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Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association

James Herriot was a deaf Scotsman who set up the Manchester and Salford Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association. In this paper I firstly want to discuss the process of researching into his life. Then I will describe James Herriot's background and beliefs and how he set up the deaf self-help group in Manchester in 1846. Next I will look at the very public dispute which arose in 1856 between the school for the deaf and Herriot. I will argue that this represented an early clash in ideology between deaf and hearing views about deaf people. Because of this early dispute Manchester had two organisations for deaf adults, one controlled by hearing people the other by deaf people. The two organisations merged in 1950, but the Quay Street association was run by deaf people for over a hundred years.

1. Research methods

One of my sign language teachers, Rita Isherwood, told me about James Herriot, a deaf tailor, who helped a hearing minister to start the first deaf organisation in Manchester. This was the widely accepted view, based on a 1965 project by Kenneth Lysons which the RNID sent out to anyone who enquired about the history of the Manchester Deaf Centre.¹ The information for this version of how the deaf organisation was started came from a very biased source, the partisan and vitriolic letters from Stainer, a hearing teacher of the deaf, in the Manchester Guardian in the 1856 debate.

I accepted this version at first, and assumed that the early deaf association in Manchester was set up and controlled by hearing people. Rita had told me there were two deaf clubs: one at Quay Street and the other at Grosvenor Street. The clubs had similar sign names; I do not know the origin of these signs, but they do suggest some opposition or connection between the place-names. Rita and I interviewed some of the older members about Quay Street and Grosvenor Street, trying to find out what were the differences between the two organisations. We didn't get very far. It seemed to be personal preference which club people liked best. We asked what the old members of the two clubs felt about the hearing management committees. But in fact we were not asking the right questions, because we did not know enough about the origin of the clubs.

¹ C. K. Lysons, *Some Aspects of the Historical Development and Voluntary Welfare Societies for Adult Deaf Persons in England*, 1965, RNID

I started looking at documentary evidence of the deaf clubs' early history. The Central Reference Library in Manchester has a large number of sources for deaf local history. I also visited the Edinburgh City Library local studies collection and the RNID library in London.

The moment of breakthrough in the research came when I found the 1856 newspaper correspondence between Stainer and Herriot. Here, larger than life, were Herriot's ideas set out for everyone to see, and they revealed the ideology of a strong Deaf identity, a radical who challenged patronising attitudes from hearing people.

2. James Herriot - who was he?

In the early years of the 19th century James Herriot's father, George, moved from the coalmining district of Lasswade to Leith, a busy port near Edinburgh where he worked as a porter and married Janet Ogilvie. James Herriot was born on September 1st 1815.² James' two uncles, John and William, followed their brother George to Leith in the 1820's. John first set up as a baker, but there was more demand for alcohol in Leith than for bread, and he became a spirit dealer. His shop moved from place to place, suggesting times were hard. James' uncle William, on the other hand, set up a printer's shop on Quality Street to the North West of Edinburgh in Davidsons Main. He remained there for 30 years, employing several people.³ William Herriot was probably an important influence in young James' life. His own father remained a porter, but in his uncle William's print shop the young James could see how it was possible to run a business and employ other people.

On September 1st 1821, his sixth birthday, James started school at the Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf and Dumb Children. He was recorded on entry to be aged nine.⁴ Schools for the deaf at that time only accepted children for five years, usually between the ages of 9 and 14. James must have been tall for his age to convince the committee of hearing gentlemen that he was really nine years old. It is likely that James' family was too poor to look after him and the chance of a free boarding place at school was the reason they said he was older on admission. His £10 school fee was paid for by an anonymous gentleman. Of the seven other deaf children admitted at the same time as James, only one other was paid for by charity, the rest were supported by their parents or friends. We can guess that James was not happy as a young child at the Edinburgh deaf school because many years later he protested against the idea of young deaf children starting at boarding school: 'It is

² International Genealogical Index, NRO, 692.2/8 Frame 266666

³ Leith Street Directories, ECL, 1821 - 51

⁴ Annual Report, Edinburgh Royal Institution for the Deaf & Dumb, 1822, D

with some degree of apprehension that I contemplate the fate of these poor helpless deaf and dumb infants, consigned to exile for a number of years, apart from their homes and natural protectors, subject to all the discipline and routine of a charity school...'⁵

The Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf and Dumb Children was formally established on 25th June 1810 with John Braidwood of Hackney appointed as its teacher. Robert Kinniburgh, a former Congregationalist minister, took over John Braidwood's place when the latter suddenly departed Scotland for America. Kinniburgh was sent to the Braidwood Academy in Hackney to be trained in the method of instructing the Deaf. Since Kinniburgh was trained gratuitously, he agreed to be under a bond not to reveal or teach others the method for a period of seven years. We have a very accurate source about the way this school was run in the autobiography of Alexander Atkinson who went to the same school between 1815 and 1820. Atkinson's autobiography reveals the secrets of the teaching methods: they were based on fingerspelling, building vocabulary through pictures, constantly repeating grammatical patterns, sign dictation and then using books and newspapers to understand more of the world. Students were encouraged to think for themselves and discuss the moral issues of the day. It could be seen as an early form of bilingual education.⁶

We can imagine that James Herriot went through a very similar process in the same school just a few years later. As an adult in Manchester Herriot stood out from the other deaf people because of his superior literacy skills. He was obviously an intelligent boy, but he also had the advantage of a schooling which was systematic and rigorous in its approach.

The Edinburgh deaf school, like others at the time, was run as a business from which the headteacher could make a profit. Half the fees paid by pay boarders went into the household of the headmaster. Every week the school was open for inspection by possible patrons. The middle class of Edinburgh supported the deaf school financially by paying a regular amount, often a guinea a year. In return their name would be printed in the school's annual report so everyone could see they had been charitable.

One of the deaf pupil teachers at James' school, Joseph Turner, was given the job of teaching the slower pupils by using sign language rather than fingerspelling. He was also entrusted with collecting money from the subscribers. 'I saw Mr

⁵ Manchester & Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association, Report 1857, MCL

⁶ A. Atkinson, *Memoirs of My Youth* Newcastle 1865, ECL

Kinniburgh give him minute directions by signs, such as to go to them through their doors and servants - bow to them - hand his written address to them respectfully - receive his guinea or half a guinea with a good grace - write it down in a paper list - bow again to them and make for the street door decently.' Later Turner told the other pupils all about these 'well to do worthies' and he copied the ways of 'the masters of their elegant mansions and the benefactors of the unfortunate.'⁷ It seems probable that Herriot was also a promising pupil of the deaf school, and if he wasn't entrusted with collecting subscriptions like the pupil teacher Turner, he would have heard about how it was done. This information about how to raise money from well to do businessmen was to be very useful to Herriot in later life.

Herriot probably left the Institution in 1826 at the age of 11, though the school would have still reckoned him to be 14. He was apprenticed, probably through an indenture fund started by the school, to be a tailor. This agreement would mean he would have to live at his master's house for seven years or until he was 21. The most common jobs for poorer deaf boys leaving the deaf school at this time were shoemaking or tailoring.

In 1831, when Herriot was only 16, but everyone would have thought him 19, he married a school friend called Isabella Shannon.⁸ Isabella was born in 1808, so she was seven years older than James. The couple lived in Segget's Land, Stockbridge, not far from where the deaf school had moved to on Henderson Road. From 1833, when James would have finished his apprenticeship, he first appeared in the Edinburgh street directories as a tailor at 1 Leslie Place, Stockbridge.⁹

At about the time of his marriage James also became active in the Deaf and Dumb Congregation of Edinburgh. Both he and Isabella were listed as amongst its 37 first members in 1830.¹⁰ This must have been an exciting period for Herriot. He was in a Deaf community with literate and bilingual deaf people whose achievements were recognised by both deaf and hearing people.

The artist Walter Geikie and the pastor Alexander Blackwood were amongst the first members of the deaf and dumb congregation. Deaf professionals like the barrister John William Lowe visited the Edinburgh congregation regularly from London.¹¹ It is likely that the Deaf and Dumb Congregation was in fact an early deaf-run self help organisation. The Edinburgh congregation had an extraordinary

⁷ A. Atkinson, *Memoirs of My Youth* Newcastle 1865, ECL

⁸ IGI, 1831, p263, 685/42

⁹ Gray's Street Directory, 1833 - 4, ECL

¹⁰ *List of Members D & D Congregation* 1830 - 31, Deaf Centre Records, Edinburgh

¹¹ *John William Lowe*, R. Lee, BDHS, 1995

collection of talented and self confident deaf people in it. James Herriot forged his identity in this atmosphere; throughout his life in all the remaining evidence we have of his ideas, Herriot constantly referred to the expertise of deaf people, rather than that of hearing. It seems that James' tailor business flourished initially, and then probably went bankrupt in the recession of 1838. That year he left this centrally sited shop and by 1841 he was living apart from his wife for some time. He returned to his father's home in the most crowded part of Leith. At the time of the 1841 census James was living on Cableswynd, a packed road of small alleys and courtyards crammed between the fever hospital and the Leith distillery. His occupation was listed as a porter, like his father, and his age given correctly as 25.¹² It is not clear where his wife and children were staying, but by this time Isabella had had four children: William, James, Samuel and Charlotte.¹³ The eldest, William, was probably named after James' uncle the printer. William and Samuel both died in infancy; the years between 1838 and 1843 were probably very hard for the Herriot family. In 1843 James and his family moved to Manchester in search of new prospects.

3. Manchester in 1843

Manchester was the most rapidly growing city in Britain. The economy was boom and bust: workers were working round the clock one year, then unemployed the next with no benefits. Children worked in the cotton factories as well as women. Little children were often left at home on their own because the parents needed to work. The air was very polluted and the health of the working classes was terrible: many died of cholera or collapsed from malnutrition or exhaustion. There were many homeless children living rough on the streets. Over half the population couldn't write their name.

By 1843 when Herriot arrived there were many people who came from somewhere else, like Herriot himself, to look for work and the promise of getting rich quick. Most people who lived in Manchester were born in the countryside. There was a large Irish community of Catholics, who were often very poor, who were seen as alien by many Protestants as they had such a different culture. The Catholic Board ran schools for the Irish poor in many areas of Manchester from the 1820's. There were many people from Scotland, some from the Highlands and Islands who only spoke Gaelic. There were a lot of German and Italian visitors who settled in Manchester. There was a Jewish community which in the first half of the century was composed of successful business people: they ran their own schools and taught Hebrew and English to their children from 1842. So we can start to imagine

¹² Census 1841, ECL

¹³ IGI, 1832, 1835, 1836, NLS

what it was like to live there: it was a city of many cultures. Many people had pulled up their roots to come to Manchester. Some people feared differences: the Irish catholic community had a lot of prejudice shown against them. But the different communities also had strong identities and some, like the Jewish community, had a lot of self confidence.¹⁴

The people who ran this city were often self made business men in the textile industry. They worked hard and at this stage lived in the city, mixing with the working classes. They were concerned about the bad effects of industrialisation. Until 1833 the city had not had an MP, because before that it had been such a small town. The mill owners and textile traders were often nonconformist Protestants, for example Unitarians or Methodists. The Church of England had rules which prevented nonconformists from attending the old universities. So nonconformists set up their own colleges which specialised in science and social science. Collecting statistics was a hobby of many Manchester businessmen. They realised their city was changing fast, and they wanted to record the problems and then solve them.¹⁵

Manchester businessmen had great pride in their new city and they wanted it to lead the world in important institutions. This was one reason for the success of fundraising to open a deaf school in 1825.¹⁶ It was housed on the banks of the river Irwell to start with. This was not a very suitable place for young children to play: the banks of the river were very steep. The businessmen collected for a new school building which was opened at Old Trafford in 1838. It was a splendid building: the right hand half was the school for deaf children and the left hand half was the asylum for the blind. Separating them was a chapel; the committee was made up of Church of England and nonconformists, so they decided not to make it belong to any particular Christian denomination. By building such a magnificent charitable institution the Manchester middle classes were emphasising to the world that they had made it as a city, that there was a heart under all the money making, and that they felt pity for the afflicted in their midst. This was how deaf people were seen at the time.

Just like the school for the deaf in Edinburgh, the Manchester school for the deaf was run by a voluntary committee who collected annual subscriptions from the middle classes. Every subscriber received a copy of the annual report, so everyone could see who else had subscribed and exactly how much they had given. The people who gave the most were allowed to vote and decide how the school was

¹⁴ p 180, *Manchester in the Victorian Age*, G Messinger, Manchester 1985

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p 48

¹⁶ *Minutes Book School for the Deaf and Dumb, 1823 - 43*, MCR

run. The headmaster and staff could not make any change or buy anything, without asking the committee. The school was efficiently run, but apart from the first few years when pupils' written work was printed, the educational standards were not much commented on in the reports. The aim of the school seems to have been to care for the children, to give them some religious understanding and where possible, especially for the boys, to try to find them a job afterwards.¹⁷

When James Herriot moved to Manchester in 1843 he lived in Salford, which must have been the cheapest place to start a business. He set up a tailor's shop and within two years was able to move to a much better location on New Cannon Street, off the main shopping street called Market Street. From 1851 he moved onto Market Street at number 57 and then from 1855 he moved to a prime location right opposite the Exchange, 11 Market Street. This was Queen's Chambers and became the address of the deaf association for many years.¹⁸ The central location shows Herriot was a very successful tailor. By 1851 he employed 12 men in his business, some of whom were deaf.¹⁹ So Herriot had initiative and he had big plans. He knew where he wanted to go: to attract the richest customers as they came out of the Exchange and passed his shop. Herriot communicated with hearing people by using a slate to write on.²⁰ In his shop he probably employed someone to interpret for him. Many of the Manchester textile firms were based round Market Street and Herriot may have ordered fabrics from them directly. Later these business customers were going to be key supporters of his organisation. It is likely that Herriot was well known and well liked by a large number of middle class people who used his tailor's shop.

4. The Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Association

Herriot must have been shocked by the contrast between the deaf communities in Edinburgh and Manchester. Many of the deaf people who were the same age as himself or younger had been to the school for the deaf, but their literacy skills were inferior to those of Herriot and his friends in the Deaf Congregation in Edinburgh. The older deaf people who had moved to Manchester from the countryside or from Ireland were completely uneducated and probably often without much contact with sign language. From the 1851 census we can see a pattern which suggests that deaf people in this older age group were very often unmarried, perhaps because of the stigma in the countryside where they came from of marrying a deaf person.

¹⁷ Annual Reports, Pupils Roll, House Visitors Book, Manchester School for the Deaf and Dumb, 1825-1856, MCR

¹⁸ Kelly's Street Directory, Manchester, 1843, 1851, 1855, MCR

¹⁹ Census, 1851, Manchester, MCR

²⁰ Manchester Courier, 23.8.1856, Herriot's letter, MCR

As unmarried older people they were dependent on relatives and often working in low paid temporary and casual work.

Younger deaf people who had been through the school for the deaf were much more likely to marry each other. The deaf school opened in 1823, so by 1833 there were likely to be the first deaf marriages caused by deaf children coming together in the deaf school. What I am suggesting is that by 1840 there was a recognisable social group of deaf people who used sign language in Manchester, who had some literacy skills. Then there were very many scattered deaf people who had moved into Manchester and who were living in extreme poverty.²¹

Herriot was a generous man who wanted to help his community. Deaf people started coming into his shop for advice, help with writing, asking for help with finding a job. Herriot had good business contacts and he probably spent hours going round with his slate asking for work for fellow deaf people. There was no social or religious meeting place for deaf people in Manchester so the place where deaf people came was Herriot's shop, probably from about 1845 when he moved to New Cannon Street. In 1846 Herriot approached a fellow Scot, the Reverend Alexander Munro, to ask to use the library next to the Presbyterian Church on St Peter's Square. Munro gave this space rent free and Herriot acted as a lay preacher using sign language to explain the Christian message.²²

For two years from 1846-8 Herriot ran what was the first Deaf Association. It may not have been formally constituted at this period, and we don't have any minutes books or records. But we have several accounts from Herriot himself about how it was run. Its purpose was non-denominational religious instruction, education and help with finding employment. It was run by deaf people for deaf people. Unfortunately in 1848 the group had to leave the Scots church because of disagreements amongst Presbyterians, which had nothing to do with the deaf congregation. At this point Herriot turned to the Bishop of Manchester to ask for help.²³

The Church of England was becoming more self confident by about 1850. They were worried about the souls of the heathen in Manchester and they stopped co-operating with the nonconformists on the committees which ran many charities. For example the Church of England members of the blind asylum tried to stage a complete take-over of the committee. The Reverend Thomas Buckley was one of the most aggressive in this shift towards Church of England control of committees.²⁴

²¹ Census, 1851, Manchester, MCR

²² Manchester Courier, 23.8.1856, Herriot's letter, MCR

²³ ibid.

²⁴ Charity and the 'Market' P. Shapely, Manchester Region History Review, pp 54 - 60, 1991

The Bishop of Manchester said he couldn't help Herriot with his association, because of the non-denominational character of his deaf congregation. This compelled Herriot to turn to the committee of the deaf school. He needed some financial backing for his association and he could see that the deaf school committee was very successful at raising money from the Manchester middle classes. The Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association was launched as an official organisation in 1849 with a hearing committee; five of the six members were also on the deaf school committee. Herriot was the secretary of the association and he still did all the work: collecting subscriptions, teaching and finding employment opportunities for deaf people. The Association was very similar to the Edinburgh Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Society which Herriot had been involved with in Scotland. Herriot used the funds he raised to fit up a meeting room for deaf people in the back of his own shop off Market Street.²⁵ Manchester's first purpose built centre for deaf people was probably on New Cannon Street, off Market Street.

To start with the headmaster of the deaf school, Patterson, helped out by preaching on Sundays, or by sending along two of his deaf pupil teachers. But in 1850 things started to go wrong. Herriot was running the deaf association his way, and the committee didn't like his lack of financial accountability. Herriot repaid himself out of the subscriptions for his expenses. He had a business to run, and organising a welfare organisation for deaf people was leaving him out of pocket. The hearing committee withdrew in 1850, because they realised that Herriot was going his own way with different aims from themselves.²⁶ The hearing committee wanted to feel sorry for deaf people and present them as poor afflicted helpless creatures, while Herriot was confidently approaching business men for funds. He raised £161 from these sources in 1849. Herriot's adult association was almost immediately making a dent on the finances of the school for the deaf. In 1847 the deaf school raised £923 from 964 subscribers. In 1849, when Herriot started serious fundraising, the school only made £775 from 932 subscribers.²⁷ The committee of the deaf school, led by the Reverend Thomas Buckley, decided that something had to be done about Herriot. Unfortunately the House Visitors book, which reveals most about the thinking of the committee which ran the deaf school, is lost for this period. It seems likely that the committee turned to the Kent Road School in London for advice about what to do in the face of this financial threat.

There were many challenges to deaf organisations in the 1850's. In London, the Deaf Mission in Red Lion Square had become more of a social than a religious

²⁵ Manchester Courier 23.8.1856. Herriot's letter MCR.

²⁶ Manchester Courier 30.8.1856. Stainer's letter MCR.

²⁷ Annual Report, School for the Deaf & Dumb. 1847,1849, MCR

support to deaf people. Poor deaf people actually lived and worked in the mission. The fundraising paid to subsidise their employment and training and classes were held for deaf adults. In 1851, amidst a financial crisis, a public meeting changed the aims of the Mission and the deaf inmates were sent back to their families. The Church of England established control and the aims became primarily religious. Services were conducted by hearing vicars who would fingerspell the service, making it quite inaccessible to most of the congregation. The Church of England was the managing agent of this assertion of hearing people's control.²⁸

The committee from the Manchester deaf school found a young teacher at the London Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb called William Stainer. He came from a comfortable middle class background and he had taught deaf children as a pupil teacher from the age of 14. He was fluent in sign language²⁹ and influenced by the ideas of Robert Owen in educational matters: he saw children as innocents who needed to be loved and protected from the evils of the world.³⁰ He was a keen teacher who wanted to try out new ideas: for example teaching deaf children from a much younger age in order to influence their religious ideas more successfully. He was also interested in the spiritual condition of deaf adults. Stainer was the Manchester deaf school's solution to the problem of what to do about James Herriot. The school committee asked Stainer to come to Manchester in 1854 to set up a rival association to Herriot's, one that was firmly controlled by the deaf school committee. They hoped that in a few years Herriot's organisation would close down and the threat to the deaf school's finances would end. Here we have some interesting records which are housed in Manchester Deaf Centre today. An early accounts book from the rival hearing controlled organisation, called the Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society. It was no coincidence that the name was nearly the same as Herriot's association: the new committee wanted to confuse the charitable public and they hoped that Herriot's association would fade away. The names of the people giving money were also on the deaf school committee: Buckley, Turner, Reuss and Bazley.³¹

The school teachers made sure that their own pupils didn't attend Herriot's organisation any more. Patterson sent his faithful deaf pupil teachers, Mayson and Goodwin, down to the rented Adult Deaf and Dumb Society building in Hulme where Church of England services were held on Sunday for the deaf. The new committee claimed that they were the original deaf association in Manchester,

²⁸ p 39, C. K. Lysons, *Some Aspects of the Historical Development and Voluntary Welfare Societies for Adult Deaf Persons in England* 1965, RNID

²⁹ p 256, *The Strand Magazine*, Jan-June 1892

³⁰ *Infants School for the Deaf and Dumb*, Report to AGM Governors 1.5.1861, MCR

³¹ *Accounts Book, Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society 1854 - 6*, MDC

set up in 1849.³² They regarded Herriot's group, which started at the Scots church in 1846, as not a legitimate group because it did not have the backing of a hearing middle class committee.

5. The 1856 Debate

From 1854 Stainer was paid a salary of £50 a year for his part time job of being superintendent of the Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society and £100 for being a teacher at the deaf school in Old Trafford.³³ Coincidentally Herriot paid himself £150 a year for being secretary and religious instructor for the Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association.³⁴ In the case of both organisations, the salary of the superintendent was one of the major expenses. About this date Herriot gave up his business to concentrate on his work with the deaf community, keeping the rooms at 11 Market Street as the base for the Association and presumably the meeting place for deaf people.

In August 1856 a debate occurred in the pages of the Manchester Courier and the Manchester Guardian which continued until October. Someone had written to the Courier asking what was the difference between the two deaf organisations. The headteacher of the deaf school, Patterson, replied that the school had set up the original deaf organisation to help their pupils make the transition to work.³⁵ Herriot replied with his version of how the deaf association had been set up, i.e. by him and other deaf people's efforts. At this point Stainer replied with a long letter accusing Herriot of fiddling the books and another one attacking Herriot for taking a salary of £150. He maintained that Herriot was not accountable for the money because he didn't have a committee of middle class business people. He suggested Herriot should give up the title of his association.³⁶

This enraged Herriot because he saw Stainer as an unwelcome outsider to Manchester who had not been there in 1851 to actually see what happened on his management committee. Stainer became more assertive in his next reply, denigrating the all-deaf committee as 'a few deaf and dumb men who work as journeymen.' Stainer claimed that the organisation set up by the deaf school had been active (by 1856) for 6 years. The accounts books held at the deaf centre today contradict this: records of the hearing-controlled club started in 1854. Stainer justified his position as a teacher of deaf children by citing his experience in London.³⁷

³² Manchester Guardian, 20.9.1856, MCR

³³ Accounts Book, Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society 1854 - 6, MDC

³⁴ Manchester and Salford D&D Benevolent Association Annual Report 1856, MCR

³⁵ Manchester Courier, 23.8.1856, MCR

³⁶ Manchester Courier, 30.8.1856, MCR

³⁷ Manchester Guardian, 20.9.1856, MCR

Herriot replied once more with his view of what had happened about the time of the setting up of the hearing committee in 1849: Herriot had done all the leg work. He started a full blown attack on the principals of schools for the deaf. He said that where adult organisations had been successfully set up around the country, this had happened by the efforts of deaf people themselves, not hearing teachers. "As to myself, I do not owe any acquirements I may be possessed of to the school I was educated at, but to the fortunate circumstances in after life of being thrown among good society, and mixing largely among men of intelligence, and I know from experience it is the case with most, if not all, of the deaf and dumb who show superior signs of an enlarged understanding."³⁸

Stainer's reply, as before, was to treat Herriot as an upstart who had no permission from the middle class committee men to ask anyone for money. He accepted that Herriot and some deaf men set up a society before 1848, but said that this was not a proper committee. In fact, his implication was that Herriot's deaf committee was something like a trade union, a concept hated by the Manchester middle classes.³⁹

Finally, in October an anonymous writer sent a letter to the Manchester Guardian referring to Herriot's attack on principals of deaf schools. We can guess that this letter was probably from Patterson, the head of the deaf school. The writer was outraged that Herriot had suggested that hearing teachers of the deaf were not the most suitable people to teach and preach to deaf adults. He said 'Mr Herriot seems to labour under the impression that those who teach children must be children themselves.' (3.10.56, Manchester Guardian). His view of deaf people was to see them as children, not suitable for becoming teachers. He was appalled that Herriot looked down on hearing people. The letter ends with a Latin tag which translated means *The shoemaker will only ever make shoes - or the shoemaker should stick to his last*, as this idiom is often translated today.⁴⁰ This was a reference to Herriot being a tradesman, and saying that he should know his place, not try to earn a middle class salary and take on a philanthropic role. This attitude may not have been well received by the readership of the Guardian in the Manchester of the 1850s, because many of the self-made Manchester men had started out as tradesmen like Herriot.

I have reprinted this debate, because it contains so many ideas about attitudes between deaf and hearing people in the 1850's, which I have suggested was a period of the reassertion of hearing and religious control over deaf people's organisations.

³⁸ Manchester Guardian, 24.9.1856, MCR

³⁹ Manchester Guardian, 26.9.1856, MCR

⁴⁰ Manchester Guardian, 3.10.1856, MCR

Herriot continued the assault in the pages of his association's annual reports. We can guess that he enjoyed the challenge. In the 1857 report he printed the names of his committee, copying the style and format of the hearing controlled society's annual report. His committee was entirely deaf and all the members turned out to live in poor neighbourhoods. This probably enraged Patterson and Stainer, who did not see this as a real committee at all, because the members were deaf and poor.

A hearing solicitor was thanked in Herriot's 1856 report. Thomas Southam was a solicitor who probably gave legal advice to the Association during the public conflict. It is likely that he communicated with Herriot through fingerspelling and with him approached editors and prominent subscribers of the Association during these difficult months. The 1856 annual report says that deaf members presented Southam with a petition of thanks at his office in St James Square for 'supporting the existence of the society at the most critical period of its existence.'⁴¹

In the 1857 Association report, Herriot mounted another attack on the deaf school, this time on the standard of the education deaf children received. He said, 'they admit that the education as given in their school has turned out unprofitable to the recipients, and have laid out a scheme of making wiser and better men and women of the deaf and dumb by pressing them into their school while helpless infants of three years of age so that they may easily go through the manipulations and cram into their unresisting heads their most approved system of imparting the ABC. On the other hand, let us see what deaf and dumb men of intelligence and mature experience say upon the subject ...'⁴² It was typical of Herriot to turn to deaf people's experience and to put more reliance on these views than those of hearing people.

It was true that by the 1850s the methods used in the schools for the deaf had produced poor results. This was the period before oralism had taken a hold in Britain, but there were experiments to try and improve the educational attainments of deaf children. Stainer was one of the most innovative teachers of the deaf of his day. He was trying to set up an infants school in Manchester, to have an earlier impact on the lives of deaf children. This was the reason for Herriot's strong reaction. He argued for keeping the same age group (10-15) in schools for the deaf and leaving education for life, adult education, to the deaf community.

Herriot finished the 1857 annual report with a searing attack on hearing school teachers. He criticised "the theories of five-sensed school officials, who have no further interest beyond making their employment profitable to themselves..."

⁴¹ Manchester and Salford Adult D&D Benevolent Association, Annual Report 1856 p 6, MCR

⁴² Manchester and Salford Adult D&D Benevolent Association Annual Report 1857, MCR

Herriot knew from his own experience at school in Edinburgh that the headmaster of a deaf school could make a comfortable profit from the enterprise, especially if he employed deaf pupil teachers on low wages to do all the hard work. The same was true in Manchester; Patterson didn't have to declare any private income he made from taking in pay pupils. Herriot was pointing out the profit hearing people made from deaf people's lives, and he was well aware of the poverty deaf people lived in as adults.

The 1856 correspondence and the 1857 report provide us with good evidence of a strong deaf consciousness and a challenge to the hearing view of the world.

6. The 1860s

Herriot was 41 years old in 1856, the year of the debate; an energetic man who had given up his business to work for the Deaf community, and who was now setting up similar associations in Liverpool and Leeds. His association continued to attract funds from the benevolent public. His report shows that he concentrated his efforts on the textile industry owners, many of whom were foreigners in Manchester.⁴³ The school for the deaf similarly carried on with plenty of support from the public; it set up branch associations to raise money in areas outside Manchester. It was probably contacts in the Church of England which allowed the school's fundraising efforts to spread more widely.

Stainer seemed to have lost interest in the Adult Society and concentrated his efforts on the infant school. After much fundraising, and with the help of a ladies' committee bazaar, he opened an infant wing at Old Trafford Deaf school and employed hearing women teachers and nurses to teach the young children.⁴⁴ His methods were quite progressive for the time: he believed in play, he used music and dancing, and he tried to keep ideas about fighting and weapons out of the children's lives. He taught them fingerspelling and some articulation. Although Stainer wasn't an oralist at this time, he was taking control of deaf education out of the hands of deaf pupil teachers, mainly men, who taught the older children and into the hands of female hearing teaching assistants. He also pressed the school's committee for more staffing, more teachers per pupil and better pay for the teachers. Stainer later became an early advocate of the professional teacher of the deaf with proper training and qualifications. No doubt he was doing this to raise standards in deaf schools, but to

⁴³ Manchester and Salford Adult D&D Benevolent Association, Annual Report 1857 Subscribers List, MCR

⁴⁴ Infants School for the Deaf and Dumb, Sub committee minute book 1860 - 61, MCR

deaf pupil teachers and to the deaf community outside, it must have appeared that it was taking status away from deaf teachers. Stainer's attitude to deaf people emerge again in the minutes of the Infants school sub committee: 'one of the upper nurses being deaf, Mr Stainer considers she ought not to be left alone with the children at any period of the day.'⁴⁵ He called the infants in his care 'little afflicted creatures'.⁴⁶

Surprisingly, Stainer left Manchester in 1866. The infant school was returned to the control of Patterson again, who had probably never been happy that the governors had allowed Stainer to be head of his own school. Stainer was not thanked when he left, and it seems from the school minutes book that there was conflict between Patterson and Stainer. Stainer went on to retrain as a chaplain so he could preach to deaf adults. After that he set up the first public day schools in local schools in London and was an enthusiastic convert to oralism.⁴⁷

From the end of the 1860's the school-run Adult Deaf and Dumb Society went through a revival. A chaplain, the Reverend G. Downing, held services in sign language. A bazaar organised by the ladies committee raised £3,000 and in 1876 a magnificent new centre was built for the Society on Grosvenor Street.⁴⁸ Herriot's association couldn't compete with this scale of fundraising.

Herriot's fortunes can be plotted by the moves his family made. By 1851 when he was a successful tailor he moved out to leafy Withington. Ten years later, when he had given up his tailoring business, he was living in a very crowded and poor area of town: Dale Street. By 1871 he had moved to the smart new area of Cheetham Hill, just over the Irwell from Victoria Station.⁴⁹ So Herriot did go through some years of poverty again because of the amount of time he gave up to helping his community. He paid himself a middle class salary from the donations of his association. This was one of the features of Herriot's association which had so annoyed Stainer: it was run by a deaf tradesman who was able to enter the middle classes because of the donations of subscribers.

In the last years of James' life the Association rented rooms at 70 Quay Street. After James Herriot's death in 1880, his hearing son Henry became superintendent and the Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association remained there till 1950. Herriot held his ground during his life time but ultimately did not win the battle of 1856. Oralism was introduced to the Old Trafford Deaf

⁴⁵ *Infants School for the Deaf and Dumb, Sub committee minute book*, 20.16.1860, MCR

⁴⁶ *Report to AGM and governors, Infants School minute book*, 1,5,61, MCR

⁴⁷ *Obituary, Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education*, 1898, 6, 75 - 79, RNID

⁴⁸ *British Architect and Northern Engineer*, p382, vol. 6, Dec 1876, MCR

⁴⁹ *Census*, 1851, 61, 71, MCR

school a few years after his death. The immediate effect was that many more hearing teachers were employed, class sizes fell and deaf teachers were further downgraded in status. The school-run adult deaf society prospered, because it was successfully supported by many subscribers and the facilities were very spacious and modern. However, Herriot's association did survive, and so did the tradition of Deaf control of the committee. The Quay Street Association was strongly nonconformist, not Church of England. The 100 year history of deaf control of the association must have had an impact on the Deaf community in Manchester.

There is still more research to be done about the life of James Herriot. Many of the records of his Association are lost, whereas the records of the school-controlled society are well preserved. That is not really surprising. Nevertheless, from the records that do survive we can see evidence of a conflict of values between the two adult deaf organisations. The differences between organisations controlled by Deaf people and organisations set up to provide for deaf people are still with us today.

Rachel O'Neill

Libraries and Archives - abbreviations used in references

RNID Royal National Institute for Deaf People Library, London
ECL Edinburgh City Library
DC Donaldson's College, Edinburgh
MCL Manchester City Library, Central Reference
IGI Mormons International Genealogical Index
NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
MDC Manchester Deaf Centre



THE MANCHESTER COURIER
Saturday 23rd August 1856

**ADULT DEAF AND DUMB
INSTITUTION**

To the EDITOR of the
MANCHESTER COURIER

Sir, - In your impression of the 16th inst. a correspondent, H.E.C. asks for information as to who is the proper person to receive a subscription to the Adult Deaf and Dumb Institution. Perhaps the most proper and satisfactory mode of proceeding would be for H.C.E. to ascertain for himself the relative claims of the two, not exactly institutions as associations, to public support. Each association has published its report, to which are affixed the names of those parties who form their respective committees. If H. E. C. will put himself in communication with some of the members of the two committees he will, no doubt, obtain such information as will enable him to decide for himself as to who is the proper person to receive a subscription to the Adult Deaf and Dumb Institution. - I am, sir, your respectfully

A SUBSCRIBER TO ONE OF THE TWO
ASSOCIATIONS. August 21st 1856.

To the EDITOR of the
MANCHESTER COURIER.

Sir, - In reply to a letter signed H.E.C. in your impression of last Saturday, I beg to state that William Gregory, of No. 1, Albert Place, Bridge-street, is the authorised collector for the Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society. This society was originated in consequence of numerous applications from the adult deaf and dumb, who had been educated in this and other schools, to be provided with a place to meet in on Sundays for religious worship, and instruction on other days. With the aid of a deaf gentleman and my assistants these meetings were kept up until the increasing

wants of the society rendered the appointment of a person solely to superintend the affairs of the society necessary. The enclosed report will inform you of what has since been accomplished. With respect to the association in Queen's Chambers, your correspondent must judge of its merits or demerits by a personal inquiry.

I may here state that the majority of the deaf and dumb left that association, and also that many gentlemen who supported it, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, withdrew, and now contribute to the society whose meetings are held at the rooms in Elvington-street, Medlock-street, and of which I am the treasurer. - I am, sir, your obedient servant, A. PATTERSON

P.S. I am informed that several of the gentlemen who were advertised as committee of the association in Queen's Chambers have lately withdrawn their names from it.

School for the Deaf and Dumb, Old Trafford, August 21, 1856.

To the EDITOR of the
MANCHESTER COURIER

Sir, - I am glad to observe in your correspondence of the 16th inst., that H.E.C. has thought it necessary to make the merits of the two societies he alludes to a public question. H.E.C. has done well to support the one in the Queen's Chambers, and with your permission, sir, I beg to state why he should do so? Because the Adult Deaf and Dumb Association in the Queen's chambers was the first to take cognisance of the spiritual and temporal destitution of a great number of our unfortunate fellow men residing in this city and neighbourhood as far back as 1846, when no other class or public body had the least idea of providing for the wants of the adult deaf and dumb. This society was organised and established by a private individual, himself deaf and

dumb, and who was fully alive to the neglected state of those in whose privation he likewise shared, and from a sense of duty he took steps to bring their claims before the public, at the sacrifice of much time and labour to the bitter neglect of his own private interest, he having at that time a flourishing business in Market-street, and had in his employ several deaf mutes, who, from a fellow-feeling, he took into his establishment. The society had, from 1846 to 1848, been in private operation in the library of the Scotch Church, St. Peter's-square, the use of which was kindly granted by the trustees free of rent. The numbers who attended augmented and increased the duties of the position; at the end of two years the place was closed against the deaf and dumb, owing to that church being shut up at that period; I endeavoured to find a place elsewhere not to be connected with any particular sect, but was unable, owing to there being no funds to provide for the rent of the rooms and other incidental expense. It at last occurred to my mind to apply to the Bishop of the dioceses if he could in any way assist me in the matter, and you, no doubt, will recollect my calling on you personally about that date, in company with a person to speak for me to save much time and trouble writing on the slate, to enquire for his lordship address in London, in order to open a communication with him upon this important question, which you, sir, courteously supplied me with. In the correspondence, his lordship said he felt much interested on behalf of the society, and he would take time to consider what he could do for it; at a subsequent interview with his lordship, at the diocesan offices, in St. James's-square, I had the honour of bringing the matter fully before him, and his reply to me was: it is not what James Prince Lee would wish to do, but I must act as is expected of the Bishop of Manchester, he could do nothing to forward

the interest of the proposed society, unless he had the appointment of the religious teacher, and as it was a society likely to be supported by men of all creeds in behalf of afflicted humanity, he did not expect to get that power. Finding his lordship could not render me any assistance, I had to turn my attention to other sources, and at last succeeded, in 1849, in getting a committee comprising the following gentlemen:

Reverend Alexander Munro, D.D., as chairman; Rev. Thomas Buckley, B.A., as secretary, pro.tem.; Joseph Crompton, Thomas Turner, Edward Goody, and John Mayson, Esqrs. This committee was formed at my request to look over the working of the society, and to see how the funds collected from the public were expended; not one of these gentlemen gave me any assistance in the collecting of the subscriptions. I had to do all the work myself in company with my interpreter; after seven months of hard work I succeeded in raising £161. The society was so new to the public that I had much difficulty in bringing the claims before them wanting much influence and status in society, still I succeeded so far and well, as a beginning. The sum so raised, enabled me to pay off all the expenses with the fitting up of a large room in Market-street, for the use of the adult deaf and dumb, and all the incidental expenses attendant upon the raising of it not one penny of which went into my pocket for my time and trouble, as teacher secretary and collector; the accounts were submitted to the above-named committee, inspected and passed. In 1850, I sent to the Rev. Thomas Buckley, an account to the amount of £50, as the estimated expenses for the society during that year; in the July of that year, a committee meeting was held, and the current half year's accounts examined and ordered to be paid to the amount of £25, which was done, and before the other half

became due in December, the Rev. Mr. Buckley, and the other officials of the Deaf and Dumb School, Old Trafford, without my knowledge, as well as without consulting the committee, opened a room somewhere in Hulme, and privately intimated to those who attended the society I was instrumental in forming, to leave it and come over to theirs; they succeeded in influencing the young who had lately left their school, but were unable to do so with the older heads, who stuck to the original society, as they were capable of thinking for themselves. As for my part I am wholly ignorant up to this day as to the real cause of the division, as I never received any official report, nor was the committee ever consulted or asked to enquire into it, it appearing the Rev. Mr. Buckley had all his own way; but I was informed by some of the deaf and dumb themselves, that the school party was very jealous of my getting support from the public, and found fault with some items in the accounts as not honestly entered, as an excuse of the line of conduct they were adopting, and that Mr. Patterson, the master, and his three or four assistants were to give religious lessons alternately every Sabbath, without calling on the public for pecuniary support; they did so for a time, but at last got tired of the good work, and finding me so persevering, and my society managed by a committee of the deaf and dumb continuing to command public support, they at last resolved to get a committee formed out of their school committee and form a society under their auspices. They also procured a person from the London school for the infant deaf and dumb, a complete stranger in Manchester, as the religious teacher of their society, he being, at the time his services were engaged, an assistant-teacher in the above mentioned school, who never made any personal sacrifice in behalf of the deaf and dumb of this town, but who had been

provided with a certain salary of from £80 to £100 per annum; and as a means to enable them to pay him this salary, they are using every effort to deprive mine, the oldest society, of its best friends and supporters, by unfounded and unsupported insinuations against my private character. Hoping H.E.C. and other old friends and subscribers will derive satisfaction from my explanation, and will do me the justice I have long looked for in vain at the hands of my opponents, apologising to yourself for the length I have trespassed on your valuable space. - I remain, sir yours very respectfully, Adult Deaf and Dumb Association, Queen's Chambers, Market-street, August 23. 1856.

Adult Deaf and Dumb Association,
Queen's Chambers, Market-street, August
23. 1856.

THE MANCHESTER COURIER
Saturday August 30th 1856

MANCHESTER ADULT DEAF AND DUMB SOCIETY, for promoting the Spiritual and Temporal Welfare of the Adult Deaf and Dumb. - Inquiries having been made by several parties respecting the proper person to collect subscriptions in furtherance of the above-named object, subscribers, and the benevolent public, are respectfully informed that Mr WILLIAM GREGORY of No. 1 Albert Place, Bridge-street, is the ONLY AUTHORISED COLLECTOR. Subscriptions and donations are also received by the following gentlemen, members of committee:- Ernest Reuss Esq., chairman; Robert Barbour, Esq.; Thomas Bazley, Esq.; Thomas Turner, Esq.; Mr Patterson, treasurer; by Miss Knight, at the school, Old Trafford; and by Mr. William Stainer, Superintendent, at 79 Erskine Street, Hulme.
Elvington-street, Medlock-street, August 21, 1856.

**ADULT DEAF AND DUMB
INSTITUTION**

To the EDITOR of the MANCHESTER
COURIER

Sir, - The Committee of the, "Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society," in connection with the institution at Old Trafford, have hitherto refrained from making any public statement whatever respecting Mr. James Herriot and the Association under his management in Queen's Chambers, Market-street, in the hope that he would continue to confine his operation to the few deaf mutes who preferred his association, after the committee (referred to in his letter in your impression of Saturday last) had discontinued their connection with him. Mr. Herriot has, however, lately shown a disposition not to be contented with quietly working his association, having three or four deaf mutes to act with him as committee as heretofore, but has endeavoured to thwart the operation of the legitimate society, and to depreciate its claim on public support; first, by representing a number of influential gentlemen as constituting his committee, several of whose names he has had neither authority or sanction to use; and, secondly, by making statements in his answer to your correspondent, H.E.C., which are not strictly in accordance with the facts of the case, including charges against those connected with this society.

In order to correct these misrepresentations, I am authorised to communicate to you some particulars for the information of H.E.C. and others interested in the subject.

In the year 1846 the Rev. A Munro, finding several deaf and dumb men employed as tailors in Mr. Herriot's workshop in Market-street, expressed to

Mr. Herriot his anxiety about their spiritual welfare, and offered the use of the library attached to the Scotch Church in St Peter's Square, for Mr. H. to assemble those and others similarly afflicted on Sundays. for religious instruction. These meetings there continued under the supervision of the Rev. A. Munro for nearly two years, at the expiration of which period the church was closed. The deaf and dumb were left without a place to meet in for about six months. During this time Mr. Herriot and several others made frequent applications to the authorities of the Deaf and Dumb School for aid to provide a room in which to hold their meetings. Thomas Buckley, secretary of the Institution, feeling desirous of promoting the spiritual welfare of the adult deaf and dumb, made enquires of the Rev. A. Munro respecting Mr. James Herriot, and upon his recommendation of him, undertook to organise a committee, with the Rev. A. Munro as chairman, to support and aid Mr. Herriot in providing a place for the Deaf and Dumb to assemble in on Sundays. A small room, adjoining Mr. Herriot's workshop in Market-street, was taken for this purpose, at a rent of £5 per annum. Mr. Herriot was provided with a book, headed, "Subscriptions and donations to provide a place of worship for the adult deaf and dumb of Manchester, Salford, and their neighbourhood, and to communicate to them religious and moral instruction," dated March, 1849, and bearing the signature of the Rev. Thomas Buckley, as secretary pro. tem., and those who had consented to act as committee, viz: Rev. A. Munro, chairman; W.A. Mayson Esq., treasurer; Thomas Turner, (surgeon), Joseph Compton and Edward Goody Esqs, as authority for Mr. Herriot to collect subscriptions towards defraying the rent and other necessary expenses. With this authority Mr. Herriot was enabled to collect, according to his own statement,

£161 in seven months. Mr A. Patterson, master of the Deaf and Dumb school, being requested by the committee of the association to superintend the meetings of the deaf and dumb in Market-street, lectured to them occasionally himself, and furnished two of his assistants to aid Mr. S. Mayson (a former pupil of the school), and Mr. James Herriot, in conducting the Sunday services. These meetings were continued under Mr Patterson's superintendence up to midsummer 1850. About this time Mr. Herriot was called upon to produce a statement of the moneys he had received, none of which had been paid into the hands of the nominated treasurer, - W. A. Mayson Esq. Mr Herriot drew up a balance sheet, but did not, as requested, produce any vouchers for the items entered as expenditure, several of which items seemed to the committee of an unsatisfactory nature. A report of the proceedings of the association had been drawn up, but was not published, in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the accounts produced by Mr. Herriot. These accounts were never passed although Mr. H. in his letter states they were, inspected and passed". It is still due to the parties who subscribed £161 in the year 1849 that they should be informed by Mr. Herriot how it was expended, no account of it having yet been laid before the public. In the first report Mr. Herriot issued in 1854 this £161 collected by Mr. H. in 1849 is entirely left out of the "Statement of Income and Expenditure," which I extract:

INCOME	£	s	d	EXPENDITURE	£	s	d
1850	25	0	0	1850	89	19	0
1851	124	10	0	1851	110	0	0
1852	160	0	0	1852	118	15	0
1853	52	5	6	1853	68	10	0
	£361	15	6		£387	4	0

Balance owing by society £25 8s 6d

If this statement is correct, Mr. Herriot collected no money whatever during the year 1850, for the amount of £25 entered as the income of that year was the sum advanced in July by the Rev. Thomas Buckley to Mr. Herriot, to enable him to continue the association to the end of that year, with the hope of being able to make out a more satisfactory financial statement at the end of that time, to publish with their report. In the mean time, however, the greater part of the deaf and dumb (uninfluenced by any parties connected with the Deaf and Dumb School) withdrew themselves from the meetings, and expressed to their friends and supporters dissatisfaction with Mr. James Herriot, and they offered voluntarily, according to their means, to contribute towards defraying the expenses of another room, if provided for them, to meet in on Sundays. For several months the majority of the deaf and dumb discontinued to meet together. At the end of the same year, 1850, another room was taken, and the services were recommenced in January, 1851, conducted by Mr. Patterson, Mr. Mayson and the assistants of the school, the Rev. Thomas Buckley having guaranteed the payment of the rent of this room. Mr. Herriot has continued up to the present time to collect subscriptions, although the authority of the committee had been withdrawn, and the collecting book given up. Mr. H. professed to be , wholly ignorant up to this day as to the real cause of the division." vis: the withdrawal of the committee; but he cannot be ignorant of the facts above stated.

The importance of this subject and its claim upon the public attention have induced me to trespass so far upon your valuable space, that I will only say one word in conclusion. If H.E.C. is still in doubt to whom to pay his subscription, I would recommend him to consult with some party connected with this society

(a list of whom he will find advertised in another column of this paper) in whose judgement he has confidence, for further information on the subject. - I am, sir, your obedient servant.

WILLIAM STAINER, Superintendent.

P.S. Mr. Herriot speaks of me in his letter as a person coming from the London Infant School for the Deaf and Dumb," but there is no such institution that I am aware of. I was twelve years teacher at the London Asylum for Deaf and Dumb. I may add, a considerable sum of money has lately been raised by private interest and it is proposed shortly to establish an infant school for the deaf and Dumb in this city, which will be the first of its kind in existence in Great Britain.

Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society,
Elvington-street, Medlock-street, Hulme,
August 30th 1856.

**MANCHESTER GUARDIAN,
Saturday September 13th 1856**

MANCHESTER ADULT DEAF AND DUMB SOCIETY, for promoting the Spiritual and Temporal Welfare of the Adult Deaf and Dumb. - Inquiries having been made by several parties respecting the proper person to collect subscriptions in furtherance of the above-named object, subscribers, and the benevolent public. are respectfully informed that Mr WILLIAM GREGORY of No.1 Albert Place, Bridge-street, is the **ONLY AUTHORISED COLLECTOR**. Subscriptions and donations are also received by the following gentlemen, members of committee:- Ernest Reuss Esq., chairman; Robert Barbour, Esq.; Thomas Bazley, Esq. Thomas Turner, Esq.; Mr Patterson, treasurer: by Miss Knight, at the school, Old Trafford; and by Mr. William Stainer, Superintendent, at

79 Erskine Street, Hulme.
Elvington-street Medlock-street, August 21, 1856.

Advertisements having appeared in the local papers, informing the benevolent and the subscribers to the society for promoting the religious and temporal welfare of the adult deaf and dumb, that several friends were inquiring who the proper party was for receiving such subscriptions, I beg to apprise the public and the subscribers to the old association, holding its meetings in the Queen's Chambers, Market-street, that the only authorised individual to whom donations and subscriptions should be paid, is Mr. JOHN VEITCH, who is himself deaf and dumb, and has been for five years collector to this society. The public is respectfully requested not to be misled by such advertisements, as there will be laid before them in a short time a full account of the matters in dispute between the two societies, from which they can judge of the motives and merits of each. - By order JAMES HERRIOT, Secretary, Queen's Chambers, Market-street September 11, 1856

**MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Wednesday September 17th 1856**

MANCHESTER ADULT DEAF AND DUMB SOCIETY

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian
Sir,- In the columns of your impression of Saturday last, there appeared two advertisements under similar headings, each naming an individual as the only authorised person' to collect subscriptions to aid in promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the adult deaf and dumb of this city and its neighbourhood. This apparent contradiction requires some explanation which I beg you will allow me the

opportunity of giving through the medium of your columns, to the public and parties interested in the cause of deaf-mutes.

The question involves two points. First, by whom are these two persons authorised? and, secondly, which is the legitimate source of authority? A few brief remarks will elucidate these points.

Attached to one of the advertisements is a list of names of gentlemen of high standing and repute in this city, as members of the committee of the society under the title of which their names appear. The collector named in this advertisement is authorised by them, and they see to the proper distribution of the moneys collected for the object named in the advertisement.

The other advertisement is said to be inserted "By order," and signed "James Herriot, secretary." It is a proper question to ask, by whose order was it inserted; and upon what authority does the party signing himself secretary hold that office? I am not aware that Mr. Herriot has ever been appointed secretary by any committee of gentlemen connected with the association. He took upon himself that office when the gentlemen connected with the institution at Old Trafford, who first gave him authority to collect money, withdrew that authority from him. Mr. Herriot has however continued to collect, and employed others to collect moneys to the amount of £1,124.9s.10d. according to his own statements, without any properly organised committee to regulate the disbursement of that amount. Mr. Herriot published for the first time in the local papers, in May last, and inserted in his report for the present year, a list of names of gentlemen as the committee of his association; but upon inquiries being made, it was found that the majority of those gentlemen had either not given their sanction, or they have since withdrawn their names.

In the balance sheet annexed to the

reports issued by Mr. Herriot these items appear: Secretary's salary, £100; biblical instructor, £50. Mr. Herriot acts in both these capacities, with the occasional assistance of the deaf and dumb in the latter office. The duties of secretary of this society are not sufficient to justify the employment of any paid officer in that capacity, the chief duties pertaining to the religious teacher. There was a balance in Mr. Herriot's hands at the commencement of this year of £88.12. as shown by this balance sheet. Are the numerous contributors to the Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association acquainted with these particulars? and, if so, are they satisfied with this state of things? and will they continue to pay their subscriptions to Mr. Herriot's collector, without any other guarantee than he gives, of its being appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended?

From the numerous inquiries that are made of me I find that many parties are totally unacquainted with the working of Mr. Herriot's association and have contributed to it under the mistaken impression that they were supporting the society connected with the parent institution at Old Trafford, and I have reason to believe that many still pay their subscriptions without knowing into what channel their money goes.

Allow me to suggest that Mr. Herriot would meet with no opposition from the legitimate society if he were to continue to confine his operations to the few deaf and dumb he has influenced to adhere to him, and would relinquish the title of Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association," which is calculated to mislead the benevolent public, and to make them believe that he provides for the peculiar requirements of the adult deaf and dumb of Manchester. So long as Mr. Herriot interferes with the legitimate sphere of

operations of this society, he throws himself open to such remarks as are necessary to explain the reasons the committee had for withdrawing their authority and support from him. Hoping I have not encroached further on your valuable space than you will consider the importance of the subject requires - I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WM. STAINER, Superintendent.
Elvington-street, Medlock-street, Hulme,
Sept. 16, 1856.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Friday September 19th 1856

ADULT DEAF AND DUMB
BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

To the Editor of the MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN.

Sir, - I observe in your impression of yesterday a letter from Mr. Stainer, the superintendent of a recently-founded society for the adult deaf and dumb of this city and neighbourhood, questioning the authority under which I style myself secretary to the Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association. This question comes with startling impertinence from an individual who has been but recently appointed to the office in connection with the school at Old Trafford, while I was a well-known and long-resident master tradesman in Market-street for many years, and was the first founder of a society 10 years ago for the amelioration of the neglected state of those in whose privation I likewise share, and have for years worked gratuitously on their behalf till within the last three, when I found it impossible to devote the whole of my time to their interests without some remuneration. I made these facts known to the friends of the association through the medium of a printed report three years ago and they generously

responded to my claims.

Neither the association, nor myself individually, has ever been connected with the Old Trafford school officially. The society under Mr. Stainer's superintendence is a rival to the old one, set up by the staff of officials of the school at Old Trafford, who have influenced some members of the school committee to lend their names to their object.

I have documents in my possession as far back as 1848, appointing me secretary to the association: and amongst all its struggles I have adhered to that office and worked the machinery of the society to a successful issue, till, within the last two years a person from the school for deaf and dumb children in London - albeit unknown to any of the deaf and dumb of this city, and a novice to their wants, habits and characteristics - came to Manchester, and has been trying to make the old society useless to the generality of the deaf and dumb, by persuading a large number to leave an association that they have been long attached to, and which has provided employment and succour to many of them during their connection with it: although he himself in consequence of his total ignorance of Manchester and its benevolent supporters of religious and other charitable societies, has been following in my footsteps, and calling on the very firms from whom I received, years before him, sympathy and employment for the members of the old society.

Mr. Stainer informs your readers of the fact, that I have succeeded in getting about £1,100 to aid the association to carry out the objects contemplated by its establishment; and I would observe, that if the official staff of the Old Trafford school knew that that amount of money, or any part thereof, was improperly wasted, they should have long before this put the public on their guard against my labours, But the truth is, Mr.

Stainer is only writing from hearsay, statements, of the truth or falsehood of which he can know nothing, not do the gentlemen whose names are used as members of his own committee.

In reply to the charges, that I had the effrontery to insert the name of gentlemen upon the committee of the association in my last report, without their permission to do so, I can give it a flat denial; for I would not dare to take so public a liberty, without first calling on, and receiving their sanction. He also adds, that what he calls "the legitimate society" would give me no opposition, if I would confine my operations to the few adult deaf and dumb who keep to the original society. What! would they not expose me to the just censure of the public, for making away with funds given for charitable purposes, if I only kept out of the way of the school authorities, and permitted them quietly to use their public and private influence in overturning an old and useful religious and charitable association? He further says, in the same paragraph in which he asserts I had not the sanction to use gentlemen's names as members of my committee, "That some of them have withdrawn themselves." Will he inform the public as he seems to know who the gentlemen are, what private influence has been brought to bear, in inducing them to take any such step? I cannot sufficiently admire the modesty with which Mr. Stainer asks an old society of 10 years standing, to give up its public recognised title of the Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association, on the ground, forsooth, that it may mislead the benevolent into the belief that they may be giving their aid to the recently-founded society, of which he is the superintendent. A more glaring piece of impertinence, and a request dictated by more presumptuous

boldness, I never met with. Apologising for trespassing so far upon your valuable space, I remain, sir, your most obedient servant,
JAMES HERRIOT, Secretary.
Queens Chambers Market-street
Sept. 18, 1856.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Saturday September 20th 1856

**MANCHESTER ADULT DEAF & DUMB
SOCIETY.**

*To the Editor of the MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN*

Sir, - Your correspondent in today's Impression, seems greatly annoyed that I should question the authority under which he holds the office of secretary to the "Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association," but he has not stated in answer to my letter, what that authority is, and therefore it still remains an open question.

Mr. Herriot represents this society as a rival to the one he takes the credit of originating, and denies the fact of his ever having any connection with it. The truth is, the first committee that was formed for the purpose of providing for the wants of the adult deaf and dumb of Manchester, consisted of gentlemen connected with the Old Trafford institution, and were Mr. Herriot's committee from March 1849, to July 1850. Two of these, the Rev. T. Buckley and Thomas Turner, Esq. (surgeon), are on my committee for the present year. I have recently obtained possession of the collecting book, bearing date March 1849, which contains the autographs of all the gentlemen who formed the first committee, and was given to Mr. Herriot to authorise him to collect subscriptions, but was afterwards withdrawn from him. In this book are the names of parties who have continued to subscribe to Mr. Herriot up to the present time.

Mr. Herriot has no committee, not has he

had any since July 1850, unless it be of a few deaf and dumb men who work as journeymen. Can Mr H. deny these facts? What facts I have had occasion to mention on this subject, are not from "hearsay," but either from genuine documents or upon the authority of those gentlemen who have taken part in the proceedings alluded to.

Mr. H. asks for the names of those who have withdrawn from his committee since he published the list in May last. I give four out of the seven from whom I have had authority:- James Watts, Esq. (mayor), Robert Gladstone, Esq. William Fairbairn, Esq., C.E., and Benjamin Fothergill, Esq. Did Mr. Herriot receive the sanction of these gentlemen to publish their names?

Previous to my being called from London to undertake the office of superintendent, Mr Patterson and his assistants performed the duties gratuitously for more than two and a half years, and no appeal was made to the public for funds. Mr. Herriot was collecting money during this time, although the authority had been withdrawn from him.

I have been connected with this society for more than two years, and have the confidence of those by whom I was appointed. As to my being a "novice to the wants, habits, and characteristics" of the deaf and dumb, I have had twelve years experience in the London [institution, where the present principals of deaf and dumb institutions in Edinburgh, Dublin, Liverpool, and Swansea, received their training; and I produced testimonials satisfactory to those who appointed me.

In conclusion, I would express a hope that Mr. Herriot will confine himself in any future communication, more closely to the points in question relating to his association, which will prevent the

necessity of my encroaching so far on your valuable space. -

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM STAINER, Superintendent,
Elvington-street, Medlock-street, Hulme,
Sept., 19, 1856.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Wednesday September 24th, 1856

**ADULT DEAF AND DUMB
BENEVOLENT
ASSOCIATION**
*To the EDITOR of the MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN*

Sir, - Mr. Stainer, in the felicity of his good humour, informs your readers in your paper of Saturday, the 20th inst. that I am, or seem to be, greatly annoyed at his questioning the authority under which I hold the position of secretary to the Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association.

I will now endeavour to enlighten him upon the point, which, it appears to me, he is very much put out of temper for want of information thereon. I was appointed secretary at a general meeting of the members of the society, held at one of the rooms in the house of James Braid Esq., surgeon, St Peter's Square, kindly placed at the disposal of the members by that gentleman on the 26th of June 1848; and after the formation of a committee of gentlemen in 1849, of which the Rev. Thomas Buckley was the honorary secretary, I continued to perform all the work connected with the carrying out of all its details, with the exception of the report. That was to have been printed and circulated among the subscribers, which, at my urgent request, was drawn up by another reverend gentleman, a member of the committee; and I beg to inform Mr. Stainer that there are no genuine documents connected with the proceedings of the society on which he can

lay his hand, but what are in my handwriting, with the exception of the subscription book, which was not given to me as he states, but purchased out of my own pocket previous to my waiting on the Rev. Mr. Buckley, or any other member of the committee, to solicit their pecuniary aid.

As to the statement that the Rev. Thomas Buckley and Mr Turner surgeon former members of my committee in 1849 are now on his society, I must here observe that the society of 1849 and 1850 was disorganised mainly through the personal influence of the Rev. Mr. Buckley starting an opposition society in 1851, in combination with the master and matron of the school, without the knowledge or sanction of the gentlemen on my committee; and on my application to them to sustain the original society, they replied they could not interfere as they knew nothing as to the cause of the disorganisation not having been previously consulted. I have in my possession a letter of Mr. Turner's, in reply to my application in 1851 for him to give me his support as an honorary member of the committee while the internal management would be conducted by a committee elected from the most respectable and intelligent of the deaf and dumb members. His reply was as follows which I copy verbatim: - "Mr Turner regrets that he cannot act as one of the committee of the association referred to. He trusts, however, that good will result from its operations." How can Mr. Stainer say that I was discarded, or any authority withdrawn from me by that committee, in the face of such facts. As to Mr. Turner's being on the present committee of the other society, it is easily explained: owing to having an official position at the school as honorary surgeon for many years, he may have been easily persuaded to enter into the views of the other officials connected therewith.

Mr. Stainer takes some credit to himself as to having been twelve years an assistant teacher to a school for deaf and dumb children in London, and of its celebrity in providing teachers for the schools in other parts of the kingdom, and of his having brought excellent testimonials with him. I never questioned his qualifications as a teacher of children in any of my previous letters; for aught I know he may have served a regular apprenticeship and as a matter of course could produce satisfactory testimonials to secure his appointment to any school for deaf and dumb children, but I am dealing with the question of the adult deaf and dumb. Has any master of a deaf and dumb school in the United Kingdom ever felt an interest in the welfare of his former pupils, and established societies like mine "for their special benefit in after life?" No such thing. Whatever societies now exist in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Manchester, Leeds, Huddersfield, and others that may be in course of formation in other towns, owe their origin to the exertions of the adult deaf and dumb themselves, that very class of individuals whom Mr. Stainer designates jeeringly as journeymen. A few of the most highly educated and deep-thinking, imbued with a natural and spontaneous feeling of concern for the deplorable condition of their unfortunate fellow-men, led them to form such associations, and in a spirit of devotion that cannot be surpassed, have laboured and taught their fellow-men their duty to God, to themselves, and to society, and the road they ought to go in this life so as to secure peace and happiness in the present and the future. The missionaries that are and have been, under my superintendence are men of bright example, and one without fee or reward has laboured nineteen years, another seventeen years a third twelve years among the adult deaf and dumb, not to mention others I have a personal knowledge of in

London, Edinburgh &c. As to myself. I do not owe any acquirements I may be possessed of to the school I was educated at but to the fortunate circumstances in after life of being thrown among good society, and mixing largely among men of intelligence, and I know from experience it is the case with most, if not all, of the deaf and dumb who show superior signs of an enlarged understanding.

There is such a dash of good-natured, and I suppose I must in common justice to Mr Stainer, add, disinterested advice with which he winds up his last communication (viz that I would in future adhere more closely to the points in dispute between us) it's a pity I should be compelled to mar their good effect: for they look well in print, let the motives be what they may that gave them birth. I would humbly submit to his serious consideration the necessity of himself being more careful in adhering to the truth: he would best understand my meaning, if he would take the trouble to look over the copy of his last letter. In the third paragraph, he writes: Mr Herriot has not committee, nor has he had any since July, 1850, unless it be a few deaf and dumb men, &c.; and he asks, with an air of triumph - Can Mr Herriot deny these facts? What a strange confirmation of the veracity of his assertions is contained in the very next paragraph but one, where he not only acknowledges the existence of a committee of gentlemen, ut also gives the names of four of them, whose authority, he says, he has for asserting that they have withdrawn. Here, again, he asks a question - Did Mr Herriot receive the sanction of those gentlemen to publish their names? My reply is plain and simple. I got permission from each and all of them, along with others, to place their names on the list of the committee for the present year; and in publishing the fact to the public and the subscribers to the Manchester and Salford

Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association, I did no more than use them legitimately for a benevolent purpose, and in conformity with the general rule and world-wide regulation of every philanthropic and charitable society in existence. - I have again to apologise for occupying your valuable space, and remain, sir, yours very respectfully,

JAMES HERRIOT, Secretary
Queen's Chambers, Market-street, Sept.23, 1856.

[If Mr. Herriot had not been in some degree standing on his defence, the length of his letter would have excluded it from our columns. He must learn to condense, or we cannot find room for future letters, *Ed. Guard.*]

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Friday September 26th 1856

MANCHESTER ADULT DEAF AND
DUMB SOCIETY.

To the EDITOR of the MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN

Sir, - In the last communication of Mr. Herriot, he has certainly not taken my "good natured" and "disinterested" advice, as he calls it, of adhering more closely to the points relating to his association. so I will pass over the greater part of his long letter, and allude to one or two points only that are deserving attention and require elucidation. Mr. Herriot says that he was appointed secretary by "members of the society" who met together at the house of James Braid, Esq. on the 26th June 1848. It is not denied that the deaf and dumb called by Mr. Herriot "members of the society" held private meetings previously to the formation of a committee to provide for their wants, nor that at these meetings they may have requested Mr. Herriot to act as

secretary; but when the first committee was formed in March, 1849, Mr. Herriot acknowledges that the Rev. Thomas Buckley was secretary, which amounts to a confession that he (Mr. Herriot) was not appointed to that office, but has since assumed it. Mr. Herriot states with truth that the report "was to have been printed and circulated" during his connection with the society. Mr. Herriot, however, gives no reason for suppressing the publication of it, which I have been authorised to say was on account of the unsatisfactory stated of the financial statement he produced, at the request of the committee, of the "£161 he had collected in the short space of seven months." I have shown, in a previous letter published in the *Courier* of the 30th ultimo, that Mr. Herriot has never accounted for this money, neither has any money collected by Mr. Herriot, amounting in all to £1,124. 19s. 10d. been paid into the hands of any treasurer, or its disbursement regulated by any properly organised committee. Mr. Herriot has not contradicted these facts in any of his communications, neither has he asserted that he has any committee at the present time or given their names. I will therefore leave this subject to the consideration of all who are interested in it, with the full conviction that the facts elicited, and, through your kindness, published in the columns of your valuable journal, are sufficient to enable a discerning and benevolent public to form a correct judgement between the claims of Mr. Herriot's association, called "The Manchester and Salford Adult Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Association," and the "Manchester Adult Deaf and Dumb Society" (connected with the institution at Old Trafford), of which I am the superintendent. - I am, sir, your obedient servant.

WILLIAM STAINER

Elvington-street, Medlock-street, Hulme,

Sept.25, 1856.

P.S. My letter above referred to is re-printed from the *Courier* of August 30, and may be had on application by any of your readers who desire to have a copy.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Monday September 29th 1856

THE ADULT DEAF AND DUMB
ASSOCIATION

To the EDITOR of the MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN

Sir, - I see in this day's impression of your valuable journal, that your correspondent, Mr Stainer, has found "discretion the better part of valour, and so he retires from further contest, relying mainly upon his letter in the *Courier* of the 30th of August, in which he places most of his arguments, he is endeavouring to take a most unfair advantage over me. Inasmuch, as all the charges in his last letter are a mere repetition, that were met and each point fully examined and answered, in a letter I sent to the editor of the *Courier*, in reply, but it was rejected, with an explanatory note in the answer to correspondents, that it was too voluminous. and impossible to find space for its insertion, unless as an advertisement. I found upon inquiry that it would cost £6, - so I at that very time anticipated the concluding remarks of Mr. Stainer (where he informs your readers that he has re-printed his letter of the above date), having then forwarded to the press "not only my own letters," but the whole of the correspondence that had then passed between him and me so that a discerning and enlightened public, as well as the friends and subscribers of the association may judge for themselves, and any of your readers that feel an interest in the subject

may have a copy of the pamphlet, by applying at the offices of Thomas Southam, L.D. solicitor, No.9, St. James's Square; or at the office of the Manchester and Salford Deaf and Dumb Association, Queen's Chambers. Thanking you for the impartiality you have manifested throughout the discussion. I remain, sir, yours very respectfully, -

JAMES HERRIOT, Secretary

Queen's Chambers, Market-street,
September 1856.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Friday October 3rd 1856

MR. JAMES HERRIOT AND THE
PRINCIPALS OF
INSTITUTIONS FOR THE DEAF AND
DUMB

To the EDITOR of the MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN

Sir, - In one of Mr. James Herriot's inconclusive and unsatisfactory letters on the subject of the adult deaf and dumb, the writer endeavours to make a point in his favour, by contrasting himself with the principals of the various institutions for the education of the deaf and dumb; who, he alleges. have done nothing for the adult deaf and dumb, while he himself has done a great deal.

Now, in the first place, this statement is not true in point of fact; and, secondly, if even it were a true statement of fact, the inference which Mr. Herriot wishes to be drawn from it is quite erroneous, and extremely unfair, First, as to the fact. In several towns of this country (which I would name, if I were replying to any other person), it is the principal of the local institution who does all that is done for the adult deaf and dumb. In other places similar service has been rendered aforetime, though

the work has subsequently been undertaken by other hands. And, where nothing of the kind is attempted, it is because the head master of a large school is a finite being, with limited strength and powers, who, being engaged and appointed to the performance of a certain specific duty, devotes himself exclusively to the discharge of that duty, instead of attempting the impossible combination of two distinct offices, each of which demands the utmost exertions of the most competent and energetic man. But, so far from the fact being what Mr. Herriot would insinuate, I have the best reason for knowing that the principals of the "Deaf and Dumb Schools" of this country are almost unanimous in favour of a well-regulated and well-conducted schemes, such as that which, under the presidency of Mr. Ernest Reuss, and the direction of Messrs Robert Barbour, Thos. Bazley, W.R. Callender, Thos. Turner, and others, bids fair to grow up into an agency of great benefit to the adult deaf and dumb of Manchester. In small populations, it may be possible to combine the instruction of deaf and dumb children with the care of the adults. I have already alluded to some places where this is done. But where, as in large towns, the numbers both of children and adults are very large, it is not wise to attempt such a combination, because it is almost impossible to succeed in it.

Mr Herriot seems to labour under the impression that those who teach children must be children themselves. This reminds one of the whimsical parody of Dr. Johnson's, "Who drives fax oxen must himself be fat." Now, I have more that once heard the Rev. Canon Moseley, of Bristol, her majesty's principal inspector of schools, say, that he knew of no way in which a man could so effectually learn how to teach, and to reach the minds of others, as by experience in the instruction of the deaf and

dumb. Mr. Herriot, however, evidently regards us as beings of an inferior order, and in the "full blown dignity" of assured superiority, looks down upon, and pities, our unfortunate condition. But I am much mistaken if the good name, and the useful labours, of those whom he thus affects to disparage, will not prove a more than sufficient refutation of his unworthy attack. Mr. Herriot would find a more difficult task than any which he has attempted hitherto, to name one amongst them, who is not favourably known, for his intelligence, devotion, and zeal in the discharge of his duties; while your own columns might be adduced to testify that it is possible for the teacher of the deaf and dumb to gain distinction beyond his own immediate locality, in connection with the kindred subjects of literature and education.

Mr. Herriot's mode of reply to Mr Stainer shall be a warning to me. Leaving unanswered and untouched the facts and figures which tell strongly against him. Mr Herriot has had recourse to aspersion and personal opprobrium. I will not permit him this convenient source; but, enclosing my name to you, to show that I am one of the parties alluded to, I will append to this letter a wise old maxim, which ought to convey a very useful lesson to one who, when asked by what authority he signs himself Secretary, can furnish no better answer than that he left a tailor's shop in Manchester ten years ago.

NE SUTOR ULTRA CREPIDAM.