, by reflecting on my writing process I can see some of the complexities of social life in Ancoats which I have smoothed, simplified or omitted in order to present a comprehensible `story' for the reader to understand even within the `rough' version I have presented in this final version of the Chapter.

Related to this last point, I have also discussed various of my decisions of what to omit from my thesis. In particular, I dealt with decisions to leave two whole sections of my research from my original version of this chapter: (i) activities for girls available in Ancoats, and (ii) the response by the catholic church to children. Again, opening this usually silenced process in research paid analytic benefits. By centring attention on the gender aspects I had left out, I learned about the extensive activities and organisations available for girls. Additionally, I learnt that activities for `girls' were not cut off at the age of eighteen and that clubs for `girls' extended considerably into adulthood. The provisions of these activities were part of broader gender concerns about sexuality, demonstrated by the ways in which feminists connected issues concerning girls, such as play, education and leisure, with `adult' issues of employment, sexual exploitation and prostitution. This focus on girls compelled me to re-evaluate gender issues concerning boys. Similarly my discussion of the catholic church brought to light issues of re-interpretation. Throughout this research I have been concerned with people's lives and works in the past, and my discussion of Catholic reactions to children in Ancoats demonstrates how closely involved is my own life to my research, emphasising the argument made by Liz Stanley (1993) about the importance of `intellectual biography' to the research process. Additionally, this

re-interpretation has been of analytic importance in re-evaluating the Catholic Church's involvement in childhood and youth before the 1880s, a re-evaluation which would not have occurred if I had not paid attention to what was excluded.

[1] Differences between these two, supposedly different, forms of writing have been questioned by anthropologist Jean Jackson (1990).

[2] The NAPSS was an influential group of politicians, doctors, lawyers, social commentators and other commentators interested in social issues of the day. The meetings of the NAPSS provided women with a forum not usually available in mid-Victorian society. The debates over children included papers by Mary Carpenter on girls in reformatories (1857, 1858), Industrial Schools (1873); Mrs William Baines on under-feeding of children (1867); Louisa Boucherett on workhouse children (1867); Mrs Wolstenholme Elmy on custody of children (1875) and on Infants (1883).

[3] The introduction of a Catholic Chapel came about through pressure from Bishop Manning of Salford in the early 1860s. Bishop Manning also succeeded in getting Poor Law Children educated at Roman Catholic schools (Jenkins, 1974).

[4] Chorlton Boards of Guardians later merged with Manchester.

[5] See Manchester City News 16 November 1894 and 31 August 1896; and Manchester Guardian 30 April 1895.

[6] Many instances are cited in the Anual Reports of the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society.

[7] Minority Report of the Royal Commission into the Poor Laws.

[8] The Baths Committee were strongly influenced by the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association. Having members in both organisations such as Fred Scott, T.C Horsfall, Mrs Rose Ryland and Mrs Redford.

[9] Full discussion of the Manchester Residential School for Crippled Children, see E.D. Telford, The Child, 1911, pp.122-129.

[10] Publication here means 'making the writing public', whether showing to a friend or publishing in a book or journal.

[11] Since the formation of the YMCA and YWCA in the 1850s and before, adults had been interested in organising children's leisure time. The YMCA and YWCA expanded around the country and empire providing recreational games, educational activities, bible talk, hymns and prayer. However, the YMCA and YWCA were very much an organisation aimed at middle class children. The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a variety of movements wishing to provide the same clubs for working class children. Ancoats in particular was targeted by a variety of people to set up clubs for working class 'youths'. At this period there was a growing concern about the behaviour of working class youngsters in particular concerns about the sexuality of girls and the behaviour of 'roughs' or 'scuttlers'. It was hoped that by providing clubs not only would there be a 'civilising' contact between the classes but through the provision of 'legitimate' activities and pastimes young people would not succumb to the temptations of the streets, pubs and music halls.

[12] Alexander Devine was born in 1865. He was court correspondent with the Manchester Guardian before founding the Manchester Working Lads' Association in June 1888.

[13] Named after Hugh Oldham, the founder of the Manchester Grammar School in 1515 (The Owl, December 1901).

[14] Hugh Oldham Lads Club Weekly News, 8 November 1905.

CONCLUSION

In this conclusion I return to a discussion of key issues connected with the position
I outlined in the first paragraph of my thesis. This is as follows:

> "The title of my thesis is `Reading, Writing and Research: An Evaluative Study
> of Children in Late Nineteenth and Early twentieth Century Manchester' and the
> colon between the two parts of the title indicates the dual concerns and focus
> that my work has. I am concerned with the research process and the role of
> reading in writing within it: I am also concerned with children in Manchester
> over a particular time period and with evaluating the responses and perceptions
> of organisations dealing with children and their problems. However, as will
> become clear, these concerns are symbiotically related: in my thesis, `you can't
> have one without the other'. The thesis, then, is a conceptual whole, the focus of
> which is `researching children'."

I shall outline my conclusions concerning the two themes that the thesis is `about'. On
the one hand, there is what the thesis has explored concerning the construction of
children at a particular time, a discussion of the agencies which dealt with children and
the conditions in which they operated. On the other hand, there is the question of how
these `findings' about children and the contemporary agencies constructing and using
notions of childhood demonstrate a range of interpretational issues concerning the
processes of doing research. Overall my argument is that how one seeks to know, the
methodological approach, shapes what one finds out every bit as much as a theoretical
or other conceptual position and that there can be no clear separations between
methodological, theoretical and conceptual approaches.

Representations of Childhood

Here I provide a discussion of the representations of children and childhood which I
examine in my thesis. Rather than discussing such representations in a way which
focuses on how they `add up' to present global or national generalisations about
`childhood', I have instead focused on how childhood and children were `handled' in
the archives of particular local institutions, in particular through the evidence of
contemporary materials within the archives of the Manchester Refuges, but also those

of local religious organisations, the sanitarians, feminists, local authorities, Lads' Clubs, and Girls' Clubs. That is, my concern has been to focus on <u>local</u> discourses in a particular district and at a particular time, and, insofar as possible, on actual `organisational' practices, recognising of course the particular child care practitioners might work in ways which depart from the public `organisational line'. I have done this because my research strongly suggests that those approaches which focus upon supposedly `national' discourses in fact elide a multiplicity of fascinating local differences and complexities. Moreover, with the local Manchester area these representations and accompanying organisational practices varied significantly according to the particular institution, and also over time, and also around the conjunction of particular individuals within an institution. If there are such significant, multiple overlapping differences and complexities for the Manchester area, then so-called `national' positions are highly likely to cover over similar differences and changes for other local areas within the UK. Indeed, within so called `national bodies' a neumber of differences and complexities are often contested. My conclusion is that what I have found is neither trivial nor insignificant: these differences within and between local organisations and differences over time led to profoundly different experiences for, as well as of, the many children who came into contact with these organisations. One aspect of my conclusion here is that notions of time and structuration are crucial in understanding historical representations of children, and this provides the intellectual link with the contributions the thesis makes to the historical sociology of childhood, as I discuss later in the conclusion.

In my thesis I have demonstrated the highly complex nature of the social world and that ideas, understandings and practices occur within and change between particular times and in particular places. This has occurred in the construction of the categories `children', `childhood' and `child abuse' within my area of study. Over the period of my study there were distinct shifts in categorical meanings attached to children and childhood by child welfare organisations. From the 1850s there was a concern with the

constructed problem of `street children', literally with children living on the streets suffering from cold, hunger, starvation and mistreatment. The response to this newly perceived social problem was largely in terms of religious rhetoric and ideology. Action responding to such concerns took the form of Missions, soup kitchens, relief, rescue and the establishment of refuges. Then from the beginning of the twentieth century different problems were being identified, and in the sphere of what had in the late nineteenth century come to be viewed as `child abuse' the term `child neglect' became increasingly prevalent as different ideas of what consisted `abuse' came into use, and the category became differentiated and disaggregated. There was a qualitative difference of expectation of parenting by the twentieth century and the standards by which something was defined as `neglectful' had risen substantially.

These changes were partly brought about through different `epistemic communities' coming into prominence, notably `scientific medicine', the increasing importance and power of `science' and the consolidation of organised child welfare bureaucracies such as the NSPCC and the Manchester Refuges. Relatedly, children were increasingly studied and categorised in far more sophisticated ways. The effects of the environment on children were studied and the health, cleanliness, hygiene and sanitary conditions of working-class children were treated as a priority both in research and public writing and also by child welfare organisations. Also new aspects of childhood were `discovered', and adolescence and infancy became identified as a distinct `stages' within childhood. Different educational techniques, such as those influenced by Froebel or by developmental psychology, were developed and operated. Yet this knowledge was never free of contestation and challenge, for instance, religious conceptions were never entirely replaced and still remained highly influential, even amongst `scientific' circles.

I found the archives of the Manchester Refuges useful in contrasting national from local discourses. For instance, some present day writers such as Jenkins (1973) and Holman (1988) have claimed that these Victorian agencies removed `street children'

from the streets without any rehabilitative policies, thereby making a `national' generalisation. However, this is certainly not reflected in the practices of the Manchester Refuges. On the contrary, here there was a sustained attempt to provide rehabilitation and to keep family structures intact, and parents of `street children' were wherever possible instructed in the standards of `normal' parenting and `good' citizenship that the organisation and its practitioners operated. Furthermore, there are differences here between local practices. Thus the Teesside branch of the NSPCC, according to Ferguson (1990), used legislation for the removal of children, but then later returned them to their parents after they had been punished by the courts. The NSPCC was, in comparison with the Manchester Refuges, considerably more prone to use punitive legislation, but it too operated rehabilitative policies. In addition, within the Manchester Refuges there was a marked difference between the public rhetoric of supporting legislation in the late 1880s and early 1890s which gave legal powers to remove children by voluntary agencies, and the daily practice of rehabilitation. The tough public rhetoric belied the fact that most of the children which the Refuges dealt with in the 1890s were returned to their parent(s), and the organisation's working strategies were far more flexible than the public rhetoric implied. The objective was reform, whether children were "taken entirely from their wretched surroundings and placed in training establishments where they are brought up with every chance of becoming respectable and useful members of society" (Shaw, 1880, p.4) or relieved and monitored in their homes. What my research shows is that it is crucial to have an analysis of local discourses, and to understand that `national' generalised statements in the light of these, as glossing statements made for particular and typically political purposes rather than straight-forwardly `factual' ones which can be applied to local contexts.

The complexities revealed by my thesis research can be found within apparently unitary sectors, such as `feminist groups', or `Catholic responses'. Thus as I have discussed, the Catholic Church was a very complex organisation consisting of a very

heterogeneous membership. On one level children were treated as beings in need of strict control and guidance, as Bishop Vaughan in the 1880s called on the catholic population to concentrate to `improve the morals of the young', which involved catholic adults to ensure their children's temperance, thrift and adherence to the sacraments. These stern instructions and warnings of the `dangers' posed by children provided by Bishop Vaughan can however be contrasted with the considerably more gentle approach offered by the Passionist Sisters to girls or by the sisters of St Vincent de Paul to children in general. On the one hand there is an `unofficial' representation of children as the embodiment of original sin, and on the other there are `unofficial' practices which treat children children as the embodiment of innocence. The activities of the sisters can only be understood as operating at a local level in ways which transformed the instructions of the catholic hierarchy. Indeed, if Ancoats is used as an example, representations of children are not only filtered through the catholic faith but also through various ethnic, gender and cultural understandings. Ancoats not only had a large English and Irish catholic population, but also substantial Italian and East European catholic communities, all of which had somewhat different ideas and practices about children, and each contributed to local institutional structures concerned with children.

While discussing religious responses to children in Ancoats, it is also instructive to note the increasing influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission at Oldham Street and the very different way it saw `the problem of children'.. From 1900 onwards, the Oldham Street Mission expanded under the guidance of its leader, Samuel Collier, who was a committed socialist who applied his Christian Socialist beliefs to the population of Ancoats. Thus the Oldham Street Mission aimed to educate children with the values promulgated by national Wesleyansm such that the children were encouraged into the virtues of honesty, sobriety, thrift and hard work which would provide them with a greater personal autonomy when they grew up, particularly regarding skilled and `steady' employment. However, Collier also advocated that these `self-help' ideas were

to be applied radically in order to encourage greater social and political participation by future citizens.

The two religious groupings I have discussed above systematically differentiated between boy and girl children in Ancoats. Local feminists challenged such discourse, including in the locally produced journal The Common Cause, which, although used primarily to promote national women's suffrage, devoted a great deal of space to local Manchester issues such as reporting from courts, reporting on government reports on children's and infant's health, legislation affecting both women and children and provided reports from Child Study Groups (established in 1894) across the country. These Groups were highly influential and became a national organisation called the Child Study Association. The Child Study Association which "through its literature and lecture programmes, and the practice of its influential members ... served as an important arena for exchanges between psycho-medical professionals, teachers and parents" (Hendrick, 1992, p.48). The Child Study Groups were an important arena in which women debated with and took issue with leading male doctors, psychologists, philanthropists and educators. In 1909 for example the Manchester group discussed infant mortality, and pushed for adequate levels of education for girls and women.

Another important conclusion I derived from my detailed investigation of local organisations and groupings is that the local state appears a far more complex and flexible institution than it appears when looked at only in terms of officials and elected representatives. Whatever organisation I approached the local state from, a somewhat different `face' was suggested, and often a different representation of childhood appeared to this in the discourse produced between `the state' and local interest and pressure groups. For instance, when I looked at the local state from the point of view of Ancoats and Manchester feminist organisations, it could be seen in terms of

extending its activities into highly significant areas of people's `private' lives, with a resultant lively contestation of representations of children in terms of women's responsibilities towards them. However, when I approached the local state, in the same place and at the same time, from archival materials concerned with policing or law enforcement, a highly public and visible representation of children perceived as a `problem', due to the perceived threats that children on the streets posed to civil order, but with this sharply differing from the focus on neglectful parenting that appeared in the local state's dealings with powerful local organisations such as the Manchester Refuges or the NSPCC.

The local institutions and organisations whose archival records I have investigated consisted of networks of people with shared concerns and beliefs connected with their perceptions of `the problem of children', predominantly working-class children, and their shared concern with rescuing, proselytising or teaching such children. The people I focused on were located within various overlapping local networks in which ideas were identified, shared and put into action or challenged and changed. These individuals and organisations, I have argued, are best seen dynamically over time, as individuals enter or leave the network, when they debate new ideas which may be adopted and other practices dropped. These organisations were both cooperations between people but also at times consisted of conflicting or opposed interests which often lead to changing practices within them. Thus the founding of the Manchester Refuges can be seen from the point of view of Leonard Shaw, whose ideas developed amidst a circle of friends who shared a similar social background and religious beliefs. Yet the formation of the Refuges was not premised solely around the views and beliefs of these individuals, but was constituted in a city which contained other structured organisational responses to perceived problems, such as an extensive Ragged School Union, an enthusiastic School Board, Missions for Young Girls, Evangelical Missions, amongst others. In addition, the organisation depended on the amount of funds it could raise, the number of volunteers it could recruit, as well as the uncertainty of how the

children and their parents would respond to the organisation's working practices. Additionally, the organisation's policies sometimes changed dramatically over time. For instance, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, the organisation was at best silent on the issue of corporal punishment while, as I have discussed, after the key figure of Alexander Devine left, the Refuges launched a campaigned to curb the severity of corporal punishment.

I have used the example of the Refuges' policy towards corporal punishment as an example here, but through this thesis I also provided other examples where structuration occurred at the point of individuals acting in localised networks over a period of time and within particular material as well as ideational circumstances. For example, I have discussed this in relation to the religious policies of the Refuges (Chapter 4), `cultural missions' to Ancoats (Chapter 5), and the development of Lads' Clubs (Chapter 6). This notion of time and structuration is something which my research has led me to conclude is fundamental to both historical and sociological studies. Both disciplines seek to explain phenomena in terms of time. In my thesis I have looked at how local categories of `children' and `childhood' were constructed, what they were at one time, and how they were contested and reconstructed, how they changed over time. Understanding social phenomena is I think best achieved by examining representational categories and actual organisational practices over time, whether one chooses to focus on children in the 1890s or indeed in the 1990s. Furthermore, it is also my conviction that understanding of responses to `children' and `childhood' in the 1990s can best be achieved by looking at historical precedents, including from the 1890s.

The Sociology of Childhood

My thesis contributes to the sociology of childhood in a number of ways. Firstly, it provides a `historical perspective' on modern social problems such as `child abuse' by discussing historical precedents. Secondly, by focusing on time and structuration, representations of children today can be viewed as occurring in and over time and through complex and contested organisational practices, thus challenging analytical categories which are fixed and consequently fail to account for variability across time. Thirdly, a generalised notion of `childhood' obscures variation by <u>locality</u>, that is, as I dicussed in the previous section of the conclusion, constructions and experiences of childhood were very different, not only when comparing the situation in Manchester with elsewhere, but also through comparing them within Manchester. Fourthly, accepting generalised notions as `the facts' of childhood significantly obscures what I have shown were at the time highly contested representations and practices, and thus considerably de-politicises the history of childhood; moreover, it also elides the often considerable differences that could exist between representation and practice even with one locality - indeed, even within one organisation.

The thesis also contributes to a sociology of childhood providing an historical perspective on the constitution of `social problems'. Ferguson (1990) has argued that many of the problems faced by social work agencies today have their historical precedents have emerged through "complex struggles and encounters of a long historical duration and character and cannot simply be laid at the door of some simplistic notion of individualised `failure' or post-1970s malaise in practice common to most contemporary interpretations" (Ferguson, 1990, p.141). My research corroborates that this is a useful and sensible way to approach contemporary social problems, for the Victorian debates my research has touched on in relation to local organisations, around the social control of children, training children and young people for future citizenship, the study of children in their environments, and the relationship

of children to the state, are all hotly contested issues today. Such an attention to the past does not necessarily offer any `answers' to these issues but it seems to me rather serves to demonstrate that although such issues have been around for a long time, thay have taken a different `shape' in particular social contexts and at particular times, and that use of categorical titles, like `sexual abuse' or `neglect' or even `childhood' itself, can mask the difficulties in carrying out direct comparisons over time. Such comparisons, I conclude, must always be based on and informed by detailed specific study.

Relatedly, my thesis provides insights into how various local institutions have `developed' over time. In the previous section I have discussed some of the ways in which the local state manifested itself in highly complex and socially contingent ways, and regarding the organisations and groupings I mentioned there, `the state' only acted and behaved in markedly different ways, but the officials who comprised the state were different and also the actions of these different sets of officials were at times at odds with each other. Similarly, my thesis has discussed the way in which voluntary child welfare and protection practices operated locally over a period of time. These practices were justified in terms of `expertise', yet claims to `expertise' were rarely unchallenged.

The focus on time and structuration, I have concluded, provides a means of investigating the actual use of categorical representations of childhood. Looking in detail at the ways in which symbolic representations of childhood are evoked in a local context as I have done, at how and in what contexts these cultural symbols are used, gives an insight into the day-to-day construction, but also contestation and re-working, of notions of childhood. These processes of contestation are ever-present and multi-faceted in the archival materials my research has been concerned with, and of course are political processes through and through. Moreover, departures from public organisation policy in the working practices of practioners, and the activities of

'difficult' parents and 'ungrateful' children, are as involved here as formal conventionally-defined political ctivity.

One important representational change over time that occured during the period my research was concerned with involved the contrasting religious models of children being seen either innately 'sinful' or 'innocent'. If, as Ennew (1986) has claimed, it was believed that children were born sinful, then the social response to children was to ensure 'obedience' by utilising 'harsh disciplinary techniques' or to attach an insufficient value to working-class children which deems them worthy of welfare or protection. Yet during the period I covered in my thesis I found that there was a break with this notion and the gradual growth of a belief in the innate goodness of children. This 'softening' of attitudes went hand in hand with changing organisational practices, to the extent that it seems to be me that any claim to perceive a causal relationship from one (representational) to the other (practice) can be countered by archival evidence, which I conclude shows something far 'messier' and more complete and about which it is simply not possible to make causal claims.

By focusing on time and structuration, my thesis has strenuously argued that generalised notions of 'childhood' obscures variation according to locality. 'Childhood' was not the same for each child across the country. Having discussed this in one of the previous sections of the conclusion, in relation to organisational activity, I now want to address it by noting some of the specificities of Manchester itself. Manchester in the period I am concerned with was to some extent an 'exceptional' city, in that it had a long established and active nonconformist community, a strong 'radical' tradition, what seemed to be a secure economic base, a relatively autonomous and powerful local government, well funded and organised education system and a heterogeneous, cosmopolitan local population (see Messinger, 1985). The Manchester Refuges were particular to Manchester and the services it offered to children were not necessarily reflected in other parts of the country[1]. I have discussed separately (Cockburn, 1995)

the range of innovative child protection service offered in Manchester since the 1870s (prior, that is, to the establishment of the NSPCC) which had an important impact on local constructions of childhood, while at the same time the demand for child labour in the city declined prior to other (particularly rural) localities, which assisted the shift in attitude and practice concerning the economic and social role of children.

I have also focused on the area of Ancoats, where there was a large amount of activities and organisations operating around childhood that did not exist in other parts of the city. For instance, the Art Museum, Ancoats Brotherhood, Manchester University Settlement, Oldham Street Mission, Salvation Army Head Quarters at Starr Hall, Mary Browne Mill Girls' Class, Hugh Oldham's and Heyrod Street Lads' Clubs, were all specific to or based in Ancoats. The public pronouncements of these organistions and the working practices of those active within them took a particular and distinctive local `shape', not least because of the need of all of them to adapt to the existence and activities of the others.

Finally, here generalised notions of childhood not only took local as well as `national' form, but were also at the time highly contested. In relation to public debates, I have discussed how `scientific' definitions of childhood were contested by feminists campaigning to have their voices heard in medical debates around infant mortality, sex education, and social analyses of prostitution, and shown how the `causes' of infant mortality set out by government health officials were contested by feminist scholars. Such debates also impacted upon organisational practice in substantial ways as I showed, for instance, in relation to how feminist interpretations of the causes of and response to childhood prostitution were different from `moral explanations', with an accompanying strong advocation of adequate sex education for girls within organisational practices, including through the local writing, publication and distribution of local sex education material. My research in the archives I looked at

thus questions a generalised notion of childhood not only at the level of organisational practice but also at the level of representation itself.

The Process of Epistemology

In this final section of the conclusion I focus on the process of epistemology as debated in feminist scholarship. Here I discuss three key aspects. Firstly, I look at how feminist debates have challenged the reliance on fixed and binary categories and instead focused attention on power structures in which some persons, organisations and institutions have the authority to make their definitions `stick'. Secondly, I discuss how seemingly `personal' research issues have a crucial effect on the investigative work being carried out. These include the effects of paying serious analytic attention to fieldnotes and drafts and the interaction between the researcher in the present to those represented in the archives of the past. Thirdly and relatedly, I consider my relative failure to look at and problematise the issue of gender within the research in a systematic and in-depth way that would be consistent with my approach elsewhere in the thesis. This would involve not only an evaluation of masculinity and femininity as defined in the discourses I assessed, which I have carried out, but also recognition that `masculinity' is present within apparently ungendered aspects of both past lives <u>and</u> the process of research, which I failed to do to the extent that now, with the benefit of hindsight, I think necessary.

In writing my thesis I was deeply influenced by the work of Joan Scott (1988), who has in turn been influenced by post-structuralist and feminist writings. With her work in mind, I looked at how representations not only provide interpretations and descriptions of changes in the social organisation and practices of groups, but also how these link with the production of what presently counts as knowledge. Scott argues that in women's history, feminists have tried to change the representations of women

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previously left out of `history', which has in the past been the history of men.. Working within the existing parameters of the discipline, by uncovering new information about women such historians thought that they could right the balance of earlier years of neglect. However, this displayed a certain naivity, in that the gathering of more material about women does not change the importance attached to the achievements of women's lives, and indeed in one respect serves to further marginalise women from the centre of the discipline by defining it as the preserve of women historians, who are themselves marginalised within the discipline.

I found a distinct parallel between Scott's analysis of women's treatment in history with my own understanding and interpretation of children and childhood in history. Within social history, discrimination extends into analytic categories themselves. Notions of categories of identity are used as if they reflect objective experience rather than being modern-day evaluative constructions. By assuming that members of identity categories had entirely separate needs and interests from those of the members of other categories, historians imply that these categories are in some sense natural and inevitable rather than socially constructed phenomena. But in fact, as I discussed earlier in this conclusion, such concepts are unstable, open to contest and redefinition, and require constant reassertion and implementation by those endorsing them: not only in the past, but also within the academic disciplines in the present-day.

In my thesis I have suggested that analytic attention should be focused on how childhood was constructed in the past, how children were identified as a group with their own specific needs and also as objects of concern as `a problem' that adults needed to attend to. In short, issues of power and control as well as care and attention pervaded children's lives and this needs to become the subject of close investigative as well as analytic attention. Thus I focused in Chapters 3 and 4 on how children were

identified as a cause of concern for child rescue organisations such as the Manchester Refuges, and how child rescuers identified and processed the children in their care. In Chapter 5 I discussed the ways in which `cultural missionaries' identified children as an important target for introducing `high culture'. In Chapter 6 I outlined a model of the local state which targeted children in multifarious ways and was, for instance, concerned with the physical cleanliness of children as identified by sanitarians; with the health and well being of mothers and children by feminist campaigners within and outside the local state; and with the local state as a support to voluntary organisations concerned with the welfare and protection of children. I discussed ways in which Lads' Clubs were concerned with opposing the physical threats to the social order posed by boy children, and I briefly discussed opposition to the operations of gender power and control on girls' education.

Linking the different local organisations whose archives I researched was the issue of power and control. People in these local organisations were motivated primarily by compassion, the sense of a wrong needing to be righted, a wish to make things better for those most vulnerable vulnerable members of Victorian Manchester society. However, the product of their endeavour was that children were identified as a separate and distinct social group in need of substantial surveillance and control and thereby reinforcing children's disadvantaged status and legal as well as economic dependency upon adults.

There is in my thesis no claim to a neutral position that can present a complete, universal and objectively true story. If one grants that meanings in the past are established through exclusions, as well as inclusions, there is a corresponding need for reflexivity and self-awareness concerning such patterns of inclusions and exclusions in producing knowledge contemporaneously, including the production of doctoral theses. For many researchers, however, `the archives' are the place where the `facts' of the past are present to be drawn upon. Feminist scholars such as Scott, in contrast, argue

that historical research does not involve gathering or reflecting knowledge about the past, but serves as a cultural institution endorsing, denying, and announcing constructions of this. In my thesis I have looked at the mechanisms of constructing knowledge within the thesis itself by focusing on the processes of reading and writing; and this attention to reading and writing was significantly informed by, amongst other influences, the feminist utilisation of ethnomethodology to look at 'textually-mediated relations of ruling' (Smith 1987).

My thesis argues that close attention should be paid by researchers to the processes of reading. In Chapter 2 I argued that reading was central to the documentary method, and throughout I have looked at some of the complexities involved in reading which challenge the view that 'truth' can be unproblematically retrieved from archival texts. As I discussed in Chapter 5, my reading played a considerable role in relation to my interpretation of 'cultural missions' to Ancoats: While my reading was directed by my own research agenda, and I read texts, or parts of texts, which might throw light on my particular research problem and consciously chose to ignore others, by a serendipitous drawing on a variety of contemporary writings, my reading highlighted new and challenging information which changed my assumptions. It was thus that I became aware of the importnce of the Manchester University Settlement and the Manchester Art Museum as 'cultural missionaries' to Ancoats. Relatedly, I have explicated something of the process whereby I 'made sense' of archival materials. In demonstrating my 'documentary method' of reading and interpreting the archives, I showed how as a reader I was not passive in receiving information, but actively questioned, noticed, interpreted, evaluated and discarded what was in the texts, a process which often compelled me to ask different questions and re-assess old answers.

On the other hand, I have also emphasised and shown the constitutive nature of writing in my thesis. For instance, in my discussion of my writing about the Manchester Refuges in Chapter 4, I demonstrated how what is written constructs the reality of the Refuges for a reader. I also argued that attempts should not be made to divorce the writing from the author, but that the researcher/writer should be written into the research report, in my own case by giving the reader as much insight as possible into how I approached the archival texts, interpreted them and arranged these interpretations to constitute a version how these organisations understood childhood and treated children over the period I was concerned with. Further, by analytically reflecting upon and assessing my writing, in Chapter 6 I utilised my fieldnotes to construct a more complex model of the local state in Manchester; my fieldnotes here acted as a check on what I became aware was an excessively ordered and patterned narrative in my `writing-up', and the complexities evident in my fieldnotes returned me to data which represented the complexities of daily that life the archival texts themselves involved.

Of course, as I have discussed in the thesis, this focus on the process of writing and representation of archival materials demonstrates that the research process from reading to writing notes to diary to drafts to thesis is not unidirectional and referential but rather dialectical and partial, and this is looked at in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. My writing does not reflect the `real' past, but constructs an account of it. The production of this account is one deeply embedded in the social relations of academic life, but also encompasses my attempt to grasp something of the lives and experiences of those people of the past who, through the archival documentation of their actions, laid the foundation of my thesis.

This focus on processes in research involving reading and writing, which are normally hidden in academic texts, made me keenly aware of the partial construction in

my work of the contents of the archives I looked at. As I reflected upon this, such partiality was particularly apparent as I re-evaluated the place of gender in my research. In particular I failed to de-centre my treatment of `children' as male children, something particularly especially in my discussion of `youth' as revolving around `lads', where it was only later and rather briefly that I seriously discussed the situation of girls. My earlier discussion of the Manchester Refuges had found there were profound differences in the treatment of boys and girls, for instance in terms of the organisations' workers future expectations of boys and girls, the tendency to be more concerned with the `moral surroundings' of girls than boys, and the fact that boys and girls were separated into Boys' Homes and Girls' Homes, and I discussed this in earlier chapters of the thesis. However, it was only later when I realised that I simply accepted such differences, rather than problemetising them by, for example, looking at what contrary organisational practices might have existed which challenged this, what alternatives might have been offered by other organisations and groupings, and by de-constructing notions of masculinity, as well as femininity, in the discourses of the organisations looked at.

This failure in my work actually strengthens the argument I have made, that research is directly interconnected with the intellectual biography of the researcher. I reviewed these matters in terms of my particular research agenda as well as the viewpoints and understandings which constitute the interface between my interests in the present and in the past. Some writers on children in the past, such as James Kincaid (1992), have argued that the assignment of the importance of gender is actually a relevancy of the late twentieth century only, for "a century or so ago gender was of little importance in the usual sort of thinking on children" (Kincaid, 1992, p.15). However, while in my work I noticed the enormous contemporary relevance of gender, for the vast majority of children written about and looked at by nineteenth century commentators were female and, as noted earlier, boys and girls were treated very differently, I still did not attach as high a significance to gender analytically as is

evident descriptively in the data. Thinking about why this happened, my conclusion is that my focus on organisations and organisational processes, rather than the obviously gendered occupational place-holders in and clients of these organisations, had a prime effect on what kind of past I constructed and wrote about, what form of `gaze' I the researcher had on the past.

Finally, I have argued throughout this thesis that the approach of constructing a complete `factual picture', may be an ideal but it is also idealised because `facts' can rarely be known in their entirety and with complete certainty, for the nature of the social world is too vast and complex to know in this way. Moreover, claims to establish the facts and to provide the `definitive work' serve to close debate and are perhaps best seen as part of claims-making within the academic disciplines. By challenging accepted categories of interpretation, debate is stimulated and advanced. Debate is further stimulated by adopting a methodological approach which leaves open to the reader the processes by which categories of interpretation were arrived at. The necessity for challenge and debate is particularly pertinent in relation to children in the 1990s, a time when children's `rights' are being discussed, their `ownership' contested, their `nature' insinuated, their `development' measured, in ways which are interestingly contrasted with the 1890s, when similar or related debates were taking place.

[1] Although there were other similar organisations operating in different cities such as Stephenson's in South London, Quarriers in Glasgow and MacPherson's in Liverpool.

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APPENDIX 1

To the Committee of the Manchester and
Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges and
Homes and Children's Aid Society
Frances Street
Strangeways
Manchester.

I, _____
hereby declare that _____ my _____ enters the
Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges and Homes
and Children's Aid Society, Manchester (hereafter styled
'the said institution'), with my full approval and
consent, and, in consideration of your receiving ___ into
the said Institution, I agree with the Committee for the
time being of the said institution, that I will not
remove ___ without your consent, or in any way interfere
with ___ as long as ___ remains therein.

    And I also undertake and agree that in case of my
removing ___ contrary to the wishes of the Committee for
the time being of the said institution, or if ___ shall
leave without your permission, I will on demand pay to
the Committee for the time being of the said Institution,
such a sum (in respect of ___ board), as will be equal to
the aggregate of ___ shillings per week, to be
calculated from the time of ___ admission to the time of
___ removal, or leaving the said Institution, and such
further sum as shall have been expended for ___ clothing
and other necessities as shall be shown by the books kept
by the Master or other Superintendent of the said
Institution.

    I also promise and agree to remove the said _____
_____ at any time if called upon to do so, and I also
agree to your fining ___ a home either in England or
abroad as you may think proper.

    Dated this _____ day of _____ 188_

    Witness _____

    Signature of parent or Guardian _____

Case Paper: 8
Filled in By: Joseph Popplewell
Name: John Dawes [Pseudonym]
Address: -
Age: 13
Condition: Neglected
Date: 28 January 1887
Father: Edward Dawes [pseud]
Occupation: Labourer
Mother: Margeret Dawes [pseud]
Occupation: -
Details:
This boy is one of a family of seven all illegitimate -
the mother has cohabited with the father for 20 years. He
is ill in Bolton infirmary and the mother has sold all
the furniture, drunk the money and turned the boy into
the streets - He was found sleeping out and mixing with
the worst company.

Boy sent to Canada July 1889. T.R. Ackroyd.

Dear Mr Ackroyd.

I am writing to you concerning John Dawes. I am left with
little doubt of the boys circumstances should he remain
in England. There is nothing left before this lad but a
degraded and criminal life if you don't take him. His
mother is hardly ever sober. The six other children in
her care are being monitored. Will keep you informed.
             Yours J. Popplewell.