“Black” Strangers in the White Rose County:

Pakistanis, Irish, and the Shaping of Multiethnic West Yorkshire, 1845-1985

An honors thesis for the Department of History

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Introduction

Jess Bhamra – the protagonist in the 2002 film *Bend It Like Beckham* about a Hounslow-born, football-playing Punjabi Sikh girl – is ejected from an important match after shoving an opposing player on the pitch. When her coach, Joe, berates her for this action, Jess retorts with, "She called me a Paki, but I guess you wouldn't understand what that feels like, would you?" After letting the weight of Jess's frustration and anger sink in, Joe responds, "Jess, I'm Irish. *Of course* I understand what that feels like."

This exchange highlights the shared experiences of immigrants from Ireland and those from the Subcontinent in contemporary Britain. *Bend It Like Beckham* is not the only film to join explicitly these two ethnic groups in the British popular imagination. Two years later, Ken Loach's *Ae Fond Kiss* confronted the harsh realities of the possibility of marriage between a man of Pakistani heritage and an Irish woman, using the importance of religion in both cases as a hindrance to their relationship. *Ae Fond Kiss* recognizes the centrality of Catholicism and Islam to both of these ethnic groups, and in turn how religion defined their identity in the eyes of the British community as a whole. This derives from the British historic constructs for each group: in the nineteenth century, "Catholic" and "Irish" were intertwined into one identity that characterized the immigrant newcomers, and for the host cities this Celtic "other" was very much in contrast to their own Protestant Anglo-Saxonism. As the twentieth century progressed, Catholics ceased to be a dangerous enemy in the eyes of English Protestants who tolerated all Christian faiths in an increasingly secular society. The British public eventually saw Pakistani Muslims through the same negative and dangerous stereotype of ethnicity *and* religion that rivaled and perhaps surpassed that of the "Irish Paddy." This was not completed until the second generation of British-Pakistanis came of age and the country saw a true rise in militant Islam

among certain groups and within certain regions, with high-profile events like the Rushdie Affair in 1989 making it easier for Britons to associate radicalism and religious extremism with the country's Muslim community as a whole.

These two film examples demonstrate how the British popular imagination has brought together the Irish and the Pakistanis for their ethnic or religious similarities. However, scholarly works that recognize the parallels in experience between the two groups in British communities most often focus on the role they played in textile labor in the twentieth century, and any precedents that were set by the Famine Irish in the mid-nineteenth century.[1] They recognize the fact that immigrant labor and its competition with native English workers was not new in the postwar years: the Irish and the Pakistanis as foils to the "English" working class aided white working class racism that was especially strong in the North of England. However, scholars have not gone far enough to expand on their brief references to a shared experience, or the patterns in which the Irish and the Pakistanis reestablished their cultures in Britain and developed ethnic enclaves within the country's cities. They leave little room for cultural and social interaction with the host community, not to mention the important ties in Empire that bound not only the Irish and the Pakistanis to the British, but brought the Irish and the Pakistanis closer together in their own experiences.

These Irish-Asian connections facilitated by Empire have gained significant attention from historians in recent years. The relationship between the two ethnic groups has been

[1] Mark Halstead, *Education, Justice and Cultural Diversity: An Examination of the Honeyford Affair, 1984-85* (London, 1988), p. 4. Enda Delaney, *The Irish in Post-War Britain* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 54-5, 115. Peter L. Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry* (London, 1968), pp. 42-5.

examined in various works,[2] and Kate O'Malley's 2008 book *Ireland, India, and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919-64* is the culmination in a recent interest in the subject. Taking the Empire as her framework, O'Malley concentrates on what personal interracial relationships were forged in their respective struggles for independence from Britain, while other commons angles taken are the Irish as colonial soldiers and administrators in the Raj, Home Rule's influence on India's own quest for independence, or the similar attitudes that the British held towards governance in the two colonies. The work of O'Malley and others reminds the reader of the influence that relationships forged in Empire had on gaining independence from the British, not to mention how British views on race were irreconcilably linked with their colonial past. However, they put significant constraints on the Irish-Indian relationship in *Britain*: it is depicted as a London-based, largely parliamentary political movement concerned with affairs in their own respective countries of Ireland and India. What is needed, therefore, is a balance between the broad subjects of Empire and independence that are raised with these studies of radical politicians and activists, and the ideas of labor tensions and housing problems upon which working-class surveys are based; woven into this approach should be an acknowledgement of the comparative social and cultural effects of the Irish and Pakistani presence in specific regions of Britain, which has been neglected by these two existing approaches to Irish-Pakistani parallel experiences.

Taking the precedent of this existing literature that places the Irish and Indo-Pakistanis together for their shared labor experiences and the similar positions they held in the British Empire, this thesis will use a comparative approach to nuance their place in British urban-

[2] Michael Holmes, "The Irish and India: Imperialism, Nationalism, and Internationalism," Andy Bielenberg (ed.) *The Irish Diaspora* (Harlow, 2000). Tadhg Foley and Maureen O'Connor (eds.), *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire* (Dublin, 2006). Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India, and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919-64* (Manchester, 2008).

industrial society. Can parallels between postwar Pakistanis and their Celtic forerunners – along with contemporaries in the twentieth century – be drawn in the actual experiences and self-characterization of these diasporic groups? Or do the Irish only instruct our understanding of "black" immigrants through their part in the representations and preconceived notions of "race" disseminated among the white public of British cities? Taking the initial reception of the Irish in the 1840s and working through the Pakistanis' growth as an influential bloc in local politics in the 1980s, the work will cover the wide spectrum of Irish and Pakistani immigrant experiences – both contemporary and historical. By not limiting the Irish and the Pakistanis to poor laboring roles in West Yorkshire cities, the social and cultural engagement they had with the "white" British community will be emphasized. Three themes will be woven into the thesis's narrative, joining together both the experiences of the Irish and Pakistanis, and the reactions they solicited from the British public: race, class, and religion all worked to set these two groups' interactions with their host community apart from other immigrants, and elevate their experiences from interesting similarities to an important explanatory case study in British views towards immigrants and their perpetual "otherness." These lenses are often used independently, but determining where categories such as race and class intersect and meld – or where British attitudes on race and religion saw continuities from the Irish to the Pakistanis' receptions – adds new dimensions to the "white" British perspective on immigration, and superimposes larger theoretical and analytical approaches to the specific experiences of these ethnic groups. It is important to examine the culture that arose from this clashing of postcolonial groups with the mother country through a variety of mediums: How did literary and filmic works approach the presence of these immigrants? What were key differences between those created within the community and those from outside? This leads to the last point to be addressed in this work:

exploring the rise of multiethnic Britain from the newcomers' perspectives *and* from those of the established residents. The constructed views of the "white" British public and the way in which they dealt with a changing ethnic landscape will be the primary focus in this study that places British society at its center: how influential were historical and Empire-based conceptions of race and religion in shaping views towards the colonial and postcolonial Irish and Pakistani immigrants?

This study will narrow its focus geographically so as to explore adequately the myriad issues of British immigration and multiculturalism. While London may offer the most resources and diversity for a study such as this, and Liverpool and Glasgow present the extent to which ethnic and religious conflict can segregate a community, the focus of this work will be the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was a popular destination for immigrants throughout the period studied, and because its industry is so specific – unlike the metropolises of Manchester and London – it attracted a largely unskilled group of newcomers to fill vacant jobs at textile factories, and eventually they created tight-knit ethno-religious urban communities. Comparisons to London or Manchester may be drawn at times, and the experiences of immigrants to similar Lancashire industrial towns will be referenced, but by limiting the study geographically, a maximum number of themes arising for immigrants and their host community can be investigated. Moving from the macrocosm of Britain-wide issues and perceptions of immigrants to the microcosm of specific matters of multiethnic tensions in West Yorkshire is an important evolution in the thesis as a whole, and reflects its purpose of transitioning from antiquated and broad conceptions of "multicultural Britain" to fresh and particular local case studies.

A thematic rather than a chronological structure will be used, so as to highlight the comparative nature of the Irish-Pakistani relationship. The starting point will be the postwar

immigration acts, which are often seen as the beginning of white Britain's pushback against "multicultural Britain" and the various New Commonwealth people that made their way to the UK after decolonization. The British preoccupation with "race" will be the focus for analyzing attitudes towards immigrants, and the struggles in Westminster and beyond to come to terms with the rhetoric and policy that separated Irish and Pakistanis. Disagreements in government offices mimic the very obstacles in language faced by this thesis: what are the appropriate racial categories for the Irish and the Pakistanis, and how did they evolve from the Victorian to the postwar years? After looking at immigration from the British perspective, the migration and arrival experiences of the Irish and the Pakistanis in West Yorkshire will be discussed. Explaining the immigrant phenotype and the context of their move sets up the study of interplay between newcomers and established residents in further sections, and the transitioning between larger nationwide concerns and those specific to industrial Yorkshire.

The second section will concentrate on two cornerstones of the prejudice that immigrants experienced from the British population: their position in the local economy, and their racial stereotypes. This will elaborate on the racial rhetoric of the previous section, giving it historical context based in colonial attitudes held towards the Irish and the Asians from the Subcontinent. The transition between colonial and postcolonial lenses is imperative to recognize, and the ways in which Britain's changing global role was manifested in the industrial North. Working hand-in-hand with racial stereotyping were the occupational identities of the Irish and the Pakistanis, and how race and class were joined in the minds of the British to relegate these groups to a separate subsection of British workers. Entrenched perceptions not only concealed diversity in occupation within these two groups, but also overemphasized any similarities they had with one another. Using the Irish – and especially those in the mid-twentieth century – as a comparison to

the Pakistanis will demonstrate to what extent race and class stereotypes continued to be assigned to Celtic newcomers that fell more in line with Asian immigrants than with the established Irish in West Yorkshire communities; diversification among immigrants was not necessarily matched by an evolution in British attitudes towards these people.

Following the examination of the primary reasons for immigration and the arrivals' initial receptions, the study will look at three aspects of their integration or isolation in the local community: housing, education, and religion. This naturally lends itself to the local study approach: specific areas of Leeds or Bradford can be used as examples of multicultural neighborhoods. Decisions about where to live fueled the development of ethnic enclaves that often revolved around places of worship or schooling. Religion and education were linked for the Irish and the Pakistanis, with churches, mosques, and schools being among the first structures built by new arrivals, and remained as lasting symbols of the community for the British-born second generation and beyond. Twentieth-century Muslim Pakistanis echoed similar religious demands made by nineteenth-century Irish Catholics, showing an important continuity between these immigrant groups that perpetrated the "otherness" of their culture in the eyes of Anglicans, or the increasingly secular community in the 1970s and 1980s.

The fourth section discusses the product of the ethnic concentration and reestablishment of cultural foundations that were explored in the previous section: regional political agency based on ethnic- and religious-specific concerns, and influence on parliamentary elections often after significant tensions with the local community. The discussion of religion in the third section will naturally lead into the disturbances, which were often fueled by the religious discrepancies between the local population and immigrant newcomers. Also adding to this tension were racial prejudices discussed in the second section, which would reappear with force

in the years of Powellism. Within these immigrant communities, political agency on the level of a *majority* or mainstream group was often achieved not by cultural assimilation or appealing to the population at-large, but by a continued commitment to issues of their homelands, and matters specific to their *minority* compatriots. The culmination of this study – and a case that works to combine many of the issues discussed above – is the 1985 Honeyford Affair. This local conflict between the white British and the Muslims in Bradford spoke to issues of multiculturalism, religious tolerance, and integration in Britain as a whole. It not only raised the question of whether or not pluralism in British local communities had come any closer to majority acceptance since the Irish Catholics arrived in the 1840s, but also whether or not identities such as race and religion were co-opted in the same manner they had been in the nineteenth century by both immigrant communities and the "white" population to reassert spheres of social and cultural difference within West Yorkshire cities.

The Macrocosm and Microcosm of Immigration: British Postwar Policy, the Arrival of Pakistanis in West Yorkshire, and the Precedent of the Irish

The following section will balance the Westminster debates over immigration with the on-the-ground realities of concurrent immigrant arrival in West Yorkshire. To add perspective to this post-Empire problem of New Commonwealth immigration will be an examination of the Irish and the role they played in the nineteenth century, and continued to play through the mid-twentieth century; their presence as a template *and* a complication for Parliament and local government reactions to large numbers of immigrants demonstrates the perennial issue of weighing the country's labor needs against the problems of racially-different, impoverished newcomers from the Industrial Revolution on.

The immediate postwar years did not see the consolidated effort to curb New Commonwealth immigration that characterized policy in the 1960s and 1970s. For legislators, the primary concern from the fallout of Empire was not even mass migration, but instead keeping intact the same system of subjecthood and citizenship that had dictated relations between the UK and its "kith and kin" in the Old Dominions. The 1948 British Nationality Act – which would work as the framework for the three immigration acts that would follow over the next twenty-three years – was put in place due to Canada's decision to define their status as British subjects as depending firstly on their identity as Canadian citizens. Therefore, the Labour government's Act reaffirmed the right of Commonwealth citizens to British citizenship, worked to maintain Britain's position as the "mother country" for its ex-colonies, and issued a message of goodwill to the Commonwealth. The Act reaffirmed these principles without envisaging the large-scale immigration – especially from the New Commonwealth – that would continue over the next two decades and beyond. It is true that Britain had dealt with influxes of unwanted immigrants in its recent history, namely the Irish in the middle of the nineteenth century and the Jews at the turn of

the twentieth century. However, large numbers of non-white immigrants combined with the collapse of the Empire prompted a reassessment of Britain's identity vis-à-vis other races, along with unprecedented legislative action.

It is important to stop here and return to the question of the Irish, and their complicated situation in the middle of the twentieth century. For one, the British had to prepare themselves for the possibility of Ireland becoming a republic, leaving the Commonwealth, and symbolically cutting their painful historical ties with the UK – an event that did happen in 1949. There were therefore practical concerns for both sides that led to concessions for the Irish in Britain's immigration policy. For one, labor was of paramount importance for both countries: Britain had always been a destination for the surplus Irish population, and in turn the British had depended on Irish labor both seasonal and permanent in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The Irish had also come to dominate certain skilled occupations, such as nursing, therefore it would have been risky for the British to curtail the arrival of a group that was vital to their economy and social services. In addition, there were the complicated national ties that forced Britain to take a liberal stance towards Irish immigration. The border between the Republic and Northern Ireland was one of the primary problems: it would have been very difficult for the British to effectively control the passage between the two countries, and because the Northern Irish were UK citizens, Republicans had to be given the same status to simplify the system.

British attitudes towards Irish immigration were also meaningful for the effect they had on further policy in relations with the Commonwealth. This is merely one example of the Irish as a precursor for British official action and unofficial attitudes towards newcomers. The Irish took offense at the title "British subject," and British policymakers recognized this by offering flexibility in the title given to Commonwealth immigrants. While this at first appeared to be a

diplomatic gesture that gave each country autonomy and freedom *within* the Commonwealth system, in effect it gave the British the ability to amend their legislation and alter definitions of "British subject" as immigration grew to be a more contentious issue in the 1960s and 1970s.[3] The difference between "subject" and "citizen" was based in diplomatic rhetoric: while members of the Commonwealth received immigration privileges they would have held as *subjects*, to give their title a more egalitarian tone was imperative to the smooth transition from Empire to Commonwealth.

In the 1950s, a combination of large numbers of non-white immigrants, domestic issues, and changing party power prompted British leaders to reevaluate their gestures in the 1940s and look at New Commonwealth immigration as a phenomenon that was in need of control. It was the West Indian population, not the South Asian, which introduced immigration as a contentious issue for policymakers. How would they differentiate between the traditional Commonwealth immigrants – those white residents of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc. – who were more likely to bring capital and skills into Britain, and "colored" immigrants from the West Indies, South Asia, and Africa? As early as 1951 ideas for control were being discussed within the Labour government that targeted New Commonwealth immigrants due to the likelihood of their coming as stowaways, arriving without a specific job, and applying for national assistance once in the country. However, it was made explicit that these methods could not reveal any racial prejudice, although their purpose was in effect to control West Indian immigrants without

[3] "The Bill recognizes the desire of the people of Eire to rid themselves of the label 'British subject,' and it seems right to give the people of other Commonwealth countries liberty to describe themselves, if they so wish, by some term other than 'British subject.'… The provision in the Bill for creating a number of separate citizenships facilitates any differentiation that may be necessary in the future between the position of various Commonwealth countries." Cabinet Memorandum. British Nationality Bill. Memorandum by the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. 4 May 1948.

hindering white immigration.[4] It would have also been slightly embarrassing for Labour politicians such as James Chuter Ede and Hugh Gaitskell to have their "racially tolerant" public persona juxtaposed with secret Committee meetings over how to deal with the growing immigration problem.[5]

Despite the constant flow of skilled *and* unskilled Irish immigration to Great Britain during the 1950s, their presence was regarded as separate from that of Asians and West Indians, along with being different from their nineteenth-century ancestors' arrival. Members of Eden's Conservative government believed that the English and the Irish had had over a century to accustom themselves to each other's habits, and they were no longer seen as a separate "race" in the eyes of the British. They would therefore not fall victim to the discrimination that some politicians feared would characterize the relationship between the New Commonwealth immigrants and British employers and landlords.[6] Closer reading shows, however, that there was nowhere near consensus among Conservatives on the issue of New Commonwealth or Irish immigration during the 1950s. Churchill's Chief Whip Alastair Buchan-Hepburn asked in 1955 "Why should mainly loyal and hard-working Jamaicans be discriminated against when ten times that quantity of disloyal South Irish (some of them Sinn Feiners) come and go as they please?"[7] The Irish were not a people to be easily categorized, or to elicit uniform reactions even from one party. British attitudes towards "race" and its possible role as a determining factor in immigration control were therefore fluid in these years; not all New Commonwealth immigrants

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[4] Cabinet Memorandum. Immigration of British Subjects into the United Kingdom. Note by the Home Secretary James Chuter Ede. 12 February 1951.
[5] Peter Hennessy, *Never Again* (New York, 1994), p. 442.
[6] Cabinet Memorandum. Colonial Immigrants. Note by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and Minister for Welsh Affairs Gwilym Lloyd George. 22 August 1955.
[7] Summary of Commonwealth Affairs Committee meeting by Chief Whip 27 January 1955. Quoted in Clive Harris, "Post-war Immigration, the State and the Reproduction of Racism in Britain," Anita Böcker et al. (eds.) *Regulation of Migration* (Amsterdam, 1998), p. 108.

were a possible detriment to society, nor were the Irish by virtue of their racial affinity with Anglo-Saxons welcomed over "black" newcomers. The fact that the Irish were still not completely integrated into British society in the minds of many legislators *and* citizens will be discussed in further sections.

Nevertheless, by the end of the 1950s, government policy saw immigration from the New Commonwealth as demanding of regulation, even though Irish newcomers outnumbered *all* those from the Commonwealth 64,494 to 35,198 in 1959 alone.[8] 1958 saw a changing tide in public opinion: the combination of race riots in Notting Hill and the presence of a new prime minister in Harold Macmillan suggested that a more stringent policy was in the near future. Conservatives representing those industrial areas with conflict between the white working class and the West Indian immigrants were bolder in looking at the immigration problem in terms of race, an angle that had been shunned in the late 1940s and most of the 1950s.[9] Perhaps the most important conflict was not between Conservatives or even between the two parties, but instead between the Ministry of Labour and the Colonial Office. The former knew that the British economy could not provide jobs for New Commonwealth immigrants *and* the white working class without labor tensions, while the latter would not support a restrictionist policy that targeted Caribbeans and upset relations between the mother country and the colony. This departmental quarrel encapsulates the legislators' struggles at the end of the 1950s to find a balance between diplomatic relations with the non-white colonies and Commonwealth countries, and domestic labor issues.

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[8] Delaney, *Post-War*, p. 119.

[9] "In regard to Irish and Jews: "For whatever their peculiarities, habits or customs when they first arrive, they have been able to adapt themselves to the British social pattern and have gained full acceptance in the community because, to put it badly, their skins are white." Norman Pannell, MP for Liverpool Kirkdale, quoted in Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain* (Oxford, 2000), p. 83.

The vocal concerns of the Ministry of Labour meant that the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act used probable employment within Britain as the indicator between "desirable" and "undesirable" immigrants. Differentiating between skilled workers or ones that came to a specific job, and unskilled labor meant that the government could not be criticized for a racialist policy, although the majority of New Commonwealth immigrants would be subject to restrictions as a result. Immigrants were split into three categories: ones with a job to go to; ones who had training, apprenticeship, professional or educational qualifications which would be useful in Britain; and "others." Only the last category would receive vouchers on a first come, first serve basis.[10] The precedent of controlling skin color and class *as one* was set by concealing a motive of racial quotas beneath a hierarchy of occupational skill. This was the basis for Commonwealth immigration policy, which could more accurately be called "*New* Commonwealth immigration policy." The Bill had been fiercely contested, both by Labour and the Colonial Office, but the realities of employment and housing in urban centers created a shift in public opinion during the late 1950s and early 1960s, making it much easier for Macmillan and the Conservatives to generate a consensus.[11] The 1962 Act worked against the 1948 Act in developing tiers of British citizenship, and would open the gate for further acts when immigration continued to be an unresolved issue over the next decade.

Subsequent acts were largely based on ad hoc responses to crises in prior colonies that resulted in emigration spikes, for one of the most immediate legacies of Empire was Britain's

[10] Cabinet Memorandum. Commonwealth Migrants Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. 6 October 1961.
[11] Hansen, *Citizenship,* p. 120.

role as a harborer of immigrants from troubled Commonwealth countries.[12] The resurgence of Labour in the 1960s, combined with the rising tensions over immigrants, meant that further legislation had to be approached delicately to balance public demands and party image. Competing for the "hearts and minds" of British liberals were Roy Jenkins and James Callaghan – the former representing the intellectual, activist strain of the Labour party, and the latter embodying its working-class roots. Callaghan was serving as Home Secretary during the 1968 Kenyan Asian crisis, and therefore Labour's duty to the protection of the British working class prevailed over Commonwealth and liberal ideals. Although Callaghan recognized that "Given that these people would not have left India but for the existence of the British Empire, it can be argued that we have an obligation to accept the consequences, as other consequences of the end of the Empire,"[13] pressure from the British people was now beginning to outweigh the "duty" felt by some politicians towards their prior colonial subjects.[14] The Act required a British passport issued in London or Dublin for residency, along with a "qualifying connection" where individuals had to have a parent or grandparent born in the UK, targeting East African Asians. While the origins of the 1968 Act do not directly concern the Irish or Pakistani immigrants during these years, they speak to the developing mindset of racial exclusion during the 1960s. Attitudes towards non-white immigrants were truly shifting from a Commonwealth paradigm to one based on Caucasian concerns in a "multicultural Britain." The fact that Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech took place only two months after Callaghan's legislation is indicative

[12] The Africanization of Ugandan, Tanzanian, and especially Kenyan businesses and government prompted an exodus of East African Asians who wished to use their UK citizenship to emigrate to Britain.
[13] Cabinet Memorandum. Immigration Legislation. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. 12 February 1968.
[14] Public opinion polls during the Kenyan crisis indicated that around 70% of Britons supported Callaghan's restriction policies. Hansen, *Citizenship,* p. 161.

of the never-resting debates over immigration in the mid- to late-1960s that transcended party allegiance. Powell and his disagreements with Ted Heath were the answer to Labour's Jenkins/Callaghan divide: immigration legislation derived its tensions from personal perceptions of what it meant to be "British" in a post-Empire world, resulting in party fractures on the parliamentary level, and among the British people themselves.

The 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act and the 1981 British Nationality Act continued to define "British" as a racial identity, which was becoming easier on the public and parliamentary front due to the ever-increasing presence of New Commonwealth immigrants in British cities. The 1971 Act expanded on principles of racial ties in the 1968 legislation with "partials," or people that had close connections with the UK; replaced vouchers with work permits; and allowed for only temporary residence. Heath's Conservative government's goal of conflating "Commonwealth citizens" with "aliens" in legal terms was largely realized through the legislation. It targeted many of the tactics taken by Pakistani immigrants, who would often enter the country as boys, join an all-male workers' household, and therefore avoid the voucher system.[15] Powell's continued vocal presence during these years was a barometer for white working-class frustrations: although his direct role in Conservative policy may have been minimal, he consolidated public pressure on Heath's government.

The 1981 Act was an amendment to the 1948 Nationality Act, and one that was overdue in the opinions of Margaret Thatcher, representatives of both parties, and the Home Office.[16] Nationality status was divided into "British citizenship," "British Dependent Territories citizenship," and "British Overseas citizenship." "Commonwealth citizen" replaced "British subject" – the terms had been largely interchangeable since the first act – in a move that saw

[15] Cabinet Conclusion 4. Legislation: Commonwealth Immigration. 15 February 1968.
[16] Hansen, *Citizenship,* p. 209.

precedent in the quelling of Irish government fears in 1948. Whereas the Irish government had chosen to reject the term "British subject" as a way of defining their separateness from Britain, British politicians now used the same tactic to define their uniqueness against members of the Commonwealth. This choice speaks volumes about the changes that occurred from one Nationality Act to another: a succession of waves of New Commonwealth immigrants had "brought Empire home" for the British people. The mindset of 1948 – Atlee in a liberal, postwar, rebuilding and refashioning mode – was very different thirty-three years later. Years of racial strife and immigration debates had made legislators more pragmatic and conservative about British citizenship, and Thatcher completed the long road to making this status a legal issue, not an inherent right derived from ties in Empire and the Commonwealth.

While scholars may be tempted to view 1981 as the conclusion of an ongoing debate over immigration and citizenship that began in the postwar years, one cannot divorce the issues of the twentieth century from a longer tradition of immigration, and the important role that the Irish, in particular, had in shaping British controlling tactics for newcomers. Just as the 1968 Act had targeted the specific threat of Asians from East Africa, measures such as the 1847 Poor Removal Act targeted the particular risk of Irish Famine victims overcrowding British cities. Preliminary plans for the 1962 Immigration Act had attempted to target New Commonwealth immigrants for their destitution and race, and the Poor Removal Act was likewise one way to discourage the similarly impoverished and racially-different Irish in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1853, 124 Irish in Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield were given removal orders.[17] Just as Enoch Powell would advocate repatriation as a solution for the high numbers of immigrants putting a burden upon British resources, removal from British cities was an advocated method of Famine Irish

[17] Frank Neal, *Black '47: Britain and the Famine Irish* (New York, 1998), p. 237.

control on the local level nearly one hundred years earlier. Prior to passport control and immigration acts, the Irish in Britain were targeted for reasons that would connect them with their New Commonwealth successors: their deprivation and the burden they put upon the State.

The similarities between Irish and Asians in terms of class truly begin, however, with nineteenth-century Indian immigration to Britain. A power of deportation not unlike the Poor Law's authority was proposed in 1886 to remove impoverished Asians from England.[18] This concentration on class continued in the twentieth century, when in 1930 passport controls were introduced for rural, working-class Indians. Exempt were the elite South Asians, except those who were deemed politically dangerous.[19] One must remember that Indian immigration to Britain around the years in question was largely comprised of upper-class students at elite universities, or wealthy politicians living in London: their presence was not a burden on poor relief in Britain. It is imperative that the distinction be made between these classes and the workers who came to the North in the second half of the twentieth century, who in many ways shared more with the Irish poor than with their own well-off countrymen. This action in 1930 was an attempt to make that difference clear in policy towards Indian immigrants, in the same way that Poor Law legislation targeted one class of the Irish.

With the framework of immigration policy firmly established, we see that the Asians and Irish often met as class equals in the eyes of the British. However, in the twentieth century, race began to supersede class as a concern, with the Irish occupying a place separate from Pakistani immigration due to their "ties of blood, history and intermingling of peoples" which didn't exist

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[18] Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947* (London, 1986) p. 27.

[19] Michael H. Fisher et al., *A South-Asian History of Britain: Four Centuries of Peoples from the Indian Sub-Continent* (Oxford, 2007), p. 136.

for “an Asiatic country.”[20] This sense of English “fellowship” with twentieth-century Irish immigrants was a significant break with historical feelings towards the Celts, and one that was not shared throughout Britain. Examining how and why the Irish became “white” in the eyes of the British is an important element of this study, and evaluating this evolution in British racial opinions towards the Irish while concurrently taking into account the arrival of Pakistani immigrants will bring to light what continuities or discrepancies in their receptions tell us about the stock “other” character for the native community. But first, let us examine the background and motivations of those Pakistanis for whom restrictions were created in the 1960s and 1970s.

The South Asian immigrants to West Yorkshire were primarily Pakistani, a trend that was seen in most British industrial centers in the postwar years. Large portions of these Pakistanis were from the hill districts of Mirpur and Sylhet, which had traditional ties with the British Empire and a history of transient labor: Sylhet was a region that recruited many seamen, and Mirpur being in the area of “Northern India” was considered by the British to be populated with the “martial races” useful for the army and navy. Men who didn't join the military in Mirpur were often involved in agriculture, meaning that the Mirpuris who made up 60-70% of all Pakistanis in Bradford were likely to have been poor, illiterate farmers in their homeland.[21]

There were various “push and pull” factors that created the pipeline of immigrants from Mirpur to the West Riding. Working from the Pakistani end, poor land quality in the region made emigration an attractive solution, while the construction of the Mangla Dam in the early 1960s displaced 100,000 residents, and many of them came to Britain as a result.[22] While these

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[20] Quoted in Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca, 1997), p. 105.
[21] Verity Saifullah Khan, “The Pakistanis: Mirpuri Villagers at Home and in Bradford,” Watson (ed.) *Between Two Cultures* (Oxford, 1977), p. 57.
[22] Ibid., p. 66.

were some factors during the peak in emigration, in the immediate postwar years it was Partition that played a significant role in forcing many Pakistanis to look for new work in Britain. This affected both farmers who lost property in 1947, and Muslim seaman who could no longer find work in the major Indian ports of Calcutta and Bombay.[23] The British government often attempted to stem the flow of immigrants by stopping them in their homeland. BBC broadcasts highlighted cases of unemployment and overcrowding in slum areas of Bradford, with hopes to keep Pakistanis in their own country, or if they did come to Britain to keep them away from popular immigrant destinations such as West Yorkshire.[24] In 1965, after the 1962 Act appeared to be doing little to stop unskilled immigrants from entering Britain, the Mountbatten Report recommended that language requirements be put in place to help weed out less desirable arrivals. Herbert Bowden's Commonwealth Immigration Committee, however, found Pakistan to be a particular problem, for unlike the West Indies where English was spoken readily, a language test would stop unskilled immigrants *and* valuable "Category A" workers.[25] In the end, the attempts by the Pakistani government to control its own emigrants were largely unsuccessful, and the hard times in the country overrode much of the dissuasion.

On the British end, initial pull factors made it hard to stop the influx of Pakistani immigrants into industrial Yorkshire. World War II was a major force in establishing Pakistanis in the industrial occupations they would come to dominate in the 1960s, for British authorities

[23] Shompa Lahiri, "South Asians in post-Imperial Britain: decolonization and imperial legacy," Ward (ed.) *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester, 2001), p. 203.
[24] "The Bradford City Council today disclosed that a survey of 423 Bradford houses occupied by Indians and Pakistanis, many of whom have come to the city after hearing stories of "easy" employment, show that there are 76 cases of overcrowding. The survey shows a population in these houses of nearly 3,000 Pakistanis and Indians." *Near East and Far East News* 8 July 1958.
[25] Cabinet Memorandum. Commonwealth Immigration. Memorandum by the Lord President of the Council. 23 July 1965.

channeled arrivals into the munitions factories of cities such as Bradford and Leeds.[26] Many of these were former seaman, and in 1941 a group of Mirpuris jumped ship, were sent to Bradford, and established the Pakistani community that would grow to 12,000 by 1964.[27] Yorkshire mills sent recruitment officers to the Punjab and Pakistan, which they saw as sources of cheap and constant labor. Men came initially, attracted by the prospect of quick money that would allow them to return to Pakistan with capital and status: the "myth of return" that would characterize the early immigrant mindset.[28] In fact, in the 1961 census only 81 women lived among the 3,376 Pakistanis in Bradford,[29] showing the fairly homogenous face of immigration seen by the British population during these years. If we look at the population numbers between 1961 and 1964, it appeared that nearly eight thousand Pakistanis moved to Bradford in the early 1960s. One cause of this was the 1962 Immigration Act, which produced the "Beat the Ban" phenomenon. By 1964, 52% of the male Pakistani residents of Huddersfield had arrived in Britain between January 1961 and June 1962, an astonishing example of concentrated and regionally-directed immigration.[30] Therefore, the initial Pakistani immigrants in Yorkshire were most likely to be from a similar region, background, and with like motivations and goals. There was a feeling of temporary-inhabitance and capital-making to their identity; how did this compare to the Yorkshire immigrants of the previous century?

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[26] Humayun Ansari, "Mapping the Colonial: South Asians in Britain, 1857-1947," N. Ali et al. (eds.) *A Postcolonial People* (New York, 2008), p. 155.
[27] Seán McLoughlin, "Writing a BrAsian City: Race, Culture and Religion in Accounts of Postcolonial Bradford," N. Ali et al. (eds.) *A Postcolonial People* (New York, 2008), p. 115.
[28] "My father left all his family behind, children, wife, everything. His idea was to go for four or five years maximum and then come back. He came to Bradford. A lot of the people from neighbouring villages were living in Bradford so that's how he knew some people." Abdul Aslam, "Migration from Kashmir to Pakistan and then to Bradford, 1950-1969" *Moving Here*.
[29] Philip Lewis, *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims: Bradford in the 1990s* (London, 1994), p. 16.
[30] Sheila Patterson, *Immigration and Race Relations, 1960-67* (London, 1968), p. 142.

While Mirpur was the home of many of the Pakistanis who made their way to Bradford and other West Yorkshire towns, the origins of the Irish in the 1840s were more varied. They were still largely rural in nature, due both to the relatively small urban population of Ireland during the time, but also the fact that the "push" factor that forced many of these Irish into Britain was the Famine, which primarily affected poor agricultural workers. Unlike the Pakistanis – who initially came as single men and then as family units when a return to Pakistan seemed less likely – the Famine Irish often arrived with their entire families, as dire economic and social circumstances in Ireland gave them little option. Many of the more well-off Irish who could afford passage to America crossed the Atlantic, therefore Britain was left with many of the poorest Irish in the 1840s. This changed in the twentieth century, when immigration quotas in America made Britain a desirable destination. The fading allure of America was one factor for the more diversified and qualified Irish population that would make its way to Britain in the mid-twentieth century – which set them apart from their New Commonwealth contemporaries.

Liverpool was the cheap and easy way to get to England, which accounted for the historically large Irish population in the port city. However, the Famine meant that jobs in Liverpool were harder to come by, and therefore the Irish moved east to look for housing and work.[31] The Irish were drawn to West Yorkshire not only for its relative proximity to Liverpool, but also for its ready employment. Industry created a connection between regions of Ireland and destinations in Yorkshire: over a six-year period, one third of the 300 weavers employed in

[31] In 1841 Yorkshire had 11% of England's Irish-born residents, while Lancashire had 70%. By 1851 Yorkshire's population had risen to 14.5%, and Lancashire's had dropped to 64%. Frank Neal, *Sectarian Violence: the Liverpool Experience, 1819-1914: An Aspect of Anglo-Irish History* (Manchester, 1988), p. 9.

Roscrea, County Tipperary found their way to Leeds and Bradford.[32] Other mill employees in Bradford had been training for industrial work while in Ireland: many of them had factory experience in the industrial center of Mount Mellick, Queen's County.[33] Seasonal agricultural work in the fields around York was a tradition that had been in place in the region for years, and showed a trend that would continue after the influx of Famine migrants had subsided. One scholar has identified this employment pattern as a major point of difference between Irish and New Commonwealth immigrants, and one that worked to the favor of the Irish in postwar legislation: in recessionary periods, the Irish would have the freedom to return home and not burden the British economy, which was impossible for West Indians or Pakistanis.[34] While many Pakistanis sought temporary residence in England, the Irish were able to make this a reality due to the ease with which one could travel between Ireland and England, but also because they dominated occupations that lent themselves to temporary stay: field hands, navvies, and construction workers (especially in the twentieth century) are a few example of traditional Irish jobs.

One of the most important shifts from the Famine immigrants to those of the twentieth century was the gender balance: single women became among the most commonly-seen Irish immigrants in Britain, often training or working in British hospitals as nurses.[35] Britain gave

[32] Helen and Danny Kennally, "From Roscrea to Leeds: An Emigrant Community," *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1992), p. 122.
[33] A.B. Reach, "Labour and the Poor: Halifax and Bradford," *Morning Chronicle* 6 December 1849.
[34] Hansen, *Citizenship,* pp. 117-18.
[35] "In those days they wanted good workers, not the brainboxes required today… and English girls wouldn't do it. We had no rights, the discipline was rigid… but that's the way we had been brought up… our P.T.S. group was full of Welsh, Indian and African girls as well as Irish."… "My mother was a nurse, she trained in Leeds at Leeds… my aunt trained there also." Quoted in Mary Daniels, *Exile or Opportunity? : Irish Nurses and Midwives in Britain* (Liverpool, 1993), pp. 10 & 13.

women the job opportunities that Ireland couldn't offer, and with members of their family often already established in cities, a pseudo-chain migration was established for the Irish in the twentieth century just as it was for the Pakistanis.[36] This is an important demographic shift that illustrates differences between the nineteenth-century Irish and those who entered Britain with the Pakistanis: women in skilled positions broke down many of the gender and occupational stereotypes of the "thick Paddy." Whether or not this produced a similar shift in public perceptions of the twentieth-century Irish will be debated in further sections.

The reasons behind immigration to West Yorkshire and the phenotype of immigrants were often very similar for the nineteenth-century Irish and the twentieth-century Pakistanis. Rural, uneducated, and impoverished people who fled domestic disasters in their home countries were the most likely candidates to come to Britain, and they often found work in the industrial centers of Bradford, Leeds, or Huddersfield. Pull factors were often similar for each immigrant community: the British depended upon their cheap labor, and therefore they enticed the Pakistanis and the Irish, especially during wartime and with the arrival of a postwar recession in the North. In addition, each group was influenced by the historical connections they had with Britain as a result of interaction and exchange in Empire (Pakistanis) and the Union (Irish). The two groups diverge, naturally, when we put them in their respective apexes of immigration numbers.

If we turn first to West Yorkshire in the 1960s, we see a region in economic decline. The diversity of opportunity in London, and the rise of new industries such as car manufacturing and light engineering in the Southeast and Midlands attracted many English workers and new Irish

[36] "I came straight to Huddersfield as my dad was working here and had a house here. He used to work here when there wasn't work at home; he'd come for 6 months at a time. Eventually we all came over here." Kathleen Paul, "Huddersfield Irish Centre," *Moving Here*.

immigrants away from the North.[37] The Irish who did choose West Yorkshire alongside the Pakistanis remarked on the ease with which they were able to find work in old industrial centers like Huddersfield.[38] This loss of population was one of the primary reasons why Pakistanis flocked to the industrial centers of West Yorkshire: even if work was dirty and difficult, there would still be jobs and housing available. The British also exerted influence over these choices, for the government tried to move immigrants away from London and port cities such as Liverpool into areas of labor shortage in the early 1950s, which included West Yorkshire.[39] Textiles were in severe decline, and what began as a government-facilitated plan to supply the industry with new Asian labor during the War evolved into a concentration of West Yorkshire Asians working in textiles: by the end of the 1970s, although Bradford had less than 30% of the wool textile workforce in the UK, the city still accounted for more than one third of the Asian wool textile workers in the entire country.[40] The Pakistanis' direct influence on industry in Bradford and other centers will be discussed in the next section, but suffice it to say that they filled an important need for unskilled labor in an age when Yorkshire factories were lagging behind the technological advances of other regions. When the Celts began arriving in Leeds, Bradford, and other cities after the Famine, the specific industries of these towns were already established. The worsted industry became particular to Yorkshire – especially Bradford – in the

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[37] Delaney, *Post-War,* p. 16.
[38] "I came to Huddersfield in late 1970's and finished up stopping here. There was plenty of work. I've never been out of work since I came to England." Brendan O'Shea, "Huddersfield Irish Centre." "The work gets back from the areas, that there was always work in Huddersfield so my father came here. My father got a job as a builder. My mum, she worked as an usherette and then she got into textiles…" Tony Lambe, "Huddersfield Irish Centre."
[39] Cabinet Memorandum. Coloured People from British Colonial Territories. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies James Griffiths. 18 May 1950.
[40] R. Fevre, *Cheap Labour and Racial Discrimination* (Aldershot, 1984), p. 1.

mid-nineteenth century.[41] Leeds, on the other hand, had wool production, flax, and later in the nineteenth century ready-made clothing, leather, and eventually chemicals and engineering. This diversity enabled the city to modernize more readily than say, Bradford, perhaps shielding it from the well-known economic and social problems of its neighboring city.

Therefore, there were significant differences between the economy the Pakistanis entered in the 1960s, and the one to which the Irish contributed in the 1840s. For one, the Pakistanis' arrival at a time of decline was seen as indispensable by textile manufacturers who could extend the productivity of their mills with a seemingly endless supply of cheap hands. Conversely, the Irish – while being vital workers for the mills of Yorkshire – were arriving at a time of textile work competition as a result of rural workers moving to manufacturing centers. The next section will demonstrate that in terms of labor, the Irish were seen as much more of a threat to the English than the Pakistanis. This is not to say that the native population saw Asians as harmless in all respects: the English would find these newcomers to be dangerous in other ways. Although the Irish and the Pakistanis often filled the same factory positions from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, it is important to keep in mind the relative importance of textile work and the economic state of each West Yorkshire town during these two time periods.

This first section has attempted to lay the groundwork for an examination of Irish and Pakistani immigrant communities in urban Yorkshire, in addition to gauging the national sentiment towards immigrants during these times as articulated by official government policy. Two issues which reappear often – and which join the Irish and the Pakistanis in their initial experiences and also in British attitudes towards their arrival – are labor and race. British officials attempted to manipulate the entry of immigrants into the country with these two

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[41] Karl Ittmann, *Work, Gender, and Family in Victorian England* (New York, 1995), p. 18.

concerns in mind: labor was welcome as long as it was in demand by industries, which was during the 1840s, the war years, and the 1950s. However, the consequence of this bounty of labor was a rise in non-Anglo-Saxon workers, which produced a shift in the face of the working class in areas such as West Yorkshire, along with enflaming racial animosities in Britain. Officials attempted avoiding a blatant racialist immigration policy – especially in the Commonwealth years – by conflating "race" and "class" in their methods. The poverty of Irish and Pakistani newcomers was used as a way to stop their entry into Britain, and differentiate between desirable and undesirable immigrants.

These two groups entered Britain at critical times of change in the nation's identity. For the Irish, the post-Reform Act years were a time of working class consciousness and activism, a time when workers began to see themselves for their own worth and power, and especially the possibilities that future reforms might hold. The Irish were therefore a distinct threat in the mind of these Englishmen: they directly confronted them in the labor arena, challenging their power as a class. Narrowing the study to an area of particular working-class agency such as West Yorkshire highlights this fact. The 1950s were likewise a watershed decade in terms of national identity, with the end of Empire effectively ending global Anglo-Saxon supremacy. With the arrival of West Indians and Asians as *citizens* of the United Kingdom rather than *subjects* of the British Empire, what were the new power structures in the mother country? Would these groups naturally fall into a subsection of the working class, or did the spirit of the Commonwealth dictate a different message? Ideas of race, the working class, and labor within that class structure were all important themes at work in the immigrants' entries into Britain, and their initial interaction with the country. These cornerstones of Irish and Pakistani experiences will be the focus of the next section.

The Dialogue Between "Race" and "Class": Empire Rhetoric Translated to West Yorkshire Industrial Societies

This chapter will examine the Irish and the Pakistanis' places as subsections of the working class, and their racial stereotypes as seen from the British perspective. The interplay between these two aspects of their identities will be the overarching focus: how did the jobs they took and the characteristics of their "race" reinforce one another? Did the reception of Pakistanis reaffirm racist ideas that had been forged in Empire, or were new aspects highlighted in their West Yorkshire environment? How did British views towards the Celtic race evolve from the Famine to the postwar years, and was the rhetoric reminiscent of that concerning contemporary Asians and Pakistanis? Personal accounts of both the "white" British and these two ethnic groups will be used, along with the popular culture and literature of the postwar years that represented the mindset or those within and outside of the immigrant communities.

As established in the previous section, the occupations filled by the initial Pakistani immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s were often in the faltering textile industry. Within the factories themselves there was significant temporal and occupational separation that prolonged the new immigrants' isolation from the British community at-large. The machinery being used had to be operated twenty-four hours a day for the mills to be profitable, yet none of the white workers wanted to work the night shift, nor did they want to take on dirty jobs such as wool washing.[42] These were filled by the Pakistanis, who were prepared to take on these tasks if it meant more pay in a short period of time. The fact that the immigrants filled these jobs without demands meant that modernization was not a pressing issue, prompting mill owners in Rochdale to celebrate the role that the New Commonwealth arrivals played in saving their firms from

[42] Aslam, "Migration from Kashmir…".

bankruptcy.[43] However, this meant that by the end of the 1960s, the textile industry was so archaic that it ceased to be a profitable modern business, leaving the West Yorkshire cities and the immigrant community in need of new ways to support themselves.

One of the most important details to keep in mind when examining transitions in labor – and the tensions that resulted from this change – is the identity of the group that was moving into the industry and that of the workers whom they were replacing. For the Pakistanis, this had bearing on how they were received and viewed by West Yorkshire society. At the turn of the twentieth century, there had been a significant gender shift in textile work: owners sought out cheap women over male workers. By the time Pakistani men were arriving in groups to work the mills in the late 1950s, the perceptions about the job of a textile worker had changed since the mid-nineteenth century. They were literally taking "women's" work: their wages were generally on par with those females who had preceded them (or in many cases continued to work at the factory during the day), and likewise they were aligned with women because each had stereotypical physical characteristics suited for the labor.[44] Contradicting this feminization of the Pakistani workers, there were still measures in place that kept them separated from women workers in the factories. The Pakistani men rarely worked the day shift, which was dominated by white women, while there were examples of firms that would not hire any colored men because they had an all-female staff.[45] Therefore, in the industrial sector, British perceptions of

[43] Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 233.
[44] "The Pakistanis had smaller hands than the locals, like the women they were suited to dealing with the small frames… You need nimble hands for spinning and weaving – women and Asians are good at it." Quoted in Fevre, *Cheap,* pp. 110-11.
[45] Wright, *Coloured*, p. 60. The problem of discrimination against New Commonwealth workers based on fears for female workers was identified very early on in the postwar immigration debate: "This prejudice is exacerbated in areas where there is substantial general unemployment or in establishments where white women are employed." Cabinet Memorandum. Coloured

Pakistani workers were often a bundle of gendered contradictions: suited to and deserving the pay of women's work, yet still a masculine "other" from which British women must be separated.

Although the relationship between textile firms and Pakistani workers in the 1960s was a mutually beneficial one, the realities of modern industry were setting in by the end of the decade. Between 1970 and 1976, 10,000 textile jobs were lost,[46] forcing Pakistani workers to diversify. One of the sectors that already had an Asian presence – Indian Sikhs and Hindus *along* with Pakistani Muslims – was transportation, in which the more educated immigrants had been employed. Bradford City Transport began hiring Asians in 1954, and by 1959 they made up 15% of conductors in the city.[47] These numbers continued to grow, and fieldwork found that in 1974 New Commonwealth immigrants, mainly Indo-Pakistanis, were 33% of the city's platform staff in the Transport department.[48] This proved to be a long-lasting trend in Pakistani employment – seen first in the municipal sector with public transportation, then in the private with taxicabs – and it was significant for the changes it brought to the amount and nature of interaction between immigrants and the native population of West Yorkshire. The stock "Pakistani cabbie" would become a frequent reference in personal accounts and fictional works dealing with Bradford: Dervla Murphy and Hanif Kureishi gave emphasis to the drivers who were their first taste of visiting Yorkshire,[49] a character that Kureishi would expand upon in *My Son the Fanatic* (1997). While the film's main character Parvez had worked double shifts at a

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People from British Colonial Territories. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 18 May 1950.

[46] Halstead, *Education,* p. 9.

[47] P. Lewis, *Islamic*, p. 54.

[48] Badr Dahya, "Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain," Cohen (ed.) *Urban Ethnicity* (London, 1974), pp. 80-1.

[49] Dervla Murphy, *A Tale of Two Cities: Travel of Another Sort* (London, 1987). Hanif Kureishi, "Bradford," *My Beautiful Launderette and Other Writings* (London, 1996).

textile factory for five years when he first arrived in England, picking up fares and interacting with his taxi passengers is the method by which he truly integrates himself into his West Yorkshire city. The increased visibility of immigrants in city life was an important step to acceptance and toleration, but it was not without its problems. Sikhs were more prone to negative reactions due to their distinctive outward appearance that set them apart from Hindus and Muslims. Legal fights over the right to wear traditional Sikh dress and accessories during work time were news-making events in urban centers such as Wolverhampton, where one driver threatened to burn himself if the ban on turbans was not lifted.[50] Bradford conductor Sarbant Singh Dosanjh recalled the difficulties of working the night bus shift, where drunks would become belligerent and spit on him.[51] Those who moved out of textiles – where they had been surrounded by their countrymen – may have benefited from higher wages, better hours, and a more prestigious job, yet they also suffered from a local population that was still intolerant to their presence.

Unlike those who moved into transportation, many of the ex-factory hands turned within their community to find work during the 1970s. This resulted in a proliferation of family-owned and operated businesses that catered to the needs of the Pakistanis in West Yorkshire. The tendency for wives and children to join men who had made the initial journey to England also increased the demand for typical Pakistani products: part of the restoration of homeland society was making Pakistani goods readily available in England. For example, in 1959 there were only two grocers/butchers and three cafés in Bradford that were Pakistani-owned, but by 1970 this had grown to 180 food businesses as a subsection of the 260 immigrant-owned and operated

[50] *Rivers of Blood*, Dir. Ashley Gething, BBC, 2008.
[51] *East to West*, Dir. Tony Parker, BBC, 2001.

businesses.[52] The rise of the "family" was an important development for Yorkshire Pakistanis, for it initiated community-specific networks of commerce, and a stable business structure for the ethnic group. The children and grandchildren of these entrepreneurial immigrants continued to own and operate the businesses, meaning that specialty Asian food stores, sari shops, and even Pakistani banks became a presence in Bradford, Huddersfield, and other towns. While these businesses did not do much to further assimilation in the cities, their financial success meant that the Pakistani community was entrenched in the economy of West Yorkshire, deepening the community's roots in the area. With their own business power came social and political agency as a core group, a topic that will be discussed in detail in another section. It also made them unique when compared to their immigrant predecessors: a self-sufficient entrepreneurial community was never fully realized by the Irish in West Yorkshire. The reasons behind this important divergence will be examined below.

The occupational history of the initial Irish Famine immigrants to West Yorkshire saw many parallels with that of their Pakistani successors, although there were also significant differences between the two groups. The number of mill jobs was rapidly increasing for the Irish as it would for the Pakistanis.[53] Due to this proliferation of jobs specific to one industry, by mid-century, 96% of the Bradford Irish were engaged in woolcombing or other unskilled occupations.[54] However, probing these "unskilled occupations" offers a more nuanced idea of the place of the Irish in Yorkshire towns, for they cannot merely be relegated to the textile

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[52] Fieldwork in Dahya, "Nature," p. 90.

[53] Bradford had five mills in 1810, eighty by 1844, and over two hundred by the late 1860s. C. Richardson, "Irish Settlement in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bradford," *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research* 20.1 (May 1968), p. 46.

[54] Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 450.

sector.[55] Irish stereotypes in terms of skill and occupation were easily formed, for their monopoly on trades and jobs usually associated with paupers made their destitution all the more visible.[56] Even local beggars resented the fact that the Irish were adept at the practice, and accused the immigrant group of ruining the trade for native English beggars![57] This was a product of their forced migration from Ireland, and their poverty upon arrival when compared with the Pakistanis: they made money where they saw opportunities, which in the opinion of the English was through undignified, lowly jobs.

The national and racial stereotypes that the English associated with the Irish branded them as a group who occupied the lowest tier of the working class. The danger of the Irish was seen in how they might drive down wages, and become strikebreakers due to their "fiery" temperament:[58] neither was welcome in the increasingly-organized and militant working class of Yorkshire. Echoes of this conflation of lowly and dangerous characterizations were also found in twentieth-century Pakistani relations with trade unions: in the 1961 strike of Punjabi workers at Woolf's factory in Southall, Pakistanis were brought in as strikebreakers.[59] Therefore the Irish suggest that working-class fears of newcomers were not begun as a reaction to unskilled "colored' immigrants in postwar years: "un-English" workers had been a threat to the class since the Irish arrival in large numbers. However, differences between Pakistanis and the nineteenth-

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[55] The 1851 census showed that the Irish made up 81% of all hawkers and peddlers in Bradford, while there were no Irish involved in the government, police, professional, or banking and finance sectors. Richardson, "Irish Settlement," p. 52.
[56] "The 'low Irish' in Halifax are hawkers and rag collectors, like nearly all the brotherhood in the North of England… We proceeded first to see some of the low Irish haunts. As usual, the great majority of the adults are hawkers, but a few of them are woolcombers…" Quoted in Reach, "Halifax…".
[57] David Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community and Police in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1982), pp. 199-200.
[58] N. Kirk, "Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism, 1850-1870," Ludd (ed.) *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society* (New York, 1980), p. 71.
[59] Dewitt John Jr., *Indian Workers' Association in Britain* (London, 1969), p. 89.

century Irish – primarily in the diversity of employment – show that the real occupational experiences of the groups were varied.

The estimated 150,000 Irish that entered Britain during World War II found their way to essential industries and services, reestablishing the Irish as a stopgap for labor crises, and a cheap alternative to British workers. Many of these young Irish migrants were choosing Britain for the flexibility it offered for returning home, for "a week's wages will pay the fare over, and if things do not work out another week's wages will pay the fare home again."[60] Transitory labor was therefore much easier for the Irish to realize than for the Pakistanis and their "myth of return": distance and contractual labor worked to make the Irish an ever-renewing and fluid group in West Yorkshire cities. Scholars have brought attention to the distance that was increasing in the war and postwar years between Irish male and female migrants to the UK: women were taking on more skilled jobs in nursing, while men largely continued to fill the jobs they had held since the nineteenth century in unskilled and semiskilled labor.[61] This means that not only are women's experiences in twentieth-century Britain being lost to historians who focus on male labor, but Irish men who continued to work on sites or in factories did little to challenge and diversify the Irish character in the eyes of the British. Therefore comparing the state of Irish labor with its New Commonwealth immigrant contemporaries in the 1950s and 1960s has its obstacles: do we merely compare the men from each group, or must working Irish women be taken into account as well? How do we separate the sometimes-ignored advances from stereotypes that lived on in popular memory? In a study of this kind that places significant

[60] Liam Ryan, quoted in Delaney, *Post-War*, p. 15.
[61] Daniels, *Exile*. Mary Lennon et al., *Across the Water: Irish Women's Lives in Britain* (London, 1988). Mary J. Hickman and Bronwen Walter, "Deconstructing Whiteness: Irish Women in Britain," *Feminist Review* 50 (Summer 1995), pp. 5-19.

emphasis on the feelings and attitudes of the West Yorkshire public and their constructed perceptions of immigrants, it is important to give their mindset *at the time* adequate weight.

The contemporary fictional works *The Jealous God* (1965) by John Braine and *This Sporting Life* (1960) by David Storey are prime examples of the issue of popular public perceptions vs. ethnic minority personal experiences in constructing a paradigm for how and where immigrants interacted with their West Yorkshire communities. Braine, writing as a member of the Irish Catholic community of Bingley, paints a picture of three brothers who have become a solicitor, a teacher, and a mill manager in their local community. This comes close to representing the work experience of Famine Irish descendants in the mid-twentieth century: one foot still remained in the failing industries of the past, while education and years of assimilation made some professional advancement possible. Storey, however, who wrote from a native working-class tradition, puts his Irish character on the margins of West Yorkshire society, and pigeonholed into identities of the past. The Irish man with whom the main character comes in contact is a bus conductor – therefore associated with the professions of New Commonwealth immigrants – and he is always referred to as “the Paddy.” It is important to recognize the differences in outlook on the Irish place in the West Yorkshire economy from those within the community and those outside of it. There were nuances and challenges to stereotypes from the former, for the Irish community wanted not necessarily to assimilate itself into British society at-large, but show they were capable of taking on the same responsibilities as Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the local workforce and society. In the case of the latter, many locals still carried racial stereotypes that put the Irish on the same level as non-white immigrants, and therefore fit for the same jobs. Occupation was one of the strongest links between the Irish and the Pakistanis from the local community’s perspective, although viewpoints *within* the immigrant groups tried

to create a more diverse image. This can be partially attributed to the longevity of racial and ethnic stereotypes that held water for the Irish well into the twentieth century, and were complimented and reinforced by those that were developing for the New Commonwealth immigrants.

For the Pakistanis, racial stereotypes from the British were deep-seated, and it is therefore necessary to give adequate time to the views that were developed in Empire. Nineteenth-century views from Britain often linked the Indian colonial subjects with violence and disorder, calling India a "country racked by famine, disease, fanaticism, lawlessness, superstition, cruelty and unrest."[62] This is reminiscent of the rhetoric and the attitudes towards Irish peasants that infiltrated Britain at the time: famine and religious fanaticism were ways in which the two groups were aligned in terms of their poverty in comparison with the British, and the backward nature of their non-Anglican religions. Stretching back to the eighteenth century, certain "Indo-Asiatic habits" had been assigned to the Subcontinent's population by the British, namely "sloth, selfishness, gross sensuality, falsehood, and deceit."[63] These established ideas about the Asiatic race, combined with the violent events of the 1857 Mutiny, put the Indians as not only a race apart, but one that was dangerous and threatening to British order in Empire.[64] Contemporary views of the British who encountered Indians in *Britain* offer some differences. Joseph Salter's encounters with London's Indians spoke to the Victorian paternalism that ran alongside Empire-based racial stereotyping. He questioned the trend to relegate the "coloured part of mankind" to

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[62] *The Times,* quoted in Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1800-1930* (London, 2000), p. 82.
[63] Lord Teignmouth, 4th Governor-General of India, quoted in Howard Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, 1996), p. 201.
[64] Much of the post-Mutiny racialist language was centered on Hindus, whose effeminate hysteria-based violence was embodied by Mangal Pandey and his cohorts. This was separated from the north Indian, "martial races" brave fighting spirit of the Sikhs and Muslims.

hard labor, and found offense with language used to describe these immigrants. He also celebrated the British spirit and the "liberal and widespread sympathy of English and Scottish hearts [that had] for many years made it sufficiently remunerative to these disciples of the prophet of Mecca to wander from Plymouth to Ben Lomond."[65] Changes that occurred from Salter's time to the postwar years concerning the tolerance for "subjects of Empire" making their homes in Britain reflected the fear of an overwhelming wave of New Commonwealth immigrants, rather than a few arrivals at which to marvel.

Attitudes towards the nineteenth-century Irish were in many ways far more brutal and derogatory than those towards Indians, which harkened back to the long antagonistic history between the two races and their larger numbers when taken beside Asian immigrants. Two of the most common themes of insult to the Irish were their animalistic behavior, and their race's natural laziness. References to Irish women's children as a "litter," Irish families "pigging" together on the floor of their lodgings,[66] men with "hands hanging down like the paws of a dog begging," and especially the physiology of the Irish as ape figures with "low foreheads and long bulging upper lips"[67] emphasized the appreciable differences between the Celtic and Saxon races, and the nearness of the former to uncivilized and barbaric creatures. This closeness of the Irish with animals was one reason English workers gave for maintaining a separation between pay and quality of housing for the Irish immigrants and the English working class: it was not right to provide these Celts with funds and shelter they didn't require as a subhuman people.[68]

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[65] Joseph Salter, *The Asiatic in England; sketches of sixteen years work among orientals* (London, 1873), pp. 150 & 221.
[66] Quoted in Reach, "Halifax…".
[67] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, 1861-2), pp. 110-11.
[68] Reach, "Leeds," *Morning Chronicle* 10 & 13 December 1849. "Nothing is more mischievous… than to give to any person wages beyond his degree of civilization… it is evident that the increase of wages often debases [the Irish's] morality, as it only furnishes them with the

First-hand accounts of Irish laziness emphasized these inherent differences between the Celts and Saxons. Whether it was a man's refusal to work in factories because he was more suited to fieldwork, or attacks on women for not being able to run a house like their English counterparts because they were used to primitive cabins in their native Ireland, criticisms of the "Irish national character" transcended gender.[69] This difference in work ethic was also accentuated by celebrating the character of the Anglo-Saxon, especially their quick and compassionate response to the Famine.[70] The Anglo-Saxon as the savior of the Irish Celt in their time of crisis fell directly in-line with contemporary views on the English duty towards the uncivilized people of the East. The Irish and the Asians couldn't *help* that they were incapable of self-government or self-help, it was in their character. However, it was also in the Saxon character (especially as defined in Victorian ideology) to aid those below them. Ideas that justified Empire were therefore replicated in the metropole to justify the Irish place as a subgroup of the working class, separate from the English who were celebrated as the Celts' foil.[71]

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means of indulging vicious appetites which otherwise would remain ungratified." Quoted in Sir George Cornewall Lewis, *Report on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain* (London, 1836), pp. 38-9.

[69] Quoted in Reach, "Huddersfield and Dewsbury," *Morning Chronicle* 3 December 1849 and Mayhew, *London Labour,* p. 104.

[70] "Famine and pestilence have, we trust taught wisdom and English benevolence conquered in some degree the prejudices of the Celt. The Irish people are not so stolid as not to perceive that the acts of the Saxons give the lie to the ravings of the lay and clerical agitators…" *York Gazette* 10 July 1847. "The generous aid rendered to the Irish Celt by the Saxon in "the black forty-seven" seems all the more generous when it is remembered that at the time there was wide-spread suffering in Great Britain itself…Yorkshire belongs the glory of having been the first Saxon county in which town's meetings were called in aid of Irish distress." *Leeds Mercury* 20 October 1883.

[71] "In one of the courts of one of the Irish quarters… I observed one house, poor indeed in appearance, but notably clean. On entering it I found that the inhabitants were English, the only English people in the court… The contrast between this poor family and their lazy Irish neighbours was very striking and very painful." Reach, "Huddersfield…".

The most explicit connections between the nineteenth-century Irish and Indians were in descriptions of the Irish as "black" and prone to the same violence and lawlessness that the English saw in the Raj. Observations that Irish women had "a skin so foul that [they] might have passed for a Negress,"[72] and remarks that in regard to violence, "their crimes have earned for them a supremacy in the deeds of blood over the Thugs of India"[73] added to the perception of the Irish as a people as foreign and below the English as those that resided on the other side of the world. Evoking the imagery of *thuggee* and applying it to the Irish in Britain made the immigrants a more pressing threat to the British public, not comical figures of drunken laziness. It is often hard to tease apart the racial stereotypes of these nineteenth-century Irish from the Catholic religious stereotypes of the time, which will be discussed in detail in a further section. However, if the "Oriental" and the "Celt" are examined in racial terms, they not only connect the two groups more strongly in the minds of the British, but also illuminate some of the reasons why it was difficult for these two races to escape their unskilled occupations. Their shared characteristics of laziness, stupidity, and the most basic physical appearance made it easy for a stock character to be created for each. These imagined national identities were hammered home for so long and with such little room for diversity – especially for the Irish – that it appeared that there was no chance of ever moving beyond the realm of unskilled, difficult labor for which they were naturally suited. The stereotypes developed in Victorian Britain were so uninformed and contradictory, that some British comically wondered at their accuracy in light of real fact.[74]

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[72] Quoted in Reach, "Halifax…".
[73] *York Gazette* 5 February 1848.
[74] "And yet is it curious that [the Irish], who here seemed as inactive as negroes, will perform the severest bodily labour, undertaking tasks that the English are almost unfitted for." Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 111.

Subsequent images of the Irish and the Pakistanis in the postwar years showed significant continuity in racial and ethnic stereotyping. Some English took their personal experiences with Asians in Empire or the War and used this as a model for interaction with *all* Asians who came to Britain: one factory manager claimed that he employed Indians because he had befriended Sikh soldiers during World War II.[75] Others cited British rule as a factor in hiring practices, although their reasoning betrayed an ignorance of the demographics of the Subcontinent and how Empire operated, a Bradford factory manager claimed:

> "The Indians are best – British rule, the Pakistanis didn't have that – and a lot of them were in the army so they were used to the discipline and our way of life. The Pakistanis are much slower – have you ever walked behind one in the street? Their natural pace of life is much slower and it's just the same in the factory. The Bangladeshis are somewhere between the two (as regards to performance). They had British rule too, and most of them are Hindus, aren't they?"[76]

Pakistanis inherited the attributes of the nineteenth-century Irish once they moved into the same social and occupational areas of West Yorkshire. Although Muslims had been traditionally linked with Sikhs in their supremacy to the Hindus, once within Britain these ideas changed: they were slow and undisciplined, therefore suited to the most menial tasks in factories.

The connection between the Irish and the Pakistanis, branding them both as suited for the lowliest jobs and positions in society, was strengthened by the British trend to separate the latter from *other* New Commonwealth immigrants. Race relations sociologists, whose role was to facilitate racial understanding between the native population and the immigrant communities, advanced some of this rhetoric in the 1960s. The claim that Asians were more likely to be accepted than West Indians because they had lighter skin[77] – although this was often negated by the "Asian" features that betrayed a low social status – was the twentieth-century version of the

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[75] Lahiri, "South Asians," p. 204.
[76] Quoted in Fevre, *Cheap*, p. 112.
[77] View of K.L. Little, quoted in Wright, *Coloured*, p. 21.

Victorian physiological ideas that had taken Celtic facial features as justification for their separation from the similarly-light-skinned Saxons. In addition, the stereotype of Asians as being more "scared" than West Indians, and less confrontational when it came to racial problems showed that ideas about an inherent national character were still very much alive.[78] Asians were also bad for work when compared to West Indians, being lazy in the same way that the Irish had been during the nineteenth century.[79] Pakistanis shared the Irish characteristics of being rural and insular, unlike the West Indians who often came from city environments.[80] In short, West Indians were "industrious, reliable, and talented" while Pakistanis were "lazy, feckless, and difficult to place in employment."[81] Salter's views of paternalism had been abandoned, and the new sociological model of Social Darwinism was accepted: Pakistanis were *naturally* and irreconcilably beneath the Anglo-Saxons, and with the subdivision of the New Commonwealth races, the early Pakistanis occupied one of the lowest positions in the racial hierarchy. The early West Indians were more on par with white immigrants, while Pakistanis were relegated to the rural, illiterate, and lazy phenotype that had been developed for the Irish: their incompatibility with the UK and its citizens was used to justify their existence on the fringes of society. It was no wonder that they were often referred to as "… them Black Irishmen from the North –

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[78] Ibid., p. 28.
[79] "Skilled character and proved industry of the West Indians… unskilled and largely lazy Asians… Britain had no obligation to act as a dumping ground for the rag-tag and bob-tail of Asia." CO1032/195 Watt minute, 21 February 1958, quoted in Paul, *Whitewashing,* p. 149. The earliest immigrants from the Caribbean were exceptional for their skill and "Westernization." As the 1960s progressed West Indians began to resemble immigrants from Pakistani in occupation and training, therefore differences in British opinion towards two groups became less noticeable.
[80] A. Sivanandan, "From resistance to rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean struggles in Britain," *Race Class* 23 (1981), p. 113.
[81] Ian Watt, quoted in Randall Hansen, *Citizenship*, p. 85. Watt is quoted often in both Paul and Hansen, therefore it is hard to say whether or not his extreme views were shared by the Colonial Office as a whole. What is known is that the Colonial Office was more likely to side with the continued immigration of West Indians, because at this time they still remained colonial subjects, while India and Pakistan were independent Commonwealth countries.

Pakis"[82]: the same stereotypes of national character and suitable position once in British industry governed public reception of Irish and Pakistani immigrants.

How was this connection between the Pakistanis and the Irish of the twentieth century kept alive in the minds of Britons? Popular culture was one of the most effective ways through which stereotypes were perpetrated, and television took the place that popular prints had held in the nineteenth century. 1970s programs such as Granada's *The Comedians* – which celebrated a non-PC, topical form of comedy that was specific to the current climate in north Britain – was one way that the two groups were connected for the British viewing public. The show was based on the types of comics and audience that would frequent working men's clubs, and therefore appealed to the white working class with whom immigrants were most often in contact in West Yorkshire. Jokes that were anti-Pakistani were told most often on the show, followed by those that ridiculed the "thick Paddy."[83] The popularity of Peter Sellers made Asians a source of mockery and a stock figure in popular culture, like the hapless and comical Irish characters that were described in the industrial slums of West Yorkshire in the 1840s. This continued in farces of later years, where films such as Ayub Khan-Din's *East is East* (1999) saw the Pakistani community turn and make fun of itself, with ignorant family patriarchs and son-in-law hunting Bradfordians becoming sources of comedy.

The Pakistani connection with the Irish, however, was not as tangible as it had been in the rhetoric of the nineteenth century. Pakistanis were overtaking the Irish as the source of racial humor, showing the extent to which the Irish were becoming perhaps not completely accepted in British society, but less of a novelty when compared with Pakistani immigrants. In the

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[82] Quoted in Geoff Pearson, " 'Paki-Bashing' in a North East Lancashire Cotton Town: A Case Study and its History," Mungham and Pearson (eds.) *Working Class Youth Culture* (London, 1976), p. 51.
[83] Holmes, *John Bull's*, p. 253.

immediate postwar years, each of these ethnicities had therefore been softened since the nineteenth century, although a nuanced identity was still largely lacking. However, the 1970s and 1980s would tell a very different story where religion and radical politics would return with a vengeance for both the Irish and the Pakistanis, and contribute to a threatening image of each ethnic group. The importance of religious "otherness" and dangerous radical leanings to the Irish and Pakistani identity in Britain will be the focus of further sections.

This section strives to explore the links between occupation and racial stereotyping for the Irish and the Pakistanis, and what similar British perceptions towards these two groups reveal about the formation of and continuities in a racial *and* labor "other" for West Yorkshire. For both the Irish and the Pakistanis, their initial work once in Britain in the 1840s and the 1960s was very similar: these immigrants came to West Yorkshire due to the textile industry, and this was therefore the sector in which they were primarily employed. There were of course exceptions to the norm – the very poor Irish turned to hawking or begging, while the more educated Pakistanis took to transportation – but in factory work the groups are closely aligned in the minds of the British. Their "lazy" nature and the "slowness" with which they developed skills and carried out their work were justification for keeping them in positions of unskilled labor.

Whether due to the more entrenched negative views towards the Irish that continued after the Famine, or the constant renewal of unskilled labor that continued to flow from Ireland to Britain, the Irish found it more difficult to break out of the class of the manual laborer. Pakistanis were forced to diversify not only because they were presented with the death of large-scale textile work that had not confronted the Irish, but also because the creation of Pakistani businesses was demanded as the existing market was not catering to their cultural needs. While the Irish and the British shared many of the same cultural traits – although neither would be

quick to admit the fact – in diet, clothing, and entertainment, the Pakistanis needed businesses that were specific to their community. This was a pressing matter in the 1970s when families were reunited, and the image of the Pakistani community became a more tangible entity for the British public. Therefore, while the Irish and Pakistanis had entered Britain sharing many of the same occupational prospects and difficulties, they diverged in development. This resulted in a very different sense of community in the two groups: the Pakistanis looked to become more insular and culturally "apart" as their own economic agency was strengthened, while the Irish (especially females) took on the jobs and trappings that were typically middle-class British, or replaced the former working-class natives as the "whites" in unskilled jobs. As one group became more of a distinct subgroup of West Yorkshire society, the other began to gradually disappear behind a British phenotype.

Was this divergence apparent in the West Yorkshire stereotypical views of each group, especially concerning their "race"? For the Pakistanis, there was a shift in opinion from the nineteenth-century encounters in Empire to the presence of large numbers of Asians in English industrial cities in the twentieth century. The danger and barbaric nature of the "thugs of India" – a negative image that crossed religious lines – was softened upon their arrival in Britain, where similar rhetoric was used as had been for the Irish peasants in the nineteenth century. Both the Irish and the Pakistani national character was brought up as the reason for their toil in unskilled jobs, and their separateness from the British working class. In the case of the Irish, the longevity of these stereotypes hid many of the advances made both by women and some of the Irish middle class that were described in Braine's work. It is no coincidence that the image of the "Paddy" was a man: whereas Irish women had been frequent targets for nineteenth-century observers, the hapless Irish male navvy was the image that lasted in popular imagination due to attitudes that

were conditioned by working-class encounters. The Pakistani that was presented in popular culture and reinforced in the imagination of the British in West Yorkshire had many of the same attributes that had set the Irish apart from the British working class in the nineteenth century: a distinctive and comical accent, a mental slowness, and a culture (especially in the form of religion) that was backwards. Even as Pakistanis entered new markets, the image of the "shopkeeper" or the "cabbie" survived: racial stereotypes masked occupational progress and diversification, perpetuating a stock character for the British public.

It was perhaps the arrival of a true racial "other" in skin color that allowed the concept of a separate Celtic race to lose much of its rigidity and importance: while constructions of the "Irish Paddy" continued to be formed along class lines, the racial aspect receded as Pakistanis took a more prominent role as a foil to the "white" working class of West Yorkshire. This must be seen in the larger dialogue between race and class that was discussed in the first section: government rhetoric and tactics in regard to immigration control shared much in common with the popular views in local communities, placing the Irish in an identity that was dependent on class and labor characteristics, while the centrality of "race" was more apparent for New Commonwealth arrivals. Groups like the Institute for Race Relations helped fuse racial categorization with domestic policy, and contributed to the supremacy of "race" over "ethnicity" as a signifier of "outsiders" in British society. This highlighted Pakistani issues while playing down the divides and prejudices that still existed between the Irish and their host communities.

Occupation and racial identities have a close connection for both the Irish and the Pakistanis, at least from the British perspective: their inherent character suited them for certain jobs, and it was these ideas of who an "Irishman" was or what being a "Pakistani" entailed that lived on after economic progress should have in fact improved their position in the racial and

social hierarchy. Therefore the Irish work as an effective comparative tool for the Pakistanis. Not only do they demonstrate the origins of British racialist language and attitudes, but they show that the "outsider" in Yorkshire in the mid-twentieth century was not merely the Pakistani immigrant: the Irish still living and working in the region were an important element in the marginalization of the non-English workers. This section has looked at the presence of these immigrant groups in West Yorkshire especially from the British public's perspective, and how their own ideas about these two ethnicities created a mental barrier between the native population and the newcomers. The next section will look more explicitly at three aspects of the immigrant community that worked to create difference from *within* the community: housing, education, and religion. At first glance, it would appear that it was by the Irish and the Pakistanis' own accord that these aspects of social life separated them from the native population: where to live, where to educate their children, and how their religion shaped their lives should be conscious decisions from within the community. It was often, however, as much the native British "othering" of the immigrants – especially in the educational and religious realms – that would contribute to the chasm between newcomers and the established residents.

The Realization of Social and Cultural Difference: Housing, Education, and Religion Perceived Within and Outside of the Irish and Pakistani Communities

This section will highlight the growth of social and cultural institutions in West Yorkshire neighborhoods for both the Pakistani and the Irish communities. Using local geographical studies, the nature and evolution of typically "Irish" areas or typically "Pakistani" areas of West Yorkshire cities will be examined alongside these ethnic groups' integration or continued isolation from the British community. This section – more so than any other in the thesis – will favor the identity that these immigrant groups created for themselves, rather than the perceptions of the local "native" community. Because both the Catholic and Islamic religions were of paramount importance for each immigrant group – along with British perceptions of these people – the overarching influence of places of worship and religious education will be given particular weight in comparisons between the two ethnicities.

Availability of accommodation, along with employment, was one of the motivating factors for Pakistanis to settle in Bradford and other northern textile towns in the late 1950s and early 1960s: whereas debates over housing were fiercely fought in large cities such as Birmingham or London, the West Riding must be singled out for its *lack* of confrontation between newcomers and the established working class in the housing sector. In addition, unlike the West Indian population that was more likely to seek council housing, the Pakistani emphasis on landownership and community produced an accommodation system that was largely community-sufficient. Old Victorian or Edwardian houses in the inner city – dilapidated and abandoned by the white population for modern suburban council housing – were the popular choices for the initial male workers in Bradford and other Yorkshire cities. The growth of typically "Pakistani" areas was rapid and concentrated: in 1966 the Listerhills and Exchange

areas of Bradford were singled-out for having "probably the highest proportion of immigrants of any local electoral area in the country."[84]

Those without the capital to purchase a house upon arrival – which was the case for many of the initial workers – often depended upon the shared experiences of other marginalized immigrant groups. In Bradford, the Pakistanis found an early ally in the Poles: during WWII, there were thirty South Asians living in Polish-owned houses along Howard St. After the war, Pakistanis bought houses in the street for themselves, and attracted further immigrants to the area due to their success. With time, the Howard St. settlement became one of the first destinations for new Pakistani immigrants to Bradford: they would visit the street for lodgings with fellow countrymen, or to inquire after jobs.[85] These choices made by initial migrants perpetuated the city's ethnic enclaves; if not for the established low-status and "immigrant character" of the region of Bradford around Howard St. and Little Horton Lane, the Pakistani community might have dispersed or moved on to different towns. Examples of neighborhood institutions such as places of worship or stores changing hands from one immigrant group to the next are some of the most tangible examples of the successive waves of immigration that continuality hit the same areas of town and the same buildings, connecting each group in the minds of members inside and outside the community.[86]

Fellow subcontinental immigrants also aided the Pakistanis: The early Gujarati community dominated the accommodation business in Bradford, with a clustering of fifty

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[84] E.J.P. Rose et al., *Colour and citizenship: a report on British race relations* (London, 1969), p. 253.
[85] Dahya, "Nature," pp. 84-5.
[86] "… Unless you counted the Pakistani grocery, which after all had been a Polish grocery before and, originally, one of Cloneen's groceries, if not the first of the Cloneen groceries. The Irish move out and the Poles move in, the Poles move out and the Pakistanis move in; it's still the same dirty street and I'm still leading the same dirty life." Braine, *Jealous*, pp. 134-5.

Gujarati houses in one area where no two houses were more than a ten-minute walk apart.[87] Fieldwork suggested that only the "marginalized" ethnic groups – Irish, West Indians and Pakistanis – were willing to rent from these Gujarati landlords. A study of a 1956 residence revealed a typical immigrant housing experience: the property was owned by Gujaratis, yet had West Indians and Irish as tenants. They all worked together at the same depot as conductors, and made up only one unit in a neighborhood filled with cases of interracial housing and working.[88] One cannot paint a picture of an early community built completely on mutual aid, however: Cases in Huddersfield of swindling and exploitation by more established immigrants showed that divisions between Pakistanis were just as acute as those between the immigrant community and the established British community.[89] Knowledge of English or comfort with the British job and housing systems made it easier for some within the same ethnic group to take advantage of new arrivals who were quick to trust "fellow countrymen."

Overall, however, there was an exceptional communal spirit in the earliest immigrant workers, so much so that Bradford failed to fill the first modern hostel that was built for single Pakistani men. The letdown of this housing initiative was attributed to the relatively high rent of the accommodation, along with the desire of the residents to live with their local community from Pakistan.[90] This is an excellent example of the miscommunication between what was needed by the immigrant community, and what the white "race relations" experts of the 1960s believed would benefit the newcomers. Housing for the Pakistanis took on a very personal, communal role in establishing neighborhoods in British cities, and depended upon already-present connections, cultural resources in the area, and the tight financial constraints of the

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[87] Rashmi Desai, *Indians Immigrants in Britain* (London, 1963), p. 24.
[88] Ibid., pp. 31-2.
[89] *Yorkshire Post* 5 November 1957.
[90] S. Patterson, *Immigration*, p. 252.

immigrants. This low economic standing is often cited as a factor in the continued "ghettoization" of a subsection of the Pakistani community. This is emphasized in *Maps for Lost Lovers* – Nadeem Aslam's portrayal of a fictional West Yorkshire town – showing the permanency of physical along with emotional divisions between the varied South Asian community in the North.[91] While the earliest years had seen a fair amount of exchange and cooperation between different regions and religions of the Subcontinent, the distinctions in occupation and income became more stratified in the South Asian hierarchy and were realized in living patterns. Housing was an aspect of the Pakistani experience in Britain largely immune to exterior-British forces: the typically "Pakistani" streets and regions of Bradford and other cities that still exist today are a function of choices made from within the community, based on the history of their impoverished arrival and the personal connections upon which chain migration operated. Looking back to the Irish will shed historical light on this kind of "directed settlement" that Pakistanis saw in West Riding industrial cities, along with showing if and how the Irish – by virtue of their living patterns – were separated from the Pakistanis in the eyes of the British by the postwar years.

Leeds has some of the most extensive local studies that reveal the harsh nature of "Little Irelands" in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, of the eight wards in Leeds in 1851, 83% of the Irish in the city lived in merely three (East, North, and North East), and by 1861 that number had gone up to 85%; within this region it was estimated that 80% of all mid-century

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[91] "The whites were already moving out of here by the end of the 1970s, and within the decade the Hindus became the first immigrant group to move out to the rich suburbs, followed slowly over the next few years by a handful of Pakistanis. Doctors, lawyers, accountants, engineers – all have moved out of the neighbourhood and gone to the suburbs by now, leaving behind the Pakistanis, the Bangladeshis, and a few Indians, all of whom work in restaurants, drive taxis and buses, or are unemployed." Nadeem Aslam, *Maps for Lost Lovers* (New York, 2005), p. 46.

Leeds Irish settled in "The Bank" subdistrict.[92] For the Irish in Bradford, there was a similar concentration in the lowliest dwellings,[93] where the British public remarked on the exceptional "communal" nature of the Irish that set them apart from the nearby English residents.[94] These enclaves took on the character of "Irish slums," due not only to the sheer numbers of Celts who populated the back-to-backs, but also because of the manner in which their residents lived.[95] The Irish ability to seemingly endure any horrible living situation only worked to widen the void between Irish immigrants and the English working class, and bring the former closer to the animals with which they were linked in language. The diseases that the immigrants could possibly bring upon arrival – and those that festered in the squalid dwellings of the city slums – were a particular worry for the British public. Just as the Pakistanis were blamed for the smallpox epidemic in Bradford in 1961-2,[96] Typhus epidemics that broke out in Halifax and York reasserted the British need to separate themselves from the dirty and dangerous Celts.[97]

It is when we examine the concurrent immigration of the Irish and Pakistanis in the twentieth century that more similarities are seen, along with direct interaction between the two ethnic groups. The housing aspect of the Irish experience in Britain also stresses the difference between those Irish who came in the nineteenth century and gradually "integrated" into West Yorkshire society, as opposed to those new Irish who came in the 1950s. In Leeds, for example,

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[92] Robert E. Finnigan and George T. Bradley, *Catholicism in Leeds* (Leeds, 1994), pp. 72-3.
[93] "Goit Side," which bordered the twentieth-century Pakistani-populated Listerhills ward, had 2,300 Irish-born residents. Richardson, "Irish Settlement," p. 47.
[94] Reach, "Halifax…".
[95] Ninety-five residents shared eight rooms, and the average number of people per bed was four in Thompson's Buildings, Goit Side. Richardson, "Irish Settlement," p. 49. In Huddersfield, twenty people were accustomed to sleeping in one room with rags laid on the floor. Reach, "Huddersfield…".
[96] Holmes, *John Bull's,* p. 261.
[97] Irish neighborhoods linked with violence also solidified the monolithic "bad" nature of the area: a fatal 1850 robbery saw suspects were all a "lower-class of Irish" from York St. and Marsh Ln., not far from the Bank. *Leeds Mercury* 23 November 1850.

there was both the established Famine community, and an immigrant contingent in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1930s, the Bank slums were cleared, leaving thousands of British-Irish in need of housing. To some extent, this was a critical turning point in realizing the difference between established Irish and newly-arrived Irish. The Gipton estate was built between 1934-8 to house those who had been displaced by slum clearances, and it was estimated that 2,000 Catholic families moved to the area.[98] This mobility for the descendents of the Famine Irish was confirmed in *The Jealous God*, where the main character's factory manager brother lived in a housing estate that was built "just before the war," on the outskirts of the fictional West Yorkshire town of Sarnley.[99] For many of these longer-established Irish, there was a feeling of belonging to the inner-city neighborhoods that went largely unmatched by the postwar Irish and Pakistani communities. Slum clearances were a traumatic event for the Irish of the Bank in Mary Patterson's semi-autobiographical *The Ham Shank*, where a "myth of return" was felt not for the Irish homeland, but for those parishes in the inner city where they had spent their formative years.[100] Spatial separation between new and old Irish immigrants emphasized their disparate experiences in the North's urban centers in the mid-twentieth century.

The Chapeltown suburb of Leeds was known for its mixture of ethnicities in the postwar years: Eastern European, Irish, West Indian, and Pakistani immigrants all entered the area in the

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[98] Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism*, p. 32.
[99] Braine, *Jealous*, p. 36.
[100] "The parish of Mount St Mary's had decreased enormously, for two thirds and more of their parishioners had been given new homes since this vast slum clearance scheme, and leaving the church of their childhood was perhaps the only pang that smote the hearts of the younger sisters. The tears and sighs of their aunts too, were mostly for the church they had loved, and they all spoke of the day, when, all the slums cleared away, a new lot of houses would be built and then maybe they could return to their home parish." Mary Patterson, *The Ham Shank* (Bradford: University of Bradford, 1993), p. 65.

1940s and 1950s, and their multiethnic neighborhood was celebrated in race relations studies.[101] However, there were also significant racial animosities that affected Chapeltown. A Mrs. D wrote to the Ministry of Housing in 1956, complaining that her neighboring houses were in disrepair, and that the area had transformed into a slum with "coloureds on one side and Irish on the other."[102] The Irish were still aligned with "black" immigrants by many white Britons with whom they came in contact, occupying a difficult middling place between the longer-established Irish – who had partially disappeared under the label of "British" – and the New Commonwealth immigrants. In the eyes of one Conservative politician, the twentieth-century Irish were still "accustomed to living in their country in conditions which English people would not normally tolerate and are accordingly less discriminating in their choice of accommodation here,"[103] and therefore linked not only with their fellow-countrymen of one hundred years before, but also the "uncivilized" immigrants coming from the New Commonwealth.

The Irish and the "colored" immigrants were joined in the minds of the British by their similar living situations, and in some cases shared housing was the way in which these two groups interacted *directly* in the mid-twentieth century. In Muhammad Anwar's study of Pakistani settlement in Bradford and Rochdale, anecdotes of Pakistani and Irish cohabitation are

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[101] "The visitor to these shopping parades in impressed by the variety of national groups, sounds and characteristics. The large Catholic church opposite has a special Polish mass, in addition to catering for the Irish in its usual services, next door is one of the larger synagogues. Apart from the obvious Asian and African attire, one notices Jews and Slavs by their features and their voices." Quoted in C. Duke, *Colour and Rehousing: A Study of Redevelopment in Leeds* (London, 1970), p. 18.
[102] Ibid., p. 51.
[103] Cabinet Memorandum. Colonial Immigrants. Note by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and Minister for Welsh Affairs, Gwilym Lloyd George. 22 August 1955.

not uncommon when their economic state gave them little other option for housing.[104] This study recognizes the important generational differences that contributed to this housing situation: The Pakistanis in question are of the younger generation, and therefore more open to exchange and interracial relationships than the initial immigrants who came as textile workers. This type of cohabitation saw its roots in the nineteenth century, with the cliché of the "loose" Irishwoman and her disregard for racial differences: There was a reported instance of an unregistered, dilapidated lodging house in London that was inhabited by "chinamen" "lascars" and one Irish woman, all of questionable moral character.[105] The coalescing of the "Asiatic" and the "Irish" was made tangible not only by their similar occupations, racial qualities, or state of living, but their shared living quarters.

The history of immigrant housing in West Yorkshire offers an important geographical aspect to the connection between the two ethnic groups in question. The areas of Bradford and Leeds that were transformed into "slums" by the influx of unwanted Irish were often the homes of successive waves of immigrants, including the Pakistanis. The long history of these areas worked to isolate the "Pakistani" or the "Irish" from the "English" in West Yorkshire, for the constant influx of newcomers meant that instead of renovating the back-to-backs and Victorians in the city center, the established population moved to suburban estates and left rejected areas to the poorest immigrants. In many ways, the study of housing does more to inform our reading of the Irish immigrant experience than it does the Pakistani. On the most basic level, it shows that income for the newly-arrived Irish constricted them to certain "undesirable" urban living areas, connecting them more explicitly in working and housing experience with the Pakistanis. From

[104] One Rochdale Pakistani transport worker had an Irish girlfriend, along with a wife left behind in Pakistan. There were an additional three Irishmen living in his lodging house. Muhammad Anwar, *The Myth of Return* (London, 1985), pp. 197-8.
[105] *The Times* 10 February 1855, quoted in Salter, *Asiatic,* pp. 34-5.

the perspective of the British, it demonstrates the longevity of the Irish being "black": their propensity to live in the immigrant neighborhoods meant the West Yorkshire public viewed them as subsumed into the stereotypical identity of the "New Commonwealth immigrant" of the 1950s and 1960s. On a higher level, accommodation complicates our labeling of the descendents of the nineteenth-century Irish as "Irish." If these people were living beyond the inner city and typically-immigrant areas, could they actually be studied alongside those who were entering Britain from Ireland for the first time? As suggested by Aslam, housing and neighborhoods asserted social elevation and integration for the descendants of immigrants, moving them from "ethnic" areas to traditionally "white" suburbs. Further cultural examination of the Irish communities in West Yorkshire will show that beyond employment and housing, there were still social practices that propagated the "culturally Irish Catholic" identity as neighborhoods were decentralized. As the younger generation were the most likely in both the Irish and the Pakistani communities to feel disconnected from the concentrated ethnic neighborhoods that shaped the experience of their ancestors, an educational environment that fostered a sense of cultural continuity was one the primary methods by which each protected their heritage in British society.

The importance of religious education for the Muslim community – although now one of the most prominent signifiers of their difference from "British" society – formed fairly late for the Pakistani immigrants. Once again, the first workers were largely single males, and there was not a significant younger generation to educate until families were reunited in the mid- to late-1960s. In fact, the debate over education was initially begun not by the Pakistanis, but by the British community at-large. The quota system introduced to schools in the 1960s aimed to never have more than 30% immigrant children in one class; a 1965 report found that three Bradford

schools had over 40%.[106] Bussing was introduced in 1964, when monolithic "Asian communities" with "Asian schools" were beginning to take form. Bradford set itself apart from other Yorkshire cities in the actions taken against these high concentrations: in some cases, full-time centers that were significantly separated from the normal city schools were created for immigrant children's language instruction. This fell in line with the race relations policy of the 1960s, where forceful legislation looked to ease the social and cultural tensions between the established community and newcomers.

Those who were raised in this educational environment, however, often pinpoint it as a cause for the continued social void between Pakistanis and the British public. Tariq Mehmood, a prominent Bradford political activist and novelist, used the city's schools as a major catalyst for second-generation animosities in his first novel, *Hand on the Sun* (1983). Fights between Pakistanis and white students were a daily occurrence, along with overt racism among white teachers who made no effort to distinguish between the immigrant students. While artistic license must be taken into consideration, other first-hand accounts of Bradford childhoods paint a similar picture of isolation and intolerance.[107] This sees parallels in the experience of Irish children at the same time, where the school was an important arena in which differences between British children and immigrant children were apparent, and at times aroused violence.[108] Beyond

[106] S. Patterson, *Immigration*, p. 256.
[107] "I came to England in 1966… In those days immigration schools were separate to the local schools. My English was not too bad at that time and so I was moved to a mixed school, Belle Vue Boys High School in Bradford. There were about 12 to 14 in the whole class, and we were all foreigners. It was a bit difficult because the teachers didn't call us by names they used to call us, 'you brown one…" Aslam, "Migration from Kashmir…".
[108] "… rotten schools with children that used to beat people up if you were different in the playground. So, that's when the Yorkshire accent came in. I just lost my identity because being a different child in a playground stands out, so I lost my Irish accent from that… I went to St Patrick's Junior School, so you slotted in okay there because there was more Irish, some of the

the political importance of education for community leaders, schools were areas in which basic language and cultural differences were made clear to the youngest generation of Irish and Pakistani immigrants, reinforcing a sense of alienation from their peers.

Pakistani demands for Muslim education went hand-in-hand with the group's budding political agency in the late 1960s. Muslim organizations in northern industrial towns played an important role in getting the school needs of the community recognized: the Rochdale Muslim Society put forward the issue of specialized school uniforms for Pakistani girls that would conform to Islamic practice.[109] The place of Muslim girls in public education became one of the most iterated Pakistani educational demands. Riaz Shahid of Bradford ran an entire Independent political campaign in 1973 based on single-sex schooling for his daughter, and in so doing received more votes than the Labour candidate in his ward.[110] In 1983 the first fee-paying, Muslim girls' school was opened in Bradford, and in Hanif Kureishi's visit to West Yorkshire, he attended the opening of a similar school in the Muslim-heavy West Yorkshire town of Bately. One of the speakers at the opening addressed the crowd, "As a practicing Roman Catholic myself, I sympathize with you, having had a Catholic education myself," and went on to voice his optimism for the success of the Islamic school.[111] This explicit connection between two major non-Anglican religions of England is a natural segue to how faith in education joined the experiences of the Irish and Pakistanis in West Yorkshire. For religion – both from the immigrant *and* the British perspective – was one of the major roadblocks in integration with the

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lads didn't even speak English (they spoke Gaelic)…" Tony Lambe, "From Dublin to Huddersfield," *Moving Here*.

[109] Anwar, *Myth,* p. 162.

[110] Michel Le Lohé, "The Effects of the Presence of Immigrants upon the Local Political System in Bradford, 1945-77," Miles and Phizacklea (eds.) *Racism and Political Action in Britain* (London, 1979), p. 197.

[111] Kureishi, "Bradford," p. 130.

community at-large, and Islamic or Catholic education passed on points of difference and cultural heritage to further generations, who perhaps in other ways were becoming "British."

One of the important distinctions between the initial Pakistani and Irish immigrants was the weight that the latter gave to religious education upon arrival in Britain. The religious climate of the 1840s must be taken into account: this was an age of Catholic revival in England, therefore the Irish Catholic community received a fair amount of support from the reestablished hierarchy in the building of new religious schools. In 1847 – the worst year of the Famine – the Catholic Poor School Committee was established to receive grant aid, showing how integral religious education was to immigrants even in the face of destitution.[112] The rapid growth of the Irish population meant that this funding was critical in maintaining a high level of religious education for the Yorkshire Irish. In 1855 children were already being turned away at the St. Patrick's school in Leeds, and therefore an additional two single-sex schools were opened in 1865. By 1886 there were 3917 children in Leeds Catholic schools, although there was still a deficiency of 1262 for those that wanted religious education.[113] Even in cities that had a relatively small Irish population, the growth of Catholic education dominated their economic decisions and shaped the architectural and religious landscape of their communities.[114]

As the Irish Catholic community became more entrenched in their West Yorkshire cities, religious education became one of the primarily causes around which an "Irish" identity could be

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[112] Mary Hickman, *Religion, Class, and Identity* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 153.
[113] Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism*, pp. 43-8.
[114] St. George day school in York – attached to the church of the same name opened in 1850 – was meant to cater specifically for the Irish poor, and dock workers in Hull asked their employer to deduct a penny or twopence from their weekly wages until the St. Patrick's school-chapel was built and opened in 1871. Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: a Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork, 1982), pp. 119-21. Marie McClelland, "Catholic Education in Victorian Hull," Swift and Gilley (eds.) *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* (Dublin, 1999), p. 106.

maintained in the face of integration into the English working class. Bishop of Beverley John Briggs had expressed his fears about losing Catholic children to non-Catholic schools if the West Yorkshire community could not create enough places for these adolescents,[115] and by the twentieth century this was still a pressing matter for the Irish Catholics of England. It is telling that the proportion of Irish Catholics sending their children to Catholic schools was higher than those attending Mass:[116] educational autonomy had outlived the weekly ritual of religious observance for descendents of the Famine Irish, for a sense of religious identity being instilled from the earliest age guaranteed the longevity of their cultural difference within British society. Concern for religious schooling was also apparent in the political interests of Irish Catholics. The Catholic Federation established in Salford in 1906 was founded over anger towards the Labour Party's desire to secularize education, and the organization expanded to branches in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield.[117] Examining the educational practices of the Irish Catholics in the twentieth century is a delicate business, for it depends on various conjectures made by modern historians. For one, it must be assumed that those Irish migrating to West Yorkshire were Catholic, and would therefore seek out Catholic education for their children. In addition, it presumes that a large percentage of Catholics enrolled in the schools still considered themselves to be culturally Irish, despite the fact that their families may have been based in Britain for roughly one hundred years.

Despite these complications from within the new immigrant and established-Irish communities, the British public still saw the Catholic religion and its incongruity with "British" society as embedded into the Irish as a way of maintaining the group's social separation from

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[115] Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism*, p. 42.
[116] Hickman, *Religion*, p. 200.
[117] Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880-1939* (Buckingham, 1993), p. 113.

West Yorkshire cities. Religious education was one of the lasting social practices that linked the Famine Irish with their descendents in West Yorkshire, and the thesis will now turn to the broader religious issues in this community. Questioning the piety of the nineteenth-century Irish and their twentieth-century counterparts is an endeavor far outside the scope of this study, and not particularly relevant to its purpose of examining the influence that immigrants wielded in the shaping of West Yorkshire towns. The outward manifestation of the Catholic religion will be the focus: when and where were Catholic churches built in West Yorkshire? This also accentuates both the urban and comparative aspects of the thesis: by relating the religious nature of the Irish and the Pakistanis to their role on the architectural and neighborhood landscape of West Yorkshire towns, we are left with a physical map of the evolution of immigrant communities as they arrived and gradually permeated specific areas of northern cities. For the Pakistanis, it also maps social divisions along religious sectarian lines, an issue not faced by the encompassing Catholic Church and its Irish parishioners.

While current perceptions about the place of religion for British Pakistani Muslims may have negative and dangerous connotations, the nature of Islam for the earliest immigrants was very different. In 1959 the first mosque was opened in Bradford, which was run by the Pakistani Muslim Association and had both East and West Pakistanis as trustees, showing the level of Muslim unity before the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971.[118] Not only was this a place of religious worship, but it served practical purposes for the fledgling Pakistani community: it was a meeting place for new immigrants and English speakers, who could translate official

[118] Philip Lewis, "Being Muslim and Being British: The Dynamics of Islamic Reconstruction in Bradford," Ballard (ed.) *Desh Pardesh* (London, 1994), p. 65.

documentation and address letters.[119] It is not surprising that the location of this religious building was on Howard St., the residential center for the early Bradford Pakistani immigrants. However, the expanding South Asian community in the 1960s prompted self-division along regional or sectarian lines. By 1968, immigrants from the Chhachh region of Pakistan dominated the Little Horton area, and took over leadership of the Howard St. mosque. Around this same time, the Gujaratis and the Bengalis established their own mosques on Cornwall Rd. Most important for the face of contemporary Islam in Bradford, however, was the establishment of the first Barelwi mosque by a Mirpuri in Manningham in 1966. Thus the region that supplied the majority of Pakistani immigrants to Bradford had a religious center in the neighborhood that would become the heart of the Pakistani Muslim community.

One can look at mosque building, therefore, as the physical manifestation of the growth and fragmentation of the Pakistani community in Bradford. What began as a multi-purpose initiative to aid new immigrants in the late 1950s transformed into a tangible realization of Islamic difference rather than unity when communities and family ties were reestablished in the late 1960s. It is true – as will be shown in the mosque's role in political causes – that the institutions unified at times over issues that threatened *all* Muslims living in a Christian country, yet they still operated largely for members of their sect and neighborhood in Bradford. As McLoughlin rightly points out, Islam in Bradford had no "ecclesiastical hierarchy or trained parish priests" like their Irish Catholic predecessors,[120] and were therefore more likely to operate as separate units. In fact by likening the rivalry between the Shi'a and Sunni to that between

[119] Seán McLoughlin, "Mosques and the Public Space: Conflict and Cooperation in Bradford," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31.6 (Nov. 2005), p. 1050.
[120] Ibid., p. 1059.

Catholics and Protestants,[121] the religious organizational similarities between Irish and Pakistani immigrants appear to lessen. While each religion stressed the importance of community – especially within a foreign city that practiced an alien religion – the concept of "community" in Islam and Catholicism was not the same. Despite these differences *within* the religions, there is a tendency from those outside the two faiths to label each as similarly "dangerous" to Britain, although temporal discrepancies must be taken into account when comparing the two communities. It was really not until the late 1970s and 1980s that "Islam" became a major negative characteristic of the Pakistani community in the eyes of the British. Although it will be discussed in further detail in the final section, Honeyford, Rushdie, and other conflicts that aroused the ire of Muslims – especially in Bradford and other northern textile towns of particular concentration – led to a British interest in Islam, and its manifestation in the UK.[122] This also meant that the images of Pakistani Muslims projected to the British public linked race and religion into a dangerous stereotype. By looking back to the Irish, the historian can see the precedents of this conflation, and the deeply entrenched nature of this fear of Catholics as compared to contemporary views towards the Muslim community in Britain.

The religious greeting for Irish Catholics in the 1840s and 1850s was far different than that for the Pakistani Muslims a century later. Anti-Catholic sentiment was rampant in Bradford, Huddersfield, and other West Riding centers had Non-Conformist traditions, while the cathedral city of York was of vital importance for Anglicans.[123] One of the reasons why Leeds was able to sustain a lasting Irish population was its history of tolerance for Catholicism: in 1838 Leeds

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[121] *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* 23 October 1998.
[122] Virinder Kalra, *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks: Experiences of Migration, Labour and Social Change* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 35.
[123] Nigel Yates, "The religious life of Victorian Leeds," Fraser (ed.) *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, 1980), p. 256.

became the first town in England to elect a Catholic mayor in the post-Catholic Emancipation era,[124] while the vicar of Leeds in 1837 had been friendly with Cardinal Newman and Pusey, and therefore encouraged the building of Tractarian churches in Leeds.[125] Like Bradford and its Pakistanis in the twentieth century, subtle differences between West Yorkshire towns worked to create lasting concentrations of immigrants. While for the Pakistanis this was largely based on family connections along with job and housing availability, it can be argued that for the Irish there was a large religious aspect to the choice and development of the Leeds community.

The other problem that separated the religious experiences of the initial Irish Catholics from the Pakistanis Muslims was the current religious atmosphere in Victorian Britain as a whole. The importance of the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850 cannot be underestimated: it made the Irish Catholics a true threat in the minds of Anglicans. Catholicism's status as a danger coming both from above with the English Catholic aristocracy, as well as below with the Irish peasantry, made the English working and lower middle classes take violent action.[126] Fears of the hierarchy can be seen in accounts of the enthronement of John Briggs, which spoke of the "Papal mummeries of a mock enthronisation" and the "dumb show" that was worthy of a "fair day exhibition."[127] The events of the 1850s were in many ways more an exaggeration on the part of the British public that aided anti-Irish Catholic feelings. For the Irish immigrants, the reestablishment was a distant occurrence that had little effect on their daily lives; the on-the-ground changes that accompanied the reestablishment were more

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[124] Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism,* p. 72.
[125] Kennally, "Roscrea," p. 127.
[126] In November 1830 there were already thirty-six Orange lodges in Yorkshire, with all but three in the West Riding textile belt. Squire Auty – Orangeman and the editor of the "Orange Banner" – was a Bradfordian, and worked to aggravate religious tensions in his hometown in 1863 after organizing a series of anti-Catholic lectures.
[127] *York Gazette* 13 February 1851.

immediate. New Catholic churches were built in East Leeds in 1831 and 1857, serving 85% of the city's total Irish community.[128] Four of the first five churches built in Bradford – St Mary's in 1825, St. Patrick's in 1852, St. Joseph's in 1887, and St. Ann's in 1892 – were found in typically "Irish" quarters, and seventeen of the twenty-three people who financed the building of St. Patrick's were Irish.[129] They were symbols of the "Irish quarters," and lightning rods for praise from the Catholic leadership, and disdain from Anglican observers. The extent to which they accurately represented the deep and abiding faith of the Irish immigrants is quite another matter. Religious gatherings for the early Irish – like the initial Pakistanis – were more often a way to reconnect with people from the homeland and assert a sense of community, not necessarily be religiously observant.[130]

Another aspect of the religion of the Irish in Britain to keep in mind is gender: women were among the most loyal attendees of Mass and provided the organizational backbone of the parish. Therefore the Church was much more integral – in a strictly religious sense – to their identity and connection with their ethnic heritage than it was for men. This is in contrast to the gendered identity of Islam for the Pakistani immigrants: men were the dominating force in the organizational and social aspects of the religion for the newly arrived community. The women

[128] These were high-profile and successful establishments: St. Patrick's had the second-best city church attendance in the 1851 ecclesiastical census, and Mount St. Mary's (which had an Irish priest) was opened before Bishops de Mazenold and Briggs, along with Cardinal Wiseman.

[129] C. Richardson, "The Irish in Victorian Bradford," *The Bradford Antiquary* 9 (1976), pp. 302-3. These people went through intermediaries when purchasing the land so as to hide their religious identity, for "great was the wrath of the vendors, the Misses Mary and Elizabeth Rawson, when they found that the land was to be used for the erection of a Catholic Church." Quoted in Richardson, "Irish Settlement," p. 56.

[130] Bradford's first recorded Mass after the Reformation actually took place in a pub, which was threatened with a revoked license if they ever allowed a "popish Mass" to take place again. Philip Lewis, "Arenas of Ethnic Negotiation: Cooperation and Conflict in Bradford," Modood and Werbner (eds.) *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe* (London, 1997), p. 127. Likewise, the first services in the Bank in Leeds were held in a pub, where money was collected to build the neighborhood church in the 1850s. Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism*, p. 77.

who dominate *The Ham Shank* place great importance on the Church and Catholic schooling for the connection from one generation of Irish females to the next.[131] Catholicism became a way to assert "Irishness" once their accent or perhaps their name had ceased to identify them as unique in British society. It was a shared experience that kept the Irish on the cusp of Ireland and England, not quite completely conforming to either country's identity.

This continued in the twentieth century, when the movement of the Irish out of the inner city slums meant that church building was once again needed. The ten parishes created in Leeds in the 1950s were the most in any decade since the 1790s, six in 1954 alone. This was attributed to the postwar council housing initiatives in the suburbs, where victims of the slum clearances often moved.[132] Likewise, all of the remaining Bradford Catholic churches were built in the interwar and postwar periods as the Irish community dispersed into new suburbs on the outskirts of town.[133] The building boom created new physical focus points for the Irish Catholic community, creating both religious and secular ties to the homeland.[134] The term "culturally Catholic" became popular, where agreement with the teachings of the Catholic Church was less important than a sense of community, heritage, and connection with ancestors.[135] The opening scene of *East is East* beautifully exemplifies the place of the Catholic religion in the north of England in the 1970s and beyond. The children of the interracial couple of "George" the Muslim Pakistani and "Ella" the Catholic Briton – and probably of Irish heritage since set in Salford – march in a Catholic parade carrying icons of various saints. While not practicing Catholics – but

[131] M. Patterson, *Ham*, p. 23.
[132] Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism,* pp. 32-5.
[133] Richardson, "Irish in Victorian Bradford," p. 302.
[134] "…after Mass on a Sunday we'd go into the old Irish League and have some pop. There were dances at St Joseph's and the Plaza." Margaret O'Shea, "Huddersfield Irish Centre."
[135] Claire Short, quoted in Anne Holohan, *Working Lives; The Irish in Britain* (Hayes, 1995), p. 57.

supposedly Muslims – the children still relish in the cultural traditions that were thriving in pockets of Irish Catholicism like Salford. Religion became a visible celebration of ancestry and identity, and a part of "multicultural" Britain that was often subsumed by New Commonwealth immigration. From the 1970s on, Irish activist and cultural groups like the Federation of Irish societies and the *Irish Post* took a more central role for the Irish in Britain as the Church's power over their lives was decentralized.[136] When compared with the direction being taken by Pakistani immigrants and their children at the same time, the Irish were becoming less religiously fundamentalist and loosening their ties with the Catholic Church, thereby making it easier for them to hide behind a "British" identity to the modern observer.

The residential, educational, and religious aspects of Pakistani and Irish experiences in West Yorkshire cities demonstrate the significant differences between examining the groups from within the immigrant communities, as opposed to concentrating on British perceptions of and reactions to their arrival. Both ethnicities inhabited the "slums" of cities such as Bradford and Leeds in their first years, and with time the nineteenth-century Irish moved on to more middle-class housing, while the new Irish continued to enter the same areas of town inhabited by other working-class immigrants. The fact that the mid-twentieth-century Irish newcomers were more likely to share houses or at least neighborhoods with New Commonwealth immigrants in some way justified the racial degradation of the Celts in the minds of the "native" British, and highlighted the relative poverty of the Irish who continued to emigrate from the Republic. This is therefore an important instance of the interplay between points of contact for these two groups with the imagined similarities that were already present in British minds: cohabitation between the two communities reinforced rhetorical links present in the minds of "white" Britons.

[136] Breda Gray, "From 'Ethnicity' to 'Diaspora': 1980s Emigration and Multicultural London," Bielenberg (ed.) *The Irish Diaspora* (Harlow, 2000), p. 71.

Irish institutions and cultural precedents established in cities in the nineteenth century worked against the fracturing and diversification of ethnic neighborhoods, defining the community as a distinct subsection of British society both from the "insider" and "outsider" perspectives. Catholic schooling was a critical demand for the Irish from the Famine through the 1980s, working as an important replacement for church-going in the perpetuation of "Irishness." Their precedent was an important one for the Pakistani communities, whose fight for religious education was significantly aided by the strides made by Irish Catholics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Autonomy within the British educational system bound Irish and Pakistani adults to their British-born children, who might have otherwise been growing apart as a result of natural assimilation into the host society. However, from the public's perspective, which often identified the British educational system as a vital tool in the quest for assimilation, religious demands were unreasonable and worked against a positive "British" identity (the Honeyford Affair will illustrate this fact). As first-hand accounts of Irish and Pakistani school children demonstrate, "difference" was never more apparent than in the classroom or the schoolyard, and separate schools reinforced this isolation. By comparing the Irish and Pakistani education experiences and their tendency to be politicized, the British debate over multiculturalism in schools sees its roots in the nineteenth century and the Irish community. This highlights the connection of ethnicity with religion in independent schools, along with the fact that recognition of minority needs was an ongoing demand put upon West Yorkshire state schools.

Religion as a defining characteristic of both Pakistani and Irish identity is one of the strongest links between the two groups: it dictated many of their political causes, along with differentiating them socially from the Anglicans of West Yorkshire. It is also, perhaps, the characteristic that most explicitly separates the two groups when their respective time periods of

arrivals are taken into account. The twentieth-century Irish and Pakistanis were not burdened by the religious upheaval and prejudice that dominated the Irish Catholic arrival in the 1840s and 1850s. The burden of the Irish poor, combined with the physical transformation of West Yorkshire cities in the form of new Roman Catholic churches, was a threatening prospect for the British working class. The more open attitudes towards religion smoothed the transition of 1950s and 1960s immigrants into British society. The Irish Catholics saw a gradual toleration of their religion from outside, which coincided with the Church and orthodox Catholic beliefs becoming likewise less central to their identity. For many Pakistanis, at least in West Yorkshire, religion became *more* central to their Pakistani-Muslim identity as the community fragmented along sectarian lines. Concurrently as a result of this visibility, Islam from the outsider, secular perspective was gradually becoming a danger to the harmony and stability of British society.

Religion, like denominational schooling, was an important assertion of cultural identity for both groups, received positively within their own community and negatively by native Britons. Faith and faith-related institutions facilitated a shared identity for the immigrants, seen for both Catholics and Muslims in the speed with which they established places of worship and the myriad purposes these centers served. However, this made each religion a target for the threat they posed to the Anglican faith in the 1850s (Catholicism), and to the secular state in the 1980s (Islam). Irish Catholicism as a risk to the established Victorian social norm anticipated reactions to the fundamentalism connected with West Yorkshire British Muslims. The lines between "radical" "religion" "politics" and "ethnicity" were blurred for each of these groups, which leads to the final point of comparison in this thesis: the impassioned – often violent – politicization of their place in the United Kingdom, and how interaction with their local communities was affected by this budding agency.

"Multicultural Britain" in Action: Minority Agency, Local "White" Retaliation, and the Politics of West Yorkshire

This section will look first at the political causes championed by the Irish in specific northern cities from their entry in the mid-nineteenth century on, and in what ways this support was received and interpreted by the citizens of Leeds, Bradford, etc. The growing solidarity of the Irish Catholic community will be seen from its origins inside the immigrant group *and* the defensive reaction to attacks from the British population. Attention will then turn to the Pakistanis, and how they likewise organized amongst themselves in the face of British racism in the 1970s. This happened alongside the birth of local political power in certain parts of Rochdale and Bradford, which saw strong links with the regional aspect of Irish political influence in preceding years. And finally, the Honeyford Affair will work as an important local case study in the culmination of many of the grievances within immigrant communities and their host society, encapsulating the state of "multicultural Britain" in the mid-1980s.

The Fenian plots of the 1860s were the radical political issue around which the British concentrated much of their distrust of Irish immigrants during the post-Famine years. They were also indicative of the interplay between rising violence in Ireland, and the fear among British citizens that this lawlessness would be transferred to their own cities by way of dangerous immigrants. While the only serious Fenian attacks were at Clerkenwell (London), Chester, and Manchester in 1867, West Yorkshire was nonetheless an area of activity before and after these incidents.[137] Irish suspiciously left Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax in February 1867 with a suspected rendezvous point, no doubt for a Fenian attack.[138] Major buildings and monuments in

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[137] A branch of the Irish National League had been founded in Bradford in 1864, and in 1880 there was still a network of Fenians as revealed by the arrest of quarryman John Tobin, suspected of transporting arms. "The Bradford Fenian Case," *Manchester Times* 11 February 1882.
[138] Patrick Quinlivan and Paul Rose, *The Fenians in England, 1865-1872* (London, 1982), p. 21.

Yorkshire were considered to be at risk: in 1867-8, it was believed that the Fenians were planning to blow up the Leeds gas works, while in the aftermath of Clerkenwell, telegraphs were sent supposedly stating that York Minster was the next targeted building.[139] However, this involvement in Fenian plots cannot be attributed to more than a very small minority of the Irish in West Yorkshire, and in many cases the leaders in the community did their best to distance their fellow Irishmen from the violence. In December 1867 the Bishop of Beverley urged his parishioners at St. Ann's in Leeds to not resort to violence as retribution for the "Manchester Martyrs." A meeting of Irish workers in Halifax in early 1868 put forward the point that the Halifax Irish did not agree with the recent violence, and English workers in attendance voiced their solidarity with these non-violent Celts.[140] The danger posed to West Yorkshire by the Fenians was probably minimal, although the large Irish communities in its cities, combined with the proximity to areas of violence such as Manchester, made the threat tangible to the British public. The residual effect of the Fenians would be felt in the twentieth century with the IRA, although this movement was not as pressing for West Yorkshire as the Fenians in the 1860s.

IRA violence was mainly centered on London, the location from which Northern Irish policy was dictated. However, for Britain as a whole, the violence in the 1970s reinvigorated anti-Irish feelings. The November 1974 bombing of a Birmingham pub which killed twenty-one was carried out by Irishmen who were living in the West Midlands. This event triggered not only government action against the Irish in the form of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, but a renewed negative public opinion towards the Irish and changes in how the Irish viewed themselves. Claire Short, Birmingham MP and Irish in heritage, was deeply saddened by the

[139] Finnigan and Bradley, *Catholicism*, p. 81. Quinlivan and Rose, *Fenians*, p. 96.
[140] "The Fenians," *Leeds Mercury* 13 December 1867. "The Irishmen of Halifax and Fenianism," *Leeds Mercury* 18 January 1868.

events, but outraged at the action that the British took against *all* Irish living in the country.[141] One of the most common responses among Irish in Britain was a desire to not proclaim their "Irishness," as it was a lightening rod for stereotypes and hatred from the British public. While not specific to West Yorkshire, it is important to recognize the resurgence in the feelings that had singled-out the Irish in the 1860s, showing the extent to which stereotypes of a dangerous people who were ethnically different had survived under the surface for over one hundred years.[142]

Violence surrounding the Irish presence in Britain cannot be wholly attributed to the Irish, however, but must also be seen from the popular Protestant movements in the mid-nineteenth century. While violent Orangemen parades were noted in Bradford as early as 1844,[143] the real violence against the Irish in West Yorkshire coincided with the anxiousness over Fenianism in the 1860s and 1870s. William Murphy, the face of anti-Catholicism for the industrial North and the Midlands, found support among the working and lower-middle classes who were likely to come in direct contact with the Irish immigrants. In his lecture tours, he successfully combined the Catholic religion, the Irish role in the labor market, and their national identity into one threatening figure, a stereotype that would have significant longevity, as shown by racial attitudes in the twentieth century.[144] Although his most notable instances of violence occurred in the Midlands, upon Murphy's appearance in Rochdale there were attacks on the city's Catholic Church, its school, the priest's home, and other Irish homes, therefore targeting the community for its signifiers of religion, education, and neighborhoods.[145] Examples of

[141] Holohan, *Working,* p. 59.
[142] While not within the scope of this thesis, a comparative study of the Birmingham and the 7/7 bombings and their effect on the Irish and Pakistani-Muslim communities in Britain might prove interesting.
[143] Koditschek, *Class,* p. 450.
[144] Hickman, *Religion,* pp. 112-3.
[145] Quinlivan and Rose, *Fenians*, p. 37.

"mock" lynchings of Bradford Irishmen in the 1860s[146] saw their roots in the legitimized violence that was stirred up by Murphy. Echoes of this approach to stigmatizing immigrants are to be found in men like Enoch Powell, who by articulating what a large portion of the English working class might have been thinking during the height of New Commonwealth immigration – but were wary to say out loud – made racism respectable. Violence between the Irish and the British of West Yorkshire was racially and religiously motivated, and largely based on fears of the British public that found their origins in the violent actions of a small subsection of the Irish community. Although Fenians had an inherent "Catholic" character due to their Irish nationalist cause, it must be emphasized that much of the anti-Irish action had greater religious overtones than protest and violence coming from within the Irish community. Religion as a salient signifier of dangerous difference in the minds of "white" Britons, was not congruent to the self-representation of Irish communities in Britain. This once again demonstrates the imperativeness of examining the Irish in West Yorkshire society as much from the British perspective as from the insider, Irish perspective: their interaction and integration in the community was largely dependent on British attitudes towards their presence.

The support for Irish nationalism was one of the long-lasting hallmarks of Irish political involvement in the north of England, and one for which they gained support and solidarity from inside the community, but furthered their alienation outside the community.[147] For both the Irish and later the Pakistanis, the importance of visual reminders of this connection to the homeland were noted: whether it was a portrait of Daniel O'Connell in a Leeds cottage or faded photographs of James Connolly, Michael Collins and De Valera at the Hibernian Club in West

[146] Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity,* p. 86.
[147] The "native" British criticized the Irish concern for homeland issues over engagement with their new society, while in York large groups of local Anglicans heightened sectarian animosities by protesting the Maynooth grant. G. Lewis, *Irish Poor*, p. 31. Finnegan, *Poverty*, p. 167.

Yorkshire, the Irish in Britain were as vigilant about their country's martyrs as those still in Ireland.[148] Even if the passion and radicalism of the Irish in West Yorkshire subsided during the twentieth century, these images were a lasting reminder of the history of exploitation and tyranny between their country of origin and their country of residence. In works like *East is East*, portraits of Jinnah are likewise found hanging proudly in front rooms of Bradford residences, showing the Pakistanis' pride for their independence from Britain, but also their separation from their foe, India. Visuals survived in Britain after the emotional impact of these leaders' actions may have faded for the younger generations, and were therefore important links for the sprawling immigrant community, and became symbols of their "otherness" from the British perspective.

Home Rule, as one of the dominating issues of parliamentary politics in the late 1800s, was likewise a political concern for the diasporic Irish. In 1872, there were six branches of the Home Rule Association in Bradford, while the Leeds Irish formed an influence pressure group on at least one of their city's MPs.[149] Engagement with political issues pertinent to Ireland gave the Irish in Britain a sort of legitimacy, for in the wake of the Fenian plots, the immigrants were

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[148] "I was struck during the course of my rambles in the Irish quarters of Leeds at the frequency with which pictures of the "Liberator" hung upon the walls. Wherever the cottage or the cellar was filthiest and meanest - where potatoes to be eaten and rags to be picked lay mingled upon the floor - the features of Mr. O'Connell looked blandly down upon the squalor; and, in one or two instances, I found his effigy - supported by a repeal map of Ireland - the south and west coloured a vivid green, and the "Black North" tinted to a sable corresponding with the title." Reach, "Leeds." "He looked at the faded photograph of James Connolly over the bar, side by side with Michael Collins and De Valera; there had been trouble about the display of each of the pictures once, but no one cared now, and the majority of the members wouldn't even know who Connolly and Collins were." Braine, *Jealous*, p. 48.

[149] Alan O'Day, "The Political Organization of the Irish in Britain, 1867-90," Swift and Gilley (eds.) *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London, 1989), p. 191. 1,000 strong vowed to oust MP Ald. Robert Meek Carter after the politician had shown his support for Home Rule in Leeds amongst his constituents, but abstained from voting for Isaac Butt's bill in Westminster. "Ald. Carter and the Irish electors of Leeds," *Leeds Mercury* 14 July 1874.

prompted to overhaul their violent image. Members within the community celebrated the peaceful and orderly conventions organized to discuss affairs,[150] while English MPs with Irish sympathies emphasized the part that the Irish in British constituencies would play in the quest for Home Rule.[151] Support for Irish Home Rule was a way in which the Celtic immigrants could bridge their concern for the homeland with a desire for political legitimacy and respect in their adopted country.

Although violent episodes and nationalist sentiments in the nineteenth century may paint the Irish as a community detached from larger concerns in Britain, their place as an integral part of the working class was an entrée into British radical politics in the form of trade unionism. Tom Maguire, born of Irish parents and raised in East Leeds, was one of the founders of the Socialist revival in the city in the 1880s, and he was highly influenced by the Irish Question that dominated politics during this time period.[152] He would eventually organize the Leeds Gasworkers strike in 1891, an industry that represented an important concentration of Irish Catholic workers in the late-nineteenth century: the secretary of their Union, J.E. Smith, was in the Catholic Club in Briggate and the Irish Nationalist League, and worked to secure the election of Irish or Irish-friendly candidates in municipal and MP elections in Leeds.[153] Therefore, in the

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[150] [Meeting of Irish Parliamentary Party] was heald in the Leeds Town Hall. It was a vary grand assembledge. To See tham in the Streets when we adgurned at noon for Some refreshments you would think thay ware all gentlemen. The people of the Town Stood and ware supprised and could not beleve it was a meeting of Land Leaguers. There ware some vary great sweels from London but the most enlightened and best Speakers ware from Manchester and the Districts… it was Said it was the grandest meeting of Irishmen ever heald in England." William Reynolds, October 1882, quoted in Lawrence McBride (ed.) *The Reynolds Letters: An Irish Emigrant Family in Late Victorian Manchester* (Cork, 1999), p. 45.

[151] Mitchell Henry MP, quoted in "Mr. Mitchell Henry MP on Irish Grievances," *Leeds Mercury* 18 March 1878.

[152] T. Woodhouse, "The working class," Fraser (ed.) *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, 1980), p. 366.

[153] Ibid., p. 373.

1880s and 1890s there was an important intersection of labor, national, political, and religious interests for the still-prominent Irish Catholic community in Leeds.

This relationship between a concern for Irish issues and working-class politics would reach its pinnacle in the election of men of Irish descent to Parliament in various districts of West Yorkshire. Election reforms in the 1880s meant that new districts with significant Irish populations were given the opportunity to elect members of their own community to office.[154] The 1885 Redistribution of Seats Act created the constituency of East Leeds, which had a large Irish population. This coincided with the height of Charles Stewart Parnell's influence over Irish voters in Britain, and when he asked them in 1885 to return a Tory rather than a Liberal, East Leeds followed, only to throw the Tory out in 1886 for a Liberal MP.[155] East Leeds truly became a microcosm for the mobility and ascendancy of the Irish and their politicians in Britain, shown first with their influential voting, and later with the success of one of their own. In 1906, James O'Grady, born in Bristol to Irish parents, became Leeds' first Labour MP in the aforementioned district, and the party's only Roman Catholic. He combined working-class radicalism that had become entrenched in the Irish identity in Britain with a concern for Ireland's freedom, claiming, "We are the only white race under the British flag that has been denied the right of self government."[156] The coinciding of Home Rule with the enfranchisement of many working-class Irish produced a powerful and influential voting bloc that was not ignored by politicians in Celt-heavy West Yorkshire.

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[154] Owen Geenty a middle class Irishman, had served as a Liberal rep for the East Ward in the Leeds City Council during the 1860s and 1870s. Kennally, *Roscrea,* p. 128.
[155] E.D. Steele, "Imperialism and Leeds Politics, *c.* 1850-1914," Fraser (ed.) *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, 1980), p. 343.
[156] Quoted in E.D. Steele, "The Irish Presence in the North of England, 1850-1914," *Northern History* XII (1976), p. 241.

The study of political causes championed by the Irish in Britain from the 1840s through the early twentieth century is closely connected to the making of these immigrants and their descendents "respectable" in British society and politics. What began as isolated and violent attacks, which did as much harm to the Irish community as to the British institutions they targeted, gradually transformed into a voice in national politics. The British – while perhaps not truly comfortable with the idea of the Irish wielding influence in districts of West Yorkshire[157] – were nonetheless obligated to cater to their demands. While there were isolated incidents of violence in the twentieth century[158] and the omnipresent fear of IRA attack, for the most part the politics of the Irish and their descendents were respectable and working-class supportive rather than radical and nationalist. Using the evolution of Irish politics in Britain as a precedent and template, we will now turn to the Pakistanis, their involvement with politics, and British political reaction to their presence. While their actions and subsequent British reactions see many echoes of the West Yorkshire Irish, the divergences between the two communities are equally important.

Like the early antagonistic interplay between Fenians and far-right firebrands like Murphy, the Pakistanis would realize their own political power through the defense of their community against racists and violence. With Enoch Powell's influence, groups like the National Front would grow in strength during the 1970s, and take to marching in much the same way the Orange Order did over one hundred years before. In April 1976, the group marched through traditionally "black areas" of Bradford, with police protection. In June, after the murder of an Asian in Southall, the second generation of Pakistanis who had come of age in Britain

[157] Leeds Liberal leader James Kitson cited "Irish malice" as the cause of the community's changing political allegiances, and he was frustrated by their voting practices at the end of the nineteenth century. Steele, "Imperialism," p. 343.
[158] Bradford Catholics were implicated in an attack on a van used by advocates of contraception. Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity,* p. 118.

began to organize youth associations and defense committees. Bradford's groups included the Bradford Blacks, Bradford Asian Youth Movement, and the United Black Youth League.[159] What is important to recognize about these initial militant groups is their difference from the militant Islam that has become the face of West Yorkshire Pakistanis and their descendents in recent years. As Tariq Mehmood – who became the chairman of the Asian Youth Movement at sixteen – states in his second novel, *While There Is Light* (2003), "I was born again in England, a Paki at first, and an Asian later on, then a Black with pride and finally as a rebel who sought a different world, one where no one would have to go through what he had."[160] Militancy was a way to unify the anger and frustration of the second generation into positive action, and to find a place in Britain for Asians and West Indians who had seen their parents and themselves marginalized. This was in sharp contrast to the Irish, who found their lasting place in British society largely through engagement with British institutions like trade unions and the Labour Party. Once again, the respective years of entry must be taken into account for this distinction. The years of race relations politics that often bunched the non-white immigrants together under the banner of "black" may have worked to the Asians' and West Indians' advantages by creating an imagined shared identity and cohesion. The fact that the Institute for Race Relations was co-opted by "black" sociologists in the mid-1970s is an example of leaders using racial labels to their own advantage to project solidarity under one heading. The closest the Irish came to the Asian-Afro-Caribbean alliance was some cooperation with Jews in areas of particular

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[159] Sivanandan, "Resistance," p. 142.
[160] Tariq Mehmood, *Where There is Light* (Manchester, 2003), p. 38.

concentration such as Manchester or Leeds, but this was often due indirectly to housing patterns and when existent, was highly regional in nature.[161]

The local aspect of this thesis is of paramount importance when analyzing the competing groups that formed in the wake of Enoch Powell and like-minded white Britons: West Yorkshire was one of the most-affected regions of the country when it came to immigrant numbers, and there were therefore local anti-immigration groups with particular strength. The most well-known was the Yorkshire Campaign to Stop Immigration [YCSI] led by Jim Merrick, the "Bradford man's Enoch Powell."[162] Powell's influence on Merrick is appreciable: both were outraged by the Race Relations Act of 1968, and what it would mean to British private liberties in the name of "racial toleration" and "multiculturalism." Merrick chastised students at the University of Bradford for banning a speech to be given by Powell, and when the notorious leader did come to the city in 1969 to speak in front of Conservatives, he stated "You in Bradford have shared with us in Wolverhampton and with other people of certain towns and cities what until recently was a private grief."[163] However, what makes Merrick an integral part of this study is his distinct regional nature: whereas Powell must be considered as much for his influence on parliamentary politics as his impact on Wolverhampton race relations, Merrick and the YCSI saw their influence in the industrial towns of West Yorkshire and at times, East

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[161] "The Jews and the Catholics in Manchester were in the same ghetto in the north, Cheetham Hill Road, and they were very much sympathetic towards each other as minorities… One of the great Jewish heroes of the post-war years, as far as we were concerned, was Leslie Lever, a Labour MP who had grown up in St. Edmund's parish amongst the Irish. He was also Lord Mayor of Manchester and made a great issue of being pro-catholic/Irish. He used to head the catholic parade…. He was considered the "Mr Fixit' for the catholics." Anne Higgins, quoted in Lennon, *Across,* p. 147.
[162] Stuart Bentley, "Merrick and the British Campaign to Stop Immigration: populist racism and political influence," *Race Class* 36.3 (1995), p. 61. Mr. Merrick had entered public office as a Bradford Conservative city councilor in 1968, and founded the YCSI in June 1970.
[163] Enoch Powell, quoted Bentley, "Merrick," p. 62.

Lancashire. Merrick lost his Bradford city council seat in the 1970 elections, but his sights were set on the May 1971 local by-elections for YCSI success. Although the YCSI also lost here, Merrick was confident that he had pushed his Conservative rival candidate to take a stronger stance on immigration than the party had previously done. Merrick found a Yorkshire ally in John Briggs of Huddersfield, a solicitor who had endorsed thirteen National Front candidates in the city's 1970 local elections, showing a growing alignment of Conservative and NF interests in West Yorkshire. Only two months after the YCSI's loss in the by-election, the party managed to poll 15% of the vote in the municipal elections, and sensing that support was sufficient for a nation-wide movement, they changed their name to the British Campaign to Stop Immigration [BCSI].[164]

However, the BCSI would still see its only true successes in the industrial North. In October 1972 Merrick became Rochdale's BCSI candidate for Parliament, although his receiving of less than 10% of the vote demonstrated that public opinion was not as supportive of his stance as previously thought. Although the populist, emotional draw of Merrick was on the downturn, he nonetheless managed to secure his greatest victory as late as May 1975, when he received 28.7% of the vote in the Bradford Moor ward, although this was still not enough for municipal election.[165] Merrick, like Powell, is better appreciated as a symbol and catalyst rather than a figure of great individual political power. Like Powell, he gave the conservatives of West Yorkshire direction and purpose as they saw the cities they had known before New Commonwealth immigration transform in appearance and character. He also had significant effect on the issues taken up by the major political parties in West Yorkshire and East Lancashire, who realized that both immigration and the concerns of the immigrant communities

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[164] Ibid., p. 65.
[165] Le Lohé, "Effects," p. 201.

were vital issues in their region. The Pakistanis of towns such as Bradford, Huddersfield, and Rochdale were an important presence in certain constituencies, and like the Irish before them, they would make their community-specific demands heard in local elections, gradually resulting in their own political agency.

The earliest political action from the Pakistani community was largely related to issues affecting their homeland, just as the Irish had found strength in a continued commitment to Home Rule. The 1971 Bangladeshi war had ramifications in West Yorkshire communities: in 1971 the Mosque Committee urged Pakistanis to vote against the Bangladeshi who was contesting the leadership of the Manningham ward, successfully blocking their Muslim rival's bid.[166] In the 1972 by-election in Rochdale, the Pakistani electorate supported the Liberal candidate over Labour, one of the reasons being that Labour had supported India in 1971.[167] Political and regional allegiances from the Subcontinent were just as important as current events in influencing West Yorkshire Pakistanis: the Pakistani People's Party ran a campaign in Bradford in 1970, with its Manningham candidate, Mr. Nawaz, managing 11.2% of the vote based on a very narrow platform.[168] Like East Leeds for the Irish, Manningham was a microcosm of racial, regional, and religious politics for the Pakistani immigrant community. Labour consistently nominated a Bengali in the ward, who was always defeated, showing that for an Asian candidate to succeed it was imperative that they be Pakistani or at least be sympathetic to the concerns of this influential bloc.[169] In 1971 when the district returned a Conservative candidate rather than a Bangladeshi, it bore a striking resemblance to Parnell's demand that East Leeds return a Tory rather than a Liberal as a part of the Home Rule cause.

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[166] McLoughlin, "Writing," p. 117.
[167] Anwar, *Myth*, pp. 139-41.
[168] Le Lohé, "Effects," p. 197.
[169] Ibid., p. 196.

Rochdale is also interesting in the way Pakistanis influenced the city's parliamentary elections, especially in 1972. That year, two Asians ran and one was elected in the municipal elections, but it is in the MP election that one can see the influence of the Pakistani electorate that mirrored the nationwide importance of the "Irish vote" in the 1880s. Cyril Smith – who would go on to serve as MP for Rochdale for twenty years – had met with the Pakistani community to discuss issues that were close to them, along with vocally condemning Merrick.[170] His interracial campaigning would lead to further successes, including a win in the 1974 general election, and 50% of Rochdale Asians voting Liberal – a party of diminished relevance on the national stage – in 1979, a fact that can be attributed to Smith's popularity.[171] Together, Rochdale and Bradford demonstrate the effects of directed immigration to regions of Britain beyond aesthetic transformations of neighborhood: these areas allowed their immigrant residents to consolidate their local political power and transform this into an influential bloc that had an impact on national elections. What began as issues specific to Pakistan, or specific to the Pakistani community in Britain, evolved into a voice that had to be taken into account by British MPs. Merrick pushed those candidates who were close to his ideology to take more stringent approaches to immigration, while the Pakistani community in turn pushed those liberal British to be accepting and responsive to the immigrant communities whom they theoretically supported in the public sphere. While "multicultural Britain" was for much of the non-urban country still an abstract idea, it was made tangible in areas like West Yorkshire. Regional political agency and influence were the ways in which Pakistanis and their children received long-lasting national relevance. Precedent, however, must be given to the Irish communities in these areas, who with their specific demands and interests helped introduce the idea of racial and religious lobbying as

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[170] Ibid., pp. 139-41.
[171] Ibid., p. 166.

a cornerstone of multicultural British politics. But the Irish in West Yorkshire gradually integrated into mainstream political avenues, while one of the defining characteristics of the Pakistanis in this region is the importance they continued to place on their community's own religious and cultural demands independent of British society. The importance of this difference will be the concluding point of this thesis.

The Honeyford Affair, and the attention it brought to West Yorkshire, showed how issues of education, religion, political interests, and the general state of "multicultural Britain" affected Pakistani immigrants and their local communities at the end of our period of study. It saw the intersection of various tension-creating factors, which gave it its lasting importance: Pakistani Muslim empowerment combined with a trend towards conservative values went up against white conservative exasperations over the diversification and ethnic lobbying in Bradford's municipal politics.

In 1985, Muhammed Ajeeb of Bradford became the first Asian to be elected Lord Mayor in the UK. Hailing from Mirpur, he represented both the upward mobility of a portion of the Pakistani immigrants in the city, and the extent to which they could succeed in areas of Britain that had particularly high numbers of their countrymen. When Kureishi interviewed Ajeeb, the mayor acknowledged the fact that although he would want to stand as a parliamentary candidate, he knew he would not be offered a constituency, and in the civic arena he was helping his minority peers gain their own political power.[172] In terms of racial problems, the 1980s had not started auspiciously for Bradford: in 1981, in the wake of the Brixton and Southall riots, similar disturbances arose not only in Bradford, but in Huddersfield, Halifax, Blackburn, Preston, Leeds,

[172] Kureishi, "Bradford," p. 137.

and Sheffield.[173] In July the "Bradford Twelve" – one of whom was Tariq Mehmood – were arrested after a discovery of petrol bombs in their possession, fueling the argument that British Asians were becoming uncontrollably violent. This same year, the Bradford Council for Mosques [BCM] was formed, working as an umbrella organization that would unite all Muslims in an attempt to voice religious demands. The founding of this coalition speaks to the way in which Islam in Bradford had become integrated into the city's economic and political fabric by the early 1980s: Sher Azam, a role model in the local community who owned a successful supermarket and cash and carry business, was involved in the BCM from the beginning. In addition, the city council gave the BCM funding at its outset, showing local government support for an organization that instead of fragmenting the religious community, would hopefully make it more unified and allow for constructive interfacing with the "white" population of Bradford.[174]

On the side of the community at-large, the severest strains at work in the early 1980s were in the realm of education. The Council took stances on education that were seen by many as conciliatory to the Muslim lobbying groups like the BCM: they approved the serving of *halal* meat in schools, and introduced "Race Awareness Training" [RAT] that was meant to encourage understanding between white teachers and Asian pupils, but instead sent a message of provocative displeasure over the actions of educators in the city.[175] In 1983, the city had accepted a new religious education syllabus that incorporated Bradford's five main religions –

[173] Sivanandan, "Resistance," p. 149.
[174] P. Lewis, *Islamic*, p. 145-6. Lewis makes clear the separation between funding for Bradford Muslim organizations and the worldwide Islamic economic boom in the 1980s (Saudi Arabia). "Very little of the fabled petrodollar wealth of the Arab countries finds its way into Bradford mosques either." Ibid., p. 124. Local success stories such as Azam and local or government grants were the primary methods of funding.
[175] Murphy, *Tales*, p. 109.

Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, and Sikhism.[176] However, that same year the Bradford school system received bad publicity when a former headmaster in the city, Stanley Garnett, joined the BNP. There was a difficult contradiction in place: on the one hand official policy appeared to be embracing "multicultural" initiatives that used the public sphere of education as a place to celebrate cultural diversity, while underneath there was significant pushback from those whites in Bradford who had experience working in the city's schools. In addition, the Council seemed to be capitulating to demands from Muslim leaders, distressing the white population who saw what was once merely a rise in immigrant population becoming a political voice that drowned out the British local establishment.

All these events worked as a lead-up to Honeyford. As the head teacher at Drummond Middle School in Manningham, which had 95% children of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin, Mr. Honeyford came under attack in 1984-5 after writing a series of articles in the *Times Educational Supplement* and the conservative *Salisbury Review.* His original stance towards education in Britain, as expressed through the press, had included the opinion that instead of a "multicultural" education, a British or Eurocentric approach was needed so the descendents of immigrants would become integrated into the society at-large. He made clear distinctions between the private matter of transmission of culture and the job of English secular schools, which was to teach an "English" curriculum. He saw this as the only way that second-generation immigrants could compete on equal terms with their white counterparts.[177] While leaning slightly to the right, these were fairly harmless remarks. The issue that prompted the "affair" was his fifth article, where he moved beyond his vision of British education, and into criticisms of the Pakistani lifestyle, including but not limited to likening the accent of one of the Bradford parents to a Peter

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[176] P. Lewis, "Arenas," p. 136.
[177] Halstead, *Education*, pp. 57-8.

Sellers's imitation.[178] The increasing level of vehemence and racialist attitudes in his articles erased any merit in earlier statements, and instead prompted parents and the local government to take action.

The BCM was one of the organizers in the Honeyford protest. They had previously taken up issues like *halal* meat in schools, but the complicated issues brought up by Honeyford showed significant cracks in a "pan-Muslim" identity in Bradford. The amount of militancy that was necessary, for example, was under debate, along with the right of the BCM to speak for all Muslims in the city. More left-leaning groups, such as the Asian Youth Movement and the Indian Workers Association still held weight in Bradford, and a strong case could be made that they were more equipped to go up against Honeyford than the BCM. When talking to Chowdhury Khan, president of the BCM, Kureishi had found that his views were based in traditional, conservatives values that although had an Asian context, were not far from Honeyford.[179] Mayor Ajeeb argued that Honeyford and his supporters were using the rhetoric of "culture" "religion" and "nationhood" as a fig leaf for their true intentions of preserving a white society.[180] Could it not also be argued, that conservative religious leaders like those that headed the BCM were likewise using the ideas of religion and tradition to uphold an idea of Pakistani culture that was not relevant to the second generation in Bradford who saw themselves as much British as Pakistani?

The dominant anti-Honeyford force ended up being the Drummond Parents' Action Committee [DPAC] who were able to garner more grassroots, education-specific, and multiracial support than the religious and social hierarchy represented by the BCM. Although leader Jenny

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[178] Ibid., p. 61.
[179] Kureishi, "Bradford," p. 134.
[180] Ibid., p. 137.

Woodward did participate in a meeting of representatives from the BCM, the Council's education department, and the Council for Race Relations, the lasting image of this group is one of antagonism and their imagined autonomous action against Honeyford. They were not cooperative with the Council because they saw it as being too conciliatory with Honeyford: the Council gave the teacher six-months leave in October 1984 to rethink his position vis-à-vis the school and community, followed by a vote of no confidence and a suspension in the spring of 1985, which was nonetheless significantly egged-on by action from the DPAC.[181] That fall he was reinstated by the Council to the outrage of the DPAC, and the announcement that Honeyford would retire at the end of 1985 was a product of attrition more than anything. Honeyford appeared to recede as an active player and become more of a symbol of either what was right about the reassertion of "Britishness" in education, or what was wrong about a continued intolerance towards ethnic diversity. The true conflict was between those bodies that controlled education policy and those that voiced the specific concerns of Pakistani Muslims in Bradford.

The issues that the Affair brought to the surface were not merely about the future of British education, what place religion had in schools and the public sphere, or even how those who espoused "racialist" views and held positions of leadership should be punished; it was truly about what constituted being "British" in 1985. Honeyford's comments that championed a "British" curriculum and perspective in schools miss the point of what that national identity comprised. Since large-scale Irish immigration began in the mid-nineteenth century, it can be argued that British society – especially in West Yorkshire – was continually influenced and molded by the strides made by those who were not traditionally British. Pluralism in education and religion trace their roots back to these years, and helped lay the groundwork of the society

[181] Murphy, *Tales*, pp. 118-21.

that the Pakistanis in turn reshaped in the postwar years. Likewise, the anti-Honeyford group tends to see the Muslim community of Bradford as one entity with like images of their role in the city's society. However, creative voices from Khan-Din to Mehmood, along with serious divisions along regional or religious lines demonstrate that it may be as hard to define "British Muslim" as it is to define "British." The Punjabi Mubarik Iqbal was one of Honeyford's *supporters* in the mid-1980s and claimed that he had "little time for Murpuris,"[182] showing the issue in no way unified Pakistani Muslim political thought. Varying levels of piety and radicalism, along with the distinct phases of immigration and differences along gender lines, led to similar divisions in the Irish community of West Yorkshire. Each group – although it is tempting to lump them together as "Pakistani" or "Irish" as a foil to "British" – must be recognized as much for their internal differences that evolved during their tenure in the UK as for any instances of solidarity that brought them together as influential subsections of "multicultural Britain."

The tracing of both Irish and Pakistani political action from their often-violent beginnings to their more respectable pinnacles show the tensions that existed within each of these ethnic and religious groups that make defining their positions in Britain a difficult task. The lessening of religion as a motivator in Irish Catholic political allegiance distinguished them from Pakistani Muslims; but it must also be recognized that not all Muslims of Pakistani descent in Britain – especially up to 1985 – were as fundamentalist as popular culture or the media wish to present them in the post-Rushdie UK. It is true that this thesis does not cover perhaps the *full* trajectory of the politicization of Pakistani Muslims as it might for Irish Catholics, but the experience of the former still finds many roots in that of the latter: regional concentration in British cities was

[182] Halstead, *Education*, p. 128. Murphy, *Tales*, p. 137.

imperative to achieving political agency, alongside a partial integration into mainstream British politics that sustained interest in the demands of the ethnic group. Subtle influences were at work to bring not only their methods of gaining agency closer together, but show continuities in British reactions to their consolidated local power.

The physical development of slums begun by Irish peasants and continued by Pakistani workers produced concentrated districts that put popular pressure on the policies of British MPs, along with fostering homegrown political agency. The groundwork laid by the Irish in corners of West Yorkshire, such as East Leeds, concerning the radical politics of trade unionism and community-specific issues would see its full evolution with the unique politics of areas like Manningham, where the "minority as majority" phenomenon gave real weight to a racial group that nation-wide made up only a small fraction of the population. The use of education as a gateway to broader religious and ethnic political concerns was a tactic established with the Irish. The British public's disapproval over minority religious demands also continued from the Victorian Irish to the modern Pakistanis: protesters of the Maynooth grant and Honeyford supporters were angered by instances of perceived preferential treatment given to minority groups that challenged a collective religious – or later secular – identity. Religion was irreconcilably linked with ethnicity and race for the "white" British contingent of West Yorkshire towns: regardless of the way in which religion waxed and waned as a central part of political demands for these two groups, the British construction of its danger to factionalize was fairly constant.

However, change over time must be acknowledged for both the Irish and the Pakistanis, and the difficulty of comparing the politics and concerns of the initial immigrants with their children and grandchildren. Issues of Ireland were not as pressing for the twentieth-century Irish

in Britain as they had been for their grandparents, with some descendents perhaps believing that, "the Romans had always seemed more real to [them] than the IRA and the Free State."[183] Likewise the serving of *halal* meat in schools and the ability for girls to wear track pants in gym were more pressing for the Pakistanis in the 1980s than for parents in the 1950s and 1960s – with a larger, diversified community comes more demands. This is yet another instance of the Irish community becoming more "British" while the Pakistanis were concurrently seeing themselves as ethnic and religious "others," therefore putting their political evolutions on very different routes. The continuities in British objection to and discomfort with minority groups' political demands highlight the merit in comparing the Irish and Pakistanis *in spite* of differences between their communities and their respective evolutions over time; the permanency of race, religion, and class as signifiers of dangerous difference within West Yorkshire society and politics brought these two ethnic groups closer together than their own experiences actually suggest.

[183] Braine, *Jealous*, p. 48.

Conclusion

> "It struck him that it would be as well in the next period with the Sixth to point out the analogy between [the Pakistani immigrants], absolutely alien in their whole way of life, and the Irish immigrants who came to this very district with the railways and the Great Famine… no doubt one of the little devils would point out that *their* ancestors weren't black and weren't Mohammedans and, unless he were very careful there'd be a pointless and time-wasting discussion about the colour bar."[184]

The character of Vincent Dungarvan, trapped in the sometimes-oppressive universe of a West Yorkshire Catholic community, continues in the fictional vein established in the introduction to this thesis that brought together the Irish and the Pakistanis for interaction or comparison. These two groups hold a special place in literature and film for the British public, especially in the postcolonial years: their exotic religions and cultures are in contrast to the "English" way of life, and their immigration to Great Britain directly brought the legacies of Empire back to the mother country. This thesis, however, has endeavored to demonstrate that comparing these two groups in a rigorous, empirical manner creates a more nuanced understanding of their experience in Britain, and in turn how the British public adapted to waves of immigration from the mid-nineteenth century on. Beyond fictional works, academic writing has hypothetically put forward points of comparison between the two groups,[185] yet failed to examine adequately their experience beyond narrow religious or poverty similarities. Also underdeveloped are the reactions from and effects upon the West Yorkshire community *as a whole.* The host cities are the too-often-neglected third side of this multicultural triangle: although the ethnicity and

[184] Ibid., p. 17.

[185] "Soon after arriving in Manningham I realized that these people are quite extraordinarily like Irish Roman Catholics; between them they create an intangible yet powerful *something* in the atmosphere that is still to be found in rural Ireland… it seems the experience of having been for centuries an impoverished, backward agricultural region/country, dominated by touch neighbours and dependent on religious consolations and certainties, fosters the same type of rigid, fervent faith, with much emphasis on traditional taboos, ritual devotional practices and superstitious customs." Murphy, *Tales*, p. 24. P. Lewis, "Arenas," p. 127.

religion of the migrants to the area may have changed, the Yorkshire working class with whom they came in direct contact was a relative constant throughout the time period studied.

A case that can be made against the merit of an Irish/Pakistani comparative study is the extent to which these two groups differed significantly from any other migrant group to any other community or country: poverty, cultural difference, and a hostile host community are aspects of immigration that go beyond the Irish and the Pakistanis in West Yorkshire. However, the colonial ties that each shared with Britain, their direct interactions with a very specific industry in a specific region, alien religions, and the complicated views about race that the British public held towards both the Irish and Pakistanis work to isolate these two ethnicities as worthy of an in-depth comparison. The Pakistanis were truly the inheritors of the "dirty and dangerous" stock immigrant figure that was created with the Irish, and fulfilled its characteristics more so than the Jews, Eastern Europeans, or the West Indians (especially in West Yorkshire). The ways in which similarities between the two groups were real – or ways in which they were enhanced by the local community's reaction to their presence – is evidence supporting the permanency of class, race, and religion as defining characteristics of immigrant groups in Britain.

When isolating the Irish in Britain, and what can be learned about their experience through a direct comparison with the Pakistanis, it becomes clear that this is a more useful exercise for the twentieth-century immigrants than for those of the Famine. A visible class connection was established between these two ethnic groups as a result of the limitations put on their job and housing opportunities. The similarities between the Irish and the Pakistanis cannot be *overemphasized*, however. The earliest Celts had carved out a place for Irish Catholics in the culture and politics of West Yorkshire, be it labor issues or Hibernian clubs, therefore the

postwar Irish were provided with institutions and organizations that were more established than those that the Pakistanis developed during the 1960s and 1970s. The obvious assimilators of language and skin color created the widest chasm between the Irish and the Pakistanis. The Irish in many ways *envied* the more concrete differences between these Asians and the British, for in the twentieth century they were finding it increasingly difficult to assert their culture in the same way the Famine Irish had done.[186] The Pakistanis worked as a gauge that reminded the Irish – sometimes with sorrow – how far they had strayed from their culture, and how easy it was to get lost in a British identity that increasingly identified itself as "white" vs. "colored." Looking back to the original Irish and the extent to which they were isolated from the larger West Yorkshire community, along with considering the Pakistanis who inherited this segregation, the twentieth-century Irish appear to be a group in flux. Religion was lessening as a central aspect of their lives as they integrated into the secular state, their position on the cusp of the working and middle classes made it hard to put them in any one social category, and their varied places of residence meant that the slums which had been integral to the community of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries no longer defined the social circles in which they moved. There was a sort of "myth of return" that was prompted both by looking to their ancestors' experiences *and* to the New Commonwealth immigrants, for they yearned for a sense of belonging that was difficult to consolidate in their more dispersed community.

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[186] "Some Irish people – you can't even tell when they speak that they're Irish. They lose their dialect and everything. You can't tell them apart. Whereas other ethnic groups, like the Asians, they're different. The way I look at it, I get on the bus, or I'm in the shop, or in the post office and I can hear those people talking away in their own language. God, they're lucky! They've got a real identity; not only the colour of their skin, but they've got their language as well. You can't blame the Irish people, the ordinary Irish person for the loss of their language. You've got to blame this country. They did away with it. They rubbed it out, as well as trying to rub the culture out. We've got to keep the culture alive." Noreen Hill, quoted in Lennon, *Across*, p. 101.

The Pakistanis were more directly influenced by the actions of the Irish, especially in the realm of agency as an ethnic and religious group, and subsequent autonomy within West Yorkshire cities. For one, religion as an important initial spark of political action was a precedent taken from the Irish. The parish system and groups like the BCM showed the organizational power of the religious hierarchy in these two communities, and the way in which religion went beyond the church or the mosque to unite each group. They expanded to education in particular, and the right to instruct the second generation of immigrants and beyond in the beliefs of Catholicism or Islam. This first created the idea of being "culturally Catholic," an especially popular character trait in the works of John Braine or Mary Patterson. The centrality of the mosque as a social and political force likewise shows that the "religion" and "culture" of the Pakistani Muslims were not easily separated. "Irish" and "Catholic" became conflated as the diasporic community became farther removed from the homeland, just as "Pakistani" and "Muslim" would in later years. These religions, and the way in which they were transmitted through education, became an important way that first the Irish and then the Pakistanis created an insular and self-renewing community that was separate from British society in general.

From these religious foundations arose political agency. To understand the Honeyford Affair, mosque rivalries, or politics based upon regional differences, one must return to nineteenth-century debates that concerned similar issues for the Irish. The homeland and political interests in their new British communities were irreconcilably bound for the Pakistanis and the Irish, setting the two groups apart from other immigrants. Just as the Irish had been appalled at British refusals to honor their Catholic religion[187] – fueling the rise of their own

[187] Select Committee on Poor Relief found that Bradford guardians refused to administer last rites to dying Catholic girl in the workhouse. Steele, "Irish," p. 228. A letter published in the

schools and political demands in the realm of education – Pakistanis consolidated political pressure after the perceived attack by Honeyford on Pakistani Muslim lifestyles. Mosque and political rivalries dependant on sect or regional tensions were products of the strong ties between Pakistani society and its transmission to British cities – likewise the political passion of Home Rulers in Leeds or Bradford was based on the affinity that the Irish immigrants still felt towards Éire and its plight. However, these concerns were much more secular for the Irish, whereas religion had a lasting importance for the Pakistanis, especially as they combated the British secular state. By looking to the Irish, Pakistani political agency based in religion and ethnicity cannot be viewed as merely a part of a worldwide Muslim revival[188] or an anomaly that was unique to Bradford Pakistani Muslims, but instead part of local tradition among immigrants to West Yorkshire. The Irish give the Pakistanis context on the local level and create a more nuanced vision of their motivations and methods, which were based on the historical precedents of how Irish immigrants had politically engaged with their West Yorkshire communities.

Finally, a comparison of the Irish and Pakistanis in West Yorkshire has done much to illuminate our understanding of the local community and its changing – or in many cases entrenched – views towards immigration. However, there were important temporal differences that must be taken into account when utilizing these two immigrant groups to explain British reactions towards newcomers. For one there is the important colonial vs. postcolonial lens that shifted from the Famine Irish to the postwar Irish and Pakistanis. The desire for Commonwealth unity and goodwill on the national level was an important development in the 1950s, one that was not present in the colonial ties with Ireland in the 1840s. While the changes in policy from

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Leeds Times in 1840 claimed that at the National School the Catholic children were forced to learn the Church of England catechism or be punished accordingly. Kennally, "Roscrea," p. 123.
[188] McLoughlin, "Mosques," p. 1049.

the national government are significant, in many cases the local reception did little to fall in line with these advances. Groups from Murphy supporters and Orangemen, to the YCSI showed the importance of locally organized anti-immigrant protest that continued from the Victorian to the postwar years. The idea of "Little England" remained relevant in sections of West Yorkshire, in many ways prompted by the postcolonial realities of mass migration. The liberal, national rhetoric on newcomers that was concurrent with regional conflict in West Yorkshire demonstrates the importance of local studies in highlighting discrepancies in British opinions on immigration and race.

Another vital difference was the gradual secularizing of the state, and the fact that the alien religions of the Irish and the Pakistanis would be received differently in the 1840s as compared to the mid- to late-twentieth century. The threat posed to the Church of England by Roman Catholicism lessened, and in its place was the fear that the specific religious demands of Pakistani immigrants would undermine the British State. This was felt most acutely on the local level in West Yorkshire, where particular concentrations of Pakistani immigrants seemed to overpower civic institutions like state schools and the Council. Perhaps one of the reasons that the Irish had assimilated more readily than their Pakistani counterparts in the mid-twentieth century was that their religious ideas fell more in line with the position taken by the British government: the Church of England subsided as a major political force and component of "Englishness" as Catholicism also relinquished its tight grip on Irish immigrants. Conversely, Islam became a method with which Pakistanis continued to assert their autonomy within the British socio-political system.

Finally, the state of the economy – and textiles in particular – varied the working class reception to these two immigrant groups. The Irish entered a competitive job market in the

nineteenth century, when workers from the hinterlands flowed into cities like Bradford, Leeds, and Huddersfield, while the Pakistanis were generally attracted to these same areas as they were *losing* British population. Therefore the danger that the Irish posed as workers was long-lasting in the eyes of the British, and there were negative connotations of them as a class. The Pakistanis, on the other hand, were seen as more culturally alien, and eventually religiously dangerous. The roots of discrimination and anger from the British community were therefore different as a result of period of entry for these groups: it would be too simplistic to attribute like working-class attitudes towards the Irish and the Pakistanis, for the changes in industry from the 1840s to the postwar years elicited different responses to foreign workers.

Despite these vital discrepancies in time period, this thesis has still highlighted important continuities in local reception of immigrants. Race, and its continued salience as a definition of "British" against the "other" is an issue that both these groups help to draw out, although the definition of race changed with time. While the Irish as "black" had significant longevity for the West Yorkshire community, as brought out by the fictional accounts of David Storey and the Irish as the butt of racial jokes, the stock figure of the immigrant was nonetheless "colored" by the 1960s. Reactions from immigrants to this racial stereotyping were different from each group: while the Irish never embraced being "black" as a label put on by the British, many (especially young) Pakistanis eventually reclaimed the term to assert their own power as a racial group. For the Irish, racial difference was manifested through class and cultural methods, whereas the Pakistanis confronted racialism head-on in a political and militant manner.

The British continued to define themselves as opposed to people who were first colonial subjects, and then postcolonial members of the Commonwealth, and this had tremendous bearing on their interaction with immigrants. The advent of race relations – while intending to foster

understanding – still pigeonholed each group into one identity, and meant that "race" rather than "ethnicity" was the mode in which these reactions and perceptions to newcomers were formed in the 1960s and 1970s. Ethnic characteristics of the Yorkshire Irish that have been shown in this thesis to have distinguished their community within a larger British identity – cultural heritage, the Catholic religion, denominational schooling, etc. – were lost behind rhetoric that placed New Commonwealth immigrants as the minority group in need of study and attention by virtue of their skin color. Therefore the Irish were basically undermined as a separate group, while Pakistanis were put into a larger definition of "black." Creative literature and first-hand accounts demonstrate, however, that the Irish were still trying to reclaim a culture of their own, which was not fostered by British sociologists. The British saw the Irish as "black" in terms of the class they occupied, yet there was still little appreciation of their ethnically different culture from proponents of multiculturalism on the Left. The study of the Irish and the Pakistanis demonstrates in which ways the British were selective in their definition of "racially different," and shows the relative lack of tolerance and understanding from the colonial to the postcolonial mindset: the centrality of race remained, which meant that tolerance of the Irish was hindered both by their being "black" in the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, then by not being "black" in its multicultural, New Commonwealth context that included Pakistanis.

This thesis has shown the continuing miscommunication between how the Irish or the Pakistanis viewed themselves, and what was in turn perceived by the British community at-large. Stressing important points of similarity between the Irish and Pakistanis – colonial ties, race, religion, and class – that also dictated their reception from the British perspective, suggest that immigration to West Yorkshire was still viewed through lenses that had only been slightly advanced from their nineteenth-century origins to fit with the changes from Empire to

Commonwealth. The “time-wasting discussion” that was feared by John Braine’s main character has instead produced a fruitful analysis of how certain stalwarts of “otherness” in British national identity stayed relatively constant even as this identity changed. These same signifiers of uniqueness within British society, which were in many cases developed with Irish Catholics in mind, saw continuity and enhancement with Pakistani Muslims. West Yorkshire, with its historic periods of immigration, is an ideal case study for a thesis of this kind. It gives tangible evidence and experience to a connection which could easily be relegated to theoretical discussions: when the Irish grocer became the Pakistani grocer, the Irish boarding house became the Pakistani boarding house, the Irish Catholic on the city council became a Pakistani Muslim, and the streets that had been the stomping grounds of Orangemen saw the marches of the National Front, it illustrated that an ethnic transformation was altering the face of West Yorkshire, although the immigrant nature of the city remained the same.

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