

# GILBERT KIRLEW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN'S SOCIETIES IN VICTORIAN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD

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**Gilbert Kirlew, an evangelist and philanthropist, made a significant contribution to the care of crippled children in Victorian Manchester. However his work was largely forgotten following a scandal in 1895. He transformed the Band of Kindness from an animal welfare society into an evangelical Crippled Children's Help Society. This society became one of the main bases for the social and medical support of disabled children, and later, disabled adults in the city.**

The social problems of the working-class in late Victorian Manchester and Salford are well known. Slum areas such as Redbank, Ancoats and Greengate were notorious for their poor housing and sanitation; they were a focus for all the social evils - unemployment, crime, alcoholism and disease. The problems of homeless children, child cruelty and crippled children were endemic in these areas. A healthy working-class youth might escape from the slums through 'self-help' but for the crippled child the only prospect of help was of a hand-out from one of the many Victorian philanthropic societies.<sup>1</sup>

The scope of Victorian philanthropy was extensive; there seemed to be no social problem that it would not tackle - animal welfare, fallen women and temperance are well known examples. From the 1870s onwards much of this philanthropic effort became focused on child welfare. Initially this was a response to the growing problem of homeless street children ('street arabism') and child cruelty, but after 1890 some philanthropists began to specialise in what was perceived as a 'new problem' - the crippled child.<sup>2</sup> It was in this area that Gilbert Richardson Kirlew (1858-1908), was to make a significant contribution.

In 1882 Kirlew helped to found a children's evangelical and animal welfare society in Manchester known as the Band of Kindness (BOK) and edited its magazine entitled the *Children's Own Paper*. In 1897 he transformed the BOK into a Children's Help Society to help home-bound crippled children. Later this was reorganised as the Crippled Children's Help Society (CCHS, 1904) which ran the Children's Orthopaedic Hospital in Marple.<sup>3</sup> He worked closely with his friend and fellow evangelist, Leonard Shaw (1834-1902), who founded the well known Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges and Homes in 1870.

Kirlew was for a time ostracised by the Manchester middle-class following a scandalous article published in a local paper, *Spy*, in 1895. Although his reputation was quickly restored, he and his wife never fully recovered from the shock and it was mainly for this reason that his work for crippled children was forgotten. Nevertheless the organisation he left behind - the CCHS - grew into an important Manchester charity which is still active today.<sup>4</sup>

## Street Arabism

The philanthropic and political work of the seventh Earl of

Shaftesbury (Lord Ashley, 1801-88) for child welfare is well recorded.<sup>5</sup> During the 1840s he became concerned about the number of homeless children in London who slept rough in side streets and eked out a living by begging or street trading. He described them as a 'ragged race' and he popularised the phrase 'street arabism' for their way of life.<sup>6</sup>

In Manchester the problem of street children was noticed in the 1840s but it was not perceived as a major problem until after the cotton famine in 1865. Surveys carried out by Leonard Shaw gave the impression that the problem was aggravated by run-away boys flocking to Manchester from other towns; many who were 'neither orphans nor destitute, but chiefly out for the purpose of finding money for drunken or vicious parents'.<sup>7</sup> Kirlew estimated, in a paper he presented to the Manchester Statistical Society, that there were about 700 children on the city's streets each night - most worked late into the night selling matches or newspapers. About 15 per cent of the children were under 10 years old. Over three years, 1,552 children were found street-hawking during the hours prohibited by the 1882 Corporation Act.<sup>8</sup>

*Mr and Mrs Gilbert Kirlew.*



For most street children the only help available was that offered by the Ragged School Union movement founded by Lord Shaftesbury in 1844. These schools were often just a single room run by a voluntary evangelical teacher but they offered the prospect of warmth and food.<sup>9</sup> In Manchester ragged schools started to be established in the 1850s and the Manchester and Salford Ragged School Union was founded in 1858. The schools became an important focus for those caring for neglected children; Kirlaw taught at the Heyrod Ragged School and Shaw was a teacher at the St. Anne's Ragged School.<sup>10</sup>

### Missions, Homes and Refuges

The ragged schools highlighted the need for overnight shelters and more permanent 'Homes' for the industrial training and moral education of street children. The best known of these organisations in Manchester was the Boys' and Girls' Refuges and Homes' opened by Leonard Shaw and others in 1870.<sup>11</sup> A children's mission had already been started by Alfred Alsop (1844-93) in 1869. This was the Manchester and Salford Street Children's Mission, but was better known as the Wood Street Mission. Its ragged school and hostel were greatly publicised by mass marches of street children and through its magazine entitled *Delving and Diving*.<sup>12</sup>

In 1876 Gilbert Kirlaw started work at the Union Bank of Manchester in Piccadilly. He befriended a group of street youths in Albert Square whom he taught to read and write in his lunch hour. It was his discovery of one of these boys, dying from tuberculosis, under a cart in a side street, that determined him to involve himself more seriously in philanthropic work. In 1879 he joined Alsop at the Wood Street Mission to help edit *Delving and Diving*. He wrote articles for the magazine and helped organise the mission's marches and seaside trips. The stories he contributed were generally about the 'rescue' of street children and some referred to sick and crippled children.

In 1881 he broke with Alsop and 'launched into children's work on his own account and founded the Children's Aid Society (CAS)' which organised city street work for boys, such as messengers and shoe-black brigades.<sup>13</sup> The CAS only lasted about year; it duplicated some of the work done at the Refuges and James Fraser, the Bishop of Manchester, urged that the CAS should merge with the Refuges.<sup>14</sup> So in 1882 Kirlaw joined the Refuges as the joint honorary secretary alongside Leonard Shaw; the Refuges' official title was expanded in recognition of this new addition to the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges and Children's Aid Society. Kirlaw organised the Refuges' work brigades including the Caxton Brigade's printing press at the Francis Street headquarters. He was responsible for editing not only the Refuges' own paper, the *Christian Worker*, but also the *Children's Own Paper*. By editing the *Children's Own Paper* under the name of 'Uncle Gilbert' he effectively took over the Band of Kindness (BOK) which he incorporated into the Refuges' activities. Finally, in the same year he was promoted at the age of 24, he became the chief manager of the Union Bank of Manchester. Thus by the early 1880s Kirlaw had established his reputation as a philanthropist and evangelist. He had done well to link himself to Shaw, who was already well known and respected throughout Manchester.

### Band of Kindness

Kirlaw always acknowledged that the Band of Kindness was founded by Frank Fearnley, 'Uncle George', as a weekly 'children's corner' in the *Stockport Advertiser* in January 1882. The column was aimed at middle-class children who were interested in animal and bird welfare. It quickly became popular and thousands of children joined.<sup>15</sup> This was more than just a children's interest in pets; it reflected the growing

Victorian middle-class interest in animal welfare. Queen Victoria's royal patronage of the SPCA in 1840 had made animal welfare issues fashionable; especially as after the 1870s more contentious issues like vivisection and field sports were supplanted by kindness to pets and birds and protecting wild species. Fearnley modelled the BOK on the 'Dicky Bird Society' in Newcastle. He also had the example of the Band of Mercy; a children's branch of the RSPCA, which was started in 1876 to teach school children 'to protect animals from cruel usage, and to promote ... their humane treatment'.<sup>16</sup> Bird protection dominated the early BOK; the members pledge included the words 'to feed the birds in the winter time, and never to take or destroy a nest'. There was concern that despite the Bird Protection Acts (1869, 1872, 1880) bird numbers continued to decline through uncontrolled hunting, taxidermy and egg collecting. Although not directly connected with the BOK, one may note that the Society for the Protection of Birds (1889) - later the RSPB (1904) - was founded in Didsbury to protest against the fashion plumage trade.<sup>17</sup>

After Kirlaw took over in 1882, the BOK continued its interest in animal welfare - mainly under the influence of his sister, Miss Marianne Kirlaw. She not only encouraged the children to be kind to animals but also tried to improve the care of the street traders' donkeys. The BOK's annual donkey parades became well known in late Victorian Manchester.<sup>18</sup>

Gilbert Kirlaw was more concerned to develop the evangelical side of the Society, mainly through the *Children's Own Paper (COP)*. He stated that the object of the magazine was mainly to develop 'habits of kindness and temperance such as will lead to a Christian purity'. Through the *COP* he forged links with other evangelical groups including the YMCA, the Methodist Mission and the Band of Hope. He organised special seaside evangelical services and invited missionary preachers to give the sermon.

An important part of the evangelisation of the BOK was to stress the link between kindness to animals and kindness to neglected street children. The BOK pledge stated the members would not only 'treat kindly every kind of animal' but also 'try to act more kindly to all children and all persons'. One could not condemn animal cruelty and ignore child cruelty. William Mather, the Liberal MP and Manchester industrialist, commented about the BOK members that their:

*sympathy and regard for dumb animal would show itself in another form - they would have sympathy for their fellow creatures.*<sup>19</sup>

In 1886 Leonard Shaw noted that:

*one of the most beautiful developments of the BOK has been the sympathy its members have shown for the sorrow and sufferings of poor children.*<sup>20</sup>

The most effective way for Kirlaw to channel this evangelical zeal was through the Refuges. Although he always stressed that the BOK and Shaw's Refuges were 'two distinct things', he described them as 'dovetailed together'. By 1886 the BOK had largely become a juvenile fund-raising branch for the Refuges, and Kirlaw, as 'Uncle Gilbert', was using the *COP* to promote the Refuges' activities. The BOK members collected funds to support the emigration and training of orphan children by Mrs Birt in Liverpool and also to support the Refuges' seaside home for sick children in Lytham - both special interests of Kirlaw.<sup>21</sup>

The year 1886 proved to be an important one for Kirlaw. It was clear that his philanthropic ambitions were best served by his work as co-secretary at the Refuges, especially as he was also appointed by Shaw as the honorary secretary to the Manchester

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.<sup>22</sup> He married Elizabeth Whitworth (a vicar's daughter from Taxal) and moved to the then fashionable Ellesmere Park in Eccles. He gave up his job as bank manager and became Shaw's business partner in the Scottish Life Assurance Company.

By 1890 Kirlaw was a recognised authority on child emigration which he organised for the Refuges. In 1894 he visited Canada to inspect the homes, and presented a paper on emigration to the Manchester Statistical Society. Finally he was empowered by the Manchester Poor Law Guardians to arrange emigration for poor-law children - that year the Refuges sent 108 children to Canada.<sup>23</sup>

Kirlaw's reputation continued to grow. The BOK had become effectively a juvenile branch of the Refuges and the *COP* was incorporated in the *Christian Worker*. Kirlaw was now a major figure in the work of the Refuges and Leonard Shaw - his friend, business partner and fellow evangelist - acknowledged Kirlaw's efforts by reorganising the Refuges' management. Kirlaw was made responsible for a half of the work, on equal terms with Shaw - a great honour.<sup>24</sup> Shaw could have had no inkling of the scandal which was to break in 1895.

### The Great Scandal

Kirlaw's work at the Refuges came to an abrupt end following the publication of a scandalous accusation, in a yellow press Manchester paper called *Spy*, by its editor Henry Yeo. The attack came without warning but it could have not been worse for someone whose philanthropic work was with children. On the 15 June 1895 *Spy* described him:

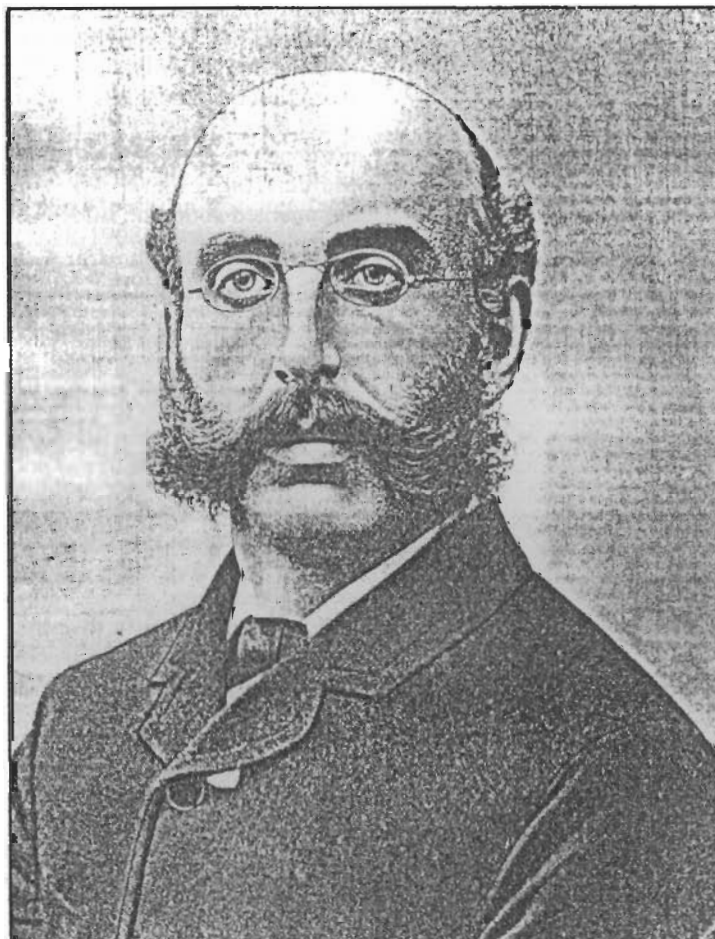
*Mr Gilbert R Kirlaw, the preacher and philanthropist, is a preposterous being. He is an immoral man - if that word may be applied to him without libelling the rest of mankind. His improprieties are of the unnatural order.*

*His real love of street arabs is too real. His inventive genius in winning their confidence is too original. he is a loathsome being, who has misused the name of God and the vicariate of Christian work to gratify his unnatural passion. Refuge boys are his victims.*<sup>25</sup>

The article continued in an increasingly scurrilous vein and more details were promised in the next issue. Kirlaw brought an action for criminal libel which temporarily held up further attacks in print. Leonard Shaw and W.J. Crossley, the Refuges' chairman, wrote a supportive letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (15 June 1895) in which they stated that they believed the 'vile charges' were 'utterly untrue'. Unfortunately, because of bad legal advice, Kirlaw did not press his case.<sup>26</sup> This unwise move left him vulnerable to a further attack in *Spy*. A second article followed which ran to two editions and was illustrated by a photograph of Kirlaw originally printed in the *COP*!<sup>27</sup> The impact on Kirlaw and his wife could be imagined:

*My husband, dazed and almost maddened by the horror...deserted by those on whom he had the best right to rely; his work stopped; his name wiped out as a disgrace; and himself excluded not only from committees, platforms, and pulpits, but from the very Table of the Lord...not because those who excluded him believed him guilty...but because they thought others did.*<sup>28</sup>

Leonard Shaw stood by him; in July 1895 he published a long open letter in defence of Kirlaw and to limit the damage to the Refuges. He made it clear that this was a major scandal without any foundation. The accusations had been made by two young men who were former inmates of the Refuges and whom Kirlaw had dismissed for misconduct in 1894 - 'they entertained bitter feelings towards him, and had been heard to threaten him'. He pointed out that Oscar Wilde's trial had only finished three weeks before and he was convinced that the publicity



Gilbert Kirlaw, 1891.

from this had put the idea in the youths' minds of communicating with the *Spy* paper. Shaw gave the strongest personal support to Kirlew, emphasising that during the fourteen years Kirlew had worked at the Refuges there had never been any hint of improper behaviour; he believed Kirlew had been 'foully slandered'. He explained how Kirlew had been given disastrous legal advice at the trial; none of his character witnesses were called - pending referral to the Assizes - but the magistrates took this to indicate that there was no evidence in support of Kirlew and dismissed the case against Yeo! Shaw criticised the evidence; he pointed out the allegations in the statements were over five years old and that the statements were written in a style suggesting they were dictated by an adult. Finally, they were made by those holding a grudge against Kirlew.<sup>29</sup> Others stood by Kirlew; the Crossley brothers wrote in his support and some of the older Refuge boys formed a 'Kirlew Defence League and Vindication Committee'. Nevertheless, he had to resign from the Refuges, the *Christian Worker* ceased publication and his name was obliterated from the Society's literature.<sup>30</sup>

Yeo was strongly anti-semitic and it is possible that he had had Kirlew on his list of targets for some time; Kirlew had made some abortive attempts to improve relations with the Jewish community around Cheetham Hill. Bill Williams has made an analysis of *Spy*.<sup>31</sup> It was a weekly satirical 'serio-comic' which ran from April 1891 until 1898. It was the brainchild of Henry Yeo, a former teacher turned journalist who worked in various provincial newspapers including the *Stockport Advertiser*. Yeo lost his job at the *Advertiser* because of an anti-semitic article about a Jewish prize fighter in 1870.<sup>32</sup> Williams regards Yeo's brand of anti-semitism as much more extreme than the more benign nationalistic style of anti-semitism promoted in some other Manchester newspapers at that time. *Spy* was a scandal sheet which was against everything and attacked everyone. It not only contained the worse sort of anti-semitic abuse but was generally xenophobic with attacks on Germans, Italian-Catholics and Poles. Yeo also disapproved of 'all denominations, the Puritanical Party of C.P. Scott, sweaters of every description, scuttlers, women's righters, and the pomposity and corruption of local philanthropy'.

Yeo's downfall and bankruptcy were brought about by another libel action in July 1898 (*Southam v Yeo and Percival*). He was sentenced to a year in Wakefield prison for criminal libel along with his partner Percival Percival.<sup>33</sup> After 7 months Yeo was sent to Wakefield Asylum as a 'criminal lunatic' and transferred to Prestwich Asylum in July 1896. His medical records stated that he was aged 33 and suffered from 'chronic mania of persecution'. He suffered from hallucinations and believed the staff could read his thoughts. After three weeks he was 'discharged, not improved'.<sup>34</sup>

In 1896 Kirlew and his wife moved to Lancaster. His employers, the Scottish Life Assurance Company, stood by him and he was appointed as their Lancashire agent. Unfortunately Yeo continued to hound Kirlew with further articles in *Spy*. This time Kirlew did not falter - he pressed his libel case and, with the help of Dr Barnardo and other character witnesses, successfully prosecuted Yeo in 1898 who again went to prison for criminal libel.

Kirlew's good name was fully restored. This was publicly acknowledged in *The Christian* magazine of 28 July 1898, which included a testimonial from Dr Barnardo. But Kirlew did not return to Manchester and in 1906 he moved to Leeds. He started a Children's Church, whose mission members visited crippled children in their homes. The scandal had affected his health, he was already weakened following an attack of tuberculosis in 1890. Nevertheless he continued his

charitable work for the Sunday School Union and the YMCA right up to his death, on the 27 February 1908 at the age of 49 years.<sup>35</sup>

### Helping Crippled Children

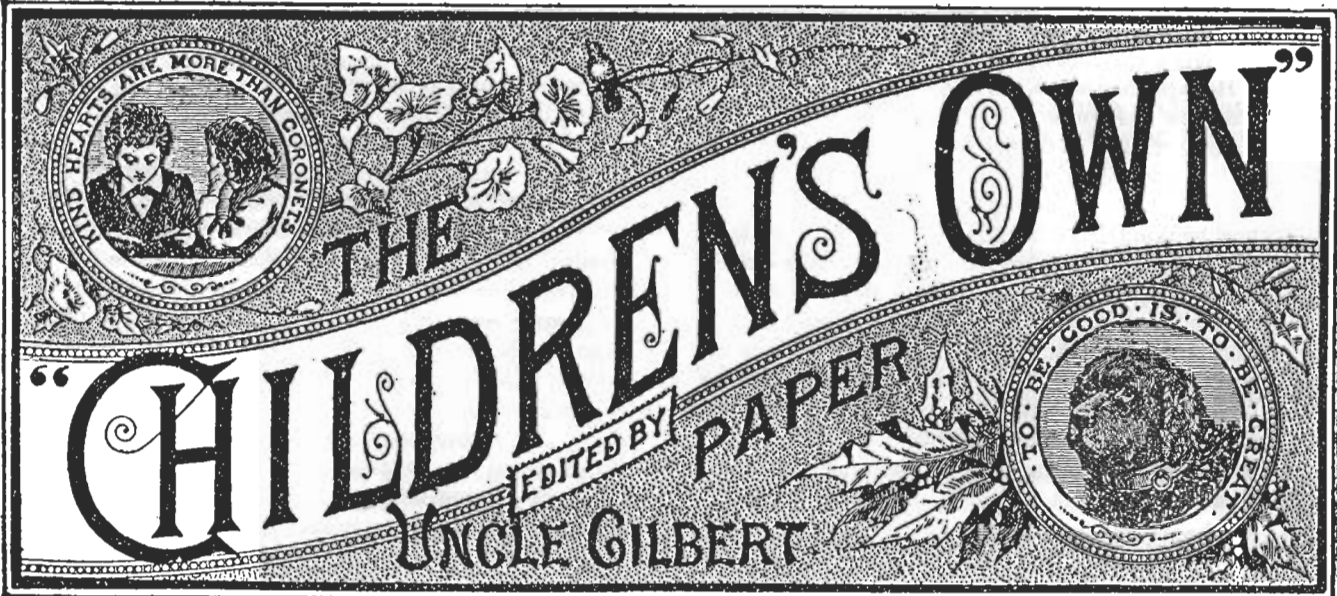
The problem of crippled children was endemic in nineteenth-century industrial cities, but as we have seen it was only from the 1870s that it started to attract special attention. Those working at ragged schools noted the high number of crippled children who worked as street traders - easily identified by their limping gait, crutches and calipers - these were the 'street cripples'. In the 1890s a further 'hidden crippledom' of 'home-bound cripples' was discovered by visiting societies.<sup>36</sup> This latter group were generally doomed to fade away at home or in the workhouse. It is difficult to know the exact numbers but in 1901, in Manchester, there were about 750 children under 14 years (0.3 per cent) who 'lacked the normal use of their limbs'. The commonest cause was tuberculosis of the bones and joints, as the mortality of pulmonary TB declined the incidence of non-fatal but disabling non-pulmonary TB increased. Most street cripples, including Dickens's Tiny Tim, had TB of the hip and most home-bound cripples had TB of the Spine ('Pott's paraplegia').<sup>37</sup> There were other causes of crippling - rickets, infantile paralysis (polio), trauma and cerebral palsy ('spastics') - but bone and joint TB continued to be the main medical problem.

The response of philanthropists to crippled children was social rather than medical and was linked to educational reforms. Dr Barnardo had opened the Children's Fold for cripples in 1885 and the London Shaftesbury Society (the old ragged schools) started to specialise in crippled children's welfare in the early 1890s through their Cripples Parlours and Crutch and Kindness League.<sup>38</sup> The Charity Organisation Society formed its London Invalid Children's Aid Association in 1888. In 1893 it published its report *The Epileptic and Crippled Child and Adult* which advocated special education facilities which became the basis for the 1899 Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act.

In Salford the Greengate Medical Mission (1876), founded by Dr Grimke (1817-88), was unique in its early provision for children with cerebral palsy. In Manchester, in 1890, the Manchester Refuges had opened its Bethesda Home for Crippled Children.<sup>39</sup> These small institutions had little impact on the problem of the Manchester home-bound cripples and it was this group that Kirlew decided to target with his new organisation - the Children's Help Society in 1897. This society was essentially a revival of the old BOK, 'reorganised on a more independent basis'. Kirlew was the chairman and his sister, Marianne, was the Secretary. The Society was not just a part of the rehabilitation of Kirlew's reputation, it was a genuine recognition of the needs of crippled children trapped at home. The original object had been to provide a 'Christmas Hamper service' for home-bound cripples; an idea copied from Treloar's Crippled Children's Christmas Fund, started in 1894. The new BOK and Children's Help Society succeeded in locating and registering over 500 home-bound crippled children. The Society recognised that there was a gap in the city's philanthropic services and that 'much greater things need doing ... fresh air, surgical appliances, a Country Nursing Home', were needed. Marianne Kirlew took over the organisation and started a Cripples' Fresh-Air Fund in 1900 and by 1902 the Society was concerned exclusively with 'crippled and invalid children'.<sup>40</sup>

In 1903 the Children's Help Society was reorganised into the 'Crippled Children's Help Society' (CCHS). Marianne Kirlew and other old BOK members continued their evangelical

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## Our Week at the Lytham Sand Services.

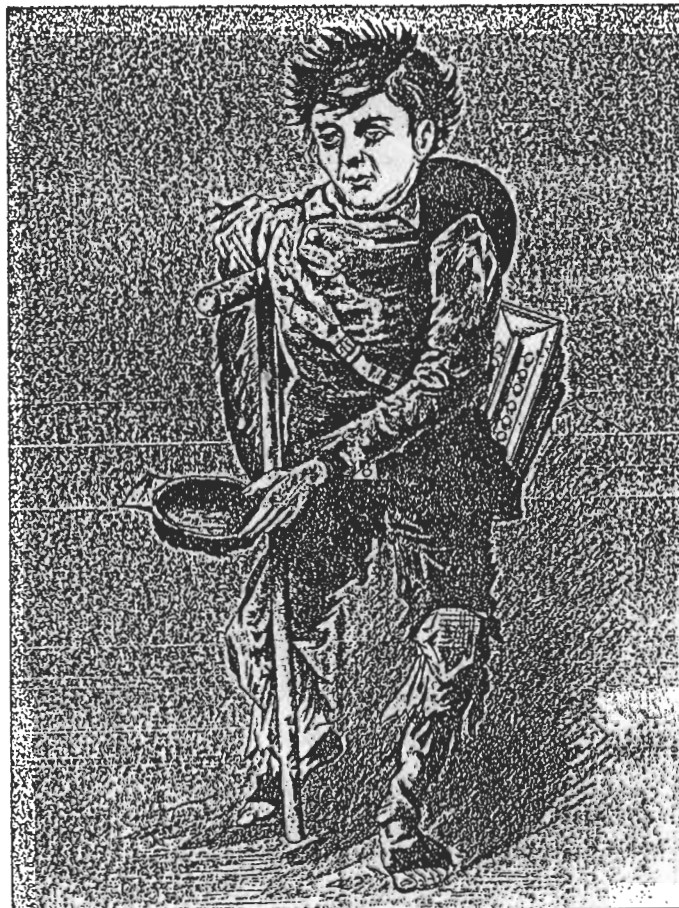
BY ONE WHO WAS THERE.

THERE were about a dozen of us, as noisy, as hungry, and as happy as you can imagine. When we got there it was wet, but the very next day it began to be fine, and we were not driven in by rain from one meeting the whole week.

We had meetings on the sands, morning and evening each day, both at Lytham and St. Anne's. Uncle Gilbert could not be there all the time, but Mr. Pearson, Mr. Bowyer, and several more of your cousins were present, and we had five young men from Mr. Moody's college in America. Everybody called them "the Americans," but all but one belong to this country, and two, David Baines Griffiths and Gervase Green, are old friends and relations. Four of them sing hymns together beautifully. They sound every word so plainly, and sing in such a prayerful spirit, that it goes right into one's heart. I think some of us will never forget "When the mists have rolled away," as it sounded in the



Typical front page of Children's Own Paper.



*Image of Manchester street-cripple taken from "Delving and Diving" 1887.*

mission to help the children. However, the formation of the CCHS was not an isolated event; it was linked to the reorganisation of the Greengate Dispensary in Salford. William Mather, was connected with both charities and hoped they could work together. Dr Alfred Mumford was put in charge of the Greengate Dispensary and was also the honorary physician for the CCHS. He had a special interest in rickets and child growth and was the school doctor for the Manchester Grammar School.<sup>41</sup> For a few years Mumford managed to forge a 'special relationship' but the evangelical approach of the CCHS never fitted with Mumford's ideas. He tended to align himself with another group, the Manchester Invalid Children's Aid Association (ICCA) (1913), an off-shoot of the Manchester University Settlement, which regarded itself as having a more progressive and 'sociological' approach. During the 1920s there was considerable antagonism between the CCHS and the ICAA. The CCHS was proud of its Children's Nursing Home (Rose Hill) at Marple and had no inclination to share the facilities. Further the CCHS continued to distribute Christmas hampers and other handouts - a type of indiscriminate charity which was strongly criticised by the ICAA.<sup>42</sup>

These local developments reflected a wider national crippled child welfare movement, which was in turn part of a general child welfare movement during the early twentieth century. The Passmore Edwards School for Invalid Children (1899), Agnus Hunt's Baschurch Home (1900), the Heritage Craft School at Chailey (1903), and the Manchester Residential School for Crippled Children (Swinton House, 1905) were the first special centres for the care and education of crippled children, the forerunners of what became known as the 'hospital-schools'. The history of these institutions and their professionalisation after the First World War by the newly emerged orthopaedic specialists has been fully recorded elsewhere.<sup>43</sup>

The CCHS's Marple Nursing Home provides a good example; the control of Rose Hill gradually passed to orthopaedic surgeons and the nursing staff, and in 1937 the Home became the Children's Orthopaedic Hospital at Marple. During the 1940s the Hospital provided a valuable medical service for crippled children in the North-West but by doing so the Hospital replaced much of the work done by the CCHS. The Society started to work more with disabled adults and in 1939 was renamed the Cripples' Help Society in recognition of this change.

The Cripples' Help Society became one of Manchester's best known charities. Its 'Golden Age' was during the 1960s when it claimed to be the 'largest organisation of its kind in the UK', looking after 5,900 disabled persons, with 500 volunteers and a turnover of £95,000. From 1970 onwards there were some financial setbacks as well as increasing competition for funds from the growing number of 'single-disease' charities such as the Muscular Dystrophy Society and MS Society. In 1984 disaster struck when a fire gutted the offices in Blackfriars Street; it was only by good luck that the records, including the *Children's Own Paper*, were saved. The Society recovered from this setback; it was renamed the 'Disabled Living Services' and is now based at Redbank House in Cheetham Hill. It continues to work for the disabled through its 'aids and appliances' display centre and by organising training courses for professional staff.

#### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Tony Jones, the director of the Disabled Learning Services, for his help and for allowing access to the records. I owe a special thanks to John Pickstone, Roger Cooter and Joan Mottram of the Manchester Wellcome Unit of the History of Medicine for their generous help and advice throughout my research.

## NOTES

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2. A.F. Young and E.T. Ashton, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (1956), pp.199-206.
3. L du Garde Peach, *Fifty Golden Years 1897-1947*, (1947). This booklet chronicles the first 50 years of the CCHS's history. A full social history of the issues surrounding the CCHS is given in the author's MSc Thesis, *Philanthropy and the Crippled Child: The Band of Kindness and the Crippled Children's Help Society in Manchester and Salford 1882-1948*, Manchester University, (1991).
4. *Children's Own Paper*, (1882-1985), edited by G.R. Kirlaw. This children's magazine is the main source of information about the BOK and Kirlaw. Bound copies of Volumes 3 (1883) to 18 (1895) are kept in the Bodleian Library's special children's collection. The only copies in Manchester (volumes 7 to 16) are stored with the private records of the Disabled Living Services at St Chad's Road.
5. J.L. and B. Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, (1939). G. Best, *Shaftesbury*, (1975). J. Pollock, *Shaftesbury, the Poor Man's Earl*, (1985).
6. E. Hodder, *The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, (1897), pp.149-51. Shaftesbury was Patron of the BOK - Gilbert Kirlaw regarded Shaftesbury as a great hero and wrote an obituary about him in the *Children's Own Paper*, 7, (1885), pp.241-2.
7. L.K. Shaw, 'Memorandum on Street Children', *Annual Report of the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges*, (1877). Ibid, *Street Arabism: Its Causes and Cure*, (1880).
8. G.R. Kirlaw, 'Facts and Figures Relating to Street Children', *Manchester Statistical Society*, (1889), pp.43-50.
9. C.J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom or the Ragged School Movement in English History*, (1904).
10. I.A. Wallace, *History of the Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society*, (undated, c1980s); R.G. Bloomer, *The Ragged School Movement before 1870, with special reference to some Lancashire Ragged Schools*, M.Ed. Thesis, Manchester University (1967). Early Ragged Schools included Hulme 1849, Sharp Street 1853 and Charter Street 1861.
11. W. Edmondson, *Making Rough Places Plain*, (1921); F.W. Pugh, *Childhood and Youth in Late Nineteenth Century Manchester with Particular Reference to the Boys' and Girls' Welfare Society 1870-1900*, M.Ed. Thesis, Manchester University, (1980). The Refuges' large archive is stored at the Manchester Central Reference Library.
12. Centenary Booklet, *Wood Street Mission 1869-1969. Delving and Diving*, 1-13, (1880-93) was edited by 'A. Delver' a pseudonym of Alsop. Kirlaw was described as 'honorary secretary' until 1881. His father and brother ran a printing and publishing firm which may explain his interest in editorial work. Alsop was also a printer by trade.
13. Elizabeth Kirlaw, *Gilbert R Kirlaw, a Brief Memoir*, (1908). This short biography by his wife describes his philanthropic work - the only known copy is in the Leeds Local History Library.
14. The acronyms can be confusing: the 'Children's Aid Society' (CAS) 1881, the 'Children's Help Society' 1896, and the 'Cripples' Help Society' (CHS) 1938, are all separate but related organisations.
15. F. Fearnley, *Stockport Advertiser*, 6 and 13 January 1882. By 1883 there were 17,000 members listed by Fearnley in the 'Big Book of the BOK'.
16. E.G. Fairholme and W. Pain, *A Century of Work for Animals*, (1924); R.D. French, *Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society*, (1975); A. Brown, *Who Cares for Animals?*, (1974).
17. A.R. Farrar, 'For the Love of Birds, the History of the RSPB', lecture to the *Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 15 March 1989. See also the RSPB's *100 Years of Action, Commemorative Centenary Leaflet and Poster*, (1989) and the Reader's Digest *Book of British Birds*, (1973), pp.416-8.
18. The COP recorded the details of all the BOK's activities including the donkey parades, evangelical 'soirees' at the YMCA, meetings of the 'Juvenile Christian Aid Society' at the Refuges, the Band of Hope, Scripture Union, seaside services, missionary work and emigration work.
19. W. Mather, 'Donkey and Pet Show', COP, 8 (1886), p.314.
20. L.K. Shaw, 'Donkey and Pet Show at Radcliffe', COP, 9 (1886), pp.139-40.
21. G.R. Kirlaw, 'Meeting of the BOK', COP, 8 (1886), pp.91-2.
22. The *Boys' and Girls' Welfare Association Archive No. 5542* in Manchester Central Reference Library includes a file of letters about the merger with NSPCC, also see Kirlaw's letter 'rival organisation' in the *Manchester Guardian*, 26 July 1893.
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42. M.D. Stocks, *Fifty Years on Every Street*, (1956); 'A Brief History of the Association', *ICAA Annual Report*, 1912. The Manchester University Settlement started its 'Santa Fina Society' for cripples in Ancoats in 1907 and this became the ICAA in 1913. I am grateful to Michael Rose for his helpful information on the Ancoats Settlement and for access to their records.
43. R. Cooter, his forthcoming book *Surgery and Society in Peace and War: Orthopaedics and the Organisation of Modern Medicine 1880-1948*, gives a full account of the social history of orthopaedics and the crippled welfare movement. I am grateful to Roger for a draft copy of the book and his comments and advice.