

SALFORD LABOUR: A PARTY IN WAITING 1919-1932

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This article explores the fortunes of the Labour Party in Salford's municipal politics between the end of the First World War and the onset of the Great Depression. During these years, Labour was taking control of councils in urban areas, often for the first time. Salford was an overwhelmingly working-class city, yet Labour never quite managed to capture it for "Socialism". Salford was a city with particularly acute social problems and Labour clearly positioned itself as the Party determined to intervene in the local economy to combat overcrowded housing, unemployment, and poverty. Given the large population in apparent need of such intervention and the preponderance of working class electors, Labour's failure to win control in Salford requires some explanation. As this article will suggest, the causes of Salford Labour's frustrations were complex.

The factors that underlay Labour's difficulties in Salford fall into four categories. The first of these was the development of an anti-Labour coalition in the Council which by the late 1920s had become a formal anti-Socialist alliance. The second arose out of internal problems within the Salford Party. On one occasion, a principled, if dogmatic approach to civic duties lost the party the mayoralty and in the following year a series of ill-handled tactics lost the its chance to control the Council. The third and broadest category encompassed a range of social characteristics that created a paradox for Labour. Slum housing, casual employment, poverty, and unemployment established – at least in Labour minds – a crying need for municipal socialism. Yet, it was often in areas of most need that Labour struggled to win votes. Salford's ethnic and religious composition also created difficulties for Labour. The Labour Party's relationship with Salford's numerous 'Irish' Catholics proved problematic throughout this period. While the existence of a substantial minority gave greater purchase to a militant Protestantism, this fed local working class Conservatism.¹

Salford Labour Party

From the resumption of municipal elections in 1919, Salford Labour Party was for most of the period under discussion the most popular single party, measured both in the number of votes gained and in the number of councillors elected. The following tables and graph show that the Salford Labour Party gained more votes overall than did the Conservatives between 1919 and 1932.

Table 1: *Salford Local Elections: Votes Per Party 1918-1932.*²

	Votes	Cons.	Lab.	Lib.	Ind. R/Payers	Others
1919	25,326	7,182	9,086	6,904	2,154	
1920	35,100	11,541	15,670	6,121	1,768	
1921	33,800	12,072	(11,752)	4,538	4,149	1,228 61
1922	40,044	11,273	14,941	2,781	6,857	1,423
1923	29,605	10,013	(9,444)	2,719	5,743	1,695
1924	50,040	15,868	20,841	6,922	1,793	4,616
1925	55,403	19,921	27,186		8,296	
1926	52,609	10,537	25,208	2,001	14,863	
1927	55,018	19,678	25,390	4,687	1,524	3,739
1928	58,097	29,698	(27,983)		3,088	58
1929	49,049	16,157	24,398	5,080	3,414	
1930	51,049	20,879	(20,836)	7,615	1,719	
1931	53,460	29,542	(21,605)		2,208	105
1932	46,088	16,225	24,320	1,995	3,468	80

Table 1 also shows that in every election between 1919 and 1932 the Salford Labour Party gained more votes than did the Liberals. Although the votes did not give Labour control of Salford Council, it is clear that in terms of voting support the Labour Party had pushed the Liberals into third place in overall voter preference. Indeed, as Figure 1 shows, Salford Labour's percentage share of the municipal vote marks a steady trend away from the older Conservative and Liberal hegemonies.

It was not, then, that Salford Labour simply failed to garner votes but that throughout their campaigns there was always a number of wards which they were unable to capture or retain over an unbroken period. Of Salford's sixteen wards, eight, including two of the most crowded, Trinity and St. Mathias', pressed hard against the borough boundary with Manchester. These eight crowded and in some cases heavily industrialised wards looked to be natural Labour territory but, as the tables below show, winning these seats on a long term basis proved difficult for Labour to achieve.

The results of the 1921 local elections, which took place under the new ward boundaries (see Fig. 2 overleaf), included nine new councillors and clearly favoured the anti-Labour candidates. In addition, in 1921, the Liberals matched the Conservatives by virtue of having three candidates returned unopposed. However, between 1924 and 1928 Salford Labour Party was consolidating its position, becoming the largest group on the Council in 1925 and again in 1926. Thus, in 1925, Labour's

Figure 1: Salford 1919-1932 : Percentage Vote Per Party.

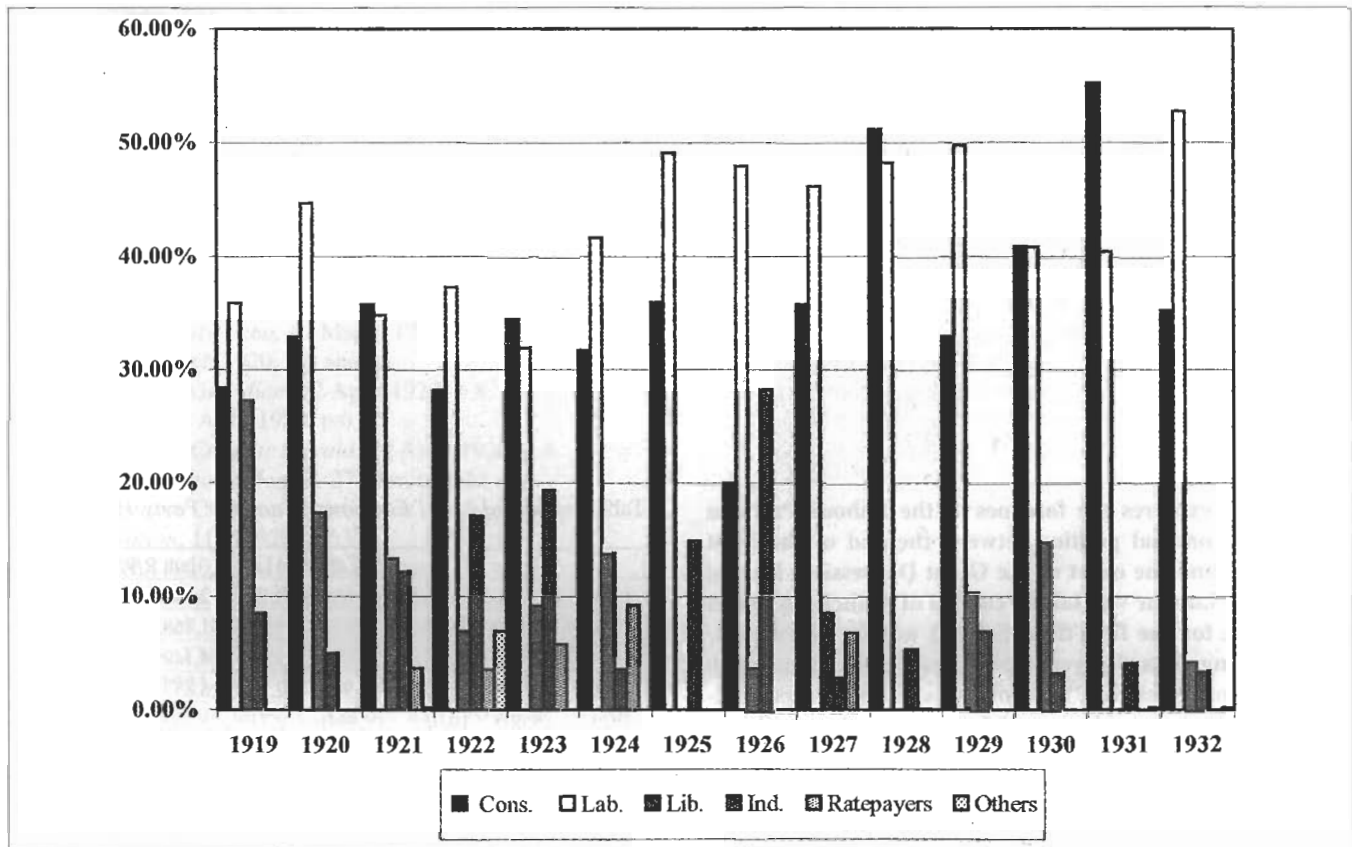


Table 2: Salford 1919-1932: Local Election Results in Eight Selected Wards.³

Ward	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Trinity	Lab.	Cons.	Ind.	Lab.	Cons.	Ind.	Lab.
Crescent	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.
St. Paul's	Lab.	Lib.	Lab.	Ind.	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.
Seedley	Lab.	Lab.	Ind.	R/payer	R/payer	Lab.	Ind.
Langworthy ⁴	-	-	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.
Regent	Lib.	Ind.	R/payer	Cons.	Cons.	R/payer	Lab.
Ordsall Park	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Ind.	Ind.	Cons.	Lab.
St. Mathias ⁵	Lab.	Lib.	Lib.	Ind.	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.

Ward	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Trinity	Ind.	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.
Crescent	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.
St. Paul's	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lib.	Cons.	Lab.
Seedley	Ind.	R/payer	Ind.	Ind.	Cons.	Ind.	Ind.
Langworthy	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.
Regent	Lab.	R/payer	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.
Ordsall Park	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.
St. Mathias ⁷	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Cons.	Ind.	Lab.

claim that it was entitled to its turn in the mayoral elections was valid on Council numbers alone. Labour lost its majority in 1927, but recovered to gain its only real opportunity in this period to win control of the Council.

The local elections then were in themselves frustrating for Labour, since despite, what Garrard describes as, steady "migration" into the Party that most clearly represented working-class interests,⁷ Labour could not establish a permanent power base in some of the most crucial wards. Furthermore, as the councillors rather than the electorate elected the aldermen,

Table 3: Composition of Salford Council 1919-1932.

Number of Council seats held by each party after the November elections⁶

Party	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Conservative	30	26	26	25	22	19	19
Labour	10	13	15	13	12	18	22
Liberal	24	21	18	15	14	13	10
Independent ⁷	0	4	5	10	15	14	13

	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Conservative	20	22	23	22	28	34	33
Labour	23	21	23	26	19	11	12
Liberal	12	12	10	10	11	11	10
Independent	9	9	8	6	6	8	9

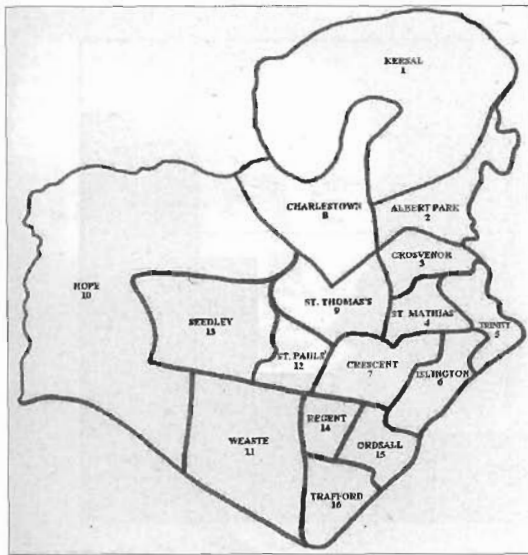
The above figures include the sixteen aldermen, one for each Salford Ward.

Salford Labour Party claimed that the aldermanic bench did not truly represent the popular vote.⁸

The anti-Socialist alliance

In the post-war local elections of 1919, the Salford Labour Party contested eight seats winning six of them, increasing its Council seats from four to ten.⁹ Thereafter, although the Party began to make further advances, its ambitions were often frustrated by the tactics of its opponents. In October 1920, the *Salford Reporter* commented that it was unlikely that the retiring members of either party (Conservative and Liberal) "would oppose each other".¹⁰ This conjecture proved correct, for in the November elections no Conservative or Liberal candidate stood in the same ward.¹¹ Thereafter, it was rare for Liberals and Conservatives to oppose one another in wards where Labour was also standing.¹²

Figure 2: Salford Ward Boundaries before August 1921.



Ward Boundaries up to August 1921.

Table 4 outlines the five contests between Conservatives and Liberals and two in which M. Shloimovitz stood as Independent Liberal in the years from 1921 to 1926.¹³

Table 4: Salford 1919-1932: Contests between Conservatives, Liberals and Independents.

Year	Ward	Contestants	Result
1920	N/A	N/A	N/A
1921	Mandley Park	Cons. vs. Lib.	Cons.
1922	Kersal	Cons. vs. Lib.	Lib.
1923	Charlestown	Cons. vs. Lib. vs. Lab.	Lab.
1923	Kersal	Cons. vs. Lib.	Lib.
1924	Albert Park	Cons. vs. Lib.	Lib.
1925	Albert Park	Cons. vs. Ind. Lib. vs. Lab.	Cons.
1926	Albert Park	Cons. vs. Ind. Lib. vs. Lab.	Cons.

From 1927 to 1932, the Conservatives and Liberals did not oppose each other. This stemmed directly from the formal anti-Socialist alliance that took place from 1926 onwards and undoubtedly reflected the increased number of Labour councillors, since in 1925 Labour became for the first time the largest single party on the Council.¹⁴ (See Table 3) The threat to the anti-Labour parties was made even more obvious by the fact that Labour's number did not include aldermen. Salford Labour Party was clearly gaining a greater share of the electorate's votes.

A further problem for Labour was the intervention of Independent candidates. Most Independents could fairly be described as "conservative", one or two were ex-Liberals. Moreover, importantly for a town with a significant Irish Catholic community, two of the most successful Independents were Roman Catholics. Again, as Salford Labour progressed in the local elections, the contests between Conservatives and Independents became far fewer (see Table 5).¹⁵ Indeed, Table 5 shows that for Conservatives and Independents to contest one another in wards in which Labour also stood ran the risk of splitting the anti-Labour vote. Of the nine three cornered contests between 1920 and 1932, the Conservatives won only three and the Independents one. Labour clearly benefited by winning five of the contests. Most of the contests took place up to and including 1925, that is before the founding of the formal anti-Socialist alliance.

Figure 3: Salford Ward Boundaries after August 1921.⁵



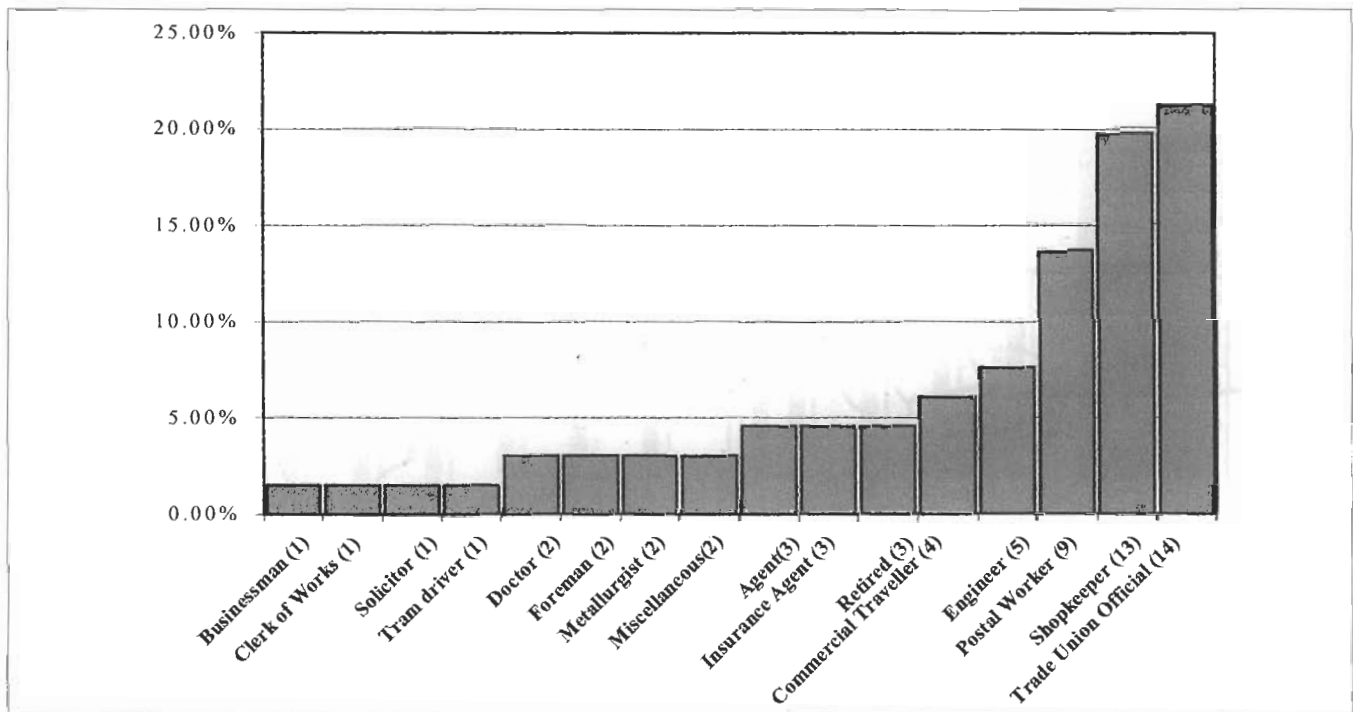
The anti-Socialist alliance was most effective when the Conservatives, Liberals and Independents avoided splitting the vote.

Table 5: Salford 1919-1932: Contests between Conservative vs. Independents.

Year	Ward	Contestants	Result
1920	Charlestown	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Cons.
1920	Grosvenor	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Lab.
1920	Islington	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Cons.
1921	Trinity	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Ind.
1922	N/A		
1923	St. Mathias'	Cons. vs. Ind.	Ind.
1924	Seedley	Cons. vs. Ratepayer vs. Lab.	Lab.
1925	St. Mathias'	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Lab.
1926	N/A		
1927	N/A		
1928	Claremont	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Cons.
1928	St. Paul's	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Lab.
1929	N/A		
1930	N/A		
1931	Regent	Cons. vs. Ind. vs. Lab.	Lab.
1932	N/A		

Following its success at the 1919 election, the Salford Labour group expected equal status along with the other two main parties on the Council. However, although the Conservatives no longer had overall control of the Council, they, and their Liberal allies, were unwilling to offer concessions to Labour in a number of essential areas. First, in early November 1919, Labour councillors proposed that meetings take place in the evenings rather than during the working day. Although this was clearly the most obvious solution for those whose free time and finances were limited, the Conservatives in particular were unwilling to countenance any change.¹⁶ Figure 4 shows the range of occupations held by Labour councillors on election to the council. For example, three Labour councillors were postal workers.¹⁷ Second, anti-Labour domination on Council Committees restricted Labour councillors in the decision making process. Third, the anti-Socialist majority maintained its overall dominance over the Council by excluding Labour nominations for the aldermanic bench. In 1925 Labour had become the largest single party among the elected councillors. However,

Figure 4: Salford Labour Party, 1919-1932: Occupations of Labour Councillors at the Time of their Election.



with all sixteen aldermen in the anti-Socialist camp, Labour could not gain overall control or replace any of the now unrepresentative anti-Socialist members of the aldermanic bench.

Following the November municipal elections in 1929 Labour was poised to take power. The Labour group now had a majority of two over all other parties and planned to replace the eight retiring aldermen with a full slate of Labour nominees. However, following an internal dispute the local party had expelled one of its sitting councillors – J.W. Kay who represented St Mathias' ward. Kay remained a member of the national Party but was excluded from Labour deliberations in Salford. He had not been party to the decision to nominate eight Labour aldermen and voted for the retiring, anti-Socialist aldermen. Therefore, the ballot was tied. The Town Clerk ruled that Alderman Williamson, who was not one of the retiring aldermen, should preside over the ballot. As Chairman, Williamson was entitled to give the casting votes. As all these went to the retiring aldermen, none of the Labour nominees was elected and control of the council slipped from Labour's grasp.¹⁸

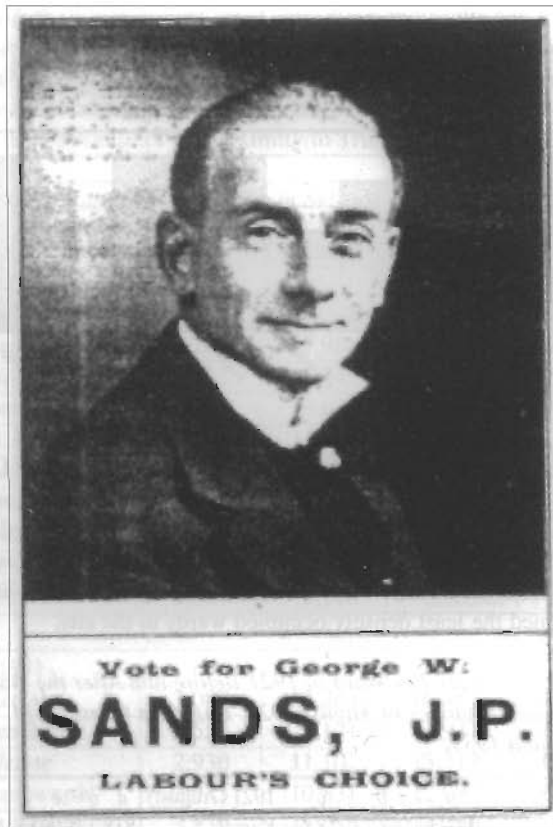
A fourth area of Labour frustration concerned the mayoralty. As Garrard observes, the Labour Party's attitude towards the appointment and office of the mayor preoccupied the local party to the point where Labour councillors saw the role of the mayor as pivotal to their rightful status.¹⁹ In an attempt to break the two party rotation of the mayoralty, Labour contested the Ordsall ward seat held by the Conservative, F. Hampson, the mayor elect for 1920-1921. This was the first time a Salford mayor elect had been opposed at the polls.²⁰ Hampson retained his seat with a 500-vote majority. Finally, in 1925, Delves became the first Labour Mayor of Salford.²¹ However, as Garrard points out, granting Labour the mayoralty had been dependent on no changes being made to the nature of the office.²² In 1928, the Labour councillor for Langworthy ward, Ernest Corbey, was the Council's "unanimous choice" as mayor-elect for 1928-1929.²³ Corbey made it clear that he would abandon a number of 'traditions' and 'customs':

*I do not intend attending any church, and shall not take part in any church ceremonies. This includes the Mayor's Sunday procession. If others are to continue the custom... they are at liberty to do so. ...I shall have nothing to do with it...*²⁴

Because of his radical stance, in 1928 the anti-Socialist Association sponsored a Conservative candidate to oppose Corbey. After the first count, Corbey asked for a re-count which gave his Conservative opponent victory by 105 votes.²⁵ Although the Council was prepared to accept an alternative Labour nominee, Labour councillors refused to compromise, and subsequently the mayoralty went to a Liberal councillor.²⁶ In 1929, the Labour group claimed that Labour Councillor G.W. Sands should be mayor-elect for 1929-1930. The anti-Socialist majority refused this request and chose the Conservative, Alderman Finsburgh, thus reverting to the old rotation.²⁷

In 1930, Sands, again the Labour nominee for mayor, was defeated in the local elections by two votes.²⁸ The narrowness of the Conservative win led the Salford Labour group to claim that their nomination should stand. Again the anti-Socialist majority on the Council rejected Sands, but offered to accept an alternative name. This time Labour agreed and Councillor J. Bloom became the second Labour Mayor of Salford.²⁹

Throughout this period then, the traditional parties treated Labour as an unwelcome and unruly outsider in council matters. Almost from the outset, Labour, echoing the bitter industrial conflicts of the time, brought the politics of class conflict into the Council Chamber itself. As, for example, during the national rail strike between 26 September and 5 October 1919, when, acting on Home Office instructions, the Chief Constable of Salford asked local employers if they would submit names of those employees willing to serve in a proposed corps of Civilian Guards.³¹ The Labour group argued that the Council was "courting disaster" by creating a "blackleg" organisation. Councillor Corbey said that the forming of Citizen Guards was



G.W. Sands Labour Councillor for Ordsall Park. Sands had a general outfitters shop and was a tailor by trade.³⁰

"piling coals on a fire that was already burning, and the consequences would be reaped sooner than some of them thought".³²

In the labour movement it is either evolution or revolution, and revolution is nearer than many of us think. I realise in the action we complain of an attempt to get one class of worker against another... Unless you alter your tactics, we shall have to do what we are anxious to avoid.

The Salford Labour group saw the Council chamber as an extended and legitimate platform for political debate, something which clearly offended the Conservative Councillor Samuel Finsburgh, who observed in 1919 that:

During the five years he had been a member of the Council he had not heard politics talked so much as they had that morning. It had been his great joy to be able to say to his friends, 'We may know politics outside, but we do not know any in the Council Chamber.' The methods being adopted by the Labour members were quite wrong if they wished to attain their object. (Sic)³³

This reluctance to accept that the Council Chamber was no longer the fiefdom of the Liberal-Conservative hegemonies led to confrontations, which in some cases were remote from Salford's real social problems.

The Politics of Housing in Salford

One of the most pressing problems facing Salford was the dire condition of its working-class housing. In 1925, the city was the

most densely populated in Lancashire and in the whole of England was exceeded only by West Ham. During this period Salford had 21 areas listed as "unhealthy".³⁴



Children and the problems of overcrowding.³⁵

Overcrowding was a serious problem particularly where children were concerned, and many houses lacked open space nearby thus depriving them of fresh air and sunlight.

... streets and passages are so narrow and houses so crowded together as to interfere with the penetration of light and the circulation of air. Here the toddlers have to take their airing on the doorstep or in the gutter. The only spaces where they can stretch their limbs are the small crofts where slum dwellings once stood and these spaces are far too few.³⁶

Housing was a central campaigning issue for Labour in Salford during these years and was one which the Party might have been expected to secure significant electoral support. However, for a number of reasons the issue proved to be of only limited value to Labour.

Firstly, municipal intervention solutions to the housing problem were not always popular, particularly once the issue of 'economy' and increased rates came to the fore in 1921. Before then, Labour had campaigned vigorously on housing, making striking gains in 1919.³⁷

Table 6: 1919 Local Election Results in High-Density Wards.³⁸

Ward	a.	b.	c.
Trinity	1.32	Lab.	Yes
St. Mathias'	1.25	Lab.	Yes
Ordsall	1.24	Lab.	Yes
Crescent	1.20	Cons.	No
Regent	1.17	Lib.	No
St. Paul's	1.15	Lab.	Yes
Seedley	0.93	Lab.	No

a. Occupancy per room, b. Party elected, c. Candidate commented on housing

However, in 1920 and 1921 an analysis of press policy statements made by municipal candidates of all parties in Salford's eight most densely populated wards suggests that a pro-active stance on housing had become less popular.³⁹ The number of successful candidates who made no pledges on housing was about the same as those who promised action on housing. Demands for economy appeared to have triumphed over municipal intervention even amongst those experiencing the worst housing conditions in Salford

Labour based its housing policy on slum clearance and re-location to distant parts of the borough such as Kersal, or even beyond the Borough boundaries where new housing was only available at rents that were which were too expensive for most causally employed slum dwellers. Rent arrears were particularly high in Kersal – one of Salford's main new housing sites where new residents also faced extra travel costs and dislocation from familiar surroundings.⁴⁰ Arguably, Salford Labour's housing policies were better suited to workers in regular and better paid employment. In contrast, the "anti-Socialist" policy of repairing the local housing stock had the potential to meet the immediate needs of the slum dwellers more closely and on a much shorter time scale. It also avoided the destruction of their communities.

This goes some way to explaining the apparent paradox of why Labour – despite its repeated and vigorous demands for housing improvement – did not receive strong support from those communities where housing was at its worst. Indeed, in the three most densely populated wards of the city – Trinity, St Mathias' and Ordsall – Labour recorded only a single win in each between 1919 and 1921, all in the untypical year of 1919. This contrasts with the less densely populated wards of Seedley and St Paul's where Labour won in two out of the three post-war contests. The pattern persisted after the re-drawing of ward boundaries in 1921, after which Crescent joined Ordsall and Trinity in the top three most densely populated wards of the city. Between 1922 and 1932 these three wards returned a total of 16 Labour councillors, whereas the middle ranking wards of Langworthy, St Paul's and Regent returned 21.

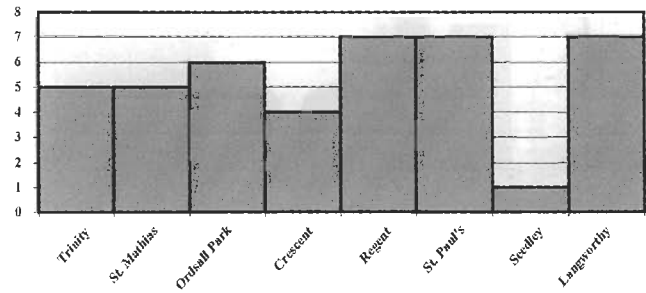
Table 7: Pattern of Voting Related to Population Density Per Ward (1921 and 1931 Censuses).

	1921	a	1931	b
Kersal	Lib.	18.6	Cons.	15.9
Weaste	Cons.	16.2	Cons.	19.5
Seedley	Ind.	39.2	Ind.	37.0
Crescent	Cons.	57.5	Cons.	54.1
Trinity	Ind.	76.0	Cons.	68.1
Langworthy	Lab.	99.9	Cons.	90.3
Ordsall Park	Cons.	105.1	Cons.	96.5
St. Mathias'	Lib.	112.2	Ind.	98.2
St. Paul's	Lab.	118.6	Cons.	106.7
Regent	Ratepayer	145.1	Lab.	129.6

a. Persons per acre in selected wards 1921,

b. Persons per acre in selected wards 1931

Figure 5: Salford Labour Party: Seats Won in Middle Ranking to Most Densely Populated Wards, 1922-1932.



Tables 8 to 10.1, while showing the demographic effect of the ward changes also emphasise the ongoing nature of this overcrowding. Physically, of course, the infrastructure remained the same, with the bulk of the new council-house building focussed on Kersal and Weaste. Even by 1931, Kersal and Weaste remained the least densely occupied wards in the city.

Table 8: Density Per Ward in 1921 Before and After the Ward Boundary Changes of August 1921. Based on Censuses of 1921 and 1931.⁴¹

1921 (June)	a	b	c	1921 (August)	d	e	f
Kersal	1,005	18,677	18.6	Kersal	818	8,993	11.1
Weaste	456	13,842	30.4	Weaste	672	10,894	16.2
Seedley	376	23,673	63.0	Seedley	250	9,719	39.2
Crescent	212	12,311	58.1	Crescent	319	18,352	57.5
Trinity	131	9,390	71.7	Trinity	216	16,421	76.0
Langworthy ⁴²	-	-	-	Langworthy	122	12,192	99.9
Ordsall	114	15,175	133.1	Ordsall Park	169	17,769	105.1
St. Mathias'	124	12,685	102.3	St. Mathias'	158	17,575	112.2
St. Paul's	116	12,826	110.6	St. Paul's	123	14,588	118.6
Regent	81	12,231	151.0	Regent	128	18,571	145.1

a. Area in acres (1911 Census)

b. Population 1921 Census, before boundary changes August 1921

c. Persons per acre 1921 Census, before boundary changes August 1921

d. Area in acres (1931 Census)

e. Population after August 1921, (1931 Census)

f. Persons per acre after August 1921

Table 9: 1931 Census: Density per ward.

1931	a	b	c
Kersal	818	13,036	15.9
Weaste	672	13,122	19.5
Seedley	250	9,246	37.0
Crescent	319	17,248	54.1
Trinity	216	14,703	68.1
Langworthy	122	11,022	90.3
Ordsall Park	169	16,305	96.5
St. Mathias'	158	15,508	98.2
St. Paul's	123	13,119	106.7
Regent	128	16,584	129.6

a. Area in acres (1921 boundary changes, as shown in 1931

Census) b. Population at 1931 Census c. Persons per acre at 1931 Census

The Census figures for 1921 and 1931 show that the "occupancy per room" in Trinity, Ordsall, Crescent, Regent and St. Paul's wards remained significantly higher than in Weaste and Kersal. In addition to the selected wards, St. Mathias' is also included because of its proximity to Trinity.⁴³

Table 10: *Salford: Occupancy in Selected Wards as at 1921⁴⁷ and 1931.*⁴⁴

1921	a.	b.	c.	d.
	#	#	#	#
Langworthy				
Kersal	4,282	17,986	24,565	0.73
Weaste	2,843	12,743	13,967	0.91
Seedley	5,620	23,623	25,448	0.93
St. Paul's	2,796	12,766	11,075	1.15
Regent	2,618	12,166	10,429	1.17
Crescent	2,558	11,525	9,613	1.20
Ordsall	3,215	15,113	12,218	1.24
St. Mathias'	2,659	12,631	10,091	1.25
Trinity	2,087	9,148	6,909	1.32

1931	a.	b.	c.	d.
Kersal	3,087	12,264	16,852	0.73
Seedley ⁴⁵	2,555	9,121	11,947	0.76
Weaste	2,930	11,107	13,713	0.81
Langworthy	2,945	10,831	12,083	0.90
St. Mathias'	3,839	15,286	14,496	1.05
St. Paul's	3,073	12,739	12,139	1.05
Regent	3,984	16,282	14,901	1.09
Ordsall	3,829	15,915	14,389	1.11
Crescent	4,049	16,718	14,333	1.17
Trinity	3,326	13,672	11,376	1.20

a. Number of Private Households, b. Population in Private Households c. Number of Rooms, d. Number of Person per Room

Yet, despite the overcrowding shown in the foregoing tables, as was argued earlier, the most disadvantaged areas in terms of housing were also amongst the least supportive of Labour's housing policies.

Housing was not the only factor determining votes in the most densely populated parts of the city. Religious affiliation and personal loyalties also played their part especially in Trinity and St Mathias' wards. For whatever reason, Labour's message apparently had less appeal among the poorest of the poor than among the slightly better off.

A second essential factor constraining the effectiveness of Labour's housing campaign was the apparent intractability of the problem. In the absence of resources from central government, Salford Council income derived from two sources, the rents from council property and from the rates. Income from both sources suffered from the economic recession and high unemployment which plagued the local economy for much of the period. Salford's Borough Rate had rocketed from 10s 5½d in 1919 to 18s 0d by 1921.⁴⁶ Rates in neighbouring Manchester and Stretford were markedly lower.⁴⁷ As Davies points out, small shopkeepers and publicans were at the forefront of those to feel the knock-on effect of unemployment and irregular employment. Spending on food, clothes and other necessities diminished.⁴⁸ Many Salford businesses found great difficulty in

meeting their rate bills. By 1924, summonses for non-payment of rates and gas charges generated considerable concern in the local press.⁴⁹ Throughout the 1920s, the anti-Socialist candidates, with the aid of a number of Independent Ratepayers, trumpeted the cause of rate cuts and a downward pressure was maintained throughout the remainder of the period. The major increases in expenditure required to launch Labour's municipal house building schemes met a hostile reception in many quarters. As Garrard points out, Salford was disadvantaged in terms of local finance, combining unusually meagre rateable resources with a burden of social problems that were amongst the worst in the country.⁵⁰

Land for construction constituted a further major obstacle to large-scale house building programmes since little building land was available within the already overcrowded Borough. In the words of the Medical Officer of Health's *Report* for 1925, Salford was "...hopelessly hemmed in on every side."⁵¹ Building outside Salford's boundaries brought two further problems. Most available land in adjacent boroughs was regarded as very expensive while the movement of tenants from Salford to other authorities threatened to deprive the city of badly needed income from the rates. Labour was consequently unable to convince sufficient electors that its version of municipal socialism contained locally sustainable solutions to these problems.

A final problem facing Labour was that they could not claim to be the only party concerned with working-class housing. None of their political opponents denied the need to improve working-class housing. The main differences lay in how to achieve this end. While the Labour Party argued that the building programme could best be met by direct labour, slum clearance and major council house construction schemes, the other parties saw private enterprise and repair of the existing housing stock as the most cost-effective solution. As suggested above, for at least some slum dwellers and probably the bulk of ratepayers, the latter policy proved more attractive.⁵²

The Roman Catholic Dimension

Numerically a significant group, Salford Catholics were an important force in Labour's post-1918 development. Most of the Irish community occupied the lower echelons of the working class and were often numbered amongst the "poorest of the poor", remaining subject to economic and social discrimination on grounds of race and religion.⁵³

As Figure 6 shows, the Salford Diocese spread across Lancashire with the largest concentration of Catholics centred in Salford and Manchester. However, while Lancashire remained important throughout our period, as we shall show below, the attempts to provide Salford Diocese with a viable Catholic political movement met with electoral failure.⁵⁴

The following map and table, based on the ward boundaries of 1921, show that the nucleus of Salford's Catholic community was centred in Trinity ward, the home of the Diocesan Cathedral. We have noted earlier that Trinity and its neighbouring wards comprised some of the most the most crowded parts of Salford. While the figures in the Salford *Diocesan Almanacs* for the period appear under the headings of the parish churches shown above, other wards contained Catholics too. The St. Mathias' ward, one of the most overcrowded in the borough

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. ST. JOHN'S DEANERY | 7. ST. JOSEPH'S DEANERY |
| 2. ST. BEDE'S .. | 8. MOUNT CARMEL .. |
| 3. ST. AUSTIN'S .. | 9. ST. PETER'S .. |
| 4. ST. ANNE'S .. | 10. ST. CUTHBERT'S .. |
| 5. ST. PATRICK'S .. | 11. ST. ALBAN'S .. |
| 6. ST. MARY'S .. | 12. ST. GREGORY'S .. |



Figure 6: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Salford.⁵⁷

returned the Catholic, M. Moylan, (Independent) in a number of local elections.⁵⁵

Figure 5: *The Roman Catholic Churches of Salford.*⁵⁶



Table 11: *Salford Wards with Roman Catholic Parish Churches Listed in Descending Order of Catholic Population.*

Ward	Church
1. Trinity	St. John's Cathedral (Diocesan Cathedral)
1. Trinity	St. Peter
2. Langworthy	St. James
3. Ordsall	Our Lady of Mount Carmel
4. Regent	St. Joseph
5. Mandley Park	St. Thomas of Canterbury
6. Charlestown	St. Sebastian
7. Albert Park	St. Boniface
8. Weaste	All Souls
9. Kersal	St. Benedict (1924)

The support shown by the Conservative Party for Ulster and the identification of Labour's opponents with the activities of the 'Black and Tans' in Ireland appeared to make the Irish Catholics natural Labour voters.⁵⁸ However, as Fielding has pointed out, the Catholic vote was by no means a straightforwardly Labour one. For most of the period, Catholic Salfordians experienced complex pressures in determining their political preference. The Salford Diocesan Hierarchy and its lay bodies actively intervened in the controversial social issues that brought the church into conflict with Labour. Bishop Casartelli questioned whether support for Labour, as an avowedly Socialist party, was in conflict with Catholic teaching. Heated debates over the birth control movement and denominational schools severely strained relations between Labour and the Catholic Church in Salford during this period. The following section explores these conflicts between the Catholic Church and Labour in Salford. An analysis of voting patterns in areas of Irish Catholic concentration within Salford suggests that although the Labour vote was adversely affected by conflict with the church over birth control and more markedly by education, the effect was short lived. Overall, most Catholic working-class voters in Salford typically preferred Labour to other parties.

During most of his tenure, Bishop Casartelli saw the development of the Labour Party, especially after 1918, as dangerously akin to Socialism. He believed that the interests of working-class Catholics would be best served by a continental style Catholic Party – a view that gained little support in the wider English Church. With Casartelli's support, a number of Catholic trade unionists formed the Salford Catholic Federation. Initially, its primary aim was to defend Catholic schools. However, a number of Federationists (led by Thomas Burns) embarked on a long crusade against the Labour Party.

Burns moved to attack the Labour Party through its main source of support, the Trade Unions. In 1918, Burns's Union, the National Conference of Catholic Trade Unionists (hereafter, N.C.C.T.U.) stated that Clause IV made it impossible for Catholics to be members of the Labour Party or belong to any Trade Unions that supported the Labour Party. In September 1918, at the N.C.C.T.U. conference in Leeds, Burns clearly misjudged the change in attitude on the part of some Catholics towards the Labour Party. Brenda Quinn, a former suffragette and Secretary of the Tailors's Union asked if the Conference was being held "under ecclesiastical authority?" Having openly thrown some doubt on the validity of the conference, Quinn then asked if, "a Catholic Trade Unionist (and) who accepted the Socialist formula, (Clause Four) can be a member of our (N.C.C.T.U.) Conference?" Burns stated that he replied, "Certainly not". At this response, twenty Catholic trade unionists led by Miss Quinn walked out. Left with only ten delegates to continue the Conference, Burns's was moved to reflect in his report to Bishop Casartelli that the Conference was "the worst experience I have ever had".⁵⁹

Out of either frustration or an attempt at political catharsis, Burns took a desperate initiative by forming the Centre Labour Party. While opposed to "Social Democracy", such a party would be mindful of the findings of the Trade Union Congress. It was in effect an attempt to offer Catholics a continental style alternative to the new Labour Party.⁶⁰

The formation of the new Centre Party was ill-planned from the start. The C.L.P.'s only electoral contest was in North Gorton in 1919, where it was resoundingly defeated by 719 votes to the 2,201 votes gained by Labour.⁶¹ North Gorton was a well-established Labour bastion and not among the leading centres of Catholic residence in Manchester. Burns had some limited success within the Church, successfully promoting an anti-Labour resolution at the Annual Conference of the Diocesan organisations affiliated to the Catholic Federation. However, during the early 1920s the Catholic Hierarchy, guided by Cardinal Bourne, urged acceptance of Labour and moved to marginalise Burns.⁶²

Nonetheless, the latter half of the 1920's and the early 1930s saw the local Labour Parties in Salford and Manchester engaged in disputes over issues fundamental to Catholics within and outside of the Labour Party. One such issue was whether birth control advice should become available at Public Health Clinics.⁶³

The Birth Control Debate

Although the birth control debate created discord across all the industrial cities, circumstances forced the Salford Diocese into the centre of a most bitter dispute.⁶⁴ In 1926, the opening of a

voluntary clinic in Salford, offering birth control advice to married women caused one of the most emotive debates in Salford and Manchester. Consequently, many Catholic Labour Party members were drawn into conflict with their co-party members. Mary Williams, a Labour Party activist in South Salford, recalled that the supporters of birth control in the Labour Women's Section were in open argument with their Catholic sisters in the movement.⁶⁵ The clinic was sited in Trinity ward, an area containing many Irish Catholics and within a short distance of the Roman Catholic Cathedral. Unsurprisingly, the Salford Catholic Hierarchy was quick to react. An article in the *Catholic Federationist* by Bishop Henshaw expressed in vivid language the hope that local people would act to "chase it [the Birth Control Centre] off their streets". In reproducing the article, the *Manchester Guardian* brought the debate to a wider audience.⁶⁶ The *London Catholic Herald* introduced both the language of class and a hint of anti-Semitism in criticising the founders of the clinic:

An impertinent middle class busybody, Mrs Sydney Frankenburg, (German-Jewish name) [Sic].. engaged in making enquiries for ... accommodation for mothers' clinic birth-control clinic in Salford. ... Mrs J.L. Stocks is chairman... it would not be out of place to ask whether these ladies belong to the idle and parasitic classes...

*Mrs Frankenburg belongs to the well-to-do middle class, (who says) 'Those wretched workers are over-running the country. We must do something to check their political power.'*⁶⁷

Such resentment at middle class assumptions that they knew what was best for working people was not confined to working-class Roman Catholics. Brian Harrison has observed that:

*For many middle-class progressives and socialists, eugenic planning was an entirely legitimate extension of public health, but many working people thought such policies class-prejudiced. And when it came to suggestions of outside interference with family size, working people were as hostile to Marie Stopes as they had earlier been to John Stuart Mill.*⁶⁸

Local Labour activists such as Mary Williams and Charles Priestley were also prominent supporters of the clinic.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, it seems likely that the issue did not significantly, or at least permanently, damage Labour support amongst Salford's Roman Catholic population. The clinic was a private venture with no official support from the Labour Party, hence unseating Labour candidates would not have led to the clinic's closure.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the leading principal in setting up the clinic, Mrs. Frankenburg was a well-known local Conservative.⁷¹

Education and the Catholic Vote

However, education proved the most divisive issue between Catholics and the Labour Party.⁷² Indeed, the debate over the rights of denominational schools had pre-occupied the Catholic Hierarchy for many decades. In 1926, the issue returned to the fore with the publication of the Hadow Report, which recommended that children over the age of twelve should receive their education in central secondary schools. In neighbouring Manchester, where the Education Committee attempted to implement this section of the Report in 1928, the Manchester Labour Party became embroiled in a dispute which resulted in the defeat of a prominent Labour councillor – following the defec-

tion of the Catholic vote – and the expulsion of an Irish Catholic Labour councillor. The conflicts over Catholic schools in Salford did not lead to the kind of confrontations that took place in Manchester, largely because the Salford Education Committee was more openly sympathetic to the problems of the non-provided schools.⁷³

Although ethnicity was an important sub-text in Salford's Irish Catholic relations with the Labour Party, Irish Catholic Labour councillors did not form a large part of the Salford Labour group (see Tables 12 to 14). There are too, other differences between Salford and nearby Liverpool, itself a city of strong religious and ethnic affiliations. Fielding draws an important distinction between the Irish Catholics of Liverpool and those in Manchester and Salford. The Irish Salfordians operated in different environments from their co-religionists in Liverpool. In Liverpool, where there was a very assertive Orange Order, the Irish ethnic divide was emphasised by the confrontational nature of the relations between the Protestant and Catholic communities.⁷⁴

In Salford between 1919 and 1932, the major parties did not fight the local elections under the banner of ethnic and religious identities. The two most successful Catholic candidates outside of the Labour Party stood as Independents. This differs from Liverpool where, as Sam Davies has shown, between 1919–1928 a number of candidates stood under distinct religious labels, including, "Catholic" and "Protestant".⁷⁵

Although Salford's Catholic council candidates did not overtly canvas on ethnic and religious grounds, there was one notable exception when it came to Parliamentary elections. Joe Toole, a Roman Catholic Salfordian by birth, and for many years a Manchester City councillor, first moved into radical politics through the Social Democratic Federation. This proved to be a stormy introduction to local politics with erstwhile friends calling Toole a "Traitor", an "Atheist", and a "Free Lover".⁷⁶ In the 1922 Parliamentary election, Toole stood, unsuccessfully, as Labour candidate for the Everton Division of Liverpool. Realising the strength of the sectarian divide, Toole quickly learned a little diplomacy. At every meeting the question was asked, "what is your religion?" to which Toole always answered "Christian"⁷⁷

Toole contested South Salford four times between 1923 and 1931, winning the seat in 1923, losing it in 1924, regaining it in 1929 and then losing it in Labour's debacle of 1931. It was clear that Toole found electioneering in South Salford far less inhibiting than in the highly charged sectarian politics of Liverpool. As Fielding points out, around 10 per cent of the South Salford electorate were Catholic and Toole shrewdly emphasised his own Irish roots when canvassing in Salford during the 1920s. In 1923 at a meeting in Our Lady of Mount Carmel School in Ord-sall, for example, Toole reminded his audience that he had been a pupil there.⁷⁸

Toole makes it clear that South Salford was a problem for radicals. Even the most poorly paid worker would rarely vote other than Conservative. The brewery interests held sway for many years, then, for a period the Liberal Hilaire Belloc held the seat. After that, the Conservative Sir Montague Barlow held it for thirteen years. Toole defeated Barlow by almost three thousand votes, with the Liberal candidate coming third.⁷⁹

Table 12: *South Salford Parliamentary Division 1923: Population of Catholic Parishes: Parliamentary and Municipal Voters (All Denominations).*⁸⁹

Ward	RC Parish	Catholic Population	Parliamentary Voters	Municipal Voters
Trinity	St. John's Cathedral , St. Peter's	9,805	6,860	5,256
Crescent	None	Unknown	7,705	6,254
Regent	St. Joseph	3,440	8,158	6,558
Ordsall Park	Our Lady of Mount Carmel	4,616	7,521	6,259
Docks	None	Unknown	6,221	4,883

Table 12 indicates the estimated strength of the Catholic community in South Salford in 1923.⁸⁹ However, given Toole's comments about working-class support for the Conservatives, it is not necessarily certain that all the Catholic voters supported Toole.

In 1929, Toole issued a leaflet that not only contained messages of support from a Catholic priest and T.P. O'Connor but was actually printed in green ink. While Toole's central theme was that Labour was the guardian of the economic well being of the working-class, the subtext of Toole's political message was a special appeal to the Catholic electorate.⁹²

Table 13: *The Impact of Labour in South Salford .*

Ward	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Trinity	Lab.	Cons	Ind.	Lab.	Cons	Ind.	Lab.
Crescent	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.
Regent	Lib.	Ind.	R/payer	Cons.	Cons.	R/payer	Lab.
Ordsall Park	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Ind.	Ind.	Cons.	Lab.
Docks	#	#	Lib.	Lab.*	Lab.*	R/payer	Cons.

* Unopposed

Ward	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Trinity	Ind.	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.	Cons	Cons.	Lab.
Crescent	Ind.	Lab.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.
Regent	Lab.	R/payer	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.	Lab.
Ordsall Park	Lab.	Lab.*	Lab.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.
Docks	Cons.	Cons.	Cons.	Lab.	Cons.	Cons.	Cons

* G. W. Sands was the only non-Catholic Labour candidate standing in Ordsall Park between 1925 and 1929.

Toole makes an important comment on South Salford Labour Party in the period, suggesting that it was actually in decline with less than twelve members.⁹³ Tables 13 and 14 show that this lack of support had a marked effect on the local election results. Despite the impact that Toole made in 1923, the South Salford Labour Party gained very little ground in the municipal elections until the mid to late 1920s.

*Tom Walsh won the Ordsall ward a by-election, in June 1925.

As Table 14 shows, Ordsall Park, was the ward in which Catholic Labour Candidates, Joe Lemmon, and Tom Walsh enjoyed the most success.⁹⁴ However, neither candidate chose to make any direct ethnic appeals. Thus, Lemon's 1925 election notice, shared with four other Labour candidates in the South Salford Labour Party, stated "Labour's 5. Stand Solid and United for Policy, Principle, Truth and Justice. You Vote for LABOUR and LABOUR will work for You."⁹⁵

Table 14 : *Wards in which Catholic Candidates were Returned.*

Year	Ward	Party
1927	Crescent	Labour
1925*	Ordsall Park	Labour
1928	Ordsall Park	Labour
1929	Ordsall Park	Labour
1932	Ordsall Park	Labour
1920	St. Mathias	Conservative
1923	St. Mathias'	Independent
1926	St. Mathias'	Independent
1931	St. Thomas'	Conservative
1921	Trinity	Independent
1924	Trinity	Independent
1927	Trinity	Independent



One of Ordsall Park's Catholic Labour Councillors. Walsh was a postman by occupation and in 1930 was Chairman of the Mount Carmel New School Fund.⁹⁶

Table 15 (overleaf) shows that in 1929 there were three Catholic Labour councillors. This was out of 26 Labour councillors in what was Labour's best year.⁹⁷ Thus, there was never a situation such as existed in Liverpool where Catholics formed their own caucus within the Labour group on the City Council.⁹⁸

In May 1929, the second Labour Government came into office. Despite a promise to financially help the churches to improve their denominational schools, the Trevelyan Education Bill,

while embodying the Hadow Report's principles contained no such financial provisions. In 1930, parliamentary opposition led by a Catholic Labour MP resulted in the suspension of the bill.



The Second of Ordsall Park's Catholic Labour Councillors. Joseph Lemmon was a railway foreman by occupation and at one time President of the South Salford Labour Party.⁹⁰

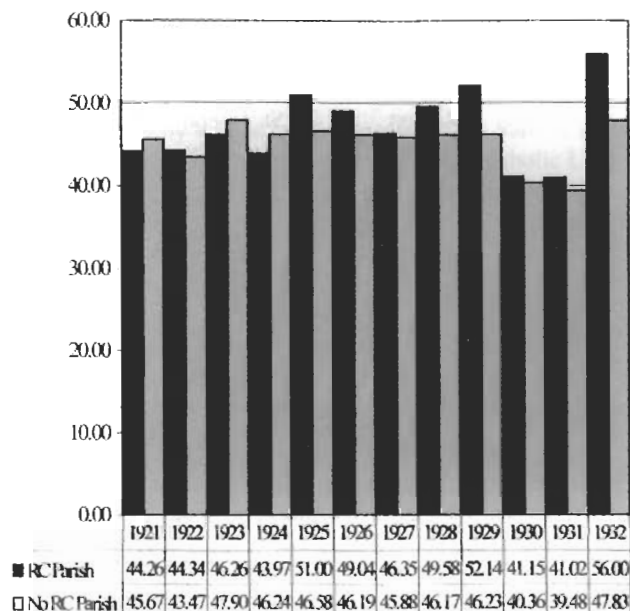
In July 1930, despite suspension of the Education Bill, the Salford Diocese went ahead with a meeting attended by between 10,000-15,000 Catholics at the Manchester Free Trade Hall.⁹¹ Again there was talk of forming a Catholic Party. The government's lack of support for denominational schooling was the point at which many Catholics parted company, albeit temporarily, with the Labour Party. The Trevelyan Bill had demonstrably offended the Catholic electorate. Shortly after the July meeting at Free Trade Hall, a by-election took place in the Langworthy ward in which the Labour candidate was defeated. Salford Labour Party believed that the Free Trade Hall meeting in July 1930 led to this defeat and at the Salford Party's July Delegate meeting, J. Openshaw alleged that:

A Catholic Conference held two days prior to the (by)-election had influenced Catholic voters against Labour and that treating (Sic) on a wholesale scale had been practised.⁹²

Table 15: Salford Council.

Year	Catholic Labour Councillors	Other Catholic Councillors ⁹³
1920	0	J.F. Whittle, (Liberal)
1921	0	D. P. Kelly ⁹⁴
1922	0	D. P. Kelly
1923	0	D. P. Kelly; M. Moylan ⁹⁵
1924	0	D. P. Kelly; M. Moylan
1925	T. Walsh (June By election) J. Lemmon	D. P. Kelly; M. Moylan
1926	J. Lemmon; T. Walsh	D. P. Kelly; M. Moylan
1927	J. Lemmon; T. Walsh; Ambrose Worthington	D. P. Kelly; M. Moylan
1928	T. Walsh; Ambrose Worthington; J. Lemmon	D. P. Kelly; M. Moylan
1929	T. Walsh; Ambrose Worthington; J. Lemmon	D. P. Kelly
1930	T. Walsh; J. Lemmon;	0
1931	T. Walsh	A. F. Carroll (Conservative)
1932	T. Walsh	A. F. Carroll

Figure 7: Salford 1919-1932: Percentage of Labour Votes in Wards with Roman Catholic Parish and No Roman Catholic Parish.⁹²



Labour fared badly across the city in local elections during 1930. Figure 7 suggests that support for Labour fell most rapidly in Catholic areas. In the nine Salford wards with a significant Catholic community the Labour vote fell on average 11.00 per cent between 1929 and 1930, almost double that of the 5.87 per cent decline in the remaining seven wards. It seems that the church could still persuade many of its parishioners to prioritise matters of faith over class or party allegiance – to Labour's disadvantage.

That said, it is important to note two things. The first was the general level of support for Labour amongst Catholic voters. Figure 7 shows that in nine out of twelve elections the percentage Labour vote in the nine wards with Catholic parishes was higher than in the other seven wards. The second was the temporary nature of the Catholic turn away from Labour. By 1932 the higher level of support for Labour in the Catholic areas of the city had been restored and even extended to a new peak.



James Openshaw, (fifth from left) pictured receiving a presentation from Rhys Davies MP. Openshaw was elected Mayor of Salford and became Mayor in 1956 at the age of eighty. Openshaw's daughter-in-law, Councillor Nellie Openshaw (left of the picture) became Mayoress.⁹⁶

Conclusion

A dedicated group of Salfordians worked long and hard to establish the Labour Party as a credible alternative to the Liberal and Conservative Parties. There remained however, a long and difficult road to the goal of controlling the City Council. Consideration of the difficulties along the way was under four headings. The first of these was the reluctance of the anti-Socialist group on Salford Council to accord the Labour councillors some share of the civic dignities due to elected representatives. Second, this led the Salford Labour Party into a series

of actions which, however justified, were sometime self-defeating. Third, Salford's very serious social and economic problems, whether housing, unemployment or the plight of the elementary schools placed Labour in a complex situation with the electorate. While many voters clearly supported Labour, many others believed the municipal solutions offered by Labour were the road to ever increasing rates. Fourth, religion, and particularly the relationship between Catholics and Labour. Although many working-class Catholics were prepared to support Labour, this support was severely tested when a Labour Government appeared to threaten the Catholic education system.

Notes

1. See A. Kidd, *Manchester* (second edition Keele, 1996), pp.171-4.
2. Figures calculated from *Manchester Corporation Blue Books*, 1920-1933.
3. Including unopposed candidates.
4. Langworthy was created in 1921.
5. The maps showing Salford ward boundaries are edited versions of those shown in the *Manchester Corporation Blue Books*. Source, Salford Local History Library.

6. These figures are from the *Salford Reporter* and the *Manchester Guardian*. In 1925, Salford Labour Party became the largest group on the Council for the first time.
7. J.A. Garrard, *Salford, A City and Its Past* (Salford Corporation, 1989 edition), p.102.
8. Salford Labour had only one alderman, Sydney Delves, between 1926 to 1929. Delves resigned the Labour whip in 1929 in protest at his omission from Labour's panel of aldermanic candidates.
9. *Manchester Corporation Blue Book*, 1920.
10. *Salford Reporter*, 9 Oct. 1920; *Manchester Corporation Blue Book*, 1921.
11. *Salford Reporter*, 6 Nov. 1920. See also, J. A. Garrard & M. Goldsmith, *Salford Elections 1919-1969*, (1970).
12. Garrard, *Salford*, p.102.
13. Based on *Manchester Corporation Blue Books*, 1920-1932. See also J.A. Garrard & M. Goldsmith *Salford Elections*.
14. Garrard, *Salford*, p.102.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Salford Reporter*, 15 Nov. 1919.
17. These occupations are based on references in the *Salford Reporter* and the *Manchester Corporation Blue Books*. See also J.A. Garrard & M. Goldsmith. *Salford Elections*.
18. *Manchester Guardian*, 11 Nov. 1929; *Salford Reporter*, 15 Nov. 1929.
19. J.A.Garrard, 'The Mayoralty since 1835', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1994, Vol.90, (1995), p.29.
20. *Manchester Evening News*, 25 Oct. 1920.
21. One Conservative Councillor, Major Fitzgerald-Jones, did propose a Conservative alderman.
22. Garrard, *Salford*, p.103.
23. *Salford Reporter*, 21 Sep. 1928. However, once Corbey's views were known, the "anti-Labour" members on Salford Council "unanimously declared that Mr. Corbey was unacceptable to them as the Mayor." See also *Manchester Guardian*, 6 Nov. 1928.
24. The least emotive of these remarks was "He (Corbey) would not wear evening dress at any social functions he attended". *Salford Reporter*, 21 Sep. 1928.
25. *Ibid.* 2 Nov. 1928.
26. *Ibid.* 9 Nov. 1928. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 8 and 10 Nov. 1928.
27. *Salford Reporter*, 30 Aug. 1929; *Manchester Guardian*, 5 Sept. 1929.
28. *Manchester Guardian*, 6 Nov. 1930.
29. *Ibid.*
30. G. W. Sands successfully contested Weaste in 1920, *Salford Reporter*, 23 Oct., 6 Nov. 1920. Weaste was part of the South Salford Division until the ward boundary changes of August 1921. The photograph is from a Labour Party Election leaflet for 1933, when Sands was again contesting Ordsall Park. (Salford Working Class Movement Library).
31. C. L. Mowat, *Britain Between The Wars* (Cambridge, 1968), pp.38-40.
32. *Salford Reporter*, 15 Nov. 1919.
33. *Ibid.* At this meeting, Councillor Finsburgh stated that the "working-class had helped to re-elect him as much as any other class".
34. *Salford Medical Officer of Health Report*, 1925, p.15.
35. The photograph is from Manchester Central Reference Library 'Political Parties Class'. No: 329.942.
36. *Salford Medical Officer of Health Report* 1925, p.15.
37. In its pre-election issue of 1 Nov. 1919, the *Salford Reporter* printed excerpts from the various candidates' policies. Of the twenty-eight candidates contesting 12 of Salford's sixteen wards, twelve made some comment about housing. Thus, although the excerpts were "quite random" less than half of them appear to have expressed views on housing strong enough to feature in the local press on the eve of the election.
38. The figures for density per room are from the *Census* for 1921.
39. *Salford Reporter*, 6 Nov. 1920, p.3; *Ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1921. After the 1921 municipal election, in response to a request from the *Salford Reporter* to successful candidates to state "Why I Won", only one mentioned improving the housing stock. J.J. Richardson, Labour councillor for Charlestown claimed that his emphasis on "necessary repairs ... in return for the high rents" had been a successful feature of his campaign meetings. *Ibid.*, 5 Nov. 1921.
40. *Ibid.*, 9 Jan. 1926. (The Weaste site was in a similar situation.) See also the *Ibid.*, 3 Nov. 1923, 4 June 1927.
41. Registrar General *Censuses* 1921 and 1931.
42. Langworthy created in the ward boundary changes of 1921.
43. There has to be a note of caution when considering occupancy per room. Census taking was prone to errors, and definitions of what constituted a 'room' were open to varying interpretations. In 1981, a survey after the enumeration showed that the number of rooms was given incorrectly for 28.6 per cent of households. (E. Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, HMSO 1996, p.61, and fn. 26; F. Whitefield, 'The GRO use of social surveys', *Population Trends*, 48 (1987), pp.46-7.) Changes in the calculations used in the ten-year censuses carried out between 1901 and 1951 meant that the compilers of the statistics worked from different referent points in each census. In 1901, the census figures came from the category 'Inhabited Houses'. In 1911, the comparative category had changed to 'Families or Separate Occupiers'. In 1921, the comparative category used had changed to 'Private Families'; in 1931, the census excluded sculleries in calculating the 'number of rooms'. *Salford Population and Housing Changes 1901-1981*, (Explanatory Notes, unpagged).
From August 1921, the variation in households in each ward had to include the notional movement of the electorate from

ward to ward, for example between Seedley and the new ward of Langworthy. Actual physical movement did not, of course, take place.

44. These figures relate to the 1921 *Census* and show the population per ward before the boundary changes of August 1921. See also the *Salford Reporter*, 7 July 1923, p.5. All figures in the tables for 1921 and 1931 are from the survey carried out by North Salford High School in *Salford Population and Housing Changes 1901-1981*, issued by Salford Education Department, circa 1981. The figures refer to occupants of private households rather than the number of houses. Note also, these figures are lower than those of the total population, for example, in 1931 St. Paul's had a total population of 13,119 and of these 12,739 were living in private households.
45. The creation of the Langworthy ward in 1921 removed a significant number of the municipal electorate from the Seedley electoral roll.
46. *Manchester Corporation Blue Books* for the years quoted.
47. *Salford Reporter*, 28 Oct. 1922.
48. A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty* (1992), pp.25, 43-44.
49. One shopkeeper stated "I cannot pay. I am not taking enough in the shop to buy food." *Salford Reporter*, 19 Jan. 1924.
50. Garrard, *Salford*, p.103
51. Salford in this period was "wedge" shaped. The apex pointed towards the "heart of Manchester", and the borough was surrounded by Eccles, Swinton, Pendlebury and Prestwich. *Medical Officer of Health Report*, p.15
52. *Manchester Guardian*, 2 Oct. 1930, 4 Oct. 1930, 11 Aug. 1932.
53. S. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity* (Buckingham 1993), pp. 33-4; R. Roberts, *Classic Slum* (1974), pp. 119, 170.
54. See, for example, Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, pp.116, and 117.
55. M. Moylan was an active member of the Salford Catholic Federation.
56. Based on the *Salford Diocesan Almanacs* 1919-1932, Salford Diocesan Archive St. Mary's Burnley. The map is from the *Manchester Blue Book* for 1936.
57. *Salford Diocesan Archive* booklet in Manchester Central Reference Library Reference F026 282 427 s a (975). The Salford Diocese covered Salford, Manchester, and the Lancashire Deaneries shown on the map.
58. For further discussion see P. J. Doyle, 'Religion, Politics and the Catholic Working-class', *New Blackfriars*, May 1973, p. 218. Doyle also cites R. McKenzie and A. Silver, *Angels in Marble: Working-Class conservatives in Urban England* (1968), p.100. See also J. Pereiro, 'Who Are the Laity?' in A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts (eds.), *From Without The Flamian Gate* (1999), p.175.
59. Burns to Bishop Casartelli, letter dated 23 Sep. 1918, CF 182/62.
60. P. Doyle, *Accommodation or Confrontation*, (1991), p.68. In social and political reforms, apart from its opposition to the Labour Party, the Salford Catholic Federation was far from reactionary. In 1910, the *Catholic Federationist* wanted women to have the vote and encouraged Catholic women to take an active part in the trades unions. P. Doyle 'The Catholic Federation' *Voluntary Religion*, (1986), p 466; Cleary, p.73. See also *Manchester Blue Book*, 1920.
61. *Manchester Corporation Blue Book*, 1920.
62. P. Doyle 'The Catholic Federation' in W.J. Shiels and D. Woods (eds), *Voluntary Religion* (1986), p.473 57. See also, *Catholic Federationist*, 7 Jan. 1921. For discussion on the lack of support for a National Catholic Party of the type favoured by Bishop Casartelli, see J. Pereiro, 'Who are the Laity', in McClelland & Hodgetts (eds.), *From Without*, p. 175. See also M.J. Webb, 'Catholics, Society and Popular Culture' in McClelland and Hodgetts (1999), p.361.
63. The debate over the provision of publicly funded birth control clinics arose at a number of Labour Party Annual Conferences in the 1920s. For example, see *Report of the 25th Annual Conference of the Labour Party, 1925*, pp.191-2, *Report of the 27th Annual Conference of the Labour Party, 1927* pp. 230-4. See also H. Smith, 'Sex vs. Class: British Feminists and the Labour Movement, 1919-1929', *Historian*, 1984, Vol.47, Part 1, pp.25-7.
64. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p.119.
65. Manchester Studies Tape Collection, (774).
66. *Manchester Guardian*, 22 March 1926, (reproduced from the *Catholic Federationist*). See also, C. U. Frankenburg, *Not Old Madam, Vintage (Suffolk, 1975)*, pp.137, 138.
67. *London Catholic Herald*, 27 March 1926.
68. B. Harrison, 'Class and Gender in Modern British Labour History', *Past and Present*, 124, (August 1989), pp.131-2.
69. Attacking Roman Catholic opposition to Public Birth Control Clinics, Priestley spoke of the movement being "infected" by religious organisations. *Labour Party Annual Report 1925*, pp.191-2.
70. For a number of years, the National Labour Party remained apprehensive about the birth-control campaign. Brian Harrison states that the risk of offending Roman Catholics in the early Labour Party, "who worked up a heady brew against Manchester's early birth control clinic in the 1920s" was made worse by Marie Stopes's "anti-Catholicism". Labour's woman organiser told the leading supporter of birth control, Dora Russell, "You will split the Party from Top to Bottom". B. Harrison, 'Class and Gender', p.133-5.
71. Frankenburg, *Not Old Madam, Vintage*, p.141, states that she was a member of Conservative National and area committees as well as representing Conservative women on "deputations and meetings".
72. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p.119.
73. In 1929, Salford Council, anticipating the reorganisation of the Salford Schools "in the next year or so" under the Hadow Report, noted that the reorganisation "(considerably) affects the present position as between the provided and non-provided schools so that the rights and obligations of both will have carefully to be recognised". *Salford Reporter*, 19 July 1929. See also Salford Education Committee, *Annual Reports, 1927-1932* in Salford Local History Library.

74. S. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p.27.
75. S. Davies, *Liverpool Labour* (Keele, 1996), p.214, p.221; Table 8.10.
76. J. Toole, *Fighting Through Life* (1935), pp.74,85.
77. *Ibid.*, p.143.
78. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p.107 and f. n. 15, cites M. Toole, *Our Old Man* (1948), p.36. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 30 Nov. 1923.
79. Toole, *Fighting*, pp.150-152. See also *Manchester Corporation Blue Book*, 1924.
80. The figures for the Catholic Population are from the Salford Diocesan *Almanac* for 1924. The figures for the parliamentary and municipal electorate are from the *Manchester Corporation Blue Book* for 1925. The figures for the Catholic population include both adults and children and are based on estimates submitted by the parish priests to the Diocese
81. As stated earlier, it is reasonable to assume that Catholics would reside in these wards, although probably in sufficient numbers to provide for a parish church. It is also likely that Catholics in these wards would form part of the notional "population" of the nearest Catholic parish.
82. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, pp.107-8.
83. Toole, *Fighting*, p.151.
84. Walsh was first elected in a by-election in June 1925, *Salford Reporter*, 30 Oct. 1926.
85. *Ibid.*, 30 Oct. 1925.
86. *Salford Reporter*, 16 May 1930. The photograph is from an election leaflet of 1935 when Walsh was again contesting the Ordsall Park ward. Source, Salford WCML
87. *Salford Diocesan Almanacs*, Salford Diocesan Archive, St. Mary's Burnley; *Blue Books*, Salford Local Studies Library
88. Davies, *Liverpool Labour*, pp.69-73.
89. *Salford Reporter*, 30 Oct. 1925. The photograph is from an election leaflet of 1934 when Lemmon contested Trinity ward. Source, Salford WCML.
90. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p.122 and fn. 96. *Manchester Catholic Herald*, 3 May 1930, 5 July 1930. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1930, states that 15,000 attended the Free trade Hall meeting, *London Catholic Herald*, 8 July 1930, gives a figure of 10,000 attending.
91. Salford Labour Party *Minutes*, July 1930, pp.412, 413.
92. The graph compares the percentage of votes cast for Labour in nine wards with Roman Catholic parishes with seven wards where there was no Catholic parish. Although there would be Catholics in these latter seven wards it seems very likely that the Roman Catholic vote was most heavily concentrated in the nine wards which contained Catholic parishes.
93. With the exception of J.J. Whittle (Liberal) and A.F. Carroll, (Conservative) the non-Labour Party Catholics sat as Independents.
94. Kelly defeated Conservative and Labour candidates in the 1921 municipal election for Trinity ward. Independent 1,510, Conservative 1,345, Labour 645. Kelly's majority 165.
95. M. Moylan had been a member of Salford Labour Party but had resigned when asked to sign the new constitution. Moylan was also a member of the S.C.F.
96. I am grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Openshaw of Eccles, for the loan of the photograph and other material concerning Mr. Openshaw's grandfather, James Openshaw. See also *Salford Reporter*, 4 May 1956.