

**Reading the local paper:
Social and cultural functions of the local press in
Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900**

by

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Student Declaration

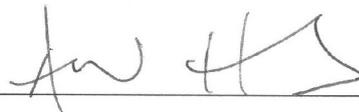
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ABSTRACT

This thesis demonstrates that the most popular periodical genre of the second half of the nineteenth century was the provincial newspaper. Using evidence from news rooms, libraries, the trade press and oral history, it argues that the majority of readers (particularly working-class readers) preferred the local press, because of its faster delivery of news, and because of its local and localised content. Building on the work of Law and Potter, the thesis treats the provincial press as a national network and a national system, a structure which enabled it to offer a more effective news distribution service than metropolitan papers.

Taking the town of Preston, Lancashire, as a case study, this thesis provides some background to the most popular local publications of the period, and uses the diaries of Preston journalist Anthony Hewitson as a case study of the career of a local reporter, editor and proprietor. Three examples of how the local press consciously promoted local identity are discussed: Hewitson's remoulding of the *Preston Chronicle*, the same paper's changing treatment of Lancashire dialect, and coverage of professional football. These case studies demonstrate some of the local press content that could not practically be provided by metropolitan publications. The 'reading world' of this provincial town is reconstructed, to reveal the historical circumstances in which newspapers and the local paper in particular were read. Evidence from readers demonstrates the many ways in which they used the local press, both collectively and individually, including its use in sustaining local identities and sense of place. However, the local press was only one factor among many in the development and sustenance of local identities.

The originality of the thesis lies in its introduction of empirical reading evidence into English newspaper history, its challenge to the taken-for-granted but problematic concepts of 'local' and 'national' newspapers in this period, its detailed study of the journalistic techniques used to capitalise on local patriotism, and its critique of many theories of nineteenth-century press history which have been based on a minority of the period's newspapers, those published in London.

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Abbreviations

19CBLN	19th Century British Library Newspapers online
DNCJ	<i>Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism</i>
ER	'Social and Family Life in Preston, 1890-1940'; 'Social life in Barrow and Lancaster, 1870-1925', transcripts of Recorded Interviews, Elizabeth Roberts Archive, Lancaster University Library
Harris	Community History Library, Harris Library, Preston
HD	Hewitson diaries
LEP	<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>
LDP	<i>Lancashire Daily Post</i>
LRO	Lancashire Record Office
NPD	<i>Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory</i>
O'N	J.O'Neil [ed.M.Brigg], <i>The Journals of a Lancashire Weaver: 1856-60, 1860-64, 1872-75</i> (Chester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1982).
PC	<i>Preston Chronicle</i>
PG	<i>Preston Guardian</i>
PH	<i>Preston Herald</i>
PP	<i>Preston Pilot</i>
PR	<i>Printers' Register</i>
WC	Winckley Club
WD	<i>Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals</i> online

PART A: INTRODUCTION

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY LOCAL PRESS

'The country newspaper is essentially a thing of the past,' Mortimer Collins wrote in 1863. 'We suspect that the days will soon arrive when there will, with an exception or two, be no country newspapers in England; when London will supply all the journalism of the kingdom.'¹ From the 1840s to the 1860s, 'it looked as if the Press of London was about to supersede and suppress the Press of the Provinces,' Charles Pebody wrote in 1882.² The perceived threat came first from the railways, whisking London papers to the provinces, then from roving reporters and the electric telegraph, gathering provincial news and sending it back to those same metropolitan publications.

Yet these predictions did not come true. Instead, the aggregate of local and regional newspapers outsold metropolitan titles from the early 1860s until the 1930s (although the highest-selling individual London titles such as the *Daily Telegraph* and *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* sold more copies than any single provincial title).³ Between the repeal of Stamp Duty in 1855 and the launch of the Northern edition of the *Daily Mail* in 1900, readers - particularly working-class readers and others with a stake in their locality or place of origin - clearly preferred the local press.⁴ For most of the population, provincial newspapers were not on the fringes of nineteenth-century print culture, but at the very heart of it. As the provincial newspaper industry contracts in the early twenty-first century, its popularity in the past can once more be seen as contingent and problematic, rather than taken for granted.⁵ This thesis will examine why local

¹ M.Collins, 'Country Newspapers', *Temple Bar*, 10, December, 1863, pp.128, 141. Frederick Knight Hunt had wished for something similar 12 years earlier, when he suggested a tax regime under which 'papers emanating from large towns, such as London, Manchester and Liverpool ... would circulate all over the country': M.-L.Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: the Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp.32-33. See also Anon, 'The British Newspaper: The Penny Theory and Its Solution', *Dublin University Magazine*, 61, 363, March, 1863, p.371. For the contingency of the local press, see B.Harrison, "'A World of Which We Had No Conception", Liberalism and the English Temperance Press: 1830-1872', *Victorian Studies*, 13, 2, 1969, p.145.

² C.Pebody, *English Journalism, and the Men Who Have Made It* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & co, 1882), pp.155, 160, 162-64.

³ N.Kaldor and R.Silverman, *A Statistical Analysis of Advertising Expenditure and of the Revenue of the Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), cited in J.Curran, 'Media and the Making of British Society, c.1700-2000', *Media History* 8, 2, 2002, p.145.

⁴ 'My father [a teacher] ... never dreamt of taking anything but our morning penny paper, which was then a very dignified organ of [Bradford] opinion': J.B. Priestley, 'An Outpost' in T.M. Pope (ed), *The Book of Fleet Street* (London: Cassell, 1930), p.174.

⁵ The provincial press is currently moving from localised to centralised operation, as in the combined 'content management' of the Plymouth *Western Morning News* and the Bristol *Western Daily Press*, 130 miles apart: 'Regional mornings to merge content desks', *Hold The*

newspapers were so widely read in the second half of the nineteenth century and will analyse what role, if any, the local press played in creating, sustaining or developing local identity or sense of place.

This thesis argues that local newspapers were more significant to most readers than metropolitan papers such as the *Times*. Producers and readers of the local press wove this rapidly developing phenomenon into English society, politics and culture, at the individual, local and national level. Recognition of the centrality of the local press will help us to see the importance of place in print culture, and to redraw the cultural map for the second half of the nineteenth century, shifting the emphasis from London's dominance to a more nuanced, complex picture, in which thousands of local centres processed and passed news and ideas to and fro, sometimes via the metropolis but often independently. Further, as Aled Jones and Patrick Joyce have noted, the local press was engaged in an explicit project of promoting local identity, or appealing to local patriotism.⁶ This thesis examines the newspaper techniques deployed in this project, and shows that readers responded to the local aspects of these newspapers and periodicals, and sometimes used the local press to confirm communal and individual local identities.

Taking the Lancashire town of Preston as a case study, this thesis will gather the traces left by local newspaper readers, in the records of reading places such as news rooms and libraries, in letters to the editor, diaries, autobiographies and oral history interviews. This evidence will be used to reconstruct the 'reading world' of this provincial town, and to explore the many uses to which readers put the local press, not least the confirmation of local identities. Evidence from other parts of Britain and from national sources such as newspaper stamp returns and press directories will suggest that the local press was equally important and used in similar ways in most 'second-class' towns and country areas beyond the regional orbit of London. These findings may prove less generalisable to the metropolis and its environs and even perhaps to other large cities, where the ecology of print was different, and where readers' behaviour may also have been different. However, reader evidence from Manchester and other cities will suggest that the similarities outweigh the differences.

This thesis is original in a number of respects, and suggests 'a vision of "local history" that 'de-centre[s] orthodox histories, offering a view of the past which [is] radically

Front Page 8 March 2010 [www.holdthefrontpage.co.uk/news/100308mornings.shtml], accessed 11 March 2010.

⁶ P. Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), p.125; A.G.Jones, *Press, Politics and Society: a History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p.199.

distinct from the view at the centre'.⁷ It introduces empirical reading evidence into English newspaper history, challenges the taken-for-granted use of the concepts of 'local' and 'national' newspapers, and foregrounds the local press, thereby offering a new understanding of newspaper history in the second half of the nineteenth century. It develops the work of Law and Potter in treating the local press as a national phenomenon, and draws out some implications from this, including the speed and efficiency of the local press as a national news distribution system, and the role of readers in creating a national network of local papers through their correspondence. The thesis argues for the complexity of local papers as cultural products, and for the complexity of English local identity in this period, and offers a more explicit, nuanced understanding of the relationship between the two. It develops a number of innovative methods and uses the diaries of Anthony Hewitson, a Preston journalist whose diaries have recently been acquired by the Lancashire Record Office. They are the only known diaries of a provincial journalist from this period.

This case study of Preston will be rooted in a broad survey of the literature on the nineteenth-century press. However, the following review of the historiography shows how the majority newspaper press of the provinces has been neglected in favour of the minority of metropolitan papers. This bias can be explained with reference to practical, methodological problems and more serious questions of status. While broad historiographical trends are outlined below, more detailed points from the secondary literature are addressed as they arise throughout the thesis.

There were six significant historical studies of the newspaper press between 1850 and 1887, all acknowledging the phenomenal growth of provincial newspapers alongside metropolitan newspapers.⁸ It took 65 years for the next six to be published, but by the 1950s, historians were generally showing a new interest in the nineteenth century. The academic journal *Victorian Studies* was founded in 1956, and the centrality of the press to Victorian culture was recognised in the establishment of the Research Society for

⁷ F.Driver and R.Samuel, 'Rethinking the Idea of Place', *History Workshop Journal* 39, 1995, p.v.

⁸ F.Knight Hunt, *The Fourth Estate: Contributions Towards a History of Newspapers, and of the Liberty of the Press* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1850/1998); P.A.C.Clarigny, *Histoire de la Presse en Angleterre et aux Etats-unis* (Paris, 1857, trans. A.Andrews, 1870); A.Andrews, *The History of British Journalism: From the Foundation of the Newspaper Press in England to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, With Sketches of Press Celebrities* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859); J.Grant, *The Newspaper Press: Its Origin -- Progress -- and Present Position*, especially vol.3, *The Metropolitan Weekly and Provincial Press* (London: Routledge, 1871); Pebody, *English Journalism*; H.Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism*, Vol. 2 (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1887). The provincial press is sidelined in two of the best recent surveys of British press history, M.Conboy, *Journalism: a Critical History* (London: Sage, 2004) and M.Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

Victorian Periodicals (RSVP) in 1968. However, most of the scholarship connected with RSVP has concerned elite metropolitan literary periodicals rather than newspapers, with provincial newspapers particularly neglected; but the methods and sources pioneered by these researchers have wider application.

The local press has been an object of antiquarian interest for local historians since the 1950s, and company histories, some of them hagiographic, have been published to mark centenaries and other anniversaries.⁹ However, three surveys of the Victorian newspaper press stand out for their combination of breadth and detail, and their integration of metropolitan and provincial developments: the monographs of Lee and Brown, and the collection edited by Shattock and Wolff, *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*.¹⁰ The work of Jones, on the press of England and Wales, has informed this thesis, particularly its treatment of the press as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, simultaneously a cultural, economic, political and material object.¹¹ A small number of other academic studies have added context and theoretical frameworks,¹² and the growth of urban history from the 1960s onwards has shown how the local press played significant roles in the political and cultural life of towns and cities.¹³ A new level of academic interest in the history of the local press is suggested by recent special issues of three journals devoted entirely to the subject, *Journalism*

⁹ Good examples include D. Shuttleworth, *Preston Newspapers, 1850- 1914: a Talk Given to the Preston Branch of the Lancashire Family History and Heraldry Society* (unpublished manuscript, Local Studies Collection, Harris Reference Library, Preston, 2001); Anon, *A Century of Progress 1844-1944, Southport Visiter* (Southport: Southport Visiter, 1944) and 'Rochdale 150: 150 years of the Observer [www.rochdaleobserver.co.uk/community/rochdale_150/s/508735_150_years_of_the_observer], accessed 24 February 2006. Few, however, can match the Victorian pioneer, F. Leary, *History of the Manchester Periodical Press* (unpublished manuscript, 1897, Manchester Central Reference Library, MSf052 L161).

¹⁰ A.J.Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England: 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976); J.Shattock and M.Wolff (eds), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982); L.Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹¹ For example, Jones, 'Local Journalism in Victorian Political Culture' in L. Brake, A. Jones, and L. Madden (eds), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 1990); *Press, Politics and Society and Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, Ashgate, 1996).

¹² For example, M.Milne, *The Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham: a Study of Their Progress During the 'Golden Age' of the Provincial Press* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Graham, 1971); C.Buckley, 'The Baron and the Brewer: Political Subsidy and the Last Years of the *Manchester Courier*', *Manchester Region History Review*, 1, 1, 1987, and P.J. Lucas, 'The First Furness Newspapers: the History of the Furness Press From 1846 to c.1880' (unpublished MLitt dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1971).

¹³ For example, D.Read, *Press and People, 1790-1850: Opinion in Three English Cities* (London: Edward Arnold, 1961); D.Read, *The English Provinces, 1760-1960: a Study in Influence* (London: Edward Arnold, 1964); D.Fraser, 'The Nottingham Press 1800-1850', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1963; D.Fraser, 'The Press in Leicester c.1790-1850', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 42, 1967; D.Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); S.Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Studies and the *Manchester Region History Review* in 2006, and the *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* in 2009.¹⁴ Meanwhile the yearly Print Networks volumes, associated with the annual British Book Trade History conferences, are steadily amassing a substantial body of work on the provincial print trade, including newspapers.¹⁵

The political role of newspapers has been covered well but narrowly elsewhere, by Victorian commentators and by historians from the 1960s onward; indeed this aspect has dominated scholarly discussion of the nineteenth-century provincial press.¹⁶ This thesis argues that a more holistic approach, incorporating the readers' experience, is more illuminating. The standard work on the politics of the nineteenth-century press, by Koss, is severely limited by its narrow focus: it defines politics as the activities of government ministers and senior party figures; and classes as political only those London newspapers which contemporary politicians tried to influence.¹⁷ This thesis takes a much broader view of nineteenth-century politics, recognising that political participation was also available to those outside the franchise, and that local government had a great deal of autonomy, which it used to the full. Rich and poor, literate and illiterate took part in public meetings and the carnival and drama of elections and other political rituals, as demonstrated in the name of the Bury Non-Electors' Reform Association, for example.¹⁸ Local issues and local rituals ensured that politics was an arena in which local identities were contested and confirmed,¹⁹ but national politics was also constructed at local level, as Read and Jones have demonstrated.²⁰ Preston's tradition of universal male suffrage (see Chapter 2) probably

¹⁴ *Journalism Studies* 7, 3, 2006; *Manchester Region History Review* 17, 2, 2006 and the *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* Series 2, 5, 1, 2009.

¹⁵ The tenth volume of the Print Networks series is due this year; recent relevant volumes include; J.Hinks and C.Armstrong (eds), *Book Trade Connections From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; British Library, 2008); J.Hinks and C.Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution Since 1500* (London: Oak Knoll Press; British Library, 2005); P.C.G.Isaac and B.McKay (eds), *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling, and Using Books* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1998); P.C.G.Isaac and B.McKay (eds), *The Moving Market: Continuity and Change in the Book Trade* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Read, *Press and People*; Read, *English provinces*. The limitations of this approach are apparent from a comparison of two nineteenth-century accounts of the Manchester press: that in the neglected third volume of Grant's 1871 history of the newspaper press, which considers only the city's 'political' newspapers, and the exhaustive manuscript history by Leary, which captures the rich ecology of Manchester's periodical print culture: Grant, p.360, Leary.

¹⁷ S.Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, Vol.1, *The Nineteenth Century* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981), pp.21, 23-24.

¹⁸ V.Barbary, 'Reinterpreting "Factory Politics" in Bury, Lancashire, 1868-1880', *Historical Journal*, 51, 1, 2008, p.134; see also D.M.Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p.13 and E.A.Wasson, 'The Whigs and the Press, 1800-50', *Parliamentary History*, 25, 1, 2006, p.71.

¹⁹ D.Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.238.

²⁰ Read, *English provinces*, p.250; Legg, *passim*; Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, *passim*.

made its political culture more inclusive than most. Such vibrant, argumentative local political cultures continued into the Victorian era, even after 1872, when the secret ballot made elections less rumbustious.²¹ Koss's narrow definition of the political press is rejected here. Nineteenth-century local newspapers were intensely political phenomena, in their circumstances of production, their content and in many of the uses to which readers put them. Publishers, journalists and readers were involved in a power struggle to define reality, locally and nationally, and newspapers were not politically neutral in this argument, whatever their classification in Mitchell's newspaper directory.²²

Two recent developments have recognised the significance of the Victorian provincial press, and promise to facilitate a new era of research. In 2007 the British Library digitised 48 provincial newspapers covering most of the British Isles, as part of their *Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers* collection. Their 'searchability' makes these publications much more manageable and accessible, and may even replace the easy resort to the *Times* as a more representative sample of Victorian concerns. The second development is the publication of the *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, which provides rich context to a terrifyingly complex field. The editors have acknowledged its relative lack of coverage of the provincial press, and have commissioned many new entries for the online edition, to rectify this. There are other reasons why renewed study of the provincial press is timely. On one hand the provincial press in Britain is in crisis, as sales of newspapers and advertisements plummet, and on the other, there is growing interest in providing 'hyper-local' news, from provincial newspaper publishers such as Johnston Press and even the multinational company Microsoft.²³ History may soon be all that remains of provincial papers which had survived into the 21st century with remarkably few changes from their Victorian beginnings.

²¹ For a perceptive summary of provincial political culture in the Hanoverian period, see K.Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 3-4, 33-34, 37, 40.

²² J.Carey, *Communication As Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.86; Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.141; J.Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p.77 ('it is false to assume that a depoliticised newspaper conveys less ideology than a political organ').

²³ *Journalism Studies* special issue, 'The future of newspapers', 9,5, 2008; M.Engel, 'Local Papers: an Obituary', *British Journalism Review*, 20, 2, 2009; D. McKie, 'Proud to Be Provincial: Regional Newspapers' Sad Decline Is Underlined by a Reminder of the Great Influence They Once Had', *Guardian Online*, [www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/dec/06/regional-newspapers-decline-comment-mckie], accessed 9 December 2008; D.McKie, 'News that's right up your street, but stops at the corner,' Business & Media section, *Observer* 21 January 2007, p.8; Emma Barnett, 'Microsoft in partner talks with local newspapers,' *Telegraph.co.uk*, 28 July 2009, [www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/microsoft/5925939/Microsoft-in-partner-talks-with-local-newspapers.html], accessed 30 July 2009.

Many theories generated by scholarship on the higher-status but lower-circulation London press do not adequately describe or explain local and regional newspapers, the mainstream of the Victorian press.²⁴ Habermas's 'decline of the public sphere', recently restated by Chalaby and Hampton, Curran's view that the press became an agent of control or the Whiggish account of growing freedom of the 'Fourth Estate' all focus on metropolitan publications.²⁵ Few scholars even acknowledge their choice to study the minority of the post-Repeal press, let alone explain that choice.²⁶ The work of Habermas is the exception, in retaining its value as a theoretical framework despite its lack of support from historical evidence.

The 'taken-for-granted' focus on the London press stems from practical difficulties and from a narrow focus on elite culture. First, the seemingly unmanageable volume of material requires an enormous amount of research before meaningful generalisations can be made, although digitised papers now provide a way into the thicket.²⁷ The study of the local press today is analogous to the field of Victorian periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: there is a dim awareness that these publications are ubiquitous, low-status and unmanageably profuse.

Second, unexamined notions of 'influence' have guided researchers towards publications produced at the centre of cultural power, London. The assumption has been that texts worth studying are 'influential' texts, those that changed the attitudes or behaviour of influential people, such as Cabinet Ministers or a small elite of metropolitan literary writers and editors. 'All too often English history, and even British history, turn out to be the history of what was happening in the West End, ignoring what was happening North of the Thames, or North of the Trent.'²⁸ The study of print culture has much to gain from broader historical currents, which have shown

²⁴ Publications on the metropolitan press outnumbered those about provincial newspapers and periodicals by a factor of three to one in D.Dixon, 'Annual Review of Work in Newspaper and Periodical History', *Media History*, 7, 1, 2001, and by a factor of two to one in the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals Bibliography 2005-2007, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, 3, 2008.

²⁵ J.Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Oxford: Polity, 1992); Chalaby, *Invention*; Hampton, *Visions*; Curran, 'Media'.

²⁶ For example, Chalaby, *Invention*, Hampton, *Visions*, and M.Conboy and J.Steel, 'The Future of Newspapers', *Journalism Studies*, 9, 5, 2008.

²⁷ For a summary of the practical and bibliographical challenges, see W.Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction, and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp. x-xi.

²⁸ D.G.Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.19. See also A.Hinde, Review of B.Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1939*, in *Reviews in History* (Institute of Historical Research) [www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/reayrev.html], accessed 28 September 2007; W.B.Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society, 1830-1870: the Geography of Diversity in Provincial England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

that political and cultural power was widely distributed in the long nineteenth century, across classes and across the country.²⁹ Thus, the important category of place has been ignored in most media history,³⁰ yet history always takes *place*. Victorians were not disembodied repositories of ideas: they created, and were created by, particular localities, counties, regions and nations.³¹ Related to this, London's peculiar print ecology, in which local papers focused only on local news while papers such as the *Times* also served as regional papers for London and the South-East, may have led some scholars to the mistaken belief that the local press beyond London was equally parochial.

A further reason for the undue attention given to the metropolitan press is that of status, in the Victorian era and today.³² London newspapers led the way in using the words 'provincial' and 'provinces' in a new, derogatory way, in the late eighteenth century, no doubt partly to position themselves in a competitive market.³³ Many twentieth- and twenty-first-century media historians would agree with Alexander Russel, editor of the *Scotsman*, who told the 1851 Newspaper Stamp Committee that abolition of Stamp Duty would allow a narrow, parochial and trivial local press to flourish.³⁴ Again, the commercial rivalry of metropolitan and provincial papers was the real issue. In the 1860s Matthew Arnold added a new inflection when he identified the provinces with the 'philistinism' of dissenting chapel-goers; to Victorian readers this also reflected on provincial newspapers, which can be seen as an outgrowth of provincial Nonconformity.³⁵ To those with no commitment to a particular place, local papers seem trivial; yet it is the trivial and the mundane which can best give the flavour of everyday life, its activities and attitudes, and which therefore are so valuable to the historian. Dickens's mockery of the *Eatanswill Gazette* and the *Eatanswill Independent* in the *Pickwick Papers* is well known; but his journal *Household Words* defended the local press and its place in local democracy. Referring to a comically detailed account of beating the bounds, the anonymous writer (possibly Dickens) adds: 'these things

²⁹ D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); P. Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003); D. Russell, *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Methuen, 1987).

³⁰ T. Rantanen, 'The New Sense of Place in Nineteenth-Century News', *Media Culture and Society*, 25, 4, 2003, pp.435, 440-41.

³¹ Paz, pp.299-300.

³² M. Harris, 'London's Local Newspapers: Patterns of Change in the Victorian Period' in Brake, Jones and Madden, *Investigating*, p.104.

³³ Read, *English provinces*, p.2.

³⁴ Donaldson, pp. 2-3.

³⁵ S. Goldsworthy, 'English Nonconformity and the Pioneering of the Modern Newspaper Campaign', *Journalism Studies*, 7, 3, 2006, p.395.

may appear very small, but life is made up of small things.³⁶ Each individual local paper appears very small, but when combined, they make a national network which dominated Victorian print culture. Table 1 attempts to make these issues of status explicit, suggesting a notional hierarchy of print. This schema, although inspired by Harris and Erickson, is based on personal impressions, and therefore provisional and intended as an expression of assumptions underlying the thesis.³⁷

Table 1. A suggested hierarchy of nineteenth-century print respectability

Genre	Example
Canonical books	Bible, Eliot, Dickens
London periodicals	<i>Cornhill Magazine, Quarterly Review</i>
London daily newspapers	<i>Times, Daily News</i>
Pamphlets	Gladstone's <i>The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance</i>
Regional newspapers	<i>Manchester Guardian, Leeds Mercury</i>
'Penny dreadful' serials	<i>Fatherless Fanny, or The Mysterious Orphan</i>
Local newspapers	<i>Preston Chronicle, Bolton Evening News</i>
Sunday newspapers	<i>News of the World, Reynolds' News</i>
Broadside ballads	Last dying speech of a murderer
Pornography	

The perceived status of the provincial press within academic history may be a further reason for its neglect. For those who believe that the proper subjects of British history should be 'national' phenomena, a case can be made that the Victorian local press functioned as a national system, and in fact was more 'national', by any definition, than London titles such as the *Times*. Identical editorial content, including news and leader columns, was distributed across the country through hundreds of separate local papers, via partly printed sheets, news agencies, local correspondents, the post and the telegraph (the nationalisation of the telegraph in 1870 was particularly significant). That the local press was a national phenomenon is an obvious statement, in the same way that local parishes constituted a national Church of England, but its implications have not been developed. Instead, local newspapers have commonly been studied in isolation, victims of 'the tyranny of the discrete', in John Marshall's memorable phrase,

³⁶ Carey, *Communication as Culture*, p.24; D.P. Nord, 'Reading the Newspaper: Strategies and Politics of Reader Response, Chicago, 1912-1917' in Nord, *Communities of Journalism: a History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), p.267.

³⁷ M. Harris, 'Locating the Serial: Some Ideas About the Position of the Serial in Relation to the Eighteenth-Century Print Culture' in T. O'Malley and M. Harris (eds), *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1995 Annual* (London: Greenwood, 1997), pp.6-7; L.Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800-1850* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p.13; 'The Importance of Newspapers', *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals* [www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2/TourOverview.asp], accessed 19 November 2006 (hereafter *WD*).

their rhetoric of 'localness' taken at face value.³⁸ This neglect may have been compounded by our familiarity with newspapers in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which misleads us into thinking that their content, their system of production and their current place in society is similar to the situation 150 years ago. It was not, as this thesis will demonstrate.

Newspaper history has often been written by the winners of the circulation wars, creating a bias towards titles that survived into the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and neglecting many titles which were often more significant in their time, such as the *Morning Chronicle* or the *Manchester Examiner*, and which outsold and outshone their more famous rivals, the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* respectively. Newspapers are not what they seem, and their stories about themselves are not always trustworthy. They have been taken at face value by too many historians, a problem compounded by the focus on the metropolitan press. Newspaper history is often anachronistic, with historians using unexamined twenty-first-century categories such as 'national' and 'local'.³⁹

It is therefore necessary to define the local newspaper, for its self-presentation as an uncomplicated commodity hides deep complexity and ambiguity. 'Local' is here taken to mean papers that were distributed within one district or group of districts, as distinct from county or regional papers and their wider circulation areas. However, there is no simple division between local, sub-regional, county and regional papers, partly because such areas are difficult to define exactly, and partly because of change over time, in the nature and extent of the circulation areas of newspapers. Nineteenth-century local papers were less local in their content and control than has been assumed, while the other side of the twenty-first-century binary, the 'national' press, is an anachronism when applied to the nineteenth century. The metropolitan or London papers (following nineteenth-century usage) could barely be described as national, combining coverage of national institutions based in London with coverage of the capital and its region in the same way that another regional paper, the *Manchester Guardian*, covered its city region.⁴⁰ The terms 'local', 'regional', 'metropolitan' and 'national' must be used

³⁸ J.D. Marshall, *The Tyranny of the Discrete: a Discussion of the Problems of Local History in England* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), p.4. For a fuller argument for the local press as national network and national system, see A. Hobbs, 'When the Provincial Press Was the National Press (c.1836-c.1900)', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5, 1, 2009.

³⁹ Jones, 'Local Journalism', p.63.

⁴⁰ Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland*, p.14; , A.J. Lee, 'The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1855-1914' in D.G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate (eds), *Newspaper History From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978), p.120. For an opposing view, see Koss, p.21 and passim. For the unusual nature of the London local press, see M. Lester, "Local Newspapers and the Shaping of Local Identity in North-East London c.1885-1925," *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 5, 1 (2009).

carefully, specifying whether these terms apply to the place of production, to the circulation area, the content or merely editorial aspirations.⁴¹ Readers wanted national information as well as local news, and much of the content of the 'local' press was about non-local topics. This included significant amounts of Parliamentary reports, foreign news and snippets from around the UK, leader columns on national politics, serialised fiction and so on. A writer in the *British Quarterly Review* in 1872 felt that 'these days' provincial weeklies give a 'selection or compendium' of general news, but 'they reserve their space mainly for local matters.'⁴² There is some truth in this, but the picture is more complex (see Tables A4, A5, A7 and A9, Appendices), as individual titles jostled for distinctiveness in crowded local markets, or tried to extend their sales territories, thereby complicating distinctions between local and non-local. Law found that only a genuinely local paper, the *Leigh Journal*, circulating in and around one small town, had a significant amount of local news (25.8 per cent) in the late 1880s, although this figure under-represents the amount of local content as a whole, which would include advertising, correspondence, some local features, and occasional leader columns on local topics.⁴³ Table A1 (Appendix) summarises the contents of one Preston weekly, the *Chronicle*, in 1860 and 1890, showing the wide variety and dominance of non-local content.

In contradistinction, the term 'national' as we understand it today (implying a large, nationwide circulation, containing news from across the nation plus Parliamentary and foreign news) was barely used. A search of 48 London and provincial titles in the Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers digitised collection returned 299 uses of the phrase 'national newspaper' across the century, but in only ten cases was it used in the modern sense, and even this figure exaggerates its frequency – the four instances from the 1830s were self-descriptions in advertisements for two failed journals, the *United Kingdom* and the *Britannia*, both using nationalistic rhetoric.⁴⁴ The twenty-first-century meaning of 'national' newspaper was very occasionally applied in the nineteenth century, to the *Northern Star* and to the *Times*, and could with some justification have described other radical papers from earlier in the century, such as *Cobbett's Political Register*. It could also be applied to Sunday papers such as

⁴¹ For an example of the confusion engendered when such terms are left undefined, see L.Connell, 'The Scottishness of the Scottish Press: 1918-39', *Media Culture and Society*, 25, 2, 2003.

⁴² Anon, 'The Modern Newspaper', *British Quarterly Review*, 110, April, 1872, p.366.

⁴³ G.Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), Table 5.2, p.144.

⁴⁴ Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers (hereafter 19CBLN) [<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn>], accessed 11 March 2009; advertisement for *United Kingdom* in *Hull Packet*, 19 October 1830; advertisement for *The Britannia* in *Morning Chronicle*, 22 April 1839.

Reynolds' News, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and the *News of the World*, to the *Daily Mail* from 1900 onwards (although I have found no descriptions of this sort), and, perhaps more justifiably, to periodicals such as the *Illustrated London News*. Papers and periodicals serving the members of national movements or organisations, or trades pursued across the nation, such as the *Vegetarian Messenger*, the *Alliance News* or the *Lancet*, could legitimately be described as national publications. However, the trade press did not use the term, with the Newspaper Press Directory continuing to use the classification of 'London' rather than 'national' newspapers well into the twentieth century. Indeed the abolition of the Newspaper Stamp, which increased the cost of sending large newspapers through the post, reduced the 'national' circulation of the *Times*, and killed off older metropolitan papers such as the *Morning Herald* and the *Morning Chronicle*.⁴⁵

Further problems with the categories of 'national' and 'local' can be seen when we take editionising into account – the practice of publishing variant editions bearing the same date, either to cope with the time taken to print and despatch newspapers to distant areas, to provide more up-to-date news, or to cater for different geographical readerships.⁴⁶ The introduction of a variant geographical edition of the *Daily Mail*, published in Manchester from 1900, has been chosen as the end-point of this project. Was the Northern edition of the *Mail* a national or regional newspaper? Perhaps it was a combination of the two, as suggested by this boast from 1912, describing how the paper publishes:

from its offices in London and Manchester no fewer than eight separate and distinct local editions, each of which contains the complete London edition with two pages of additional local news – eight separate local newspapers, in fact, which are supplied to our readers in the various districts for the price charged for the London *Daily Mail*.⁴⁷

The publishers of the *Mail* clearly believed that the paper became more national by becoming more local. The same tactic was used by the various editions of the *Wellington Journal* in Shropshire, on a smaller scale. An 1871 article on the paper explains how its practice of publishing many local editions 'renders the paper acceptable as a local paper to a large district, and gives it its popularity over an immense range of ground.'⁴⁸ The writer raises an intriguing point – that the reader can

⁴⁵ Lee, 'Structure', p.120.

⁴⁶ For a thoughtful treatment of the first two reasons for editionising, see 'Multiple editions and nineteenth-century print culture', nineteenth-century serial edition, [<http://www.ncse.ac.uk/commentary/multiple.html>], accessed 6 March 2010.

⁴⁷ *Daily Mail* promotional article, 13 May 1912, cited in R. Waterhouse, *The Other Fleet Street: How Manchester Made Newspapers National* (Altrincham: First Edition, 2004), pp.27-28.

⁴⁸ 'Provincial journalistic enterprise: The Wellington Journal', *Printers' Register* 6 January 1871, p.1.

decide whether or not a paper is 'acceptable as a local paper' – confirming the constructed, performed nature of newspapers.

Table 2. Content analysis (%) of *Times*, 1855-1900

	1855	1880	1900
Advertisements	55.7	51.5	28.9
Foreign news	15.6	13.0	24.4
Commercial & financial news	14.5	1.7	18.4
UK non-political news	0.4	6.5	8.1
Leader columns	5.6	5.6	3.6
Parliamentary news	0.0	12.0	0.4
Sport	1.1	1.4	6.0
Armed forces news	2.6	3.4	1.8
Irish news	1.5	1.7	1.2
London court cases	1.0	1.4	1.2
Other political news	1.1	0.6	1.2
Theatre review	1.0	0.3	0.8
Index & summary of contents	0.0	0.0	1.8
Court circular	0.0	0.4	1.2
Weather	0.0	0.6	0.6

Analysis of contents of issue for first Monday in September in each year. The 1855 and 1900 issues were published when Parliament was not in session.

Many other received ideas about media and newspaper history are challenged by evidence from the provincial press. One in particular – the idea that newspapers contained mainly news - merits examination here, because of its influence on ideas of the newspaper, in the nineteenth century and today. For contemporaries and even historians, the misleading exemplar of the *Times* has created a narrow conception of what a newspaper was.⁴⁹ The *Times* was an anomaly in its high volume of advertising, its concentration on political, foreign and commercial news, and its lack of non-news content.⁵⁰ An impressionistic survey of three issues of the *Times* spanning the period (see Table 2 above) shows how advertising was the single biggest type of content, accounting for about half its columns in 1855 and 1880. News from around Britain, not concerning politics, accounted for less than ten per cent of content, although this did increase over time. Sports coverage increased, although more space was devoted to partridge shooting than to football; a weather forecast and report was introduced, and one theatre review per issue was present. There were occasional book reviews, travelogues and reports of music festivals in other issues, but this was a very small proportion of the paper's content. Lacking the variety of content found in most provincial papers and in popular Sunday newspapers, the *Times* was by no means a typical nineteenth-century newspaper. Any understanding of nineteenth-century

⁴⁹ For a contemporary view of the restricted content of the newspaper, see Anon, 'Journalism', *Cornhill Magazine*, 6, 31, 1862, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Victorian News*, p.108.

newspapers based on its most famous example will seriously underestimate the variety of content found in the most common type of Victorian serial publication, the local paper.

Theoretical approaches developed by Fish and Carey underpin this thesis, particularly as regards the relationship between readers and the local press. This relationship inevitably raises the question of influence, and the associated issues of public opinion and 'media effects'. These issues have taxed the minds of journalists, politicians, historians and sociologists for at least two centuries, producing little clarity, and even less evidence, either for or against the power of the press to influence readers.' This is particularly problematic given the central role that many historians attribute to newspapers in the formation of public opinion'.⁵¹

There is concrete evidence that some readers' behaviour was directly affected by the content of the local press (see Chapter 10), but such clear influence is probably not representative of the way in which most readers used the local press. The connection between what journalists wrote, and how readers thought, felt or behaved, was usually much looser. Victorian journalists' memoirs and diaries, and personal experience of modern-day journalism, suggest that the primary audience for journalists was other journalists, and the ordinary reader was almost an after-thought. Conversely, most readers' primary relationships - as readers - were with *other* readers. 'The relationship between the producers and receivers of news discourse is that of spectacle and observer.'⁵² Scollon's metaphor of the spectacle is apt: the conventions of journalistic story-telling, in language and structure, are close to those of melodrama and other dramatic and fictional forms.⁵³ Stanley Fish's concept of the 'interpretive community' has been adopted in this thesis, meaning a group of readers who interpret texts in similar ways, constrained by the 'codes and conventions that regulate the practices of a membership community'.⁵⁴ Although Fish did not use it in this way, it is particularly helpful in enabling reading to be put into geographical *place*, to characterise particular groups of readers in a particular town; it can also be usefully combined with media effects research on framing.

⁵¹ H. Barker and S. Burrows, 'Introduction' in H. Barker and S. Burrows (eds), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.1, 9-10.

⁵² R. Scollon, *Mediated Discourse As Social Interaction: a Study of News Discourse* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), pp.ix, 75.

⁵³ Carey, *Communication as Culture*; Barker and Burrows, 'Introduction', p.4; G. Burton, *Media and Society: Critical Perspectives* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), p.55.

⁵⁴ S.E. Fish, 'Interpreting the *Variorum*', *Critical Inquiry*, 2, 3, 1976; see also S. Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.9.

Interpretive communities are taken to be groups of readers *and* writers, who can be members of multiple, overlapping interpretive communities but who share 'interpretive strategies' with other members of each community. Fish's 'interpretive strategies' are remarkably similar to Goffman's 'primary frameworks' or frames of reference, 'relatively stable and socially shared category systems that human beings use to classify information.' Journalists have a choice of frames, but only among a limited set with 'commonly shared cultural roots' – a frame needs to be part of the surrounding culture. A person can share an interpretation of a text, and be part of a culture shaped by that interpretation, without having read or heard the text.⁵⁵ However, one crucial notion absent from Fish's interpretive communities is power: cultural, economic and political power were all displayed and negotiated in the Victorian local press.

The concept of interpretive communities helps us to see reading as a communal activity, in which discussion is central. It also helps us to understand the nature of nineteenth-century local newspapers: how the interactive nature of newspapers made interpretive communities dynamic and historically and geographically specific, how tropes such as oppositional journalism could bind communities of readers together, how they were expressions of communities such as Nonconformism, how the serial nature of newspapers enabled repetition of frames, and the building of trust or 'source credibility', and how techniques such as 'kite-flying' can be seen as gentle repositioning of frames or interpretive strategies.⁵⁶ Later chapters will demonstrate how printers, booksellers, newspaper publishers, journalists, part-time newspaper correspondents, letter-writers and members of news rooms created interpretive communities in Preston. The 'public sphere' identified by Habermas can be seen as one of the activities of an interpretive community, in which private individuals can come together as a public, and discuss public issues and hold authority to account. Habermas saw the press as

⁵⁵ Fish, 'Interpreting the *Variorum*' pp. 483, 484; E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis: an Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), p.24, elaborated in D. Tewksbury and D.A. Scheufele, 'News Framing Theory and Research' in J. Bryant and M.B. Oliver (eds), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research* (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.18, 24. For more on the many possibilities that lie between reading and non-reading, see P. Bayard, 'The Great Unread', [<http://books.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,2232830,00.html>], accessed 2 January 2008; S. Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding' in M.G. Durham and D. Kellner (eds), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006).

⁵⁶ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, pp.154-55; Goldsworthy, 'English Nonconformity'; Koss, *Rise and Fall*, vol.1, p.25; H.R.G. Whates, *The Birmingham Post, 1857-1957. A Centenary Retrospect* (Birmingham: Birmingham Post & Mail, 1957), p.215; Tewksbury and Scheufele, 'News framing theory and research', p.20. As yet, research on the interactive nature of the Internet has had little impact on media effects theories: C.A. Lin, 'Effects of the Internet' in Bryant and Oliver, p.583.

central to this activity, and it is not necessary to accept his narrative of decline to find his approach useful.⁵⁷

Following Carey, reading a newspaper can be seen as akin to 'attending a mass, a situation in which nothing new is learned but in which a particular view of the world is portrayed and confirmed.'⁵⁸ This thesis makes only qualified claims about the influence of the local press. There is, however, a popular and persuasive theory which argues boldly for the pre-eminent influence of texts – novels and newspapers – to change people's minds about who they were and where they lived: Benedict Anderson's idea of the imagined community. Using the example of the nineteenth-century Philippines, Anderson argues that, to read a novel in one's mother tongue, or a newspaper that is known to circulate over a particular area, makes one aware of other readers of the same texts, and thus creates an 'imagined community'. Using this model, Aled Jones has proposed that newspapers were significant in articulating Wales as a cultural nation in the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Anderson was concerned with the 'imagined community' of the nation, and historical evidence from Preston, elsewhere in England and from the mid-twentieth-century United States suggests that his insight applies at the local level, too: reading the local paper helped individuals to see themselves as part of a local community. A pioneering study by Janowitz found that readers of the weekly neighbourhood press in Chicago 'had a greater sense of neighbourhood identity and stronger affective ties to the neighbourhood'; crucially, the longer someone had lived in the area, the more likely were they to read about local people and organisations, demonstrating the centrality of continuity or personal history to local identity.⁶⁰ Janowitz found a positive association between readership of the Chicago community press and length of residence, participation in local voluntary associations, church attendance, and number of friends in the locality.⁶¹ Rothenbuhler's survey of 400 residents of Iowa found that 'use of the newspaper makes an important independent contribution' to

⁵⁷ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp.27, 51.

⁵⁸ Carey, *Communication as Culture*, p.21; see also G.W.F.Hegel (ed Z.A.Pelczynski and T.M.Knox), *Hegel's Political Writings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p.6.

⁵⁹ B.Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006); A.G. Jones, 'The nineteenth Century Media and Welsh Identity' in L. Brake, B. Bell, and D. Finkelstein (eds), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); A.G. Jones, 'Reading nineteenth-century journalism: Some issues of historiography and research method,' keynote lecture, *Place in Print: Print in Place: English local and regional newspapers 1800-1925* conference, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, December 2008.

⁶⁰ M.Janowitz, 'The Imagery of the Urban Press', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15, 3, 1951, p.528; E.Rothenbuhler, L.Mullen, R.DeLaurell, and C.Ryu, 'Communication, Community Attachment, and Involvement', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 73, 2, 1996, p.446; see also K.R. Stamm, 'The Contribution of Local Media to Community Involvement', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 1997, p. 98.

⁶¹ M.Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952), pp.112-25.

practical involvement in and emotional attachment to the local community.⁶² These and other studies consistently found associations between the use of local media and a sense of local identity and attachment.⁶³ These theoretical frameworks and research methods have been incorporated into a 'book history' approach to the local press, in which the reader is given equal status alongside the publisher, journalist and distributor, to offer a more holistic picture of the function of the local newspaper. The following chapter, on sources and methods, argues for the importance of reader evidence in newspaper history.

* * *

The thesis is divided into two main parts: chapters 3-7 examine the production of the local press, while chapters 8-10 study its distribution and use. Chapter 3 outlines Preston's newspaper and periodical press, and introduces the most significant titles published in the town. Chapter 4 takes as a case study the career of one journalist, Anthony Hewitson, using his diaries, the only known example of diaries left by a provincial journalist from this period; they are used, alongside other evidence, to introduce the types of personnel who produced provincial newspapers. Chapter 5 again takes Hewitson as a case study, examining the methods he used to localise the *Preston Chronicle* after he became owner-editor of the paper in 1868, and their impact. Chapter 6 opens the pages of the papers themselves, to summarise types of content, particularly local content. The concept of local identity is interrogated and shown to be highly complex and dynamic, before further content analysis demonstrates the many techniques used to appeal to local patriotism. Chapter 7 provides two further case studies of the ways in which local papers set out to construct and sustain local identities, in their coverage of professional football, and their many uses of Lancashire dialect.

In the second part of the thesis, chapter 8 moves from the production of texts to their distribution and use, describing the public and private places, times and other circumstances in which the reading of the local press took place. Chapter 9 characterises the readers themselves, and what they read. Chapter 10 analyses the many uses to which readers put the local press, including the construction and sustenance of their identities as Prestonians. Chapter 11 summarises the argument of the thesis and offers some conclusions and suggestions for further research.

⁶² Rothenbuhler et al, pp. 449-450, 458.

⁶³ *Ibid.* For book-reading and social involvement, see L.Price, 'Reading: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 7, 2004, p.306.

Substantial appendices have been provided, to show the quantitative evidence on which the findings are based, and to bring together information unavailable elsewhere that may be useful to other researchers.

2. SOURCES AND METHODS

This chapter outlines the benefits of incorporating reader evidence into newspaper history, before exploring the sources and methods used in the thesis. It ends by introducing the case study town of Preston and its comparator, Barrow-in-Furness.

The reader's point of view has been foregrounded in this thesis more than in previous histories of the nineteenth-century English press, developing methods used by Nord in his studies of the press in the United States.¹ This approach enables a more holistic view of the local press, treating it as multi-dimensional: a material, cultural, economic and social phenomenon; it places newspapers in their most significant context, and it brings out the centrality of newspapers to the nineteenth-century reading experience. Evidence of readers' use ('use' is a broader, less misleading term than 'response') of the local press can illuminate many issues which have previously been addressed speculatively, or with evidence only from newspaper content and production.² These issues include the function of newspapers in culture and society, their readership and their influence, on local identities in particular. Non-newspaper sources allow us to break out of the loop of using print as evidence for its own role in local culture.³ More broadly, if texts have historically and geographically specific meanings, as argued here, then evidence of reading in particular places, at particular times, is more than an add-on, it is central to any history of texts such as newspapers.⁴

Having established the importance of reader evidence, it is appropriate here to review the historiography of reading. This dynamic and fruitful new discipline has much to offer, although a bias towards higher-status reading materials such as books, and the neglect of place as a category of analysis, means that little work has been done on the history of newspaper reading, in particular the local press. Problems of evidence are being overcome, as this thesis will demonstrate. The history of reading overlaps with the history of the book and of print culture, and combines historical and literary

¹ Nord, *Communities of Journalism*.

² M. Hampton, 'Newspapers in Victorian Britain', *History Compass*, 2, 2004, p.4.

³ J. Barry, 'The Press and the Politics of Culture in Bristol 1660-1775' in J. Black and J. Gregory (eds), *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain, 1660-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p.73.

⁴ G. Cavallo and R. Chartier, 'Introduction' in Cavallo and Chartier, *History of Reading in the West*, Jones 1996, 3.

strands.⁵ Its founding text is Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader*, which used a huge array of sources to reconstruct the reading world of ordinary people across the centuries; this approach has most recently been developed by Rose, focusing on the reading habits revealed by working-class autobiographies. A second landmark in the study of reading is Vincent's *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914*, which places reading and what was read firmly in their social contexts.⁶ Shattock and Wolff's collection, *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, set an agenda for the holistic treatment of the nineteenth-century press, including its historical readers, which has been followed all too rarely since. The most exciting development in the recent historiography of reading is the Reading Experience Database, which collects and classifies historical evidence of reading from 1450 to 1945. With more than 28,000 records as of September 2009, it now enables scholars to make less tentative generalisations about reading behaviour.

Among its many achievements, the history of reading has established that 'implied readers' deduced from the text are only half the story: historical readers must also be considered, although such creatures are not as simple as they appear, even when located:

Implied readers are not, and can never be, anything more than approximations of real people. At the same time it is true that the notion of the 'real' reader is also problematical in the sense that all readers 'construct' themselves in the process of reading.⁷

This 'construction' of the self through reading includes the construction of local identities, as this thesis will demonstrate.

The case study of reading in one town, Preston, has been pursued in an attempt to address the relative absence in the historiography of *where* reading takes place.⁸ The

⁵ C.Pawley, 'Retrieving Readers: Library Experiences', *Library Quarterly*, 76, 4, 2006, p.380; Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, chapter 1, 'Reading has a history'.

⁶ R.Altick, *The English Common Reader: a Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); J.Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London: Yale University Press, 2001); D.Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

⁷ L. Warren, "'Women in Conference": Reading the Correspondence Columns in "Woman" 1890-1910' in Brake, Bell, and Finkelstein (eds), p. 122; see also V. Berridge, 'Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers' in M. Harris and A.J. Lee (eds), *The Press in English Society From the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Associated University Presses, 1986) and B.E. Maidment, 'Victorian Periodicals and Academic Discourse' in Brake, Jones and Madden, pp. 144-152.

⁸ R. Darnton, 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading' in R. Darnton (ed), *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990) See also M.Hewitt, 'Confronting the Modern City: the Manchester Free Public Library, 1850-80', *Urban History*, 27, 1, 2000 and C.Pawley, 'Seeking 'Significance': Actual Readers, Specific Reading Communities', *Book History*, 5, 2002. For rare, rather speculative examples of histories of reading in particular places, which consequently foreground newspaper reading, see P.Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996) and Henkin, *City Reading*, and for the twentieth

second problem with the history of reading, its bias towards books, is partly explained by the discipline's literary roots and its consequent adoption of the implicit hierarchy of print outlined in Table 1 (Chapter 1). Altick dealt with the reading of newspapers (mainly metropolitan rather than provincial publications), but his focus was on books. This bias can be justified when studying periods before the nineteenth century, but from then on, books became a minority of the reading material available.⁹ Yet 'book history' is the most popular name for the historical approach that combines the study of production, circulation and reception of reading materials. Rose also prioritises book-reading, perhaps because of his explicit aim of showing that the proletariat read Proust.¹⁰ He demonstrates how reading books changed lives, but only gives one example of a newspaper having the same impact, on the future Labour Party leader JR Clynes: 'Some of the articles I read from the local Oldham papers of the time must have been pretty poor stuff I suppose, but they went to my head like wine ...'¹¹ The rarity of newspaper epiphanies points to an important contrast with book-reading, due to newspapers' serial nature: newspaper reading tends to be a continuous process, while reading a book in volume form is experienced more as a discrete event.

More recent scholarship has begun to acknowledge the centrality of newspapers and other periodicals to the nineteenth-century reading experience. Stephen Colclough has used new types of evidence of reading, including newspaper reading, and has interpreted it with subtlety, although most of his work concerns higher-status reading matter.¹² Leah Price and Simon Eliot are unusual among historians of reading from a literary background, for their acknowledgement of the importance of newspaper reading, and Eliot, a member of the Reading Experience Database (RED) project team, acknowledges the misleading picture of nineteenth-century reading habits that the database currently presents (with 489 records of newspaper reading between 1850 and 1899, mostly of London papers, compared with 3761 records of book reading).¹³ Eliot argues, as does this thesis, that if we start from the reader rather than the text, a new picture of nineteenth-century reading emerges:

century, D.Barton and M.Hamilton, *Local Literacies: Reading and Writing in One Community* (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁹ The director of the *Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals* project, John North, estimates there were more than 100 times as many individual editions of periodicals and newspapers published in the nineteenth century than books: 'Compared to books, ' *WD*: [www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2/TourOverview.asp], accessed 19 November 2006.

¹⁰ Rose, *Intellectual Life*, pp.4-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.26.

¹² But see S.Colclough, "'Purifying the Sources of Amusement and Information"? The Railway Bookstalls of W. H. Smith & Son, 1855-1860', *Publishing History*, 56, 2004, and S. Colclough, "'Station to Station": The LNWR and the Emergence of the Railway Bookstall, 1848-1875' in J. Hinks and C. Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution Since 1500* (London: British Library, 2005).

¹³ Reading Experience Database [www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED], accessed 3 September 2009.

the book was not the predominant form of text and, more than likely, was not therefore the thing most commonly or widely read... The most common reading experience, by the mid-nineteenth century at latest, would most likely be the advertising poster, all the tickets, handbills and forms generated by an industrial society, and the daily or weekly paper. Most of this reading was, of course, never recorded or commented upon for it was too much a part of the fabric of everyday life to be noticed.¹⁴

The status of newspaper reading as part of the fabric and background of nineteenth-century life makes the search for evidence difficult. While it is now accepted that the ephemeral, fleeting activity of reading has left enough traces in the historical record to enable us to reconstruct such experiences, those of relatively anonymous 'common readers' are harder to reconstruct, particularly for the reading of newspapers.¹⁵ This is even more the case for the reading of local papers, because this activity is 'so commonplace and unremarkable and therefore so commonly unremarked upon in the historical record.'¹⁶ Yet evidence is available. For the United States, Nord has skilfully interpreted unpublished letters to the editor, letters published at times of civic crisis, and nineteenth-century government household expenditure surveys among other sources.¹⁷ For England and Wales, Jones has revealed readers' responses to the press through records of debating societies, libraries, correspondence, articles in trade journals and literary reviews.¹⁸ This thesis adds news room and library records and oral history material to the list.

When discussing sources of reader evidence, it is necessary to be clear about what is meant by 'reading'. The concept of functional literacy is helpful, as used by Vincent in his magisterial *Literacy and Popular Culture*. This approach recognises that literacy cannot be separated from its use and context, and that it is historically contingent.¹⁹ It is developed more explicitly by Barton and Hamilton in *Local Literacies*, a case study of how literacy was used in Lancaster, 20 miles north of Preston, in the late twentieth century.²⁰ They agree with Vincent that literacy is 'historically situated', which makes

¹⁴ S. Eliot, *The Reading Experience Database; or, What Are We to Do About the History of Reading?* [<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/redback.htm>], accessed 26 September 2008. The reading of non-literary texts was the subject of two presentations at a recent conference, 'Evidence of Reading, Reading The Evidence', Open University/Institute of English Studies, University of London, July 2008: M. Esbester, "'B is the Bradshaw that leads you to swear": (mis)reading and (ab)using nineteenth-century transport timetables', and S. Qureshi, 'Reading Ephemera'.

¹⁵ J. Rose, 'Rereading the English Common Reader: A preface to a history of audiences,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*; 53, 1, 1992, p.47; Pawley, 'Retrieving Readers', p. 381.

¹⁶ Nord, 'Reading the Newspaper', p.269.

¹⁷ D.P. Nord, 'Introduction: Communication and Community' in Nord, *Communities of Journalism*.

¹⁸ Jones, *Powers*, p.181. For other types of newspaper reading evidence, see Lucas, MLitt. and Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*.

¹⁹ Vincent, *Literacy*, pp.15-16.

²⁰ Barton and Hamilton, *Local Literacies*.

any attempt at measurement of change over time extremely difficult.²¹ Thus Vincent has used an 'older and cruder definition of literacy', signing the marriage register versus making a mark. He examined the original marriage registers, which also show whether witnesses signed or made a mark, in a number of case study registration districts. Despite the 'thinness' of the figures, and uncertainty about how they relate to reading ability and other types of writing, they are unique as a standardised form of evidence across time and place, and for every level of society, thereby allowing objective comparisons.²² This is how such figures have been used for Preston (see Chapter 9). Finally, it must be acknowledged that reading, and newspaper-reading, were not central to the lives of most people in nineteenth-century Preston. 'Scholars ... in a modern mass-literate society ... risk being misled by our own high valuation of literacy into misunderstanding its place, or its absence, in the world we have lost.'²³ The lives of many people in Preston would have been unchanged by the blizzard of print around them.

There are more sources for the history of reading the local press than one might expect, given the humdrum, quotidian nature of this activity. There were indeed individuals who bothered to mention reading the local paper, in their diaries, correspondence and autobiographies, and the traces of their reading have helped to identify the functions of the local paper in their lives. Two other important sources for individual reading are oral history material, and readers' letters published in the local press. At the collective level, annual reports of libraries and other reading places have proved fruitful, where they list periodicals and newspapers taken, including numbers of multiple copies, and contemporary surveys of reading habits. Although no school log books referring to newspaper-reading were found for Preston, nor business records of retail newsagents, research elsewhere might uncover such valuable sources.

Indexed transcripts from the Elizabeth Roberts oral history archive at Lancaster University have proved invaluable. The interview schedule for this pioneering ESRC-funded project included a question asking whether interviewees' families had taken a newspaper. Roberts interviewed 'about 160' men and women from Barrow, Lancaster and Preston (approximately 60 from Preston, 54 from Barrow and 46 from Lancaster) and was 'confident that they are a representative sample of the working class in all

²¹ Vincent, *Literacy*.

²² For critiques of this source, see Altick, *Common Reader*, p.170 and Lee, *Origins*. For an able defence, see Vincent, *Literacy*, pp.17-18, 23.

²³ D.Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order : Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), cited in L.Price, 'Reading: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 7, 2004, p.317; see also Henkin, *City Reading*, p.xi.

three areas.²⁴ It is not known how interviewees were recruited, although one mentions an appeal on BBC Radio Blackburn, a method which may have attracted participants already oriented towards local media. Interviewees were born between 1884 and 1927, so that memories of their childhood homes date from the 1880s to the 1930s.²⁵ However, it is legitimate to 'read back' some outline conclusions about reading behaviour into the last two decades of the nineteenth century, especially if, as this thesis argues, the local was more important to working-class readers than to members of other classes. In that case, the spread of national newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* at the turn of the century would have affected working-class readers less than middle-class ones, making their testimony more relevant to the late nineteenth century. Roberts's questions explicitly addressing reading were: Was there a regular newspaper/magazine? Who read it? Were books read? What kind? If so, where did they come from? Parents' education and level of literacy were also ascertained.

The titles of publications mentioned in interviews reveal the chronological vagueness of oral history evidence. Although the tenor of the questioning was about childhood, some interviewees mentioned titles only published in their adulthood, although they may be using later titles to refer to earlier incarnations of papers whose names changed through amalgamations. These responses have been omitted from the analysis, but they show the complexity of what is happening during an oral history interview, and the consequent dangers of mining such material for factual information without 'triangulation' against other sources.

The dominance of local newspapers in this oral history material is at odds with surveys of working-class reading habits conducted by middle-class journalists and investigators in other parts of Lancashire and England during the period. The local press is either insignificant or absent from such surveys, which became more common from the 1870s to the first decade of the twentieth century, as writers questioned the impact of the 1870 Education Act.²⁶ However, the class differences between observer and observed

²⁴ E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place: an Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), p.6. For a critique of the material, see J.K. Walton, *Lancashire: a Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.293-94. For a full discussion of interviews as historical evidence, see S. Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian* (London: Longman, 1994).

²⁵ For a summary of references to reading and writing in the Roberts material, see Barton and Hamilton, *Local Literacies*, pp.28-31 and D. Barton, 'Exploring the Historical Basis of Contemporary Literacy', *The Quarterly Newsletter of the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition*, 10, 3, 1988.

²⁶ [Wilkie Collins], 'The Unknown Public', *Household Words*, 18, 21 August, 1858; T. Wright [The 'Journeyman Engineer'], 'Readers and Reading', *Good Words*, 17, December, 1876; E.G. Salmon, 'What the Working Classes Read', *Nineteenth Century*, XX, July, 1886; W.S.C. Rae, 'Newsrooms', *Library World*, 2, 1899; J.G. Leigh, 'What Do the Masses Read?', *Economic Review*, 4, 2, 1904; F. Bell, "What People Read," *The Independent Review*, 1905; J.

(with rare exceptions such as Robert Roberts, a writer who retrospectively described the poor working-class culture from which he came), and the polemical aims of some investigators, mean that some types of reading matter are omitted, although other evidence suggests that it was in fact widely read. Haslam, in his 1906 surveys of reading in various districts of Manchester, omits the local press, not even mentioning his own paper, the *Manchester City News*. However, other sources report that local papers sold in hundreds of thousands in Manchester, suggesting that they were not part of his project of criticising working-class reading habits.²⁷

Other discrepancies between the contemporary surveys and late twentieth-century interviews looking back at the same era are intriguing and salutary. While Bell, Robert Roberts and Leigh found sporting papers ubiquitous in Middlesbrough, Salford and a small town near St Helens respectively, this genre was rarely mentioned by oral history interviewees in Preston, Lancaster and Barrow. Such slightly disreputable reading matter may have been kept away from the interviewees when they were children, and/or read away from the home. The focus of questioning in the oral history interviews is implicitly domestic, missing the reading worlds of the pub, the workplace and the street.²⁸ The contemporary surveys rarely mention specific titles, forcing us to accept the authors' classifications; some writers may have considered local evening newspapers to be 'sporting papers', for instance. Weekly newspaper miscellanies are also rarely mentioned in interviews, but were the most popular type of paper, after the sporting ones, in Leigh's survey. It may be that interviewees had forgotten this extinct genre (Preston interviewee Mr S1P, born in 1900, required two prompts before recalling an example, the *Liverpool Weekly Post*), while the local evening newspaper, the most common type of publication mentioned, was probably in the room during some of the interviews in the 1970s and 1980s. Sunday papers are largely missing from the surveys, and are mentioned more by younger interviewees, a reminder that high sales of a title nationally - or regionally - do not necessarily mean high sales in any one locality.

Readers' letters, used cautiously, can reveal responses to the publication's representation of local and other realities, and readers' self-presentation to their peers

Haslam, *The Press and the People: An Estimate of Reading in Working-Class Districts*, Reprinted From the "Manchester City News" (City News Office, 1906); R.Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp.127-8, 130.

²⁷ See for example Buckley, 'The Baron and the Brewer'; C.Buckley, 'The Search for "a Really Smart Sheet": The Conservative Evening Newspaper Project in Edwardian Manchester', *Manchester Region History Review* 8 (1994).

²⁸ Henkin, *City Reading*, p.6.

gives a sense of an interpretive community at work.²⁹ Each letter lies somewhere on a continuum between 'letters from ordinary readers that are unchanged and unedited' to 'letters *obviously* fictional and composed by the editor, with not even the slightest pretence that they are genuine.' Any particular letter may have been written by a journalist rather than a reader, but most were not; so quantitative analysis is more reliable than qualitative study of individual letters.³⁰ Journalists selected and edited letters in the same way as they dealt with other editorial content, meaning that readers' correspondence is no less mediated than other newspaper content, blurring any distinction between matter written by journalists and non-journalists. Correspondence has been of limited use in offering demographic clues about readers, due to the widespread use of pseudonyms.³¹ Despite these caveats, correspondence columns in local newspapers are probably a better index of public opinion than those of metropolitan dailies, because there was less competition for space, and therefore less selection, of letters in local papers. Further, when sampled from papers around the country, local newspaper correspondence is more genuinely a reflection of *national* opinion than that published in the letters column of papers such as the *Times*.

Two 'reading diaries', of the kind used by Colclough to create rounded pictures of individual readers, have been used. The diaries of the *Preston Chronicle* editor Anthony Hewitson only record books he read for leisure, and very rarely mention the enormous volume of newspapers and news-related material he probably read in working hours. Awareness of the hierarchy of print (Table 1, Chapter 1) was no doubt involved in such self-presentation. The second diary, that of John O'Neil, a weaver and sometime union activist, is much more valuable, as a record of a nineteenth-century working-class news addict, although O'Neil lived in a small factory hamlet outside the market town of Clitheroe, 18 miles north-east of Preston. The diaries, written between 1856 and 1875, are unusual in their focus on newspaper-reading. In the years before O'Neil had easy access to daily papers, the longest entry each week was a summary of the news he read on a Saturday night in the Castle Inn, Clitheroe, taking precedence over the topics of family, friends or work. O'Neil never mentions being mocked for his newspaper habit, and he seems to have been popular and respected. He was unusual as a news addict who kept a diary, but it is not certain that he was unusual as a news addict *per se*, and he records many instances of other people being equally interested

²⁹ Jones, *Powers*, pp.20-21.

³⁰ B.Goldgar, 'Fact, Fiction and Letters to the Editor in Fielding's Essay-Journals', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*, 1993 annual, 1994.

³¹ For a demographic approach to letter-writers who did not use pseudonyms see Warren, "'Women in Conference'", pp.122-123.

in, and anxious for, news.³² Four scrapbooks compiled by newspaper readers were also used, revealing which types of newspaper content were prized enough by readers to be retained.

Library annual reports are an under-used source for the history of reading.³³ Those of the public or free libraries at Preston and Barrow include a report from the librarian, details of expenditure, numbers of books held and borrowed by subject matter, opening hours, numbers of visitors, and of particular interest to this project, lists of periodicals and newspapers available, including a record of those donated by publishers. There is no reason to doubt their reliability. There is a complete run of Preston reports, covering 1879-1900, including lists of periodicals taken. The first report lists only donated publications, but can be cross-referenced with an advertisement (see Fig.28, Chapter 9) which appears to include a complete list of publications available. The choice of periodicals was a compromise between the chief librarian, members of the library committee, publishers, public-spirited donors and the readers themselves, with the help of a suggestion book. A significant proportion of periodicals and newspapers were donated by publishers or by individuals (169 of 780 annual subscriptions between 1880 and 1887, or 21 per cent), lessening their usefulness as evidence for reader demand. Nevertheless, their greatest value for this thesis is their listing of multiple copies of titles taken, used here as evidence of the popularity of such titles.

While the new public libraries had a broad social spread of users, other types of Preston reading rooms and news rooms whose records have survived were patronised more by middle-class and striving working-class readers.³⁴ This thesis relies heavily on evidence from news rooms, so it is appropriate here to review the literature on these significant reading institutions. The most comprehensive treatment of news rooms is that by Hood.³⁵ The best recent work is by Colclough on eighteenth-century reading rooms, and Joyce and Hewitt on the Victorian era, while Legg has identified their

³² J.O'Neil [ed.M.Brigg], *The Journals of a Lancashire Weaver: 1856-60, 1860-64, 1872-75* (Chester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1982) (hereafter O'N), 24 February 1874.

³³ Pawley, *Retrieving Readers*, p. 381. A rare example is C.M.Baggs, "'In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them": Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 38, 3, 2005, p.284.

³⁴ For impressionistic use of lists of periodicals taken in reading rooms and news rooms, see J.B. Hood, 'The Origin and Development of the Newsroom and Reading Room from 1650 to date, with some Consideration of their Role in the Social History of the Period' (unpublished FLA dissertation, Library Association, 1978), especially appendices, and Koss, *Rise and Fall*, vol.1, pp.158-59.

³⁵ Hood, FLA; see also T. Wyke, 'Publishing and Reading Books Etc in Nineteenth-Century Manchester' in E. Cass and M. Garratt (eds), *Printing and the Book in Manchester, 1700-1850* (Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 2001), p.46.

importance for the repeal movement in Ireland.³⁶ News rooms are mentioned in passing in studies of reading such as Altick and Rose, and of newspaper readership by Jones, Read and Aspinall.³⁷ Reading rooms in public libraries have received more attention, as have those of the co-operative movement.³⁸

Unlike the free libraries, the news rooms of clubs, mechanics' institutions and other reading places rarely distinguished between publications purchased and those 'presented' gratis, so we cannot be certain about reader demand – nor that the lists of publications are complete. For example, *Longworth's Preston Advertiser (1867-77)* claimed in 1873 that this monthly free-distribution magazine was 'laid upon the tables of every Public Institution, News Room, Reading Room, Public Library, Working Men's Club, and Public Meeting Room in Preston', yet it does not appear in any lists of periodicals found so far. Nevertheless, taken together, news room records have tremendous value, linking reading matter to particular social, religious and political groups. Again, their quantitative nature enables the construction of data series, allowing safe generalisations to be made.

Some reading places offer another type of evidence, records of auctions of back copies, typically held annually at middle-class institutions, quarterly at working-class ones. The most complete auction records are from the elite Winckley Club, frequented by mill owners, solicitors, doctors and Anglican clergymen; records include the minutes of the club (from its opening in 1846 into the twentieth century, with the omission of 1884-93), its accounts, and a complaints and suggestions book (1870-88). Every year the minutes record the names of shareholders purchasing second-hand reading matter in the auction, alongside the winning bids and the name of the publication.

Newspaper stamp returns have been used to characterise Preston's press at the start of the period. However, stamp returns have limitations. A significant minority of unstamped papers were illegally published, on principle or to save money, so that

³⁶ S.Colclough, 'Reading and the Circulating Library: Evidence From the Diaries of Charlotte Francis (1786-1870)', *Quadrat, a Periodical Bulletin of Research in Progress on the British Book Trade*, 15, 2002; Hewitt, 'Confronting the Modern City'; Joyce, *Rule of Freedom*, pp.130-32; Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, chapter 4.

³⁷ Altick, *Common Reader*; A.Aspinall, 'The Circulation of Newspapers in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Review of English Studies* XXII, 85, 1946, pp.24-32; Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, pp.101-08; Read, *Press and People*, p.201; Rose, *Intellectual Life*, pp.62-79.

³⁸ Baggs, 'Separate Reading Room'; G.K.Peatling, 'Historical Perspectives on Problem Patrons From the British Public Library Sector, 1850-1919', *Reference Librarian*, 75/76, 2002; C.M.Baggs, 'The Libraries of the Co-Operative Movement: a Forgotten Episode', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 23, 2, 1991

numbers of titles, and copies printed, based on stamp returns are underestimates.³⁹ Numbers of stamps bought by individual titles do not always reflect numbers of copies sold, because some papers, especially in London, bought more than they needed and sold them on to other papers, for example the *Times* admitted it had sold 8,000 stamps to the *Blackburn Gazette*.⁴⁰ They can provide a rough guide to aggregate copies printed (not sold), and comparative circulations of different papers.⁴¹ When used in combination with other sources, Stamp Duty returns offer precious evidence on the relative circulations of nineteenth-century newspapers, to 1855 at least. Taken together, these fragmentary and imperfect sources are greater than the sum of their parts, and tell a consistent story, of the significance of the local press, in both its production and use.

This thesis is unusual in the range of methods employed. Close textual analyses of newspaper content including readers' letters and of oral history transcripts have been combined with quantitative methods, to produce a consistent corpus of findings from which conclusions can be drawn. The substantial appendices indicate the quantity of data gathered, and the many directions from which the research questions have been approached. When studying the publications themselves, this thesis argues that newspapers are as important as other historical literary objects, and therefore their evaluation 'requires methodology at least as complex as that brought to the analysis of a novel or a poem.'⁴² The newspapers and their personnel have been contextualised from their own histories, business records where they have survived, references in rival publications, from the trade press, comment in metropolitan periodicals, newspaper directories, journalists' memoirs and biographies, and government reports.⁴³ The variety of sources has counteracted journalists' tendency to self-aggrandisement and myth-making. The digitised *Preston Chronicle* (part of the British Library's Nineteenth-

³⁹ H. Whorlow, *The Provincial Newspaper Society. 1836-1886. A Jubilee Retrospect* (London: Page, Pratt & Co, 1886), p.12.

⁴⁰ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.90; A.P. Wadsworth, 'Newspaper Circulations, 1800-1954', *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, 9 March, 1955, p.33.

⁴¹ For a more sceptical view, see Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, p.30.

⁴² M. Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical As a Publishing Genre' in Brake, Jones and Madden, p. 349. It takes a sports historian to point out that 'there has been little recognition of the "literariness" of the newspaper as source': J. Hill, 'Anecdotal Evidence: Sport, the Newspaper Press and History' in M. Phillips (ed), *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), p.126; E. Royle, 'Newspapers and Periodicals in Historical Research' in Brake, Jones and Madden, pp. 48-49, 55.

⁴³ For the problems of trade directories, see J.K. Walton and P.R. McGloin, 'The Tourist Trade in Victorian Lakeland', *Northern History*, 17, 1981; S. Gliserman, 'Mitchell's "Newspaper Press Directory": 1846-1907', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 2, 1, 1969; for journalists' memoirs, see Brown, *Victorian News*, p.75.

Century Newspapers digitised collection)⁴⁴ allows word searching, and has been used alongside the diaries of Anthony Hewitson, who was a reporter on the paper, and subsequently owner-editor. These journals have assisted in using Hewitson's career as a case study of how journalists related to their locality and to their readers.

The *Preston Herald* has been sampled in 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900, by studying every edition in September and October of those years, to cover the end of the cricket season, the start of the football season - when material linking sport and local identity might be found - and the campaigning period for local elections in November, when explicit comments about Preston might be expected. The sampling begins in 1860 rather than 1855, as this thesis studies the *effects* of the explosion in provincial newspaper publishing, rather than the explosion itself. Two out of five sample years were war years, significantly changing the balance of content in papers, and demonstrating how reactive newspapers were. The same decennial sampling method was applied to the *Lancashire Evening Post* for 1886 (October and November of that year, as the paper was launched in October), 1890 and 1900. The *Barrow Herald*, Barrow's first paper, was sampled in the same way in 1863 (its launch year), 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900. The *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Chronicle* were sampled in 1867 and 1868, immediately before and after Hewitson's purchase of the *Chronicle*, and less systematically for other years. The other long-running weekly, the *Preston Pilot* was also not sampled systematically, because of its small readership. Shorter-running publications were sampled less systematically, or – for very short-lived ones – every issue was read. Rival Preston papers have been compared and contrasted, and some comparisons with Barrow papers have been made.⁴⁵ The circulation area of the *Preston Herald* has been mapped over time.

Editorial and advertising content was categorised and quantified in the sampled issues. This content analysis was essential, in order to move beyond personal impressions. If this thesis complicates the notion of the local paper, such complications have come largely from classifying, counting and comparing types of content. Comparisons between papers have been made by expressing total weekly output as numbers of columns of print, and as percentages of weekly output. This was preferred for ease of

⁴⁴ 19CBLN is a powerful but imperfect resource. For example, the *Preston Chronicle* is only digitised for part of its run, from 1831 to 1893 (missing 1886 and 1888, for example), many scanning errors have gone uncorrected, and it is wrongly labelled as the *Preston Guardian*.

⁴⁵ Royle, 'Historical Research'. The work of Peter Lucas on the press of Barrow and Furness has proved invaluable, particularly his M.Litt thesis, and also "The Dialect Boom in Victorian Furness," *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, Series 3, 5, 2005 and "J. A. Bernard's Challenge: Journalists on Journalism in a Victorian Country Town," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Series 3, 7, 2007.

comparison over the alternatives of showing 'average' issues or 'typical' issues, but its distortions must be borne in mind, and these tables, compiled by measuring content by eye, serve only as a rough guide, particularly as only one edition for most issues has survived.⁴⁶ Aspects of editorial content were noted, including form of address, use of dialect, attitudes to different groups in the town, myths about the paper and about the town, developing the methods of Jones.⁴⁷

Quantitative methods of content analysis have enabled the discovery of patterns that are too subtle to be visible on casual inspection and has protected against an unconscious search for only those items that confirm the hypothesis.⁴⁸ The techniques of corpus linguistics or 'text mining' have been used to analyse the discourse of publications.⁴⁹ Specially designed software enables the automated counting of how often particular words or types of words appear, and in what contexts. This assists in identifying common or uncommon phenomena. Frequency lists show how often particular words are used and give clues to rhetorical style; concordancing shows the contexts in which particular words appear and highlights patterns of usage, while collocations, 'the company a word keeps', show associations between concepts. These techniques are faster and more systematic than analysis with the naked eye, and can reveal otherwise hidden patterns. However, close reading and historical context are still required, to aid interpretation. Judgments must be made, too, about the statistical, linguistic and historical relevance of any patterns. In this way, corpus linguistics can assist in identifying 'taken-for-granted' ways of writing and thinking about the world.⁵⁰

In analysis of newspaper texts, particular attention was paid to representations of the local, differentiating these representations as coming from readers, from the 'editorial voice' of publications, or from reported speech such as the comments of a speaker at a meeting. To study the relations between publications and readers, similarities in

⁴⁶ For more on the problems of choosing a unit of analysis when studying serial publications, see Beetham, 'Towards a Theory', pp.20-21.

⁴⁷ Jones, 'Welsh Identity'.

⁴⁸ Branston and Stafford, *Media Student's Book*, p. 154; M.Schudson, 'Toward a Troubleshooting Manual for Journalism History', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 3, 1997, p.468.

⁴⁹ The programs used were WordSmith and WMatrix. For an introduction to WMatrix, see P.Rayson, 'Wmatrix: a web-based corpus processing environment', Computing Department, Lancaster University, 2007 [www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/~paul/publications/icame01.pdf], accessed 29 March 2010. For an example of corpus linguistic analysis of historical texts, see D.Archer, 'Tracing the development of "advocacy" in two nineteenth century English trials' in M. Dossena and I. Taavitsainen (eds), *Diachronic Perspectives on Domain-Specific English* (Bern: Peter Lang; Linguistic Insights series, 2006), pp.55-68. For an introduction to corpus linguistics, see D.Biber, S.Conrad and R. Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ G. Burton, *Media and Society: Critical Perspectives* (Open University Press, 2005), p. 53; see also M.Conboy, *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community Through Language* (London: Routledge, 2006), preface and chapter 2.

representations of the local found in publications and in reader sources were identified. A database of representations, of the local, of the press, of readers and other topics was created, to store and manage hundreds of quotations, and to allow the possibility of comparison between publications and reader sources. High points in the life of the town, such as the opening of the new town hall and Preston North End FC's most successful season, were examined, alongside crises such as a town-wide strike and the football club's financial crisis. These moments were studied to ascertain whether the identity of the town was discussed more explicitly at such times.

The most fruitful methods have been those in which the research agenda has been set by readers rather than texts. Asking 'Which texts did readers prefer, and how did they use them?' has led to clear conclusions, whilst asking 'Who read Title X and what influence did it have on them?' was impossible to answer, and in fact the question was probably misconceived. This became apparent after initial attempts to track the movement of distinctive representations of Preston between publications and their readers. However, the theorisation of local identity developed in Chapter 6 acknowledges that influences on local identities and sense of place are many, with local publications only a very small part of those possible influences. Further, the implicit, repeated representations of a place that are typical of newspapers and periodicals were difficult to identify in the reader sources. If, as this thesis argues, readers were active interpreters and makers of culture rather than passive receivers of ideas, then a search for evidence of such 'influence' would be fruitless, and this has proved to be the case. Instead, the concept of interpretive communities, and evidence from newspaper and reader sources, suggests that the boundary between readers and writers of the local press was a porous one, since many readers helped to write these texts, for instance by sending in sports reports or district news.

Lists of papers and periodicals taken in libraries and news rooms have been analysed quantitatively across the period, with classifications devised from Ellegard and the online edition of the *Waterloo Directory*, and the numbers of certain categories of publication, plus numbers of multiple copies taken, have been used as indices of popularity.⁵¹ The *Waterloo Directory* has proved invaluable, although it has many inaccuracies, requiring cross-checking with other sources such as the British Library newspaper catalogue, newspaper directories, secondary literature and the publications themselves. Records of auctions of second-hand publications have been used to detect trends in the relative depreciation of titles and genres, by comparing cover

⁵¹ A.Ellegard, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain II. Directory', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 13, 1971; *WD* [6 March 2010].

prices with second-hand prices, to create another index of relative popularity, one which was used by commentators at the time. More research is needed on the peculiar nature of the second-hand Victorian newspaper and periodical market, and fuller sources are required, with details of the titles taken in by any particular institution for comparison with those that were sold off. However, the records of the Winckley Club, the most complete available for a Preston news room, have enabled broad trends to be identified in the second-hand values of various print genres.

Readers' letters, including correspondents' pseudonyms, have been analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. Letters have been classified as either proactive (reader setting the agenda) or reactive (response to publication); the subjects of letters have been examined for what they tell us about readers' responses to publications, and their representations of the local. The oral history interviews have occasionally been used quantitatively, by categorising and counting types and titles of publications mentioned. Tentative conclusions can be drawn when there are obvious patterns in the answers of 160 people in three towns. In summary, the wide range of sources and methods utilised has enabled the gathering of a coherent and credible mass of evidence, avoiding over-reliance on one type of source or method. From this, a rounded picture of Preston's local newspapers, and of reading behaviour in Preston has been developed, on which the conclusions of this thesis are based.

Preston has been chosen as a case study (Fig 1 overleaf) for the convenience of access to sources, for its manageable size, and for the amount of secondary literature on the town. Evidence from other parts of Lancashire, and from across Britain, has also been used where relevant. Local differentiation has been acknowledged through some comparisons with Barrow-in-Furness, a Victorian new town, in contrast to the ancient town of Preston, Lancashire's second oldest borough, with its well established identity. However, this thesis makes no claim to being a comparative history. Such a valuable exercise is beyond its scope.

Detached from the northern edge of Lancashire's densely populated industrial zone (see Fig 2, p.35), Preston was a market centre for central Lancashire, as well as a legal centre and the headquarters of a Poor Law union. The town's charters date back to 1179 at least, thanks to its position at the lowest bridging point of the Ribble, and at the crossroads of major North-South and East-West routes. The railway arrived in



Fig. 1. Location map of Preston and Barrow-in-Furness

1838. Trade directories throughout the period (whether published in Preston or elsewhere) characterise Preston primarily as an administrative and market centre rather than an industrial town. Many also mention its past status as the residence of 'independent persons and its claims to gentility,' particularly associated with the Stanley family, the earls of Derby, who resided there for part of the year until the 1830s.⁵² Preston's sense of its own significance was not based solely on its size and industry, but also on its social, administrative and commercial functions, and its long history, so that it saw itself as Lancashire's third centre, after Manchester and Liverpool. Its ancient status as a borough and market town differentiated it from newer Lancashire towns whose main feature was their industry (see Table 3, p.36), but many other aspects of Preston's reading and print culture may have similarities with market

⁵² *Slater's Directory of Manchester & Liverpool and the Principal Manufacturing Towns in Lancashire* (Manchester, 1861), p.357.

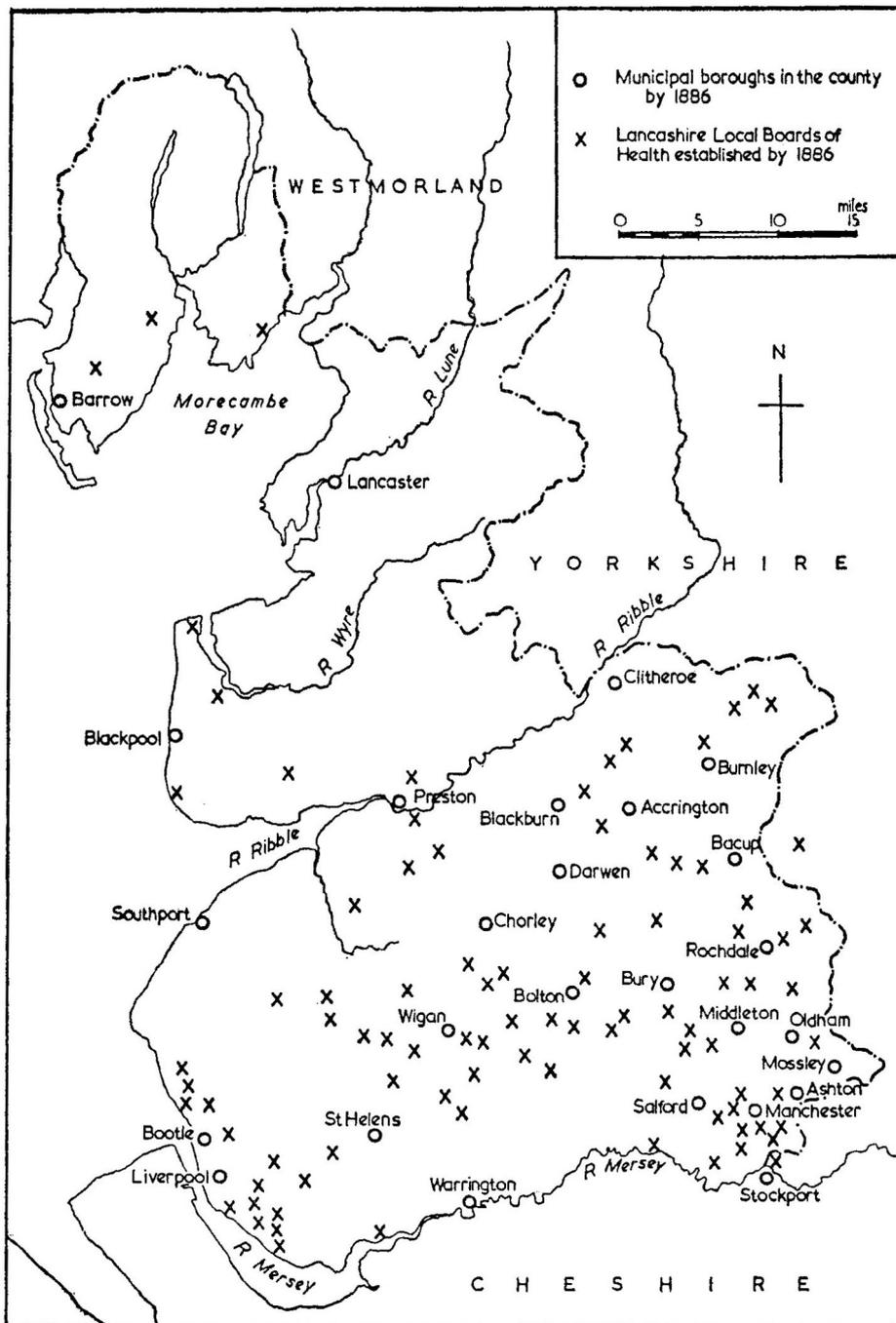


Fig. 2. Position of Preston, north of Lancashire’s main industrial and population centres.

Source: J.D.Marshall, *Lancashire* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles), Fig.12, p.110.

and administrative centres elsewhere. One of Preston’s most distinctive features was its Guild Merchant festival, dating back to the twelfth century and held every 20 years. By the late nineteenth century it was the biggest civic festival of its kind in Britain, attracting national attention. The Guild will not be studied as part of this project because, although it was a celebration of local identity, its unusual nature and national stature limit the general application of any conclusions that might be drawn from its treatment in the local press, and readers’ responses.

Table 3. Population of selected Lancashire towns, 1851 and 1901, and year of incorporation as boroughs

	Population		Date of incorporation
	1851	1901	
Accrington	10,376	43,122	1878
Ashton-under-Lyne	29,791	43,890	1847
Barrow	700	57,586	1867
Blackburn	46,536	127,626	1851
Blackpool	2,500	47,348	1876
Bolton	61,171	168,215	1838
Bootle	4,106	58,556	1868
Burnley	21,000	97,043	1861
Bury	31,262	58,029	1876
Chorley	12,684	26,852	1881
Clitheroe	11,479	11,414	1114?
Colne	8,987	23,000	1895
Darwen	11,702	38,212	1878
Lancaster	16,168	40,329	1193
Leigh	5,206	40,001	1899
Liverpool	376,063	684,958	1207
Manchester	316,213	543,872	1838
Oldham	72,357	137,246	1849
Preston	69,542	112,989	1179
Rochdale	29,195	83,114	1856
St Helens	14,866	84,410	1868
Salford	85,108	220,957	1844
Southport	5,000	48,083	1866
Warrington	23,363	64,242	1847
Wigan	31,941	60,764	1246

Sources: 1852 (118) Population and houses. Return of the numbers of the population and houses, according to the census of 1851, in the counties and divisions of counties, and in the cities, boroughs, and towns, returning members to Parliament in Great Britain, Table II; 1902 [Cd.1002] Census of England and Wales, 1901. (63 Vict. C.4) County of Lancaster. Area, houses and population; also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces, and infirmities, Table 9 [both House of Commons Papers Online]; W.Turner, 'Patterns of Migration of Textile Workers into Accrington in the early Nineteenth Century', *Local Population Studies* 30, 1983.

In 1855, at the start of the period, Preston was recovering from the 1853-54 dispute in which most of the town's mill owners had combined to lock workers out over demands for a ten per cent reinstatement of wages. This had received national attention, and was used by Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell as raw material for their novels *Hard Times* and *North And South* respectively. Despite this, and some Chartist activity earlier in the century, Preston's workers were known for their docility even though employers paid low wages, thanks to a ready supply of labour from the countryside north, east and west of the town.⁵³ This migration, from strong Catholic areas, accounts for the town's status as the most Catholic town in England at this time, with Roman Catholics making up approximately a third of the population.⁵⁴ There is no evidence

⁵³ J.E.King, *Richard Marsden and the Preston Chartists, 1837-1848* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 1981), p.40.

⁵⁴ Roman Catholics accounted for 36 per cent of those attending church in the *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales Abridged from the Official Report* (London: Routledge, 1854), although seven Anglican churches and one Catholic church did not send returns, probably exaggerating the number of Catholic worshippers (p.128).

that this Catholic population made Preston distinctive either in its reading habits or its print culture, with the Catholic churches as keen as other denominations to develop schools, certainly by mid-century, and the number of local Catholic publications only slightly greater than other Lancashire towns of similar size such as Wigan or Bolton.

Despite enormous growth in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Preston was a compact town, with no significant outlying suburbs. Spinning and weaving mills dominated the economy at mid-century, although its status as market centre and county town gave it a more mixed economy than some other textile towns. The population grew from 69,000 in 1851 to 113,000 in 1901 and the town expanded in consequence, particularly to the North and East, developing its first suburbs. It became the headquarters of the new county council in 1889, and its economy continued to diversify, particularly into engineering, enabling it to survive the late nineteenth-century depression better than most Lancashire towns.⁵⁵ Its river port was greatly expanded in 1892, by the controversial creation of a new deep water dock, at enormous cost.⁵⁶

Politically, Preston had long been a two-member Parliamentary constituency, with a tradition of electing one Whig and one Tory. This custom ended in 1865, when the Conservatives began an unbroken 41 years of control of both seats. However, the politics of some of the town's MPs during the period, such as Edward Hermon and Lord Stanley, could be described as Liberal-Conservative.⁵⁷ Savage argues that working-class Conservatism in Preston was created by the party's cultural populism, and from the 1880s, its support for redevelopment of the port. The town's Liberals, in contrast, were seen as the party of the mill and factory owners, and their Nonconformist, teetotal tendencies threatened a working-class Anglican culture which included drinking, gambling and blood sports.⁵⁸ The Conservatives made more effort to woo working-class voters, with better organisation, registration and cultural activities.⁵⁹ Conservatives dominated many of Preston's trade unions towards the end of the century, including the weavers and the overlookers, with the latter active in the Co-

⁵⁵ M.Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics: the Labour Movement in Preston 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.66, 95; D.Hunt, *A History of Preston* (Preston: Carnegie Publishing/Preston Borough Council, 1992), pp.230, 234.

⁵⁶ For a more detailed account, see Hunt, *Preston*, passim.

⁵⁷ Hewitson described Hermon as 'Much respected and liked in Preston – Liberal Conservative – in reality a Liberal, but by peculiarity or accident of circumstance caught by the Conservatives': Hewitson Diaries, hereafter *HD*, 6 May 1881, Lancashire Record Office DP512/1/17.

⁵⁸ J.Lawrence, 'Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism, 1880-1914', *English Historical Review*, cviii, 1993p.635.

⁵⁹ *Preston Chronicle* (hereafter *PC*) 11 May 1878; *Preston Herald* (hereafter *PH*) 28 October 1893.

operative movement, also a Conservative body in Preston.⁶⁰ The Independent Labour Party was active from 1893, unsuccessfully contesting municipal elections and Parliamentary elections (Keir Hardie stood in 1900, taking 22 per cent of the vote).⁶¹ The large Catholic electorate voted en bloc for Whig-Liberal candidates until 1858, after which Liberal foreign policy divided them.⁶²

An unusually high proportion of Preston residents had the vote until the 1880s, thanks to the town's universal male suffrage. This had ended in 1832 but voters under the old franchise retained their rights until death. These 'old franchise men' still accounted for more than 25 per cent of the electorate in 1865, giving Preston a more working-class franchise than most other towns.⁶³ In consequence, one might expect a wider political culture, resulting in higher newspaper readership, but there is no evidence that levels of newspaper reading in Preston were unusually high in this period. After the 1867 Reform Act the middle classes dominated the town's Parliamentary electorate, which expanded enormously from 2,649 men in 1865 to 11,312 in 1868.⁶⁴ The municipal electorate was broader than that for Parliament, and included some working-class men throughout the period. From 1869, single women could also vote in corporation elections, with married women eligible after 1894.⁶⁵ Voting for Poor Law guardians was restricted to wealthy property owners and tenants until this franchise was broadened and regularised in 1894, to include working-class men and women.⁶⁶

Barrow contrasted sharply with Preston, growing from a hamlet to a large industrial town during the period.⁶⁷ If the local press was significant in moulding local identities, one would expect to see the results here, during the golden age of provincial newspapers, in a place whose new identity was in contention. In 1845 Barrow was a remote coastal hamlet (see Figs 1 and 2 above), said to consist of 17 houses inhabited by 68 persons. A new era began in 1846 when the Furness Railway opened, to move

⁶⁰ Savage, *Dynamics*, pp. 136-7, 143, 154-5; P. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p.13.

⁶¹ Savage, *Dynamics*, p.145; *PH* 19 September 1900, p.4.

⁶² T. Smith, 'Religion or Party? Attitudes of Catholic Electors in Mid-Victorian Preston', *North West Catholic History*, 33, 2006, pp.22, 24.

⁶³ Smith, 'Religion or Party?'; T. Smith, "'Let Justice Be Done and We Will Be Silent": a Study of Preston's Catholic Voters and Their Parliamentary Elections Campaigns, 1832 to 1867', *North West Catholic History*, 28, 2001, p.8.

⁶⁴ J.C. Lowe, 'The Tory Triumph of 1868 in Blackburn and in Lancashire', *The Historical Journal*, 16, 4, 1973.

⁶⁵ B. Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise: a Short History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p.p. 55, 59, 69, 74; Smith, 'Let justice be done', p.16.

⁶⁶ Keith-Lucas, *English Local Government Franchise*, pp. 35, 36, 40.

⁶⁷ This account is drawn from J.D. Marshall, *Furness and the Industrial Revolution: an economic history of Furness, 1711-1900, and the town of Barrow, 1757-1897* (Beckermet: Moon, 1981); S. Pollard, 'Barrow-in-Furness and the Seventh Duke of Devonshire', *Economic History Review* 8, 2 (1955); T. H. Bainbridge, 'Barrow in Furness: A Population Study', *Economic Geography* 15, 4 (1939).

high-quality iron ore a few miles from newly discovered deposits to Barrow's shallow and unsheltered harbour. Barrow and its industries were built to increase the profits of the railway, which charged for all freight carried on it. Iron smelting began in Barrow in 1859, a steelworks opened in 1865, a huge new dock designed to rival Liverpool's was built in 1867, and the Barrow Shipbuilding Company was formed in 1871. As the town mushroomed, it rapidly gained the appurtenances of civic identity, including incorporation as a borough in 1867, a School Board in 1872, independent Poor Law administration in 1876, its own police force in 1881, a public library in 1882, and the status of a parliamentary constituency in 1885.

The railway was funded chiefly by two local landowners, the second Earl Burlington, William Cavendish, who became the seventh Duke of Devonshire in 1858, and the Duke of Buccleuch. Their capital, plus that of mine-owner Henry Schneider, funded most of Barrow's growth, aided by the managerial talent of James Ramsden of the Furness Railway Company and Josiah T Smith of the Barrow Haematite Steel Company. 'It was hardly of great moment whether the Furness Railway, the Haematite Steel Company or the Duke of Devonshire held large tracts of Barrow or Furness territory, for the ultimate control emanated from the same personalities in each case.'⁶⁸ Ten out of 16 of the town's first councillors were connected to the railway, iron or steel trades. In contrast, control of the local economy and local government was much more widely distributed in Preston, where no individual loomed as large as Ramsden, who was a director of all Barrow's main employers, planned the new town on a grid pattern, launched one of its newspapers, the *Barrow Times*, became the town's first mayor and was celebrated with a statue when he was still only 50 years old.

Barrow's astounding growth in population was fuelled largely by immigration, which rose and fell according to whether the town was experiencing boom or depression. In 1861 20 per cent of the town's population were immigrants, rising to 40 per cent in 1871. The town's population was also unusual in its gender balance, with twice as many men as women recorded in the 1871 Census. Most of the population was Nonconformist or Catholic, and high rents, high prices and poor working and living conditions led to frequent strikes. Few Barrow residents had a parliamentary vote: 878 in 1868, rising to 1,957 in 1871. The town's ruling clique was mainly Liberal. Barrow's trajectory was disrupted in the mid-1870s, when the Furness iron ore began to give out, and a 20-year national trade depression, beginning in 1874, affected iron and steel production. Shipbuilding declined in the second half of the 1880s, but Barrow's

⁶⁸ Marshall, *Furness*, p.341.

industries were protected from complete collapse by huge subsidies from the Duke of Devonshire.

Following this introduction to the sources, methods and locations of the research, the next chapter establishes the scale of the provincial press in this period, and provides a detailed description of Preston's periodical print culture.

PART B: PRODUCING THE LOCAL PRESS

3. PRESTON'S NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

This chapter first establishes the scale of the provincial press, before introducing the newspaper and periodical press of Preston in the second half of the nineteenth century. Like most provincial towns of its size, Preston was a significant periodical publishing centre in this period. The content of the town's main newspapers is analysed, and used to examine the concept of the 'local' paper. The aim of the chapter is to characterise Preston's press, as a necessary step towards analysing the ways in which readers used the local press, and readers' relationships with publishers, editors and journalists, as members of interpretive communities.

THE SCALE OF THE PROVINCIAL PRESS

After the abolition of the Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855, the provincial press rose to dominate the newspaper world, in numbers of titles, and numbers of copies sold. According to the 1854 Stamp Duty returns, more than 64.7 million stamps were issued to London papers, more than twice the 25.4 million issued to provincial papers.¹ However, by 1864 Edward Baines, the well informed owner of the *Leeds Mercury*, claimed that out of a total annual newspaper circulation of 546 million copies, 340 million were provincial publications.² In 1920, the circulation of the provincial morning and evening papers alone, ignoring weekly papers, was still one-third greater than the London dailies.³ Reader evidence confirms this lasting preference for the local and regional press, as we shall see in Chapters 8-10.

¹ 1854-55 (83) *Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom*, 1854 [House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online].

² E.Baines, *Extension of the franchise: speech of Edward Baines on moving the second reading of the Borough Franchise Bill, in the House of Commons, on the 11th May, 1864* (London, 1864), cited in J.Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party, 1857-1868* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p.95. Lee estimated that, after Stamp Duty repeal, 'the total circulation of the morning and evening provincial press [i.e. excluding provincial weeklies], even though it cannot be precisely measured, was certainly far in excess of that of the metropolitan press': Lee, *Origins*, p.75.

³ C.Seymour-Ure, *The British Press and Broadcasting Since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p.16.

Table 4. Numbers of English newspapers by place of publication, 1854-1914

	1854	1856	1862	1872	1882	1892	1900	1914
	(a)							
London newspapers								
Mornings	11	8	14	12	13	13	21	27
Evenings	6	7	7	7	7	9	11	7
General interest	45		71	70	85	94	{	{
Special interest	180		103	126	215	273	{ 440	{ 434
Local	6	136	27	50	121	154	{	{
<i>London total</i>	248	151	222	265	441	543	472	468
Provincial newspapers								
Mornings	6	15	22	48	70	75	70	42
Evenings	0	1	0	15	79	86	101	77
Weekly/ bi-weekly	306	400	615	844	943	1108	{	{
Special interest	29		8	13	21	29	{	{
<i>Provincial total</i>	589	567	867	1185	1554	1841	1947	1913
All newspapers	837	718	1089	1450	1995	2384	2419	2381
All magazines & reviews			516	639	1180	1901	2328	

Sources: Lee, 'Structure', p121, Table 6.1: 'The British Press, 1856-1914' [Lee's figures are taken mainly from the Newspaper Press Directory]; Newspaper Press Directory; (a) 1854-55 (83) *Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom, 1854* [House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online]; *WD*. Place of publication was taken from the publication's title, or from *WD*. Catalogues, price lists and trade reports were omitted.

While London was the single most important newspaper publishing centre in the late nineteenth century, the big cities, and even smaller towns, were centres of regional and local publishing networks, connecting within a larger national network. As Table 4 above shows, more than twice as many titles were published in the English provinces at the beginning of the period than from London, but provincial titles nearly doubled between 1854 and 1872, while London publications rose by only eight per cent. By the end of the period, provincial titles had more than trebled, rising from 598 to 1,947, while those published from London had roughly doubled, going from 248 to 468. Non-newspaper periodicals lagged behind newspapers in numbers of titles until the end of the period. Table 4 also shows that the weekly or bi-weekly provincial paper, the focus of this thesis, was by far the most common type, accounting for all but six provincial papers before 1855, and even at the end of the century, there were almost eight times as many weeklies and bi-weeklies as daily provincial papers.

Table 5. Metropolitan versus provincial newspaper sales, 1864

London weeklies	2,263,000 per week
Provincial weeklies	3,907,000 per week
London dailies	248,000 per day
Provincial dailies	438,000 per day

Source: Baines, *Extension*, cited in Vincent, *Formation*, p.95.

Of course, numbers of titles are not the same as copies sold or read, but what little evidence there is, also suggests that provincial papers outsold London ones. Table 5 above shows the 1864 sales figures given by Baines, an industry insider with a point to

make about the importance of provincial opinion, but whose figures were seemingly uncontroversial.

Table 6. Average monthly sales of London versus provincial newspapers, WH Smith bookstall, Bradford 1868

	March	June	September	December
London dailies	218	254	218	225
Provincial dailies	213	208	277	345

Source: Brown, *Victorian News*, Table 2.3, p.41.

No sales evidence has been found for Preston, but it is likely that the balance between provincial and metropolitan papers was similar to Bradford and Manchester. Table 6 above shows that, during the General Election year of 1868, in which two new Bradford daily titles were launched, they and other provincial dailies from Leeds and Manchester soon outsold the London papers at a Bradford WH Smith bookstall. The inclusion of weekly provincial papers swings the balance further away from London publications. Similarly, sales of Manchester papers outstripped London titles in Manchester in 1874, according to wholesale newsagent Abel Heywood and author John Nodal. Their two papers to the Manchester Literary Club suggest that the city's own publications (both newspapers and magazines) sold 39 million copies per year in the city and its environs. While no directly comparable figure is given for non-Manchester publications, they sold substantially less, with cheap weekly papers, higher-class magazines, family magazines, penny miscellanies, shilling magazines, *Chambers's Journal*, *All The Year Round*, children's magazines and penny dreadfuls selling a combined 17 million copies per year.⁴ Although no figures are given for London daily papers, Heywood believed that, despite their increased sales, if the numbers of London papers sold in Manchester in 1851 were doubled or trebled, 'they will not approach the numbers of the London dailies now circulated here, and are a mere nothing compared with the present circulation of the Manchester papers'.⁵

If doubts still remain as to the greater number of copies sold by the provincial press, it is hard to explain why Baron Reuter chose an exclusive deal with the Provincial Newspaper Society's offshoot, the Press Association, in preference to contracts with

⁴ J.H.Nodal, 'Newspapers and Periodicals: Their Circulation in Manchester, I', *Manchester Literary Club Papers II*, 1876; A.Heywood, 'Newspapers and Periodicals: Their Circulation in Manchester, II', *Manchester Literary Club Papers II*, 1876.

⁵ Heywood, p.41. See Table A2 (Appendix) for full interpretation of Nodal and Heywood figures. Margaret Beetham draws the opposite conclusion from these reports, although she does not explain her interpretation: M.Beetham, "'Oh! I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside!": Lancashire Seaside Publications', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 42, 1, 2009, p.24.

the more prestigious London papers.⁶ Whilst it might be thought that Colclough's excellent work on print distribution contradicts the conclusions here, his research inevitably underplays the significance of the provincial press because of the nature of his sources: wholesale newsagents, who had few dealings with the provincial press (most local and regional papers had their own distribution networks), and the railway bookstalls of WH Smith, 'whose business was founded on the distribution of London papers to the provinces.'⁷

PRESTON'S NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Preston was one of hundreds of nodes in the national network constituted by the local press. This section provides an outline history of Preston's newspapers, giving an impression of the 'ecology' of print produced in the town, before a more detailed account of the main titles.⁸ This survey is made necessary by the lack of any thorough history of Preston's newspapers. Preston had at least three eighteenth-century newspapers, and from 1807 onwards was served continuously by a paper of at least weekly frequency, and in some years by as many as eight rival publications. A total of 50 titles published during the nineteenth century have been traced (see Table 7, p.46), but there were probably other fleeting productions.⁹ Of these 50, about ten had little or no local content, such as the *Collector's Circular* and the *Commercial Traveller's Review*, whilst claiming or achieving national circulation. Thirty-four out of 50 were launched in the last 45 years of the century, showing how the provincial press expanded in this period.¹⁰

⁶ J.Silberstein-Loeb, 'The Structure of the News Market in Britain, 1870-1914', *Business History Review* 83,4, 2009, p.9.

⁷ S. Colclough, 'Distribution' in D. McKitterick (ed), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 6, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Colclough, 'Purifying', p.30.

⁸ For a similar exercise for Manchester, see M. Powell and T. Wyke, 'Manchester Men and Manchester Magazines: Publishing. Periodicals in the Provinces in the Nineteenth Century' in J. Hinks, C. Armstrong, and M. Day (eds), *Periodicals and Publishers: the Newspaper and Journal Trade 1740-1914* (London: British Library, 2009).

⁹ For a similar chart of the newspapers of Walthamstow, see R.Desmond, *Our Local Press: a Short Historical Account of the Newspapers of Walthamstow* (Walthamstow: Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, 1955), p.77.

¹⁰ See Bibliography for sources on Preston publications. The Waterloo Directory incorrectly includes the *Evening Mail* as a Preston publication for 1830-31, and the *Preston Observer* for 1869 (a prospectus has survived, but no evidence of a paper). Hewitson's *History of Preston* has some inaccuracies, which have been repeated by Clemesha, Spencer and Shuttleworth: *WD*; A.Hewitson, *History of Preston* (Wakefield: SR Publishers [first published 1883], 1969), pp.341-44; H.W.Clemesha, *A History of Preston in Amounderness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1912); H.W.Clemesha, *A Bibliography of the History of Preston in*

Comparison with other places shows that Preston was not unusual in the number and variety of its papers and periodicals, many of which are not listed in the British Library catalogue, and have left no surviving copies. Comparison with towns of similar size, let alone large cities such as Liverpool and Manchester, also highlights the distinctiveness of each local print culture. While similar numbers of publications appeared in Bolton, 24 miles away from Preston, there were significant differences. Bolton had four dialect and humorous titles, while Preston had none; Bolton produced a successful evening paper (the *Bolton Evening News*) 19 years before Preston, plus four other evenings, two of them lasting for 11 years and 37 years, while Preston had only one lasting for more than a year, launching as late as 1886. Bolton had three Labour or socialist journals, while Preston had none during this period.

In rural areas, weeklies were typically published from the market town and circulated in all the areas oriented to that market, whilst in more urban areas such as Manchester or Liverpool, they sold across a smaller but much more densely populated territory. There were still some county papers, such as the *Westmorland Gazette*, published from the county town of Kendal, with an editorial remit to cover the whole shire. Preston's weekly and bi-weekly papers straddled all three categories, of market-town, urban and county-wide, because of the town's distinctive status; formally it was the county town of one of England's most populous counties, but in practice served more as the headquarters of central, North and North-East Lancashire.¹¹ This territory, from Chorley northwards to Furness, was greater in area than most English counties but contained several towns as large as Preston, and many that were smaller but capable of supporting their own paper (see Fig.2, Chapter 2, p.35).

Three of Preston's four longest-running weekly and bi-weekly papers were established in the first half of the nineteenth century. The *Preston Journal* (1807-12) became the *Preston Chronicle* (1812-93) when it changed hands in 1812, and was a Liberal paper for all but the last three years of its existence. A second long-running weekly, the Conservative *Preston Pilot* (1825-88), was launched in 1825, although by the 1860s it had transmogrified into a Lytham paper, despite its name. The town's most successful

Amounderness. Reprinted From "The Preston Guardian", Etc (Preston: George Toulmin & Sons, 1923); J.H.Spencer's detailed historical articles on many Preston newspapers appeared in the *Preston Herald* between 19 June 1942 and 18 June 1943; D. Shuttleworth, *Preston Newspapers, 1740-1840: a Talk Given to the Preston Branch of the Lancashire Family History and Heraldry Society* (unpublished manuscript, Local Studies Collection, Harris Reference Library, Preston, 2001); D. Shuttleworth, *Preston Newspapers, 1850-1914: a Talk Given to the Preston Branch of the Lancashire Family History and Heraldry Society* (unpublished manuscript, Local Studies Collection, Harris Reference Library, Preston, 2001).

¹¹ H.J.Hanham, *Elections and Party Management* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1978), p.284.

	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
1 Philatelic World (1899)											
2 Preston Argus (1897 - 1917)				Monthly	Satirical	Magazine					
3 Cross Fleury's Journal (1896 - 1900?)				Monthly		Magazine					
4 Empire Journal (1896 - 1897)				Monthly/Weekly		Magazine					
5 Preston Monthly Circular (1895 - 1915)				Monthly		Advertiser					
6 Lancashire Catholic (1895-1902)				Monthly	Catholic	Magazine					
7 Upward (1895? - 1900)				Monthly	Temperance	Magazine					
8 Preston Co-operative Record (1894 - 1920)				Monthly	Membership	Magazine					
9 Faith Of Our Fathers (1891-?)				Monthly	Catholic	Magazine					
10 Preston Weekly Advertiser (1890 - 1894?)				Weekly		Advertiser					
11 The Antidote (1890 - 1892)				Weekly	Catholic, polemical	Magazine					
12 Financial Opinion (1889)											
13 Catholic News (1889 - 1934)				Weekly	Catholic	Newspaper					
14 Onward (1888-?)				Monthly	Temperance	Magazine					
15 Lancashire Evening/Daily Post (1886 to date)				Evening		Newspaper					
16 Preston Football News (1885)				Weekly	Football	Newspaper					
17 National Fair Trader (1884)											
18 Preston Telegraph (1881)				Weekly?	Sports	Newspaper					
19 The Echo (1880)				Monthly	Satirical	Magazine					
20 The Wasp (1878)				Weekly	Satirical	Magazine					
21 Commercial Traveller's Review (1874-75)											
22 Preston Penny News (1874)				Weekly		Newspaper					
23 Preston Sun (1874)				Weekly		Newspaper					
24 Preston Illustrated Times (1874)				Weekly	Illustrated	Newspaper					
25 Preston Daily Guardian (1870)				Morning		Newspaper					
26 Preston Evening News (1870 - 1871)				Evening		Newspaper					
27 Preston Evening Express & General Daily Advertiser (1870)				Evening		Newspaper					
28 Longworth's Preston Advertiser (1867 - 1877)				Monthly	Misc	Advertiser					
29 Staunich Teetotaler (1867-68)				Monthly	Temperance	Magazine					
30 Collector's Circular (1865-66)											
31 Preston Mercury (1861)				Weekly		Newspaper					
32 Mitchell's Monthly Preston Advertiser (Oct-Nov 1859)				Monthly		Advertiser					
33 Preston Herald & General Advertiser (1855 - 1970)				Weekly/bi-weekly		Newspaper					
34 Preston Standard and Northern Weekly Advertiser (1855-56)				Weekly		Newspaper					
35 Preston Illustrated General Advertiser (1854-55)				Weekly	Illustrated	Magazine?					
36 Livesey's Progressionist (1852-53)				Weekly	Political	Magazine					
37 Preston Guardian (1844 - 1964)				Weekly/bi-weekly		Newspaper					
38 Preston Magazine & Christian's Miscellany (1843)				Monthly	Anglican	Magazine					
39 The Struggle (1841-46)				Weekly	Anti-Corn Laws	Magazine					
40 Pollard's Preston Advertiser, & Lancashire Commercial, Agricultural, & General Gazette (1840-41)				Weekly	Political, temperance	Magazine					
41 Livesey's Moral Reformer (1838-39)				Weekly	Political, temperance	Magazine					
42 Preston Observer (1837-40)				Weekly		Newspaper					
43 Youthful Tee-totaler (1836)					Temperance						
44 Preston Temperance Advocate (1834-37)				Weekly	Temperance	Magazine					
45 Moral Reformer (1831-33)				Weekly	Political, temperance	Magazine					
46 The Crisis, or Star to the Great Northern Union (Sept-Aug 1830)				Weekly?	Political	Magazine					
47 Preston Pilot and Lancashire (County) Advertiser (1825 - 1888)				Weekly		Newspaper					
48 Preston Sentinel (1821-22)				Weekly		Newspaper					
49 Preston Chronicle (1812 - 1893)				Weekly		Newspaper					
50 Preston Journal (1807-12)				Weekly		Newspaper					

paper, in terms of circulation, profits and reputation, was the *Preston Guardian* (1844-1964), launched by teetotaler and anti-corn-law campaigner Joseph Livesey. Livesey, a wealthy, self-made cheesemonger, had already published half a dozen polemical weeklies, and was involved in most of Preston's progressive causes.¹²

The repeal of Stamp Duty encouraged the *Guardian* to go from weekly to bi-weekly and prompted the launch of a new paper, the *Preston Herald*, which struggled until the local Conservative association bought it in 1860 and remade it as a political rival to the Liberal *Guardian*. Two evening papers catering to the demand for frequent news from the Franco-Prussian War began a short-lived burst of publishing activity in the 1870s.

None of the eight publications launched in that decade lasted more than four years, most running for a matter of months or weeks. Another, more sustained burst of new launches occurred in the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s, beginning with the *Lancashire Evening Post* in 1886, followed by three Catholic publications and a number of magazines, both satirical and general local interest. These new titles exemplified new provincial genres invented to create and supply newly differentiated markets.¹³ The two smaller weekly papers, the *Pilot* and the *Chronicle*, were incorporated into more successful publications, the former merging with the *Lytham Times* in 1888 and the latter with the *Preston Guardian* in 1893. Table 7 (p.45) shows the growth in number of titles, but there were also significant increases in the physical dimensions, number of pages, publishing frequency and sales of the town's longer-running publications, so that the *Preston Guardian* of 1884 reckoned to publish in a month the same amount of material as a Preston paper of 1829 published in a year.¹⁴

Newspaper and periodical publishing in Barrow-in-Furness had a much shorter history.¹⁵ Until its first paper, the *Barrow Herald*, in 1863, this rapidly growing new town was a periphery to the older publishing core of Ulverston, the main market centre for the Furness peninsula, and was also served by newspapers from Lancaster and Kendal. The Radical *Barrow Herald* was critical of the town's small ruling clique, and three years later one of this clique, James Ramsden, managing director of the Furness Railway Company, invited the editor of the *Kendal Times*, Joseph Richardson, to launch the *Barrow Times*. Another Radical paper, the *Barrow Pilot*, began in the same

¹² I. Levitt (ed.), *Joseph Livesey of Preston: Business, Temperance and Moral Reform* (Preston: University of Central Lancashire, 1996).

¹³ Erickson, p.14.

¹⁴ *PG* 4 October 1884, p.5.

¹⁵ This account is taken from Lucas, MLitt.

year. Richardson, who had launched the first newspaper in another Victorian steel-making new town, Middlesbrough, in 1853, edited the *Times* until 1871, when he fell out with Ramsden and set up a satirical magazine, the *Vulcan*. Ramsden was ambitious for his weekly newspaper, and in 1871 transformed it into the *Barrow Daily Times*, a morning paper with regional coverage and distribution, chiefly via the Furness Railway network. The new daily, launched shortly before the end of Barrow's boom years, was intended to advertise the new town and attract investment. It was also used as the mouthpiece of Barrow's industrial rulers, devoting four pages to the unveiling of Ramsden's statue in 1872, for example.¹⁶ The daily experiment was abandoned in 1875, as depression set in. Other weeklies and dailies came and went in the 1870s until the long-lived *Barrow Weekly News* was launched in 1881, and in 1898 the *North West Evening Mail* became the first Barrow daily to last more than five years, and continues today.

Table 8. Newspapers and periodicals published in Barrow-in-Furness, 1863-1900

				1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
<i>North West Evening Mail</i>	1898-	Daily						
<i>Barrow Journal</i>	1896-1901	Weekly						
<i>Barrow ILP Journal</i>	1895	Weekly	Political newspaper					
<i>Barrow Daily Telegram</i>	1892	Daily						
<i>Barrow Weekly News</i>	1881-1990	Bi-weekly						
<i>Barrow Daily Times</i>	1881	Daily						
<i>Barrow Evening Echo</i>	1879-80, 1894-98	Daily						
<i>The Satirist</i>	1877-78	Monthly	Satirical magazine					
<i>Barrow Daily News</i>	1875	Daily						
<i>The Vulcan</i>	1871-86	Weekly	Satirical magazine					
<i>Barrow Daily Times</i>	1871-75	Daily						
<i>Barrow Advertiser</i>	1868-70	Weekly						
<i>Barrow Pilot</i>	1867-77	Weekly						
<i>Barrow Times</i>	1866-71, 1875-85	Weekly						
<i>Barrow Herald</i>	1863-1914	Bi-weekly						

On the following pages, Preston's most popular and longest running weeklies and bi-weeklies are described in detail (for further information, see Appendix, pp.15-28).

¹⁶ P.J.Lucas, 'Publicity and Power: James Ramsden's Experiment With Daily Journalism', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* LXXV, new series, 1975, p.364.

***Preston Chronicle* (1812-93)**

The Liberal *Chronicle* had the field to itself until the 1820s, and its fortunes were unaffected by the arrival of the Conservative *Preston Sentinel* (1821-2) and *Preston Pilot* (1825-86).¹⁷ But its weekly sale of 1,846 in 1843 virtually halved to 971 in 1844, when the *Preston Guardian*, a better executed Liberal paper with a clear editorial line against the Corn Laws, was launched. The newcomer immediately sold twice as many copies (Table A3, Appendices). It took nine years for the *Chronicle*'s sale to return to its 1844 level, by which time the *Guardian* was selling 6,212 copies, three times as many.¹⁸ 'In the middle and later periods of its existence [the *Chronicle*] had a marked literary flavour, due to its editors, William Dobson and Anthony Hewitson.'¹⁹ Hewitson paid a deposit of £300 for the goodwill of the *Chronicle* and 'about £280' for stock in trade in March 1868, paying the balance, 'a considerable sum', in instalments over the following five years. He later remembered his first few years as owner as 'an awfully hard pull', involving the purchase of new presses and type, and three removals.²⁰ Hewitson ran the *Chronicle* for 22 years.²¹ In 1872 it was making £12 profit a week; by 1873, it may even have had the highest sale in Preston itself (while its two larger competitors, the *Herald* and the *Guardian*, probably sold more elsewhere in their more extensive circulation areas).²² The paper's 1882 Newspaper Press Directory advertisement described it as 'An excellent Middle-class and Family Journal.' In the 1880s Hewitson chose to ignore the popular new sport of football and campaigned against rates-funded expansion of Preston's docks, both unpopular positions which may have lost the paper sales in an increasingly competitive local market. Hewitson would probably have passed the paper on to his sons if it had had a future, but in 1890 he sold the *Chronicle* to two local journalists, who failed to revive it. They tried, unsuccessfully, to sell the goodwill of the ailing paper in 1893, and in January 1894 it

¹⁷ The British Library catalogue erroneously dates the *Preston Chronicle*'s launch as 1831, which may explain why its digitised edition of the paper starts from that date rather than 1812 or 1807.

¹⁸ 1851 (558) *Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index*; 1854 (117) *Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom, 1851-53* [both House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online].

¹⁹ Spencer, *PH* 22 January 1943.

²⁰ *PC* 5 April 1890; *HD* 14 April 1896 and back of 1873 diary.

²¹ *HD* 23 March 1868, 20 November 1872, 16 July 1873 and back of 1873 diary. Hewitson did not keep a diary between August 1868 and January 1872, so the total price paid for the *Chronicle* is not known.

²² *HD* 15 May 1872; for speculation on the three papers' circulations, see 'A fine farce – the two Preston papers "gone to the wall"', Correspondence, *PC* 8 November 1873, p.6.

was merged into the *Preston Guardian*.²³ Throughout this period the *Chronicle* focused its news coverage more on Preston and less on the rest of the county than the *Guardian* or the *Herald*, and this pattern increased under Hewitson's ownership (see Chapter 5). He also increased the amount of Preston advertising. The *Chronicle* had more national advertising, particularly in 1889, suggesting reduced profitability, and steadily increased the amount of non-local features, like all of Preston's papers (Table A4, Appendices).

Advertisements had long been the most significant form of income for the provincial newspaper, and became more important after the abolition of the flat-rate 1s 6d Advertising Duty in 1853.²⁴ Adverts for sales by auction, public notices and general classifieds were particularly lucrative.²⁵ This was why Hewitson was so concerned in 1887 when a vengeful councillor tried, unsuccessfully, to end the advertising of corporation tenders in the *Preston Chronicle*, and why he was so pleased when an issue of the *Chronicle* had two-and-a-half columns of auction advertisements, and five columns of public notices: 'Today's Chronicle contained a more remunerative class of advertisements than during any other week since my purchase of it in March 1868.'²⁶

Preston Pilot (1825-88)

The *Preston Pilot* was established in 1825. Its founder, printer Lawrence Clarke, had previously published another Conservative paper, the *Preston Sentinel* (1821-22). Thomas Walker Clarke edited the paper during the Chartist era, when he was twice fired at through the window of his printing office.²⁷ Lawrence Clarke's son Robert ran the paper from about 1850. Around this time the *Pilot* seems to have fallen out of favour with Preston's Conservative leaders, and competition from the newly Conservative *Preston Herald*, from 1860 onwards, harmed the *Pilot*.²⁸ It reduced in size, and appears to have nearly closed in 1867, when it changed its name from the *Preston Pilot and County Advertiser* to *Preston Pilot and Lancashire Advertiser*,

²³ *PG*, 13 May 1893, p5.

²⁴ 'Advertising was firmly in the saddle at least as early as 1812': S.Bennett, 'Victorian Newspaper Advertising: Counting What Counts', *Publishing History*, 8, 1980, p. 15.

²⁵ L.Robinson, *Boston's Newspapers* (Boston: Richard Kay Publications, for the History of Boston Project, 1974), p.9; Bennett, 'Victorian newspaper advertising', p.8; G.Nulty, *Guardian Country 1853-1978: Being the Story of the First 125 Years of Cheshire County Newspapers Limited* (Warrington: Cheshire County Newspapers Ltd, 1978), p.120.

²⁶ *PC* 2 April 1887, p.6; *HD* 31 March 1887, 29 March 1873; see also 12 July 1873.

²⁷ 'Death of Mr TW Clarke', *PG* 15 August 1863, p.5.

²⁸ 'The happy family,' correspondence from 'Every Tub Should Stand On Its Own Bottom', *PC* January 22, 1853.

subtitled 'Local Railway Guide and Weekly Reference Diary' and was issued free in reduced form for three months, until April 1867. Robert Clarke moved to Lytham in 1870, and by 1875 it was a Lytham paper in all but name, with very little Preston content. It is hard to believe it was making money, and it is unclear why Clarke continued it, especially as he owned the more successful Lytham paper, the *Lytham Times*. A correspondent to a rival paper in 1883 described the *Pilot* as 'a paper which some people fancy is dead, and which hardly anybody sees ...'²⁹ By the mid-1880s, the paper appeared to be using pre-printed sheets for five of its eight pages, another sign of low circulation. In 1888 the proprietor and editor of the *Staffordshire Sentinel*, Congregational minister Rev John Mills, bought the *Pilot* and Clarke's other paper, the *Lytham Times*, merging the two.³⁰ Of Preston's four main weekly and bi-weekly papers, the *Pilot* was the least dynamic and lowest selling.

Preston Guardian (1844-1964)

The anti-Corn Law *Preston Guardian* was founded in 1844 by Joseph Livesey, who was frustrated at the Liberal *Preston Chronicle's* opposition to repeal.³¹ Livesey oversaw the management of the *Guardian* and wrote some leaders, while leaving detailed management and journalism to his sons, William and John. The paper sold well around Preston and in East Lancashire (indeed it may have sold more outside Preston than within), with offices in Preston, Blackburn, Burnley, Accrington, Darwen and Clitheroe.³² Livesey's previous journalistic experience, and the talent of his sons, ensured that the *Guardian* was better in form and content than its two Preston rivals, achieving a circulation in its first year higher than their combined sales (see Table A3, Appendix) although he later admitted that it lost money for its first three years.³³ Livesey had used woodblock illustrations in previous publications, and introduced them into the *Guardian*. When Livesey reached 65 in 1859 he sold the booming paper to his protégé, George Toulmin, for £6,600.

²⁹ 'Very "alive and kicking."' *PC* 11 August 1883, p.6.

³⁰ Anon, *Rendezvous With the Past: One Hundred Years' History of North Staffordshire and the Surrounding Area, As Reflected in the Columns of the Sentinel, Which Was Founded on January 7th, 1854* (Stoke-on-Trent: Staffordshire Sentinel Newspapers, 1954), pp.14-15.

³¹ Levitt, *Joseph Livesey*, p.48.

³² 'A fine farce – the two Preston papers "gone to the wall"', correspondence, *PC* 8 November 1873, p.6; 'Seventieth birthday of Councillor Toulmin JP – presentation', *PG* 5 January 1884, p.11.

³³ *PG* 14 December 1872, p.6.

In a small way, the *Guardian* achieved journalistic and commercial success by mimicking the *Times*'s methods of investing in journalists (the *Guardian* had 'A Staff of over Twenty Reporters – the largest in the Kingdom' in 1889), developing a large network of district correspondents, and embracing technical innovation, including some in-house inventions.³⁴ Because of this, there was probably some truth in the boast that 'it has always been read by the best people of whatever politics in town and country'.³⁵ Another accurate claim was that made in its 1871 *Newspaper Press Directory* advert, that 'its columns are largely occupied with the discussion of all topics connected with the social and moral elevation of the people' – its tone, particularly under the Toulmins, was more sober and serious-minded than its rivals.³⁶ The paper's extensive coverage of agricultural matters reflected the personal interests of John Toulmin, and was in tune with its sizeable rural readership. Its circulation was phenomenal. According to the 1854 stamp returns, the *Guardian* was the ninth best-selling provincial newspaper in England (see Table A6, Appendix). It outsold any single title in Sheffield or Newcastle, and sold more than all four Leicester papers combined, for example. In Lancashire, only one Liverpool paper and two Manchester titles sold more.³⁷ It was avowedly Liberal, but a successful business, unlike its competitor the *Preston Herald*, owned by local Conservatives, which it mocked as a 'subsidised Tory organ'.³⁸

George Toulmin snr claimed to find even-handed reporting more profitable than a partisan approach, from his experience at the *Bolton Chronicle* in the 1850s:

Previously ... the reports inserted were generally written out with a view to influence the political situation in the borough, especially as respects the length at which they were published, those meetings of the same politics as the paper being given at great length, while those held by the opposite party were rarely represented by more than a short travesty. The reforms which I effected in this department, combined with attention to all matters of local interest ... largely increased the circulation and influence of the paper, so that ... it became a valuable property.³⁹

³⁴ Advertisement, *Sell's Dictionary of the Press 1889*, p.1206.

³⁵ Letter from former *PG* journalist, Alex H Boyd, *PG* jubilee supplement, 17 February 1894, p.12.

³⁶ Preston's temperance movement, and perhaps Toulmin himself, a campaigning teetotaler, were an electoral liability to the Liberal party, according to letters from party activists to prospective Parliamentary candidate George Melly in the 1860s: H.A.Taylor, 'Politics in Famine Stricken Preston: An Examination of Liberal Party Management, 1861-65', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, 107, 1956, p.133.

³⁷ 1854-55 Newspaper Stamp return.

³⁸ Leader column, *PG* 24 October 1868, p4.

³⁹ 'Seventieth birthday of Councillor Toulmin JP – presentation', *PG* 5 January 1884, p.11.

Toulmin applied this technique to the *Preston Guardian*, making the paper attractive even to readers who disagreed with its politics.⁴⁰ He originally used this technique on an avowedly political paper, funded by the Bolton Conservatives, before the liberalisation of the market, challenging Chalaby's dichotomy of pre-repeal publicists and post-repeal journalists.⁴¹

Table 9. *Preston Guardian* circulation

Year	Circulation	Source
1844	1846	a
1846	3257	a
1848	3740	a
1850	5019	a
1852	5442	a
1854	7288	a
1858	8000	b
1860	8500	c
1866	13600	b
1868	15500	b
1887	20000	d

Sources: a) 1854, 1854-55 Newspaper Stamp returns; *Newspaper Stamp Committee; Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom, 1851-53; 1862 (498) Return of Registered Newspapers and Publications in United Kingdom, and Number of Stamps issued, June 1861-62* [all House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online]. b) Jubilee supplement, *PG* 17 February 1894. c). *NPD*. d). *PG* 9 February 1887, p.6.

Preston's position as a rail junction may have helped the *Preston Guardian* to build a sub-regional circulation, particularly in East Lancashire. While the railways helped the London papers to penetrate the provinces, they could also help papers published in regional rail hubs such as Liverpool and Manchester to reach their hinterland.⁴² At the next level down, nine lines radiated from Preston by 1849 (a tenth was added in 1882). National comparisons between railway building and newspaper stamp returns in the 1830s and 1840s would be instructive.⁴³

George Toulmin snr, who was an agent for passenger liners to America, went on a three-month visit to the US in 1865 (many provincial newspaper proprietors made this

⁴⁰ *Printers' Register* 6 February 1873, p.474. For the view that Liberal papers were more balanced, see Jones, *Powers of the Press*, p.146 and Buckley, 'Really Smart Sheet', p.22.

⁴¹ Chalaby, *Invention*, p.13 This approach, adopted by many other provincial papers, also contradicts the account in S. Allan, 'News and the Public Sphere: Towards a History of Objectivity and Impartiality' in M. Bromley and T. O'Malley (eds), *A Journalism Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁴² 'Provincial journalistic enterprise: The Bolton Morning and Evening News,' *Printer's Register* 6 September 1870.

⁴³ G.Biddle, *The Railways Around Preston: an Historical Review* (Stockport: Foxline, 1989); Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, p.44, although Legg's linking of newspaper launches to railway development lacks evidence.

journey, and there is further research to be done on American influence on the British provincial press). The *Guardian* was the first Preston paper to include content aimed at younger readers, with 'Our Children's Corner', edited by "Uncle William" (Rev W Francis), part of a national movement of interactive newspaper columns which spawned animal welfare clubs. The *Preston Guardian Animals' Friend Society*, established in 1884, boasted 10,000 members by 1888.⁴⁴ The introduction of the children's column was consistent with a reduction in the Saturday edition's price also in 1884, from 2d to 1½d, intended to bring 'an accession of readers of the industrial class ... to whom the former price of our Saturday's publication might operate in some measure as a deterrent ...'⁴⁵ This new market was targeted further two years later, when the *Guardian's* publishers launched the *Lancashire Evening Post*. The success of the evening paper led the Toulmins to cease the *Guardian's* Wednesday edition in 1888.⁴⁶ Seven years after the launch of the *Evening Post*, its publishers announced changes to the *Preston Guardian*, including a further price reduction to one penny, and a change in style and format to accommodate a new generation of readers:

... while the older readers are used to a large amount of information, the newer generation look rather for less bulk, more convenient size, and more popular price ... the time has come when ... an appeal [may be] made for support to those popular forces which are outside the sphere of higher-priced papers. The Proprietors believe that it is practicable to produce a paper which will meet the desires both of those in whose household The *Preston Guardian* has long held the position of friend and companion, and of those who, unused to the more leisurely paces of older-fashioned folk, look for those popular qualities which in later years have marked newspaper management.⁴⁷

The paper's coverage of an area larger than most counties can be seen from Table A7 (Appendix), in which coverage of the rest of Lancashire dwarfed coverage of Preston. This had changed by 1900, however, when for the first time more columns were devoted to Preston. Sports coverage, always minimal, was negligible in the 1900 edition sampled, a sign of how the 'mother paper' adjusted its content to accommodate its offspring, the *Lancashire Evening Post*. Advertising content fell after the launch of the evening paper, possibly because some advertisers were encouraged to switch to the *Post*.

⁴⁴ *PG* December 22 1888, p4; *PG* jubilee supplement, 17 February 1894, p.16. For more on animal welfare organisations associated with the provincial press, see F.Milton, 'Uncle Toby's Legacy: Children's Columns in the Provincial Newspaper Press, 1873-1914', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5, 1, 2009 and F.S.Milton, 'Newspaper Rivalry in Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1876-1919: 'Dicky Birds' and 'Golden Circles'', *Northern History*, 46, 2, 2009.

⁴⁵ *PG* 4 October 1884, p.5.

⁴⁶ *PG* 22 December, 1888, p.4.

⁴⁷ *PG* 7 January 1893.

***Preston Herald* (1855-1970)**

The *Preston Herald* appeared on July 7, 1855, six days after the abolition of stamp duty, published by Henry Campbell Barton, who already produced a monthly advertiser. Relying on partly printed sheets, it struggled until 1860, when it was bought by local Conservatives through a joint stock company, presumably because the *Pilot* was not serving their interests satisfactorily. The newly Conservative *Herald* 'was carried on at a great loss', as it later admitted, and all but one of its promoters resigned from the company, leaving Miles Myres, a solicitor, company director, county court registrar, coroner and alderman, to continue its subsidy as company chairman. From the late 1860s it appears to have flourished, as a newspaper if not as a profitable business, and saw itself as a direct rival to the *Preston Guardian*, both in its content, its circulation area and sales.⁴⁸

Anthony Hewitson, a former 'manager' of the *Herald* and a shrewd businessman, described it as 'a paper with a good circulation and a good advertising ... a good property in the Conservative interest which has been meticulously managed' in 1874. Seven months after Myres died, his successor as chairman of the *Herald* company also died, and the paper was sold to three local Conservatives – after being offered to Hewitson.⁴⁹ Records from reading rooms and Preston's Free Library from 1880 to 1900 suggest that the *Herald* was equal in popularity to its Liberal rival, the *Preston Guardian*. While only single copies of the other two Preston papers, the *Pilot* and the *Chronicle*, were available in the library's news room, there were multiple copies of the *Herald* and the *Guardian* – two copies of each title in 1882, rising to five copies each in 1900. Alternatively, members of the library committee may have insisted on this equal representation, as both papers were semi-official organs of their respective parties.

Content, self-presentation and editorial outlook suggest that the *Herald* was in tune with Preston's working-class Conservatism, with its support of the drink trade, for example, contrasting sharply with the Toulmins' teetotalism at the *Guardian*.⁵⁰ An 1870 list of agents included five in the poorest area of Preston, to the south-east of the town

⁴⁸ Obituary of Miles Myres, *PH* 17 December 1873, p.3.

⁴⁹ *HD* 15 April and 26 August 1874; Hewitson expressed interest when the *Herald* was offered to him in April 1874; JH Spencer, 'Preston newspapers: The chequered history of "Preston Herald"', *PH* 19 November 1943, p3. A letter to the *Chronicle* in 1873 also suggests that the *Herald's* sale was equal to or higher than the *Guardian's*: 'A fine farce – the two Preston papers "gone to the wall"', correspondence, *PC* 8 November 1873, p.6.

⁵⁰ 'The *Preston Herald* has again sought to bring ridicule upon the cause of Temperance ...': *Upward, the organ of the Preston & District Band of Hope Union*, November 1895, p.169: Lancashire Record Office (hereafter LRO) PR3081/14/44.

centre.⁵¹ Its attempt to woo working-class readers included praise for Preston Industrial Co-operative Society in 1860, support for shorter hours for engine drivers and firemen, and for improved conditions for soldiers – although like its Liberal rival the *Guardian*, its cover price remained at the relatively high 2d until the 1890s (see Table A8, Appendix), perhaps through a gentleman's agreement.⁵² In later years it appeared more critical of trade union demands, although an 1880 leader was on the side of the workers in the 1853-54 lock-out.⁵³ The *Herald* increased its sports coverage from the late 1870s, particularly of cricket and rugby, subsequently football (see Table A9, Appendix). Between 1880 and 1890 it increased sports coverage from less than two columns to more than 14, accounting for 11 per cent of total content. By 1890 a column, 'Mills, Mines and Workshops: Notes for Masters and Men', including reports of employment topics and industrial disputes, typical of the provincial press, had been introduced.

In April 1890 the *Herald* was put up for auction on the dissolution of the partnership, with plant valued at £4,357 7s 3d and several thousand pounds expected for the copyright, but there were no offers.⁵⁴ By September it was in the ownership of 'Mr Paine of Maidstone'. That month the *Journalist* reported that 'there have been great changes in the literary staff. We are informed that none of the reporters formerly on the paper now remain connected with it.'⁵⁵ Their reasons for leaving may have been related to a strike the following year, which was one of the catalysts for the creation of the National Union of Journalists.⁵⁶

The geographical area in which newspapers sold was far from static, as a series of maps plotting the *Herald's* circulation area show (see Figs A1-A5, Appendix).⁵⁷ While the districts given editorial coverage provide only a rough guide to the circulation area, this exercise suggests that the *Herald* originally sold mainly in Preston, but began to expand its territory in the 1860s, attempting to compete with the *Preston Guardian* in East Lancashire, so that by 1880, East Lancashire coverage far outweighed Preston

⁵¹ *PH* 3 September, 1870, p.5.

⁵² *PH* 8 September 1860, p.5; 13 October 1860; 13 October 1860, p.4, 20 October 1860, p.4. For contemporary comment on the rarity of the 2d provincial weekly, see Pebody, *English Journalism*, p.154.

⁵³ For opposition to workers' demands, see *PH* 15 and 18 September 1880; for opposition to the TUC's call for an eight-hour day see *PH* 6 and 13 September 1890; for support of workers in the 1853-54 lock-out, see *PH* 22 September 1880.

⁵⁴ *PC* 5 April 1890.

⁵⁵ *The Journalist*, 20 September 1890, p10.

⁵⁶ T.Gopsill and G.Neale, *Journalists: 100 Years of the NUJ* (London: Profile, 2007), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁷ For a detailed study of the complex issue of newspaper circulation areas, see L.J.Peters, 'Wrexham Newspapers 1848-1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, Aberystwyth University, 2002).

coverage. North Lancashire was also better represented, making the *Herald* a North and East Lancashire sub-regional paper like the *Guardian* rather than a local Preston publication like the *Chronicle*. For the last two decades of the period, the *Herald's* territory appeared to contract, with a greater focus on Preston and Fylde affairs, reporting of East Lancashire replaced by coverage of Blackpool and the Fylde. These significant changes were probably caused by the level of competition with other papers and patterns of population growth, in Blackpool for example. The maps highlight one difficulty of characterising the provincial press, as sales areas had at least two dimensions: physical extent, and 'density' of sales within their territory. In 1860 the *Herald* published one eight-page issue per week, with six columns per page. By 1900, it published two issues, of 12 pages on Saturdays and eight pages on Wednesdays, so that the number of columns published weekly had increased from 48 to 148. This shows that any quantification of the provincial press must include the volume of material published, alongside the numbers of newspaper titles and copies sold.

Preston Evening Express (1870), Preston Evening News (1870-71) and Preston Daily Guardian (1870)

Across Lancashire, as many as nine evening papers were launched in 1870 (see Table A10, Appendix), although only two survived for more than a year. In Preston, two rival publishers launched theirs on the same day, 25 July, six days after France declared war on Prussia.⁵⁸ Anthony Hewitson, owner of the weekly *Preston Chronicle*, published the *Preston Evening Express* from 25 July to 23 August 1870, while George Toulmin, owner of the bi-weekly *Preston Guardian*, published the *Preston Evening News*, probably in response to Hewitson, for 11 months.⁵⁹ Toulmin also briefly published the penny morning *Preston Daily Guardian* in 1870, alongside the *Evening News*.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Lee omits these two transient dailies from his listing: Lee, *Origins*, p.277.

⁵⁹ Shuttleworth, n.p.; , Hewitson's exaggeration of his own title's run, and diminution of his rival Toulmin's success is disingenuous: Hewitson, *Preston*, p.343. *Preston Evening Express*, Community History Library, Harris library, Preston, 23 August 1870. A bitterly sarcastic 'obituary' of the *Preston Evening News* appeared in the *Preston Chronicle*, claiming that Toulmin's paper 'was born in an instant, with half-a-dozen silver spoons in its mouth; its direct object was the crippling, crushing, and killing of a youngster which came honestly to life before it, in a humbler dwelling – that youngster was the *Preston Evening Express* ...': *PC* 10 June 1871, p.4; *PC* 30 July 1870.

⁶⁰ 'Daily Morning Newspaper', announcement, *PG* 3 August 1870, p.2, according to which the new paper was due to launch on Monday 8 August 1870. Hewitson claimed that the *Preston Daily Guardian* 'died suddenly in three weeks': *PC* 10 June 1871, p.4. The British Library volume of the *Daily Guardian* is unfit for viewing.

Hewitson's flier (Figs 3 and 4) gives a flavour of the animosity between the two publishers.

Toulmin's *Preston Evening News* was 'Independent' in orientation, according to the Newspaper Press Directory, unlike its bi-weekly stablemate's 'Liberal' appellation. Eight and a half columns out of 12 ½ of editorial in a sampled issue of 2 January 1871 were devoted to war news, with one and a third columns of Preston news and one and a quarter of news from elsewhere in Lancashire. Leader columns, if present, were mainly about the war, there was little sport, and often no letters. The last issue of the *Preston Evening News* explained its demise:

For several months the demand for *The Evening News* was very great, and we had every reason to be very satisfied with the result of our experiment. But after the capture of Paris, indeed for some weeks before the announcement of that event, the interest of the English public in Continental affairs began very perceptibly to wane. ... One effect of this decline of public concern in the war was, of course, a decrease in the sale of most daily newspapers, and especially and inevitably of those journals which the crisis of July last had called into existence... During the quiet times upon which we may hope we have now fortunately fallen, a bi-weekly newspaper is quite sufficient to meet the wants of the majority of readers
...⁶¹

Lancashire Evening Post (1886-)

The *Preston Evening News* farewell message ended with the promise that 'it will afford us much pleasure at a suitable opportunity to re-appear'. This opportunity came in 1886, when George Toulmin's son John published the *Lancashire Evening Post*, another halfpenny evening paper, which continues to this day.⁶² Again the Toulmins had a Liberal rival (besides the Manchester and Liverpool evening papers), this time in the neighbouring town of Blackburn, where the Toulmins also owned the *Blackburn Times*.⁶³ The Toulmins' *Post* was first published in Preston on 18 Oct 1886, eight days before the *Northern Daily Telegraph* appeared in Blackburn, published by Thomas Purvis Ritzema and Hugh Gilzean-Reid, who had successfully developed a populist and Gladstonian Liberal halfpenny evening paper, the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* in

⁶¹ *Preston Evening News*, 7 June, p.2.

⁶² Koss, *Rise and Fall*, vol 1, p.291.

⁶³ 'The Manchester and Liverpool evenings were well established in the [Preston] district': James H Archibald, 'Former editor's memories: The birth of the 'Post'', *LDP jubilee supplement*, 21 October 1936, p.9.

NEW EVENING PAPER

FOR PRESTON AND THE SURROUNDING DISTRICTS!

Price One Halfpenny!

On and after Monday Next, July 25,

A New Local Newspaper, the

PRESTON EVENING EXPRESS,

And Daily Advertiser,

WILL BE PUBLISHED.

The necessity of such a Journal is the principal excuse for its publication.

The **EVENING EXPRESS**—entirely neutral in politics—is intended *for all sections of the community*, and particularly for the middle and working-classes, whose business requirements preclude the purchase and perusal of the various dailies in circulation.

The **EXPRESS** will be published every afternoon at 3, with a second edition at 6;—will contain the local, general, and foreign intelligence of the day; an epitome of all the news in the Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and London papers, with the best opinions of the Press on the leading topics of the day; the latest news and markets by telegraph, up to the hour of going to press; foreign items of every description, including full details, during its progress, of the present War, &c.; so that it will not only embrace a complete summary of the regular news in the daily journals, but full particulars of that transpiring in Preston, &c., **DURING THE DAY OF PUBLICATION**; and it will be ready for the public when there is most time on hand for its perusal.

Published at the Express Office, 24½, Fishergate, Preston, and may be obtained from all News Agents.

Fig 3. Handbill for Hewitson's *Preston Evening Express*, July 1870 (front).

Courtesy of Community History Library, Harris Library, Preston. Note how London papers are fourth in the list of papers from which an epitome of news will be drawn.

AT HIS DIRTY WORK AGAIN!

MORE TOULMINISM AND MORE RUFFIANISM.

GEORGE TOULMIN, Proprietor of the Radical *Preston Guardian*, Manager of the Tory *Bolton Chronicle*, and general Monopolist, has to-day hired somebody to use their brains for the purpose of getting up a comparative statement showing that the "Twelve Reasons" issued by the Proprietor of the "EVENING EXPRESS," in favour of Advertising in it, were copied from a paper printed by the proprietors of the "Bolton Evening News." But either his ignorance or dishonesty prevents him from stating that the proprietor of the "Express" was at Bolton, at the beginning of this week, saw the owners of the "Evening News" there was advised by them to start a similar paper in Preston, told what steps to take, had the "Reasons" given to him, for the purpose of making any use of them he thought proper, and was assured that if any further assistance could be given him, for the sake of furthering the suggested enterprise it would be most willingly tendered. The proprietors of the "Bolton Evening News" further informed the proprietor of the "Express" that when they started their paper—now a most excellent journal—*Toulmin and Company* did their best to crush it; but were unable to do so.

George Toulmin is requested to reply to the six reasons circulated by the proprietor of the "Express" on Thursday, exposing the trickery and meanness of his "Evening Guardian" dodge, and is assured that until he does so he stands before the public as a convicted newspaper brigand. He is also informed that when he has accomplished this task, six other reasons, hotter than ever, will be issued for his special benefit.

The proprietor of the "Express" has, during his canvass, met with great success, and having the sympathy of all who believe in fairplay and detest monopolising craft with him, he is confident of an ultimate triumph over the Cannon-street Philistine.

Chronicle and Express Office, Preston, Saturday afternoon.

Fig 4. Handbill for Hewitson's *Preston Evening Express*, July 1870 (reverse).

Courtesy of Community History Library, Harris Library, Preston.

DAILY NEWSPAPER
FOR
Preston, Blackburn, Chorley, The Fylde,
AND
North & East Lancashire generally.

The Publisher of the *Preston Guardian* having for some time been making preparations for the issue of a Daily Newspaper for Preston and the District, begs to intimate that, in consequence of the exciting events now transpiring on the Continent, he has determined to issue the First Number of

THE PRESTON
Evening Guardian

PRICE ONE HALFPENNY,
NEXT MONDAY, JULY 25, 1870.

The arrangements for the issue of *THE EVENING GUARDIAN* are of the completest character; and the Publisher expects to be able to secure for the large and important district over which it will circulate, not only full and accurate accounts of the principal Events of the War, but a Daily Record of all the Intelligence in North and East Lancashire. Nor will the ordinary Foreign and General News be neglected; but the

Preston Evening Guardian

Will be distinguished by all those striking features of excellence which have placed the *Weekly Preston Guardian* in its present pre-eminent position.

THE EVENING GUARDIAN will contain very ample Reports of the various London, Manchester, Liverpool, and other Markets, up to the hour of publication.

ADVERTISEMENTS of Wanted, Sales by Private Treaty or Public Auction, To be Lets, and Business Announcements, for the *EVENING GUARDIAN*, should be forwarded as early as possible on the Morning of Publication.

SOLD BY THE USUAL NEWSAGENTS
PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.
11, FISHERGATE. PRESTON.

Fig 5. Handbill for Toulmin's *Preston Evening Guardian*, July 1870 (the paper was actually published as the *Preston Evening News*).

Courtesy of Community History Library, Harris Library, Preston.

Middlesbrough.⁶⁴ It is likely that the Toulmins got wind of the project and published theirs first as a 'spoiler'. However, the *Journalist* reported that 'several of the Preston *Guardian* men have taken berths on this Gladstonian organ [the *Northern Daily Telegraph*], and the competition is strong.'⁶⁵ A month later the *Journalist* reported that 'both journals ... seem to have made rapid strides amongst the mill hands and middle classes of East Lancashire.'⁶⁶ A year after its launch the *Telegraph* claimed that its sale was three times that of the *Post*, and accused the *Post's* publishers of espousing 'milk-and-water ... Liberalism' and of being 'consumed with envy' at the *Telegraph's* success.⁶⁷

From its inception the *Evening Post* published special late football editions at 7pm and 8pm on Saturdays and Mondays. House advertisements in 1888 emphasised football coverage, but made no mention of its racing tips and results service, presumably a source of embarrassment to its Nonconformist owners, who endured accusations of hypocrisy; however, by 1890 racing tips were promoted in the paper's publicity.⁶⁸ By 1892 the *Post* had eight editions, suggesting a demand for rolling news in an age when 'news grows old in a few hours. Editions chase each other through the day like Indian runners, each one bearing a telegram ...'⁶⁹ In the Garstang area north of Preston, the new paper had to overcome competition from the established Manchester papers, 'but when people wanted news of local events, they gradually went over to "*The Post*".' A Blackpool newsagent remembered that the '*Football Post*' was particularly popular, while one Preston newsagent believed that demand for Boer War news established the paper.⁷⁰ The paper's size and content changed dramatically in the short period between 1886 and 1900 (Table A11, Appendix). It grew from publishing 164 columns a

⁶⁴ Lee, *Origins*, p.141; G.F. Millar, 'Reid, Sir Hugh Gilzean- (1836–1911)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45589], accessed 18 June 2009; T. Nicholson, 'Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough, Stockton & District' etc, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* online edition (hereafter *DNCJ* online), in *C19: the Nineteenth Century Index* [http://c19index.chadwyck.co.uk/home.do], accessed 21 May 2010; 'Newspaper history', *Lancashire Telegraph* [www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/aboutus/history], accessed 5 June 2009.

⁶⁵ 'East Lancashire', *The Journalist*, November 5, 1886, p.51.

⁶⁶ 'East Lancashire', *The Journalist*, December 3, 1886, pp.114-5.

⁶⁷ *Journalist* 18 March 1887, cited in Lee, table 30, p.292; *Northern Daily Telegraph* 17 December 1887, cited in Koss, *Rise and Fall*, vol 1, n.1, p.292.

⁶⁸ House ad, *LEP* 6 October 1888, for criticism of the *LEP's* combination of religion and racing tips see *PC* 23 October 1886, p.5; house ad, 3 September 1890. See also P.Gliddon, 'Politics for Better or Worse: Political Nonconformity, the Gambling Dilemma and the North of England Newspaper Company, 1903-1914', *History*, 87, 286, 2002.

⁶⁹ *NPD* 1892; R.W.Procter, *Literary Reminiscences and Gleanings* (Manchester: Thomas Dinham, 1860), cited in S. Tate, 'The Professionalisation of Sports Journalism, c.1850 to 1939, With Particular Reference to the Career of James Catton' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, 2007), p.43.

⁷⁰ 'Still "paper lad" after 49 years', jubilee supplement, *LDP* 19 October 1936, p.11.

week in 1886 to 242 in 1900, and had become less Preston-focused in its news coverage, but more local in its advertising content. Coverage of Preston sport grew, as did coverage of all sport.

Magazines

Locally published magazines appeared in Preston much later than newspapers, apart from Joseph Livesey's polemical periodicals in the early decades of the century, modelled on the *Poor Man's Guardian*.⁷¹ The only other periodical to publish for more than a few months before the late 1880s was *Longworth's Preston Advertiser, Railway Time Table, and Literary Miscellany* (1867-77), a free-distribution sideline to David Longworth's printing business.⁷² To twenty-first-century eyes Longworth's publication is one of Preston's more attractive periodicals, with its illustrated local advertisements and humorous treatment of local topics. Longworth is the only Preston journalist known to have written in Lancashire dialect, reprinting some of his prose as pamphlets after their publication in the *Advertiser*.⁷³

There were attempts at satirical magazines, but even the longest-lasting, the *Wasp*, only ran for 13 weeks in 1878. Its 12 A4-size pages, published at a penny every Saturday, featured opinionated and leadenly humorous comment on local and national personalities and events. In 1880 another satirical magazine, *The Echo*, was launched 'and its career was similarly short'.⁷⁴ There were two short-lived sports titles, the *Preston Telegraph* (1881) and *Preston Football News* (1885), of which no copies survive.⁷⁵ These unsuccessful attempts to go into the growing market for football news too early, before demand was sufficient to make a local sports paper viable, show how the success or failure of any title was always a negotiation between publishers and readers.

The temperance publishing tradition continued after Livesey's death, with *Onward* (founded 1888, extant 1892), the monthly organ of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union, part of a national children's temperance movement, bearing the same

⁷¹ Harrison, 'World', p.135.

⁷² 'Death of Mr David Longworth', *PC* 13 October 1877.

⁷³ For example, *Owd Bill Piper* (1873), *Doses for the Dumps: a Series of Short Humorous Pieces* (n.d.).

⁷⁴ Hewitson, *Preston*, p.343.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.343-44; *Barrett's Preston directory*, 1885.

name as a national Band of Hope publication, although the Preston title was a separate entity. Its circulation in 1892 was around 2,000, sold through Band of Hope branches. By 1895 it had changed its name to *Upward* (1895?-1900, motto: 'Thy will be done in Preston as it is in Heaven'), and was a better-quality production. It included racy accounts of the depravity of Preston's music halls and police court, with one article, 'A Jeremiad', beginning 'Woe to Preston! The canker has eaten into its heart.' It closed with the July 1900 issue, stating that it had always made a loss.⁷⁶

Apart from the short-lived Tractarian *Preston Magazine and Christian's Miscellany* (January-December 1843), there were no other denominational religious periodicals published in Preston until four Roman Catholic ones in the 1880s and 1890s, plus at least one parish magazine, issued by the parish church (1898-99), with some local content.⁷⁷ The prospectus of the *Catholic News* (1889-1934) appealed to localism, noting that 'Other Catholic papers have to satisfy so wide a circle of readers that the subjects of interest to Catholics in their own neighbourhood are perforce omitted or very insufficiently reported.'⁷⁸ Editorially, the *Catholic News* tried to be more than a local paper, with much news from the rest of Lancashire and other parts of the UK, but half of its advertising came from Preston in 1890. It followed local paper traditions such as issuing a 'sheet almanac with four splendid portraits' (December 1890), and carried a London letter furnished by 'a well-known Catholic journalist in London'.⁷⁹

Advertisements were mainly religious, announcing church balls, vestments, appeals for mission funds, pictures of saints and announcements of sermons to be preached. Attempts were made to wind up the publishing company in February 1893, and by January 1894 it had been sold to Charles Diamond, an Irish MP based in Newcastle on Tyne, who published various Irish nationalist and Catholic titles. The *Catholic News* appears to have joined Diamond's *Catholic Herald* syndicate of 32 local weekly Catholic papers across England, Scotland and Wales, which shared much of their content.⁸⁰ The *Catholic News* produced two offshoots, the *Antidote* (1890-92), a 'rapid

⁷⁶ The 1892 volume of the Preston *Onward* is bound with the national title of the same name in the Harris Library; *The Journalist* August 11, 1900, p. 248. No run of *Upward* has been located, although there are stray undated pages in the Livesey Collection at the University of Central Lancashire, and one copy from November 1895 in the LRO.

⁷⁷ A bound volume of the *Preston Magazine* is held by the Harris Library.

⁷⁸ Publishing company prospectus, *CN* 2 March 1889, p8.

⁷⁹ 'About Ourselves', *CN* Feb 16, 1889.

⁸⁰ There may be comment on the change of ownership in the paper itself, but the 1893 volume is unfit for viewing at the British Library; Catholic Printing and Publishing Co Ltd, (National Archives 27901/8). The company was dissolved in 1906; *Catholic News* 6 January 1894; AH Atteridge, 'Periodical Literature (England),' *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol.. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1911), [<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11673a.htm>], accessed 21 June 2009; J.Allen, 'Diamond, Charles', *DNCJ* online.

rebuttal' weekly with a national circulation (see Chapter 10), and *Faith of our Fathers*, a monthly magazine.⁸¹

Preston's fourth Catholic publication was the *Lancashire Catholic* (1895-1902), a monthly magazine with a homely, conversational tone. The prospectus stated that 'it is our intention to make our Magazine equal to those already Published at 1d., and yet conduct it entirely in a Catholic spirit.'⁸² It included news of local Catholic social events, fiction, a cycling page, jokes, children's features, local Catholic history and competitions. The magazine was 'produced from the printing-office of one of the oldest, if not absolutely the oldest, Catholic repositories and publishing houses in the country – Thomson's, of Friargate', and circulated in the Preston area with some sales in East Lancashire.⁸³ The English nature of Preston Catholicism is shown by the inclusion of two Irish jokes in the first issue.

Five new periodicals with local content were published in the late 1890s, three of them surviving into the twentieth century. The *Preston Monthly Circular* (1895-1915), a four-page tabloid selling for a halfpenny, included very little local content, most of its editorial consisting of syndicated fiction and features. The *Empire Journal* (1896-97) had a short and peculiar career, beginning in December 1896 as a free-distribution magazine for 'Preston and District', with a claimed 20,000 print run. Twenty of its 48 pages were taken up by adverts, with another 20 of non-local content, mostly snippet-style miscellaneous features and competitions, modelled on *Tit Bits* and *Answers*. The remaining eight pages were devoted to Preston matters. By its third issue in April 1897, it had decided to make itself 'known throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire', although most of the advertising was from those regions of the Empire within sight of Preston town hall. By issue four (June 1897) the competition winners came from Preston, London, Lincoln, Cardiff and Edinburgh. By issue five, in July 1897, it had opened 'new London offices' and was published by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co. From August to November 1897 it appeared weekly, announcing the change thus:

Why is it that the EMPIRE JOURNAL, as a monthly, has been the most successful periodical ever put before the British Public? And Why is it now

⁸¹ 'Catholic Gossip', *CN* January 6, 1894, p5.

⁸² *Lancashire Catholic* prospectus, 8 January 1895, bound into first volume, Talbot Library, Preston.

⁸³ *Standard and Ransomer*, quoted in April 1895 issue of *Lancashire Catholic*; 19 out of 24 competition entries in the second issue, February 1895, were from Preston.

that we have converted it into a weekly, that success stares us in the face?
Judge for yourselves.⁸⁴

It was now published by the Empire Publishing Company in London's Bouverie Street, and had no Preston content. The 6 November issue listed colonial agents in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Cape Town, and announced triumphantly that, the following month, it would return to monthly publication, offering a 'Startling Revolution in Journalism'. With that, the *Empire Journal* disappeared, like the frog in the fable who tried to swell to the size of an ox, and burst.

Cross Fleury's Journal (1896-1900?), a 16-page monthly magazine, reads as the work of one individual.⁸⁵ The first issue included an account of Fulwood workhouse, a biographical sketch of a local soprano, entomological notes, a well written humorous Lancashire dialect yarn featuring Owd Bunnock (from Bolton), a leader column, local history, local gossip and a page of humorous extracts. Its style could be described as Lancashire literary, proud of local individuals and institutions, both lowbrow and highbrow, from the knocker-up to a leading local member of the British Pteridological Society. Later editions dropped the entomological notes ('in a manufacturing centre subjects of a higher order are not acceptable save to the very limited minority') but maintained a humorous flavour and continued to celebrate local culture. It appeared to be a commercial success, with advertising taking up 13 of 24 pages in April 1898. The *Preston Argus* (1897-1917) was a continuation of the *Preston Weekly Advertiser* (1890-93?) under a new name. The tone of this four-page tabloid was informal and opinionated, containing local gossip, a small amount of local news and sport, and a serial. Half of its columns were given over to advertising.

This survey of Preston's newspapers and magazines reveals local distinctiveness, diversity and dynamism, even instability, in a minor provincial publishing centre. The main titles discussed above each had their distinct histories, moulded by their founders and subsequent owners, the periods in which they were published, and by their competitors, local and non-local. The Liberal *Chronicle* was a sub-regional paper which lost this role to the *Guardian*, shrinking its circulation area to Preston and a dozen miles around. Its style was more literary and magazine-like than other Preston papers. The *Pilot* was of poor journalistic quality, patrician Tory in tone, and increasingly out of step with local Conservatives and in fact any readers at all. Its circulation area shifted from Preston to Lytham. The *Guardian* was a sub-regional paper from its inception; its

⁸⁴ *Empire Journal* 28 August 1897.

⁸⁵ The British Library has copies from 1896 to 1898, while the Harris Library annual reports record it in 1900. The editor was R.E.K. Rigbye, author of *Time-Honoured Lancaster*.

strength was its comprehensive, relatively balanced news reporting, while its tone of voice was impersonal and moralising, although this mellowed at the end of the century, when it became more magazine-like to complement its new stablemate, the *Lancashire Evening Post*. The *Herald* strove to imitate the *Guardian* in its sub-regional reach and its news service, but was more populist in content. The *Evening Post*, born in a more crowded market, had a less extensive circulation area than its progenitor the *Guardian*, but its halfpenny cover price and sports coverage led to high sales, particularly among working-class readers. Preston's periodical print culture was distinctive, in the wide circulation of some titles, reflecting the town's status as a market and administrative centre, and possibly its sub-regional importance as a rail hub. It was also distinctive in the number of Roman Catholic publications. During the period the number of titles being published grew, while for newspapers particularly, the average number of pages, physical dimensions, frequency and copies sold all increased. This was a greatly expanding local print market.

Without attempting any detailed analysis of the factors necessary for success, this survey suggests that important considerations were journalistic vigour, breadth and balance in reporting, the ability to adapt to a broader readership, and sufficient capital (in the case of the *Herald*, its capital was subsidy rather than investment, for most of the period). As literacy and purchasing power increased, the successful papers were those which became more populist.

Local magazines were less lucrative than newspapers. For those produced by 'pressure groups', such as temperance and Roman Catholic publications, this was less important. But for the many new titles launched in the 1890s, the success of national magazines such as *Tit Bits* was hard to replicate at local level. The small readership of these local magazines can be gauged by the fact that only one, *Cross Fleury's Journal*, appeared among the lists of publications taken in the town's libraries and news rooms (see chapter 7), and only *Longworth's Preston Advertiser* was acknowledged by other papers.

Content analysis of Preston's papers casts a fresh provincial light on the debate over the New Journalism, a debate conducted with reference only to metropolitan publications. The content of Preston's newspapers changed during the period, but they provide little evidence that 'serious' news was being *replaced* by 'feather-brained'

features or sensational reporting.⁸⁶ There is some evidence that it was being *augmented* by new types of content, however. The most significant trends are a decline in foreign news between 1860 and 1890 (although it greatly increased at times of war, as in 1870 and 1900), and an increase in non-local content such as fiction and women's columns. Parliamentary reporting only declined in one Preston paper, the *Herald*, after increasing from around two per cent of all content in 1860 to nearly seven per cent in 1890, but there was none in the 1900 *Herald* sampled. News from Parliament and other national institutions stayed constant in the *Chronicle* and the *Guardian*, at around three per cent and two per cent respectively (see Tables A4, A5, A7, A9, A11, Appendices). Few critiques of the New Journalism take account of the enormous increase in the number of titles, and in the size of older publications. In reality, there was more of everything. The Liberal educational ideal of the press continued alongside the New Journalism, often emanating from the same publisher, as with the Toulmins, whose sober and comprehensive *Preston Guardian* changed little in five decades, except in the volume of material published each week, from 48 columns in 1855 to 140 in 1880. The Toulmins also published the halfpenny *Lancashire Evening Post*, which provided different fare to another audience. This audience was a new market, bigger than that for the old style of newspaper, but its tastes did not eradicate what had gone before.

⁸⁶ Hampton, *Visions*, p.130; see also Chalaby, *Invention*, p.4. 'We have had opportunities of observing a new journalism which a clever and energetic man has lately invented. It has much to recommend it; it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts ; its one great fault is that it is feather-brained': M.Arnold, 'Up to Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, CXXIII, May, 1887, p.638.

Table 10. Preston editorial in selected Preston titles, 1860-1900 (columns per week)

	Issues per week	1860	1870	1880	1886	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>	1					1.5	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	6				17.1	5.2	3.5
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	2 (1860)	13.4	12.8	9.1		15.1	
	1						
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2 (-1880)	11.4	10.8	8.1		11.6	16.2
	1 (1890-)						
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1 (1860)	12.2	17.2	7.2		16.1	19.5
	2 (1870-)						
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1	9.33	3.9				

Table 11. Preston editorial in selected Preston titles, 1860-1900 (%)

	Issues per week	1860	1870	1880	1886	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>	1					3	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	6				9.5	1.8	1.2
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	2 (1860)	22.1	26.3	16.6		26.9	
	1						
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2 (-1880)	17.1	12.6	5.8		11.1	18.8
	1 (1890-)						
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1 (1860)	25.5	19.8	6.2		12.2	13.6
	2 (1870-)						
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1	20.3	9.7				

Table 12. Preston advertisements in selected titles, 1860-1900 (columns per week)

	Issues per week	1860	1870	1880	1886	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>	1					6	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	6				26.7	31.3	60.8
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	2 (1860)	11.1	11.9	12.6		9.2	
	1						
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2 (-1880)	11.5	16.5	24.9		10.5	6.5
	1 (1890-)						
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1 (1860)	10.3	12.1	17.6		10.9	15.7
	2 (1870-)						
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1	6.5	7.4				

Table 13. Preston advertisements in selected titles, 1860-1900 (%)

	Issues per week	1860	1870	1880	1886	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>	1					13	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	6				16.3	18.7	24.4
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	2 (1860)	19.4	24.4	23		16.3	
	1						
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2 (-1880)	20.4	19.4	17.8		10.1	7.6
	1 (1890-)						
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1 (1860)	21.5	12.8	12.7		8.3	11
	2 (1870-)						
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1	14.1	18.3				

Table 14. Preston sport in selected titles, 1860-(columns per week)

	Issues per week	1860	1870	1880	1886	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>	1					0	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	6				2.6	3.4	5
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	2 (1860) 1	0.1	0.4	0.8		0.6	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2 (-1880) 1 (1890-)	0.2	0.3	0.3		0.3	
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1 (1860) 2 (1870-)	0.4	0.4	0.7		4.6	1.5
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1		0.1				

Table 15. Preston sport in selected titles, 1860-1900 (%)

	Issues per week	1860	1870	1880	1886	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>	1					0	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	6				2.5	2.4	3.4
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	2 (1860) 1	0.1	0.8	1.4		1.0	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2 (-1880) 1 (1890-)	0.3	0.3	0.2		0.2	
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1 (1860) 2 (1870-)	0.8	0.6	0.6		3.5	1.1
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1		0.1				

It is hard to generalise about trends in the ‘localness’ of Preston’s main newspapers (see Tables 10-15 above, and for more detail, Tables A4, A5, A7, A9, A11, Appendices), because it varied so much over time and between papers. The volume of both Preston and Lancashire material increased over the period, but decreased as a proportion of each paper’s content, as the number of pages, columns and editions increased. Editorial coverage of Preston was highest in the *Chronicle*, but declined in 1880 as it did in the two bi-weeklies, the *Herald* and the *Guardian*; all three papers increased their Preston coverage thereafter. The *Evening Post* began with significant reporting of Preston in 1886, but this had reduced by 1900. Conversely, its volume of Preston advertising increased greatly. Like most local papers, the *Herald* saw itself as part of the political nation, concentrating its editorial comments on national and international politics more than local issues. Table 16, an analysis of leader column topics during September and October of the sampled years, suggests that only in 1880 were there leading articles on local topics. The *Guardian* and the *Chronicle* were similar in their choice of leader topics, until Hewitson switched the *Chronicle*’s emphasis to local subjects in 1868 (see Chapter 5).

Table 16. Topics of some leader columns, *Preston Herald*, 1860-1900

	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Politics, local			3	2	2
Politics, Lancs				4	
Politics, national	6	2	5	17	
Politics, international	10	7	3	4	
Labour dispute	2		5	2	
In praise of Preston			2	1	
Preston improvements	4		3	3	
Preston, religion	3		4		
Preston press	2	2			1
Press, national			1		
Sport			1		
Other national issue	3	2	3	5	
Other	1			4	1

A weekly newspaper proprietor must ‘make it first and foremost a paper for the district, devoting a large amount of space to domestic news’, according to a writer at the start of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ However, local news was a more expensive commodity than the non-local variety. Proprietors either had to employ one or more reporters, or pay freelance journalists and semi-professional district correspondents.⁸⁸ The fact that it was worth their while to provide a good local news service is evidence of its value to readers. Local news increased in the *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Chronicle* over time, but decreased in the *Herald*. Other ‘intelligence’ was also needed to create an attractive product. Here, the nature of the provincial press as a network and a system becomes apparent.⁸⁹ While individual titles did not circulate nationally, much of their content did. Non-local content - news from around the UK, from Parliament and other national institutions, foreign news and advertising for branded products such as patent medicines – was sold wholesale, to be retailed by each paper.⁹⁰ The sources of this shared content included the reporting staff of other provincial newspapers, freelance journalists, ‘exchange’ newspapers sent from other publishers at home and abroad, advertising agents and news agencies.⁹¹ News agencies, and the intelligence departments of the private telegraph companies, had been used by the provincial press since their inception, but the most significant agency was the Press Association (PA),

⁸⁷ A. Paterson, ‘Provincial Newspapers’, *Progress of British Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1901), pp.79-80.

⁸⁸ The new *Birmingham Daily Post* boasted of how it had taken on extra reporters to cover local news in more depth: Whates, *Birmingham Post*, p.57.

⁸⁹ Hobbs, ‘Provincial Press’; S.Potter, ‘Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire’, *Journal of British Studies*, 46, 3, 2007.

⁹⁰ For a fascinating account of the wholesale trade in political speeches, and its pricing structure based on the relative newsworthiness of each politician, see H.C.G. Matthew, ‘Gladstone, Rhetoric and Politics’ in P.J. Jagger (ed), *Gladstone* (London: Hambledon, 1998), pp.224-25.

⁹¹ F.Carrington, ‘Country Newspapers and Their Editors’, *New Monthly Magazine*, 105: 418, October, 1855, pp.145, 147.

operational from 1870, within days of the nationalisation of the telegraphs.⁹² PA gained exclusive rights outside London to Reuter's foreign news, and Silberstein-Loeb argues convincingly that PA's pricing structure, which favoured the provinces at the expense of London newspapers, protected the provincial press from market incursion by metropolitan papers until the end of the century.⁹³

Taking editorial and advertising together, in 1860 Preston content in the town's papers ranged between 34 per cent (*Guardian* and *Pilot*) and 47 per cent (*Herald*). In 1880, local content had greatly decreased in the *Guardian* and *Herald* (19-24 per cent) - the two papers aiming for sub-regional status - while it had remained steady in the *Chronicle* at 41 per cent. By 1900, local content had increased again, to 25-28 per cent of the *Herald*, *Guardian* and *Lancashire Daily Post*. Throughout the period, Preston editorial and advertising made up a minority of Preston papers' content, accounting for between one and two-fifths. Lancashire editorial and advertising (including Preston content) made up between three-fifths and three-quarters of content in 1860, but fell steadily to around half of content by 1900. Local and regional content was the single most significant type of content, but there was plenty of non-local content, complicating ideas of localness. There was more of everything by the end of the century - more local and Lancashire news, and even more non-local content, including news from other parts of the British Isles, Parliamentary news and foreign news. But the biggest increase was in non-local features, including serial fiction, women's columns and general interest articles. The 'localness' of the local press was no simple matter.

⁹² R.N. Barton, 'New Media: The Birth of Telegraphic News in Britain 1847-1868', unpublished article), p.11

⁹³ Silberstein-Loeb, *passim*.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has established that there were more provincial newspaper titles published, and more copies sold, than for any other type of newspaper, from the early 1860s to at least 1900. In the course of producing a list of Preston's publications, at least five titles were unearthed which are absent from either the British Library catalogue or the *Waterloo Directory*. Presumably the same exercise for any town of Preston's size would make similar discoveries, suggesting that even the impressive scope of the *Waterloo Directory* is still underestimating the number of Victorian periodicals. This exercise has also shown how the unique circumstances of each place can produce distinctive print cultures, caused by a complex set of circumstances open to infinite variation. Less distinctive, but equally significant, was the expansion and differentiation in local publishing, as the number of potential purchasers grew. Local titles doubled in number, and also grew in size and in frequency, introducing print consumers to a faster publishing rhythm, from weekly to bi-weekly to daily. Publishers altered the content, to cater for the new purchasers with limited literacy, also providing material aimed at women and children. One aspect of the complexity of the local press was its localness, a matter of degree which varied greatly over time and between publications.

The summary of the births, long lives, failures to thrive, forced marriages and deaths of Preston's publications largely confirms other studies of the provincial press and the complex set of factors put forward by Milne and Arnold to explain why some papers succeeded and others failed in this dynamic, unstable period of newspaper history.⁹⁴ The local market for weeklies was mature even before mid-century in Preston, and Livesey's *Preston Guardian* probably only succeeded because of his exceptional journalistic ability and good business sense, against two unremarkable competitors. His capital, and possibly his other business interests, enabled him to bear initial losses for three years. Preston was unusual only in its low numbers of daily publications for a town of its size and significance. Finally, the variety of motives for founding and continuing this catalogue of publications demonstrates how the local newspaper is self-consciously three things at once – a commercial, cultural and political product.

⁹⁴ M. Milne, 'Survival of the Fittest? Sunderland Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century' in J. Shattock and M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982) pp.214-15; N. Arnold, 'The Press in Social Context: A Study of York and Hull, 1815-1855' (unpublished MPhil dissertation, University of York, 1987).

4. ANTHONY HEWITSON AND OTHER PRESTON PRESS PERSONNEL

This chapter introduces Preston's newspaper publishers during the period and describes the personnel involved in producing the content of local newspapers, with particular reference to Preston. The career of one Preston journalist, Anthony Hewitson, is examined in detail, partly because of the availability of his diaries, a superb source, but also because of his distinctive approach to localising the *Preston Chronicle*, the subject of the next chapter. Whilst this thesis is not a study of the journalist *per se*, some knowledge of the individuals involved casts light on the content of the newspapers, and supports the idea that producers and readers of the local press were often members of the same interpretive communities

Fig 6 (overleaf) shows how closely the publishers of most of Preston's newspapers were connected to each other, and that they were mostly local men. Of Preston's main papers, only the *Herald* was unable to trace its lineage from one printer, Thomas Walker (d.1812), who had exceptional abilities as a trainer of newspapermen, numbering future proprietors Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury*, Thomas Rogerson of the *Liverpool Mercury* and Thomas Thompson of the *Leicester Chronicle* among his apprentices. Other Walker apprentices launched the *Preston Journal* (which became the *Preston Chronicle* when it was sold to another of his protégés, Isaac Wilcockson), and the *Preston Pilot*. Thomas Walker's son John trained George Toulmin, who later bought the *Preston Guardian*, the town's most successful newspaper. Most newspapers were started by printers, with Joseph Livesey, a cheesemonger, the only exception. When papers were sold, they were usually sold to other printers, or to men who had begun their careers as printers – and usually to a purchaser well known to the seller. In 1868 Anthony Hewitson, born ten miles away in Blackburn, became the first non-native of Preston to own a significant paper in the town, until the *Preston Herald* was bought by William Paine of Maidstone in 1890. The *Herald* is missing from the diagram because, although it was founded by a printer, Henry Barton, I have found no connections between him and other printers, publishers or papers. Most Preston printers associated with newspapers were Liberal, with the Clarkes and their *Pilot* the exception. Many wrote and published works of local history, and in Preston and elsewhere, some printers showed their local patriotism by giving their technical

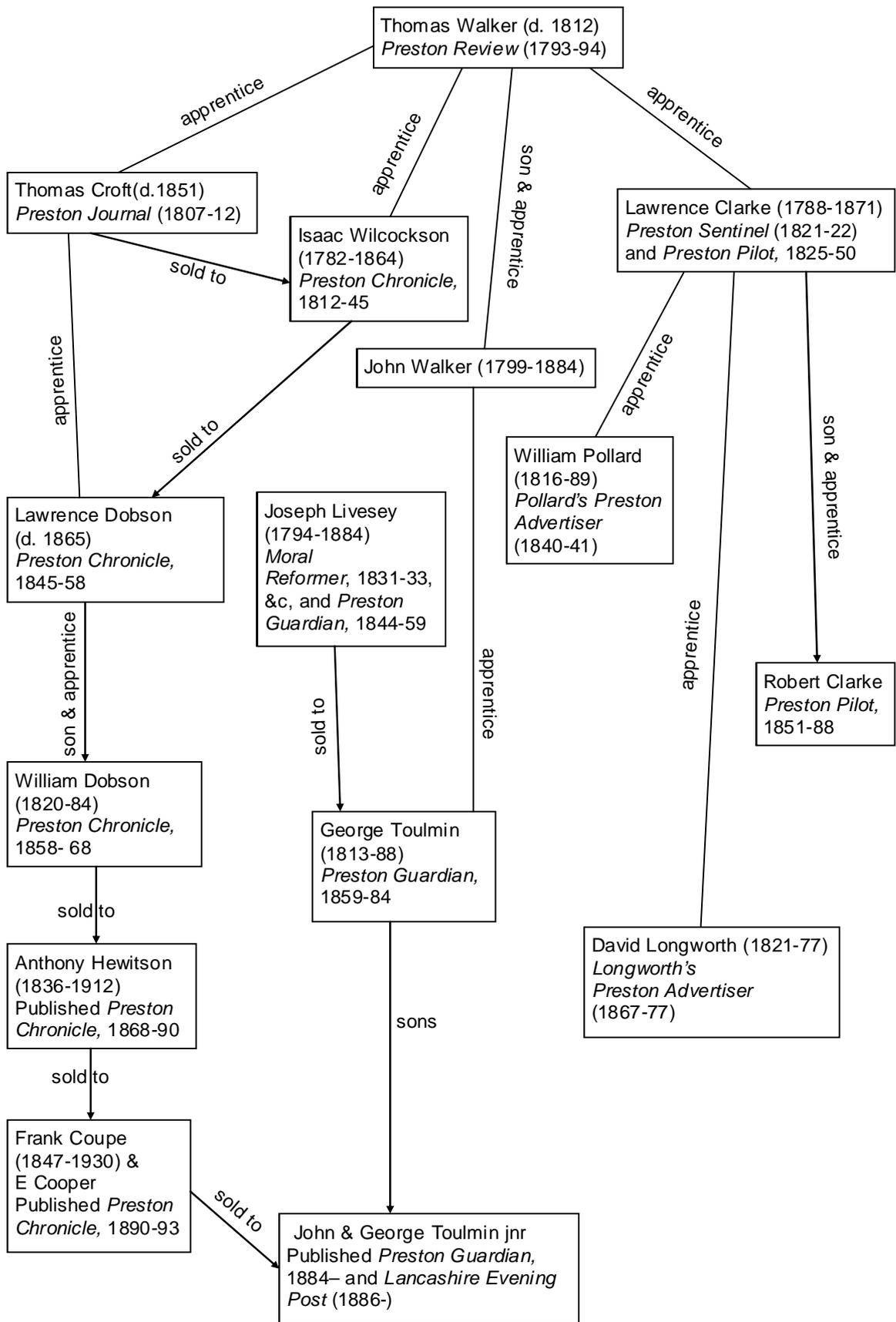


Fig 6. Some newspaper publishing connections, Preston, 1793-1893

Dates in brackets signify lives of publishers and papers; dates outside brackets signify the years of a publication's run during which it was produced by an individual.

inventions local names, such as Bond's 'Prestonian' web printing machine, Soulby's 'Ulverstonian' machine and the 'Wharfedale' press.

As well as their connections to each other, many of Preston's printers were also involved in a wider local print culture, involving news publishing, news retailing, libraries and news rooms. Livesey set up reading rooms, while his successor, George Toulmin, was active in establishing the Reform Union reading room, and newsagent H Riley helped to found a Conservative news room and reading room off New Hall Lane.¹ Publishers gave copies of newspapers and books to libraries and reading rooms, perhaps partly out of commercial considerations, but also from a belief in the power of the press, and perhaps an emotional attraction to print.²

The focus of this chapter is Anthony Hewitson, a printer who became a journalist and newspaper proprietor, and who spent most of his career in Preston. This chapter relies heavily on his diaries and two autobiographical fragments, covering 19 of the years between 1865, when he was a reporter on the *Preston Guardian*, and his death in 1912.³ Although many journalists wrote memoirs, 'these are usually of very poor quality, rambling, and anecdotal', inaccurate and vague, according to Brown.⁴ Diaries, especially of provincial journalists, are much rarer. Hewitson was not involved in any momentous events: he did not report any wars, was not politically active beyond the constituency level, and was little known to non-journalists outside North Lancashire. Yet these are the strengths of the diaries, capturing the humdrum life of a local newspaper reporter, editor and proprietor of newspapers in Preston and Wakefield.

In the years when Hewitson kept a diary, he wrote either every day or every few days. The beguiling immediacy of such a source is seen in the way his handwriting sometimes became less legible in entries written after returning from a ball in the early hours. Frustratingly, he wrote less at busy times in his life, such as the weeks after

¹ PC Dec 23, 1871. In neighbouring Blackburn, the town's first librarian, William Abram, resigned after five years in 1867 to become editor of the *Blackburn Times* (owned by the Toulmins, publishers of the *Preston Guardian*). He became a councillor, a member of the library committee and then its chairman: R.Snape, *Leisure and the Rise of the Public Library* (London: Library Association, 1995) p.83.

² Among those who gave books to the Free Library in the town hall between 1879 and 1881 were W Dobson (local historian and former owner of the *Preston Chronicle*), Anthony Hewitson (owner of the *Chronicle*), Livesey, Toulmin and the librarian himself, William Bramwell: Free Public Library report and accounts, 1879-1887, Harris Library T251 PRE. Liberal newspapermen appeared to give greater support than their Conservative colleagues, although all the local papers were in favour of a free library (see leader column, *PG*, 5 January, 1878, p.10, for example).

³ See Table A12, Appendix for details of years covered by diaries.

⁴ Brown, *Victorian News*, p.75.

buying the *Preston Chronicle* in 1868. No diaries survive from 1870, when he launched an unsuccessful evening paper, from 1886, when the Liberal party split over Home Rule (Hewitson sided with the Liberal-Unionists) and the rival *Lancashire Evening Post* was launched; when he sold the *Chronicle* in 1890, nor in 1893, when the *Chronicle* closed, and he became launch editor of a new Conservative paper, the *Lancaster Standard* (1893-1909).⁵

It seems likely that he expected the diary to be read by others. It is written in longhand rather than shorthand, contains occasional phrases such as 'This may be of some service to somebody ...' and individuals are always carefully introduced.⁶ The diaries tell us how a Victorian provincial journalist presented himself to the world; they reveal his attitudes to his work, his family, and his adopted town of Preston and its public figures. Of course they omit valuable information about aspects of life and work he considered boring, and rarely include anything which might reflect badly on him. Other absences are particularly intriguing: the lack of material about the practice of editing (as opposed to reporting), his thoughts on his own paper, its rivals, the press in general, and his readers. Nonetheless, used side-by-side with the newspapers he wrote for and edited (two of which have been digitised), they give a rounded picture of his working life.

'The transition from the composing room to the reporters' office, and thence to the editor's chair, has been frequently achieved', so Hewitson's career was not unusual, moving from a printing apprenticeship to ten years of reporting, 22 years as owner-editor of the *Preston Chronicle* and 15 as owner of the *Wakefield Herald*.⁷ Hewitson was born in Blackburn, Lancashire, on 13 August 1836, the eldest son of a stonecutter. From the age of 18 months to nearly 14 years, he was brought up by his maternal grandparents (who had recently inherited about £1500) in Ingleton in the West Riding. After attending the village school there, he was reunited with his parents in Lancaster in May 1850, when he began a printing apprenticeship on the *Lancaster Gazette*. At this time Hewitson 'became strongly involved with the sentiments of religion', attending a Sunday School attached to an Independent chapel. He joined two essay classes, one of which included the communist Goodwyn Barnby, then minister of the Free Mormon Church in Lancaster (where he held the title of Revolutionary Pontifarch of the

⁵ D.R.P. Pugh, *The North West in the Nineties: Press and Social Opinion in North Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland, 1894-99* (unpublished M Litt. dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1978), pp.17-18; 'Death of Mr William Livesey,' *PG* 18 December 1909.

⁶ *HD* 9 May 1884.

⁷ 'Reporting and Reporters', *PR* 6 April 1870, p.80.

Communist Church). Hewitson greatly appreciated the intellectual discipline of these classes.⁸



Fig. 7. Anthony and Margaret Hewitson photographed for their golden wedding in 1908. Photographer: Davis and Sons, Lancaster; courtesy of Mr Anthony Hewitson (great grandson), Chorley.

Newspaper Stamp Duty was repealed two years before Hewitson finished his apprenticeship, greatly increasing the opportunities for an able and hard-working young man. His printing and composing (typesetting) background was not unusual for a mid-nineteenth-century reporter, nor his rapid job moves: he worked in Kendal, Brierley Hill in Staffordshire, Wolverhampton and Preston between July 1857 and May or June

⁸ A. Hewitson, 'Recollections of earlier life', LRO DP512/2; HD 1873.

1858.⁹ He settled in Preston, marrying Margaret Wilson, a tailor and draper's daughter from Lancaster, in September 1858. They had 11 children, seven of whom survived. Towards the end of 1858 he went to the *Preston Chronicle* as reporter, at 28/- a week. By September 1861, if not before, he was earning £2 6s a week on the *Preston Herald*, where he became 'manager'. He may have returned to the *Chronicle* before rejoining the *Preston Guardian* as a reporter in December 1864, and by June 1865 was chief reporter. In December 1867 George Toulmin dismissed him from the *Guardian*, giving no reason, although he believed that Hewitson planned to start a reporting agency. Hewitson returned to the *Chronicle*, which he purchased four months later, in March 1868.

Hewitson's diaries describe the daily and weekly routines of the reporter, much of it involving verbatim reporting of speeches (he had taught himself Pitman's shorthand) at public events such as political meetings addressed by visiting politicians, Boards of Guardians and town council meetings, courts and church services. However, both Hewitson and his contemporary Harry Bussey describe 'off-diary' reporting (to use a twenty-first-century expression), coverage of unforeseen or unformalised events such as accidents, murder scenes and disputes between ministers and their congregations. Hewitson also went 'paragraphing', 'rambling about' and "'boring" stupid people for news' every week, both as reporter and editor.¹⁰ This 'paragraphing' appears to be hunting for gossip and anecdote, and contradicts Brown's assertion that Victorian reporters were little more than stenographers.¹¹ Twice a week, Hewitson was required to work until midnight or later, to ensure the *Preston Guardian* met its deadlines. By the mid-1860s, he had mastered news reporting, descriptive writing and some leader-writing, and adopted the pen-name of 'Atticus', for a series of irreverent sketches of local officials and institutions, in which he developed a distinctive style that made him Preston's best-known writer for the rest of the century.¹²

⁹ Composer and reporter, *Kendal Mercury*, July-August 1857 (Hewitson, 'Recollections'; *HD* 1873); compositor, reporter and editor, *Brierley Hill Advertiser*, September?-November? 1857; compositor, reporter and editor, *Wolverhampton Spirit of the Times*, December 1857?-May 1858 (*HD* 1873, back pages); compositor and reporter, *Preston Guardian* May? 1858-late 1858. Hewitson's contemporary, Harry Bussey, worked on 16 papers in 12 towns between 1844 and 1858, from Carlisle to Plymouth: H.F. Bussey, *Sixty Years of Journalism: Anecdotes and Reminiscences* (Bristol: JW Arrowsmith, 1906).

¹⁰ *HD* 9 August 1865; 29 November 1866, for example. See also Bussey, *Sixty Years*, pp. 73, 179-80; Carrington, 'Country Newspapers', p.148.

¹¹ Brown, *Victorian News*, p.103. Hewitson often reported sermons, contra Brown, *Victorian News*, pp.99-100.

¹² Atticus was a celebrated Roman editor, banker and patron of literature, and the best friend of the orator and philosopher Cicero.

The editor of a provincial weekly newspaper was the most common type of Victorian editor, yet we know surprisingly little about this personage.¹³ Some Preston newspaper proprietors also edited their papers, including Wilcockson in the early years of the *Chronicle*, Joseph Livesey in the early years of the *Guardian*, and William Dobson and Hewitson throughout their respective ownerships of the *Chronicle*. However, it was more common for owners to employ editors, some of whom had also begun their working lives as printers, but as the century progressed, this pattern changed, as journalism became an occupational identity, rather than merely an activity. The lists of editors for Preston's main papers in the Appendices (pages 15-28) show how many there were, and how frequently they arrived and departed, at least 30 for the four bi/weeklies and one evening paper, in 45 years. The *Lancashire Evening Post* had at least six editors between 1890 and 1900 (Appendices, p.25). Tracing the life and career of each editor would be a difficult but valuable exercise, beyond the scope of this thesis. Many of them, particularly on smaller papers, were little more than reporters with a title. In 1857-58 Hewitson, for example, was 'compositor, reporter and editor' of two small Midlands papers in succession, staying less than six months at each; he was then 21 years old, and had completed his printing apprenticeship only months before. Former printers could also become editors of larger papers, but they had to compete with graduates and literary men such as 'poet and mystic' Henry Rose, editor of the *Lancashire Evening Post* in 1890, the novelist AW Marchmont BA, editor of the *Preston Guardian* and the *Evening Post* in 1894, and JB Frith BA, editor of the *Evening Post* in 1897 (Appendices, p.25). In 1868, Hewitson claimed that he was the only resident editor of a Preston paper, suggesting that on the town's other papers, the job was one which could be done from London, possibly.¹⁴ Few of the editors traced for Preston papers had traditional Lancashire surnames, suggesting that their brief time in Preston was part of an itinerant journalistic career. Also noteworthy is the obscurity of the names; famous provincial newspaper editors such as WT Stead were the exception. All this suggests that the editors of Preston's larger papers may have been on the fringes of the metropolitan literary world, and one can only guess at their opinions of their newspapers' owners, who were mostly printers, former printers or local Conservative worthies.

¹³ There is no survey for this period equivalent to the excellent Roberts, 'Still More', but see D. Fraser, 'The Editor As Activist: Editors and Urban Politics in Early Victorian England' in J. Wiener (ed), *Innovators and Preachers: the Role of the Editor in Victorian England* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1985).

¹⁴ Handbill announcing Hewitson's ownership of the *Preston Chronicle* (see Fig. 10, Chapter 5, p.89).

Hewitson's diary entry for 23 March 1868 reads: 'Started as proprietor of the Preston Chronicle today. How will matters end? I am anxious.' Owner-editors became increasingly rare as more capital was required to buy and run a paper. Hewitson bought his Preston paper by instalments over five years, and his Wakefield one with a mortgage. Some of the initial capital probably came from his freelance earnings, and savings from his salary and possibly an inheritance.¹⁵ By the end of the century Hewitson's rivals, George Toulmin & Sons, had a more typical arrangement in which they as owners hired and fired editors, as the *Preston Herald* had done from its purchase by a limited liability company in 1860.¹⁶ Editors who did not own their papers had far less power than Hewitson, of course, and it is significant that the best known provincial editors, such as CP Scott and Edward Russell, also had a stake in their publications.¹⁷ Otherwise, there was the danger of humiliation and interference from the owner, as when the editor of the *Lancashire Daily Post* was forced to publish a statement in 1900, dissociating his employer, George Toulmin, from the previous day's leader column, which had attacked Keir Hardie, then a Preston Parliamentary candidate.¹⁸ Those who were also 'conductors' or 'managers', even without a share in the ownership, may have held more sway.

The editor of the *Preston Herald* in 1860-61, Sidney Laman Blanchard, was probably the most cosmopolitan journalist to pass through Preston. He was the eldest son of Samuel Laman Blanchard (author, Liberal Party journalist and friend of Dickens), and began his career as Disraeli's private secretary. He studied in Paris in the early 1850s, and edited the *Bengali Hurkaru* in India in the mid-1850s, resigning in 1857 after his attacks on Lord Canning led to the paper's suspension. He became a barrister in 1866

¹⁵ John Leng was able to save half his £2 weekly salary as chief reporter and sub-editor, amassing 'a couple of hundreds of pounds' by 1851: 'Journalistic Autobiographies. I. Sir John Leng, MP, DL, Etc.', *Bookman*, February 1901, p.157.

¹⁶ I. Asquith, 'The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1780-1855' in Boyce, Curran & Wingate, p.114; C.Sumpter, 'The Cheap Press and the "Reading Crowd": Visualizing Mass Culture and Modernity, 1838-1910', *Media History*, 12, 3, 2006, p.240. Dr Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, bought the *Dublin Review* in 1878 and also edited it from 1884 until 1892, when he became Archbishop of Westminster: J.J. Dwyer, 'The Catholic Press, 1850-1950' in G.A. Beck (ed), *The English Catholics, 1850-1950. Essays to Commemorate the Centenary of the Restoration of the Hierarchy of England and Wales* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1950), p.478). For the decline in the proportion of owner-editors among presidents of the Provincial Newspaper Society, see Table A14 (Appendix).

¹⁷ C. Kent, 'The Editor and the Law' in Wiener (ed), *Innovators and Preachers*, p.101; A Conservative Journalist, 'The Establishment of Newspapers,' *National Review*, 5 (30, August), 1885.

¹⁸ 'Mr George Toulmin and the Preston Election', *LDP* 2 October 1900, p.2.

and returned to Indian journalism from 1873 to 1880. A frequent contributor to London periodicals, he was credited with the quip 'Let us start a comic *Punch*'.¹⁹

The *Preston Guardian* was unusual among the town's papers in being enmeshed, under both Livesey and the Toulmins, in a national political network - of middle-class radical Nonconformist individuals and organisations, as shown by some of its editors; John Baxter Langley was a campaigner and lecturer in support of free libraries, mechanics' institutes and co-operation, and Thomas Wemyss Reid went on to edit the *Leeds Mercury* and was friendly with the Liberal leadership at national level. Radical journalist Washington Wilkes of the *Morning Star* wrote some of the leaders.²⁰ George Toulmin snr held office in the Liberal party and his son, George jnr, became Liberal MP for Bury in 1902.

Editing a weekly or bi-weekly local paper was not a demanding job: Wemyss Reid found that two-and-a-half days a week was enough to edit the bi-weekly *Preston Guardian* in the 1860s, leaving him 'ample leisure' for reading Carlyle, Browning and Thackeray, and long walks in the countryside south of the Ribble.²¹ In 1855 it was said that 'the life of a country newspaper editor consists in doing a day's work in three days at the beginning of the week, and three days' work in one day at the end of the week.'²² This captures the rhythm of Hewitson's week as an editor. Friday, before press day, was the busiest:

Laid in bed till 8.30 this morning. Looked through letters; sub-edited; then proceeded with writing remainder of description of Newhouse Catholic Chapel, which I began last night. Next proceeded with a leader, on Municipal Corporation, which I wrote in three hours. Subsequently read proofs; and then wrote a column of Stray Notes. Had three glasses of beer during the night. Finished work at 2 o'clock in morning.²³

The social status of a provincial editor was ambiguous, even at the end of the century.²⁴ An 1894 picture of the editor's room at the *Preston Guardian* and *Lancashire*

¹⁹ *NPD* 1861; J.N. Basu, *Romance of Indian Journalism* (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1979), p. 155. Basu says that Laman Blanchard returned to England in 1864, three years after Mitchell's directory names him as *Preston Herald* editor. There is no mention of Laman Blanchard in Lives of Disraeli by Vincent, Blacke and Monypenny, nor in the popular edition of his letters for that period; *Times*, 7 June 1866; Rhode, Dyke, 'Round the London Press, XI. Turveydrop and Weller in Type', *New Century Review* 5:25 (January 1899), p.61.

²⁰ See also the perceptive Goldsworthy, 'English Nonconformity'.

²¹ S.J. Reid, *Memoirs of Sir Wemyss Reid, 1842-1885* (London: Cassell, 1905), p.81; see also Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp.5-6.

²² Carrington, 'Country Newspapers', p.149.

²³ *HD* 5 January 1872.

²⁴ Anon [E Dicey], 'Provincial Journalism' in *St Paul's Magazine* 3, 1868, pp.61-73, cited in Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, p.79; Tate, PhD, pp. 112-122.

Evening Post (Fig.8 below) suggests that, by the 1890s at least, a provincial newspaper editor in a large town was a literary gentleman. It could almost be the study of an academic or an author, with its books, paintings and writing desk, very different from the workspace Hewitson would have occupied as compositor, reporter and editor of the *Brierley Hill Advertiser* in 1857.



Fig.8. The editor's room, *Preston Guardian and Lancashire Evening Post*, 1894
Source: *Preston Guardian* jubilee supplement, 17 February 1894, p2, courtesy of Community History Library, Harris Library, Preston.

Between the full-time reporting staff of local newspapers and the members of the public whose letters appeared in the correspondence columns, there was a continuum of part-time, freelance and assistant reporters, district correspondents and contributors of all kinds.²⁵ Some part-time correspondents, particularly those from working-class backgrounds, went on to full-time journalistic careers, but most continued in other jobs, such as Hewitson's son Horace, who ran the family stationery business and reported part-time for the *Preston Herald*. Besides working-class correspondents, there were lower middle-class men and professionals such as the architect James Hibbert, who

²⁵ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, pp.33-39; Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp.6-7.

contributed to the *Preston Chronicle's* 'Stray Notes' column.²⁶ Most of the reports of amateur sports clubs, musical societies and church tea parties probably came from the secretaries of these organisations or from correspondents. In 1889 the *Preston Guardian* boasted that 'the appointment of local correspondents in nearly every Town and Hamlet, keep the Guardian in the vanguard of Lancashire Newspapers ...'²⁷ while the ornately engraved invitation for a gathering of *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* contributors in 1891 (Fig 9 overleaf), the size of the venue, and the post of Honorary Secretary for the group, suggest a numerous and sociable corps of contributors. They were core members of the interpretive communities around each newspaper, although they might perform the same service for rival publications.²⁸ They often sold the newspapers for which they wrote, and received advertisements.²⁹ Together they formed a local news network which connected with the national network of newspaper titles. Their snippets of news and gossip were pieced together by a sub-editor at the newspaper office to create a mosaic of detailed, intensely local news.

Besides correspondents, other part-time contributors to the local press could offer expertise, either religious, political, technical or literary. It was common for leader columns to be written by individuals other than the editor and, although Hewitson probably wrote most of the *Chronicle's*, on at least one occasion he used two by William Livesey on the game laws and Plimsoll's ship safety recommendations.³⁰ A letter to the *Chronicle* in 1868 claimed that the vicar of Preston wrote leaders for the Conservative *Preston Herald*, and contributors of poetry to the *Chronicle* included a Penwortham doctor, Mr JV Caffrie.³¹

²⁶ *HD* 12 January and 22 March 1891; G. Le G. Norgate, 'Reid, Sir Thomas Wemyss (1842–1905)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35720>], accessed 8 Aug 2007; H. Aspdin, *Fifty Years a Journalist. Reflections and Recollections of an Old Clitheronian* (Clitheroe: Advertiser & Times, 1930), p.8; M. Winstanley, 'News From Oldham: Edwin Butterworth and the Manchester Press, 1829-1848', *Manchester Region History Review*, 4, 1, 1990; Wright, 'Readers and Reading', p.318; *HD* 8 May 1873.

²⁷ Advertisement, *Sell's Dictionary of the Press* 1889, p.1206.

²⁸ The village correspondent for Audlem in Cheshire acted for five weeklies, in the late twentieth century: Nulty, *Guardian Country*, p.56.

²⁹ For reference to 'assistant reporters' canvassing for advertising in 1902, see Nulty, *op.cit.*, p.119.

³⁰ For example, the Congregational ministers Rev W Hope Davison and Rev John Mills wrote leaders for the *Bolton Evening News* and the *Staffordshire Sentinel* respectively, and the sermons of the Bishop of Liverpool, Alexander Goss, proof-read and augmented by himself, occasionally served as leaders in the *Catholic Times*: F. Singleton, *Tillotsons, 1850-1950: Centenary of a Family Business* (Bolton: Tillotson, 1950), pp.9; Anon, *Rendezvous with the Past*, 14-15; J. Denvir, *The Life Story of an Old Rebel* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), pp.157-58; *HD* 7 March 1873; *PC* 8 March 1873.

³¹ 'The Irish Church', letter from 'A Looker-On', *PC* 23 May 1868; *HD* 16 March 1884.

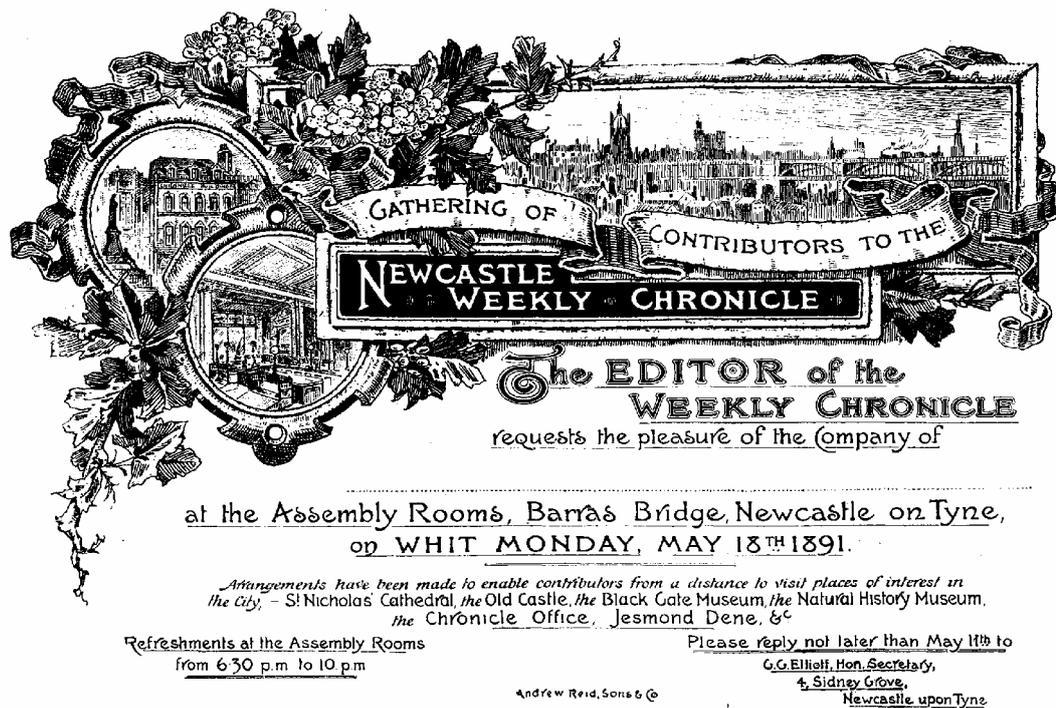


Fig 9. Invitation to a gathering of *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* contributors, 1891 (source: *Monthly Chronicle* July 1891, p312).

In London and other big cities it was possible to make a living from freelance reporting as a 'penny-a-liner'. This was also done by 'moonlighting' staff reporters, especially in smaller towns such as Preston.³² Hewitson supplied reports to the *Manchester Guardian* as soon as he completed his apprenticeship in 1857, and continued this sideline energetically while a reporter on the *Preston Guardian*, often in his employer's time, but also in the evenings and weekends, including Christmas Day 1865. He sometimes sent the same report to 20 newspapers, all of which could explain how he saved enough capital to pay the deposit on the *Chronicle* at the age of 32.³³

'When news is scarce, the "liner" is suspected of indulging in sheer invention', and this suspicion was well-founded.³⁴ Hewitson confessed this and other sharp practices to his diary: 'Wrote pars – partially manufactured – in afternoon for distant papers' and 'Sent a column & three quarters to The Times of Col Patten's & Marquis of Hartington's speeches last night at Accrington. I cut what I sent out of two newspapers.'³⁵ Table A13 (Appendix) lists the 20 or more publications mentioned in Hewitson's diaries, to which

³² Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, pp.133-34; H.W. Lucy, *Sixty Years in the Wilderness* (London: Smith, Elder, 1909), p.57. S. Tate, 'Penny-a-liner', 'Lineage', *DNCJ* online.

³³ *HD* 25 October 1865.

³⁴ 'Reporting and Reporters', *PR* 6 April 1870, p.80; see also Winstanley, 'News from Oldham', p.7, and Tate, 'Penny-a-liner'.

³⁵ *HD* 5 August 1865; 19 October 1867.

he sent reports. Such freelancing was not unusual for a staff reporter, but was probably less common for an owner-editor. It continued despite the launch of the Press Association and its corps of reporters in 1870, although the work appeared to tail off in the late 1880s, corroborating the opinion of an 1894 journalism manual that such opportunities were not what they had been in the 1860s.³⁶ There are only two references to freelance reporting in 1887: Hewitson sent his son Horace to report a speech for the *Times*, and he himself wrote a 'weather and agricultural par for *Manchester Guardian*'.³⁷

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of the diaries of a provincial journalist, in the context of other Preston journalists and newspaper owners, helps us to build a more rounded picture of the mid-to-late Victorian local newspaper. Journalism was a relatively open occupation, available via printing apprenticeships for young men whose families could afford to pay the employer's premium, and via part-time freelance work for less fortunate self-educated working-class men. This meant that some of the personnel who produced the newspapers had an understanding of the lives of the majority of the population, even if journalistic conventions limited their ability to appeal to such potential readers directly. An awareness of the role of part-time contributors enhances our understanding of the local paper as literary creation: there were probably scores of authors involved in each edition, from a range of social, cultural and political backgrounds. These correspondents were part of a local news-gathering network, feeding the national network of local papers. If the publishers could be seen as the equivalent of political party leaders and professional politicians, these correspondents or active readers were like party activists, closer to the centres of power than ordinary voters, or readers.

Hewitson's career began before the repeal of the newspaper taxes; he became the owner of a weekly paper when owner-editors were common. The strategies he pursued to defend his paper's market share (see chapter 5) were very successful in the late 1860s and early 1870s, although even then he was only in third place in Preston's press pecking order, after the commercially powerful Toulmins and the politically subsidised *Herald*. However, Preston's print culture changed significantly in the late

³⁶ J.B.Mackie, *Modern Journalism, a Handbook of Instruction and Counsel for the Young Journalist* (London: Crosby, Lockwood and Son, 1894), p.81.

³⁷ *HD* 13 April and 23 August 1887.

1880s; the Toulmins' capital and investment in distribution and news-gathering enabled them to launch a successful evening paper, meeting a new demand for more up-to-date news, and football coverage. The *Lancashire Evening Post* took advertising revenue from other newspapers (Table A15, Appendix) and Hewitson's *Chronicle*, without the political subsidy enjoyed by the *Herald*, began to struggle. An individual journalist could make an impact until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, but after that, capital became more important. Throughout, owners had far more influence over the publications than did the editors they employed.

Preston's network of printers and newspaper owners, most of whom are included in Fig 6, may be unusual in its closeness and its links to one early printer and publisher (with the exception of the *Preston Herald*). Owners of Preston newspapers, including the *Herald*, were local men, or, in the case of Hewitson, men who had made Preston their home. The corps of correspondents who fed snippets to each paper were mainly local people; only the reporters and editors were predominantly from elsewhere. The pattern of local ownership ended in the 1890s when the *Herald* was bought by a Maidstone businessman. Before then, many owners were also part of political networks, and were involved in bookselling, reading institutions and non-print businesses as company directors. Preston's local press was, for the most part, produced by local people who were deeply involved in the political, cultural and economic life of their area.

5. HEWITSON'S PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL IDENTITY IN THE *PRESTON CHRONICLE*

The CHRONICLE will be essentially THE LOCAL PAPER ... It will ... make HOME NEWS a special point of attention. Its space will not be consumed with a huge aggregation of district events totally uninteresting to the bulk of people in Preston and the neighbourhood.¹

This promise by Hewitson in his manifesto for the *Preston Chronicle* is examined in this chapter as a case study of how an owner-editor could 'perform' local identity in print and in person, and the extent to which one individual could influence the style and content of a publication. This and the two following chapters explore the many ways in which journalists attempted to capitalise on local patriotism. Here, Hewitson's diaries reveal much about the functions of the provincial press in local society: as a reporter, his weekly routine revolved around documenting and publicising the deliberations of the rapidly expanding local state. However, as an owner-editor, he made three important decisions, which differentiated him and his paper from his rivals. First, he made the *Chronicle* more local and Preston-focused; second, he performed local identity in print, making the paper more personal in its writing style and subject matter, and third, he performed local identity in person by taking an active and very visible part in the commercial, cultural and political life of Preston. The concept of performing local identity is used in two ways here: first, in print, the style and content of Hewitson's writing was more local, and was intended to identify his paper and himself as committed to Preston; second, he made a virtue of his business and his residence in the town centre and his involvement in local life, presenting himself personally as at the heart of local affairs. The last part of the chapter investigates readers' responses to Hewitson's remoulding of the *Chronicle*, raising important methodological issues in the process.

The excerpt above from Hewitson's manifesto was an obvious dig at the *Preston Guardian*, which gave extensive coverage to events in East Lancashire, where it sold well; the *Preston Herald* also carried high levels of district news. In his first 'Atticus' column after purchasing the *Chronicle*, Hewitson explained why he would concentrate on local topics:

¹ 'Change of Proprietorship' handbill, Harris Library.

M 622

"Let me embrace thee, good old Chronicle, that hast so long walk'd hand in hand with time."--SHAKSPERE.

THE PRESTON CHRONICLE.

ESTABLISHED 55 YEARS AGO.

CHANGE OF PROPRIETORSHIP.

The inhabitants of Preston and the surrounding districts are respectfully informed that THE PRESTON CHRONICLE will, on and after the 23rd of March inst., be owned and edited by Mr. A. HEWITSON (*"Atticus"*), who for several years has been influentially connected with the press of Preston, who is the approved town and district correspondent of *The Times* and all the leading newspapers in the country, and whose original writings and general reports have obtained for him an extensive reputation in Lancashire.

For upwards of 55 years—a period long anterior to the establishment of any of the other local newspapers—the CHRONICLE has been before the people of Preston and those in all the most important parts of Lancashire; and no apology is now required for calling additional attention to its claims. It comes under the notice of the public in this announcement as a local "institution" more than half a century old, with all the prestige of an honourable name, and all the integrity of an independent and respectably managed journal. With regard to the future, the new proprietor wishes to remark that the CHRONICLE will be conducted on the same broad and independent principles which have hitherto been recognised by it. Its politics will be eminently Liberal,—eminently on the side of sound and practical progress, with a due regard and respect for all existing institutions which infuse energy and truth into the life of a free people, and give dignity to the constitution of a great nation. The CHRONICLE will be the organ of no special class in religion. Its motto will be "FAIR PLAY FOR ALL." In every matter whether denominational or political, civil or commercial, the editor will speak right out, freely and fearlessly. His comments will be decisive and clear, on the side of the fullest toleration, the widest improvement, the most unfettered progress. Vigour without violence, manly criticism without scurrility, brisk and cogent argument without bigotry, will be the characteristics of his pen.

The CHRONICLE will be essentially THE LOCAL PAPER, and will be the only Preston journal with a resident Editor. It will contain the most concise and complete record of Local and General Information published in Preston, and will make HOME NEWS a special point of attention. Its space will not be consumed with a huge aggregation of district events totally uninteresting to the bulk of people in Preston and the neighbourhood. Quality, not quantity,—news calculated to instruct and interest, not a ponderous mass of mediocrity—will be the distinguishing feature of the CHRONICLE. The most valuable district news which can be obtained by the proprietor, and not the greatest parade of it, will be inserted. Half of the CHRONICLE will never be made unreadable and dead to local subscribers by a weary enumeration of out-of-the-way district events.

Arrangements have been made to provide the readers of the CHRONICLE with the best and most accurate reports of local meetings, &c. Verbatim power, and a long experience of local affairs, will be brought into requisition for this particular purpose.

Special Sketches and Letters by "ATTICUS" will appear in the CHRONICLE.

ALL THE LATEST NEWS BY TELEGRAPH WILL BE REGULARLY SUPPLIED.

A PRESTONIAN IN THE GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
WILL CONTRIBUTE PARLIAMENTARY AND METROPOLITAN NOTES.

NOON & EVENING EDITIONS--and others when necessary--will be published on Saturdays.

The CHRONICLE has long been read by all classes; and the new arrangements,—the free, unbiassed, and special character of its local management,—will greatly augment its popularity. Its circulation has of late much increased. The new proprietor has received promises of support from persons in all ranks of society; and the CHRONICLE—the only independent paper in Preston—will now be a general and not a mere party organ, and will thus constitute THE BEST LOCAL MEDIUM FOR ALL DESCRIPTIONS OF ADVERTISERS.

Publishing Office (Temporary), 106, Fishergate; Printing Office, Aspinall-street.

Entrances: Fishergate (Publishing Office Yard), Friargate (Bamber's Yard), and by Chapel Walks.

The Chronicle may be obtained from all Town and District News Agents.

A. HEWITSON, GENERAL PRINTER BY STEAM-POWER, CHRONICLE OFFICE, PRESTON.

Fig. 10. Handbill announcing Hewitson's ownership of the *Preston Chronicle*, 1868

Source: Harris Library. The same text also appeared in the first edition under his editorship, 28 March 1868.

Charity, it is said, begins at home. My notion is that writing should start at exactly the same spot. What's the use of growing eloquent and luminous about something ten hundred or ten thousand miles off? ... let us get into England, with our scribbling; let us begin at home with our writing. Wherever I may end I shall start here. Now and then I shall move out of town ... but the distance will never be great.²

Table 17. Content of *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian* immediately before and after Hewitson's purchase of *Chronicle*, 1867-68

	Nov 2 1867		April 4 1868	
	cols	%	cols	%
<i>Preston Guardian</i>				
Advertising	17	31	17	29
Editorial:				
Preston	12	22	8	13
Lancs not Preston	16	28	18	31
Lancs county		0	2	3
Rest of UK	6	11	4	8
Parliament & national politics, economy, finance	1	2	7	12
Foreign	2	4	1	3
Features (no Preston angle)	1	2	1	2
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>				
Advertising	13	28	18	36
Editorial:				
Preston	13	28	15	30
Lancs not Preston	8	17	2	4
Lancs county		0	2	3
Rest of UK	3	7	2	3
Parliament & national politics, economy, finance	3	6	2	4
Foreign	4	8	2	4
Features (no Preston angle)	3	7	8	15

Note: All issues contained eight pages, with seven columns per page in the *Preston Guardian*, six per page in the *Preston Chronicle*.

He was as good as his word, significantly increasing the amount and proportion of Preston content in the paper. Table 17 above shows that, before Hewitson bought the *Chronicle*, it published quantities of Preston news and features in November 1867 comparable to Preston's other Liberal paper, the *Guardian*, around 12 columns per issue (although the *Guardian* was bi-weekly, the *Chronicle* weekly). But in April 1868, the month following Hewitson's acquisition, there was nearly twice as much Preston material in his paper than in the *Guardian*, 15 columns compared with eight. Hewitson made room for Preston news and comment by greatly reducing his coverage of Lancashire beyond Preston and the Fylde, and by slight reductions in national, Parliamentary and foreign news. He also greatly increased the amount of non-local magazine-style feature content, from three to eight columns. As regards Preston editorial content, a comparison of Tables A7 and A9 (Appendix) shows that the *Chronicle* had more Preston editorial *per issue* than the *Herald* or the *Guardian*, but in

² 'Preston and Roundabout. Notions and Sketches. [By "Atticus."] Our Town council and its Members.' *PC* 4 April 1868, p.6.

terms of Preston content published *each week*, the *Chronicle* was overtaken by the *Herald*, *Guardian* and *Evening Post*.

The number and proportion of Preston advertisements also increased under Hewitson's ownership, adding to the paper's overall Preston content (tables 17-19). While Preston advertising declined in the *Guardian* and the *Herald* during the 1870s, it grew in the *Chronicle*, from around ten columns to a high of nearly 18 columns in 1875, accounting for a third of the entire paper. Hewitson also increased coverage of Preston sport, mainly cricket, outpacing the coverage of rival papers (see tables 14 and 15, Chapter 3), although this still accounted for barely one per cent of the paper's columns.

Table 18. Preston advertisements in selected titles, 1860-1900 (no. of columns per week)

	1860	1870	1875	1880	1886	1889	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>							6	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>					26.7		31.3	60.8
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	11.1	11.9	17.9	12.6		6.9	9.2	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	11.5	16.5		24.9			10.5	6.5
<i>Preston Herald</i>	10.3	12.1		17.6			10.9	15.7
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	6.5							

Table 19. Preston advertisements in selected titles, 1860-1900 (%)

	1860	1870	1875	1880	1886	1889	1890	1900
<i>Catholic News</i>							13	
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>					16.3		18.7	24.4
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	19.4	24.4	32	23		12.3	16.3	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	20.4	19.4		17.8			10.1	7.6
<i>Preston Herald</i>	21.5	12.8		12.7			8.3	11
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	14.1							

While most local papers continued the tradition of concentrating editorial comment on national and international concerns, Hewitson dramatically increased the proportion of local leaders from 13 to 79 per cent in the month after he took over. In contrast, the proportion of local leading articles in the rival *Guardian* hovered around the 20 per cent mark (based on a comparison of leaders in both papers for November 1867 and April 1868, table 20). This more single-minded devotion to one town allowed the *Preston Chronicle* to be more partisan and less even-handed in its treatment of other towns, unlike rivals with wider circulation areas such as the *Preston Herald*, compelled to temper their support of a Preston institution because of readers elsewhere. In an 1880 editorial praising Preston's art college, the *Herald* stressed that, 'In wishing prosperity to the School of Art, we do the same for every kindred institution in North and North-

East Lancashire.³ The *Herald* also experimented with publishing two reports of the same football match in the same column, one from the Preston point of view and the other for Accrington readers, for example – a difficulty avoided by papers with a more cohesive, unitary circulation area.⁴ Content analysis does not capture locally *mediated* articles: many general features in the *Chronicle* were localised, so that more of the world was seen through a Preston lens, such as the reports from ‘A Prestonian in the Gallery of the House of Commons’ advertised in the handbill above (Fig 10), an 1880 series on ‘phrenological science’, subtitled ‘papers by a Preston student’ and the serial novel *The Revenge Of A Life: A Cambro-Britannic Story* ‘by A Prestonian’.⁵

Table 20. Proportion of leading articles on local subjects, *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Chronicle*, 1867-68

	November 1867	April 1868
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	17	22
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	13	79

Hewitson was not from Preston, but he cared deeply about his adopted town: his children were born there (four were buried there), and his fortunes were tied to Preston’s. Yet his decision to make the *Chronicle* more local in flavour was commercial rather than emotional. He implemented some of the established journalistic techniques enumerated in the next chapter, used by native and immigrant journalists alike, to confirm and benefit from local patriotism.⁶ Well-travelled reporters were singularly well qualified to perform local identity in this way, with their comparative knowledge and a vocabulary of literary and editorial techniques (these techniques included pen names which remained constant while the identity of the writer changed, and the performance of local dialects by non-native writers).⁷ This technical facility can be seen in the autobiography of former *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian* reporter Harry Bussey, as he traces his progress around the country from paper to paper, briefly sketching what was characteristic about each place, for example St Valentine’s Eve in East Anglia, showing a relish and understanding of local identity.⁸ Another expatriate journalist, John Leng, the Hull-born editor of the *People’s Journal*, headquartered in Dundee, was fully aware of what was required:

³ *PH* 18 September 1880, p.2.

⁴ *PH* 24 October 1888.

⁵ *PC* 4 September 1880, pp.7, 2.

⁶ ‘Immigrant editors were often very patriotic’: Lucas, *MLitt*, p.14; see also P.J. Lucas, ‘Furness Newspapers in Mid-Victorian England’ in P. Bell (ed), *Victorian Lancashire* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1974), p.91; Brown, *Victorian News*, p.82.

⁷ For journalists’ twentieth-century performance of class rather than non-geographical identities, see A.Bell, ‘Language Style As Audience Design’, *Language in Society*, 13, 1984, pp.171-72.

⁸ Bussey, *Sixty Years*, p.89 and *passim*.

An Englishman in Scotland ... I specially considered the requirements of the town, district, and country in which I was placed, and wrote and wrought for them as of supreme importance.⁹

Hewitson sustained this localism throughout the 1870s, but after that the *Chronicle's* coverage became less distinctive, although it retained Hewitson's more personal tone of voice (see below). By 1880 the *Chronicle's* Preston coverage had declined to levels below those before he bought it; and the columns of district news, which had been fewer in the first decade under Hewitson, now outnumbered those for Preston (table A4, Appendix), and by 1889 most of Hewitson's promised changes had been reversed. The local newspaper market in Preston changed in the late 1880s, with the launch of the *Lancashire Evening Post* in 1886 and the *Preston Pilot's* shift to reporting Lytham news, despite its title, and its closure in 1888. The *Chronicle's* two main rivals, the *Guardian* and the *Herald*, were bi-weekly, expanding in the late 1870s from eight pages to 12, and even 16 pages in the case of the *Guardian*, but the *Chronicle* remained an eight-page weekly.¹⁰

The second way in which Hewitson performed local identity was in his adoption of a more personalised style of writing than his competitors, a style found more often in provincial magazines than provincial newspapers. Hewitson dropped names and boasted of his special knowledge, in a tone similar to a modern gossip columnist, as seen in a few phrases from his 'Atticus' column on local parsons: 'some of the clergymen we know ... if others knew as much of them as we do ... We are somewhat acquainted with him [the Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, Alexander Goss] ... We have a very considerable respect for about thirty of the parsons of Preston. We could give their names ...' ¹¹

'The *Preston Chronicle* undoubtedly mainly owed its celebrity to the pen of its editor, who wrote most of the articles and paragraphs of a spicy character ...' So said John Holker QC, barrister for the wife of the Rector of Eccleston, Mrs Sybilla Catharine Sparling, who had been described in the *Chronicle* as a 'fish wife'.¹² The offending paragraph had been written by a local correspondent, and the case was settled by an apology and costs of £89 1s against Hewitson (paid for him by a group of local Conservatives).¹³ 'Personalities' (the making of personal remarks) and the personality of Hewitson, expressed through his able pen, were key to the *Chronicle's* success, as the barrister said, but this was not without its problems. In 1872 Hewitson exposed a

⁹ Anon, 'Journalistic Autobiographies: Leng', p.158.

¹⁰ *HD* 30 December 1867; 1873, back pages; 18 July 1865; 24 June 1865.

¹¹ 'Our bishops and parsons', *PC* 18 April 1868, p.6.

¹² Holker was also Solicitor General and one of Preston's two Conservative MPs at the time.

¹³ 'Alleged libel case', *PC* 14 March 1874; *HD* 17 February, 10 May 1874.

secret marriage between the Vicar of Preston and his housekeeper, nearly 40 years his junior, producing much criticism of Hewitson (but ‘an immense demand for the *Chronicle*’).¹⁴ In 1884 Hewitson prosecuted Alderman Benjamin Walmsley for assault, after Walmsley bought a paper from Hewitson, threatened to ‘beat him till he was as black as the ink his paper was printed with ... and struck complainant violently on the face with his folded newspaper.’ Walmsley’s solicitor explained that ‘for years the plaintiff had had the audacity and the impudence to throw his jokes at Mr Walmsley’.¹⁵ The alderman was found guilty and ordered to pay Hewitson £1 plus costs.

The opening paragraph of Hewitson’s manifesto for the *Chronicle* trades on his reputation both under his own name and his pen-name:

... THE PRESTON CHRONICLE will, on and after the 23rd of March inst., be owned and edited by Mr. A. HEWITSON (“*Atticus*”), who for several years has been influentially connected with the press of Preston, who is the approved town and district correspondent of *The Times* and all the leading newspapers in the country, and whose original writings and general reports have obtained for him an extensive reputation in Lancashire.¹⁶

Although the convention of editorial anonymity was maintained in the newspaper itself, Hewitson was probably well known in Preston, and far from anonymous. While he did not include his name in the paper’s title, unlike *Felix Farley’s Bristol Journal*, or *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, the personal publicity for an editor seen in this handbill, especially for a local editor, was unusual in this period. Hewitson was ahead of his time, using the techniques of ‘the new journalist .. a man or woman who believes that his or her own personality is a subject of supreme interest to the world at large, and who insists upon thrusting it upon the reader ...’¹⁷ He did this particularly through his long, irreverent, humorous ‘Atticus’ columns, full of observations about local personalities and institutions, which had no equivalent in rival local publications of the time. The first four after his purchase of the *Chronicle* concerned the town council, the Poor Law Guardians, Preston’s clergymen, and the life of Preston’s main street on a Saturday from dawn to dusk.

Hewitson’s use of language in the *Chronicle* has been examined with the aid of corpus linguistics or ‘text mining’ software (see Chapter 2, p.31), used to investigate two kinds of writing by Hewitson, leaders and ‘Atticus’ columns. Hewitson’s leaders in April 1868

¹⁴ *PC* 22 June 1872; *HD* 22 June 1872; ‘Stray Notes’, *PC* 29 June 1872.

¹⁵ ‘Mr Blackhurst [defending]: Do you remember writing an article wherein you drew the attention of the public to Mr Walmsley having not only one slate off, but the whole of his roof off ...? ... Did you write an article calling him an ass and a brainless fool’: ‘A Preston alderman charged with assault, and ordered to pay a fine or go to prison’, *PC* 19 January 1884.

¹⁶ ‘The Preston Chronicle. Change of Proprietorship’, handbill, March 1868, Harris Library.

¹⁷ T.W.Reid, ‘Some Reminiscences of English Journalism’, *Nineteenth Century*, 42, 245, 1897, p.62.

were compared with *Chronicle* leaders published in September, October and November 1867, probably written by William Dobson before Hewitson rejoined the *Chronicle*, and with those published in April 1868 in the rival Liberal *Preston Guardian*, author(s) unknown (see Table 21 below).¹⁸ The similar politics of the *Guardian* allow stylistic differences to be isolated. It is assumed that Hewitson wrote the vast majority of the *Chronicle*'s leading articles after he bought the paper, and that if he commissioned others to write any, they were similar in style and stance.¹⁹ The grounds for these assumptions are that no *Chronicle* editor besides Hewitson is ever mentioned in his diaries, in rival papers or in the *Newspaper Press Directory*. Only once do his diaries mention leaders being written by anyone else (two by William Livesey in 1873), but they frequently mention him writing such articles himself.²⁰ There are also strong similarities of style and vocabulary between the leaders, his 'Atticus' columns and his diaries.

Table 21. Texts analysed using corpus linguistics software

No. of texts		Sept-Nov 1867	April 1868
5	Pre-Hewitson <i>Chronicle</i> leaders about Preston	6,080 words	
20	Hewitson-era <i>Chronicle</i> leaders about Preston		15,941 words
4	Atticus columns		10,790 words
5	<i>Guardian</i> leaders about Preston		4,471 words

Hewitson's use of the personal pronouns 'we'/'our'/'us' was unusually self-referential, exhibiting a severe case of the frequently mocked 'wegotism'. Mark Twain is said to have stipulated that 'only kings, presidents, editors, and people with tapeworms have the right to use the editorial "we"'.²¹ Personal pronouns were examined because of their power as linguistic devices to include and exclude, thereby helping to construct identities, yet Hewitson used them mainly in the editorial voice, rather than referring to Preston and Prestonians. His use of 'we' shows the greatest difference from his predecessor and from his Liberal rival. In leading articles about Preston, he used 'we' more than twice as much as the previous leader-writer (14 times per 1000 words, compared to about six), and almost twice as much as the *Preston Guardian* (less than

¹⁸ Hewitson wrote at least some leaders for the *Chronicle* in January and February 1868, whilst employed as a reporter, before he purchased the paper, so these months have not been sampled: *HD* 17 January and 24 February 1868.

¹⁹ Hewitson's slightly pompous style was like that of the 'able country paper editor' to whom a correspondent complained 'that the Greek and Latin quotations had raised the price of dictionaries': Collins, 'Country Newspapers,' p.137.

²⁰ Entries in the 1868 diary become sporadic after his purchase of the *Chronicle*, presumably through pressure of work. In the next volume, for 1872, references to writing leaders are made on 5 January, 23 February, 1, 8 and 29 March, 17 May, 7 and 14 June, 12 and 26 July and 13 and 20 December. William Livesey leaders: *HD* 7 March 1873.

²¹ Reid, 'Some Reminiscences', p.64. A few months after Hewitson bought the *Chronicle*, the *Printers' Register* mocked the editorial 'we' of the provincial press as a sign of egotism: *PR* supplement, 6 November 1868, pp.285-86.

eight uses per 1000 words, see table 22, second column, below). He also used the first-person plural pronoun frequently in his 'Atticus' columns (11 uses per 1000 words). When each usage of 'we' is classified (table A16, Appendix), Hewitson is seen to be using 'we' to maintain the fiction of editorial anonymity, suggesting a corporate editorial voice, when really he meant 'I', and the many readers aware of the *Chronicle's* ownership would have read the editorial 'we' as Hewitson's voice. The passage below shows how Hewitson 'totters under his own magnificence'.²² He is writing about Nar Ka Waa, an Indian chief and revivalist preacher accused of being 'too fond of women' and said by some correspondents to the paper to actually be a Mr Kelly (my emphasis):²³

It requires some courage to confront a phalanx of Hallelujah men and a living Indian Chief. **We** are in possession of some amount of intrepidity, but **we** hardly dare meet the two forces mentioned. The ground is delicate. Strong feelings, and earnest thoughts, and strange aspirations hedge it in; but **we** are prepared to break a lance. **We** assume the defensive. The times demand a word of protest and advice. **We** approach the matter with a full consciousness of its importance. **We** are in no humour for much banter. **We** are not writing for writing's sake. Neither do **we** enter the arena for the popular purpose of fault-finding. The current of contempt and the rapid stream of scandal are full. **We** revert to the subject - last week **we** said something about it - with pain...²⁴

Table 22. Frequency (per 1000 words) of selected words in 'Atticus' columns and leading articles about Preston

	'We'	'Our'	'Us'	'Preston'	'They'/ their'/ them'
Pre-Hewitson <i>Chronicle</i>	5.9	6.2	1.5	1.3	12.6
<i>Guardian</i>	7.7	2.2	1.3	3.6	12.1
Hewitson-era <i>Chronicle</i>	14.2	3.5	1.4	2.9	13.7
'Atticus' columns	11.7	6.1	1.5	1.1	18.1

While a leader column about the new town hall, probably written by the *Chronicle's* previous owner, William Dobson (see Chapter 6, p.112) uses 'we' to mean 'Prestonians', Hewitson rarely used 'we' in this way (only nine per cent of cases), much less than the *Guardian* (37 per cent) and the pre-Hewitson *Chronicle* (24 per cent). Similarly, he used 'us' in his 'Atticus' columns to mean the editorial voice. Hewitson's was a more personalised style of leader-writing, leaving the convention of the editorial 'we' a hollowed-out shell. He exploited its exclusionary power, through 'the rhetorical implication ... that the ... readership must ... share the newspaper's ... views as being the only correct views.'²⁵ The use of 'we' and its cognates was subtly different in his 'Atticus' columns, creating the illusion that the reader accompanied the well-connected

²² Anon, 'A Newspaper Editor's Reminiscences,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 119 (November), 1839, p.591.

²³ *HD* 9 April 1868.

²⁴ 'Revivalism and Indianism', *PC* 18 April 1868, p.4.

²⁵ K. Wales, *Personal Pronouns in Present-Day English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.62.

journalist, gaining privileged access to local people and places. 'Let us take a turn into the Council chamber – quietly and unobserved, if possible ...' he wrote in the column on Preston corporation.²⁶ This style of journalism, akin to Fairclough's 'synthetic personalisation', suggests a personal relationship between reader and writer, and could heighten local identity when the writer was seen to be at the heart of local life.²⁷

This is the third way in which Hewitson performed local identity, by throwing himself into the life of the town, not only as a political activist, but as a shopkeeper and newspaper-seller, physically present to his readers, unlike the non-resident editors of rival journals.²⁸ Hewitson's rival and former employer, George Toulmin, was less approachable, cutting himself off from large sections of Preston society through his teetotalism, while his business was large enough to employ others to sell newspapers at his front counter. In contrast, Hewitson was not only part of the same interpretive community as some of his readers, but also part of a physical, local community.²⁹

The supposed influence so impersonally wielded by a newspaper was in practice derived from its editor, who thereby occupied a pivotal position in local affairs.³⁰ The activities of Hewitson and other Liberal Preston editors bear out this dictum, although the proprietors and editors of the town's Tory papers were less visible. The Toulmins (*Preston Guardian*) and William Dobson (*Preston Chronicle*) were active members of the Liberal party and town councillors;³¹ Hewitson was less involved with party organisation, and distanced himself from the Liberal machine in the handbill advertising his purchase of the *Chronicle*, announcing that 'the only independent paper in Preston – will now be a *general* and not a *mere party* organ'. However, he was involved in the Liberal candidature of Major James German in the 1868 election and 1872 by-election, claiming to have persuaded German to withdraw in the former contest.³² In 1874 he travelled to Barrow, Lancaster and London in search of a Liberal candidate, the same year that he initiated and ran a campaign for two brothers to be elected Liberal councillors.³³ Hewitson also worked in a personal capacity for non-political objectives

²⁶ PC 4 April 1868.

²⁷ N.Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), p.98.

²⁸ In 1866 an apparently non-resident editor of the *Preston Guardian* neglected to send a leader (*HD* 24 April 1866).

²⁹ 'The provincial journalists ... were somebodies in the town ... They were members of a community, and scribbled in our midst': Priestley, 'An Outpost', p.175; see also M.Engel, 'Local Papers: an Obituary,' *British Journalism Review*, 20, 2, 2009, p.56, describing David Armstrong MBE, who edited the *Portadown Times* for 40 years: 'He knew every second person we passed - no, two in three probably.'

³⁰ Fraser, 'Editor as Activist,' p. 121.

³¹ 13 out of 43 Provincial Newspaper Society presidents were town councillors: Whorlow, *Provincial Newspaper Society*, pp.87-97.

³² Leader column, PC 22 August 1868, p.4; *HD* 21 August 1872.

³³ *HD* 26-28 January 1874; October and November 1874, *passim*.

such as an industrial institute for the blind, the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate and a sanitary association.³⁴

There are occasional glimpses of how particular viewpoints found their way into the paper, but it is difficult to trace the direction of influence. For example, on 3 April 1873 Hewitson reported a meeting about the cost of the county lunatic asylums, noting contributions by Mr W Howitt of Preston. 'In afternoon John Cooper and W Howitt called on me respecting asylum expenditure.'³⁵ That week's *Chronicle* contained a long leader supporting Howitt's points.³⁶ Did Howitt enlist Cooper, Hewitson's friend, to persuade Hewitson to write in support of Howitt's campaign? Would Hewitson have written the same leader anyway? What is certain is that, in a small town as in Fleet Street and Westminster, a small group of individuals, often members of the same interpretive communities, ruled the town and 'wrote' the town.³⁷

Hewitson was a public figure. His personal qualities probably enabled him to move between the different ranks of society, as evidenced by invitations to mediate in the case of Nor Kar Won in 1868, and in a dispute between grocery magnate EH Booth and Alderman James Burrows in 1896. In 1872 a coal agent asked him for marital advice.³⁸ His best friends, when he lived in town, were a shoemaker and a slightly bohemian photographer. His church-going career ascended the social scale from the Nonconformist Cannon St chapel to the socially exclusive St George's Anglican chapel.³⁹ As an editor he dined with priests and mill owners and was friends with gentry

³⁴ '... Not content with interpreting the world, [many Victorian editors] also did their best to change it.' A.G. Jones, 'Local Journalism in Victorian Political Culture' in L. Brake, A. Jones, and L. Madden (eds), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), p.65. HD 12 March 1867, 30 April 1872, 17 January 1872; March 1885.

³⁵ William Howitt was a Lancaster-born surgeon and a Liberal who, as a member of the Winckley Club, a Preston gentlemen's club, bought second-hand copies of the *Preston Chronicle* every year from 1865 to 1869 at least: 'Death of W Howitt Esq', PC 11 October 1873; Winckley Club minute books, LRO DDX 1895.

³⁶ HD 3 April 1873; PC 5 April 1873.

³⁷ In mid-twentieth-century Chicago, Janowitz found that 'since the publisher and frequently many of the staff members are involved in local organisational life their activities in gathering the news can hardly be distinguished from their own local community participation... at every point in the operation of the local community newspaper its mass communication aspects are inextricably interrelated with the personal communications and social contacts which linked the newspaper's personnel, the community leaders and the readership clientele': Janowitz, *Community Press*, pp.71, 158.

³⁸ HD 9 April 1868; 27 June 1896; 23 April 1872.

³⁹ His choice of church was partly dictated by commercial considerations (he left the Unitarians in disgust after they gave their printing work to a Methodist, despite Hewitson having published their 'very heterodox' sermons in his paper), and perhaps also because Preston's Nonconformists lacked political clout: HD 11 April 1875; 1881 passim; A.Hewitson, *Our Churches and Chapels, Their Parsons, Priests and Congregations; Being a Critical and Historical Account of Every Place of Worship in Preston*. By 'Atticus' A. H. Reprinted From the *Preston Chronicle* (Preston: Chronicle Office, 1869) p.60; P.T.Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit:*

such as John Cooper of the Oaks in Penwortham.⁴⁰ From 1885, he rented two country villas in succession, rearing livestock and socialising with local gentry. Yet his wife managed a stationery shop, and he spent most Saturdays standing at his shop counter, taking tuppences for the newspaper he owned.⁴¹

Provincial owner-editors were not anonymous; the same is true of editors, to a lesser extent. Like Hewitson they were public figures, active in local life, their name often emblazoned above their door, on the main street of their town.⁴² Hewitson also built a reputation as an author, producing 14 books, including eight of local interest, four of local history and one of travel. This lack of anonymity put the local newspaper editor at risk of assault with a rolled-up newspaper or worse, but there were advantages in being known: greater accountability to readers, and a greater understanding of them.⁴³ For a journalist with Hewitson's evident social ease, standing at a shop counter Saturday after Saturday, selling papers and gossiping, was time well spent. It would have enabled him to gauge responses to what he published and to develop personal relationships with many of his 'constant readers', giving physical reality to an interpretive community.

As with so much media history, it is easier to discern changes in the text, and the intentions of the text's authors, than to detect the readers' responses. Hewitson's diaries show that he prospered as owner of the *Chronicle*, but we do not know whether he made any more profit from the paper than his predecessor, nor how much of his income came from other sources, such as freelancing and rents from property. The circulation of the *Chronicle* increased, according to his diary entries and some readers' letters, but neither source is independent of Hewitson. These letters suggested that the *Chronicle's* sales increased in Preston (as opposed to other parts of North Lancashire), and possibly at the expense of the other Liberal paper, the *Guardian*.⁴⁴ Hewitson claimed in his diary that advertising revenue increased. The second-hand value of the paper rose by a third at the Winckley Club after Hewitson took over, but this evidence

Sectarianism, Society, and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p.46.

⁴⁰ HD 11 January, 28 April 1872.

⁴¹ HD 10 February 1872; 4 December 1872.

⁴² Roberts, 'Still More', p.12; Collins, 'Country Newspapers', p.136; J. Hatton, *Journalistic London: Being a Series of Sketches of Famous Pens and Papers of the Day* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1882), p.28; Milne, 'Periodical Publishing'.

⁴³ So for the majority of cases, it is not the case that 'Victorian editors and writers did not know with any great certainty who their readers were': K. Macdonald, 'Dorothy's Literature Class: Late-Victorian Women Autodidacts and Penny Fiction Weeklies' in A. Buckland and B. Palmer (eds), *A Return to the Common Reader: the Legacy of Richard Altick* (in press, Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2010), p.9.

⁴⁴ HD 28 March, April 18 and 25, 1868; 15 May, 31 December 1872; 'To Our Readers', PC 4 April 1868, p.4; 'Notices to Correspondents', PC 11 and 18 April 1868, p.4.

is not conclusive, as the second-hand value of the rival *Preston Herald* rose by the same proportion (Table A17, Appendix - see Chapter 8 for explanation of auction values as an index of popularity).

There was more correspondence in Hewitson's remodelled *Chronicle*, suggesting greater numbers of readers, or more engagement with the paper. An admirer of Hewitson's new regime thought that, 'among the rest of its improvements the number of its correspondents is not the least ...'⁴⁵ The number of letters published in the *Chronicle* increased significantly under Hewitson, from an average of 4.9 per issue to 8.1 (see Table 23 below), about double the number in an average issue of the *Guardian*, but the *Herald* showed an even greater increase in the number of letters published, from 4.5 per issue to 10.5. The *Chronicle* published 54 letters in the first quarter of 1868, before Hewitson bought it, leaping to 187 in the second quarter, under Hewitson's ownership; this dropped to 126 for the third quarter, but was still well above the number published by Hewitson's predecessor. However, in October 1868, the rival *Herald* far surpassed the other two papers, with a total of 108 letters, compared to 36 in the *Chronicle* and 37 in the *Guardian*. Nonetheless, two years later, in 1870, Hewitson's *Chronicle* overtook the *Herald* in the average number of letters published per issue, 5.8 in the *Chronicle* compared with 3.7 in the *Herald*.

High numbers of letters can be a sign of high circulation, but also of the tone of the paper, particularly whether it welcomes correspondence, and the level of selection and rejection of letters – and of course some letters may have been 'fabricated' by the paper itself. There is also the confounding factor of the heightened debate shortly after Hewitson bought the *Chronicle*, during the summer and autumn of 1868, over the Liberals' moves to disestablish the Irish church, and anticipation of the coming general election. These topics occupied many letter-writers.

Table 23. No. of readers' letters, *Preston Chronicle*, *Guardian* and *Herald*, September and October 1867 and 1868

	1867		1868		Average no. per issue	
	Sept	Oct	Sept	Oct	1867	1868
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	15	24	37	36	4.9	8.1
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	35	33	41	37	4	4.3
<i>Preston Herald</i>	40	36	82	108	4.5	10.5

While letters in both papers covered similar topics in 1867, they diverged the following year, after Hewitson had taken over, with the *Chronicle*'s letter-writers focusing mainly on the election campaign in Preston while the *Guardian*'s were more concerned with electioneering in the separate North Lancashire constituency. The proportion of letters

⁴⁵ 'Our Next Election', correspondence, *PC* 20 June 1868, p.6.

on Preston topics declined in both papers between 1867 and 1868, but it declined far less in the *Chronicle* than in the *Guardian*, suggesting that the *Chronicle* was taking Preston readers away from the *Guardian*, and was certainly seen as more of a Preston paper than the *Guardian*, which had a wider North Lancashire remit (see Table 23 and Table A18, Appendix). However, Hewitson's increased focus on Preston did not elicit more pseudonyms related to Preston and citizenship of the town, probably because the topics of the letters were less local in 1868 (see Table 43, Chapter 10).

Table 24. Percentage of letters on Preston topics, *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian*, 1867 and 1868

	Sept-Oct 1867	Sept-Oct 1868
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	76.9	65.8
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	79.4	39.7

Chronicle readers debated with each other more under Hewitson's stewardship than they had done previously, with letters responding to other letters rising from one in 1867 to 11 in 1868. This might suggest an increased sense of membership of a reading community, yet, even under Hewitson, the level of reader-to-reader letters was never as high as that in the *Preston Guardian*, 17 in 1867 and 15 in 1868. One would expect Hewitson's preference for Preston-related leader columns (Table 20) to increase circulation in Preston.⁴⁶ There is some evidence that readers appreciated his leaders, but the number of letters explicitly responding to them did not increase between September/October 1867, before Hewitson took over, and the same months of 1868, six months after he took charge – he was merely continuing the paper's tradition, with five such responses to leaders in both years.⁴⁷ However, in the *Preston Guardian*, responses to leaders declined from one to none (Table A19, Appendix).

While the apparently positive responses of readers to Hewitson's *Chronicle* regime were probably connected to his increased localisation of the paper, the evidence is not conclusive. He was also an energetic young man who claimed to have improved the paper's distribution system and its advertising sales, which would have increased circulation and advertising income regardless of content.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Henry Lucy found that similar tactics increased the circulation of a paper for which he wrote in Shrewsbury: Lucy, *Sixty Years*, p.46.

⁴⁷ 'The "Rag Fair," Market Place', correspondence, *PC* 16 May 1868, p.6; 'Preston Workmen and Religion', correspondence, *PC* 23 May 1868, p.6.

⁴⁸ 'To Garstang picking up news. Learned something of the stagnant way in which the *Chronicle's* circulation had been conducted here and made arrangements to alter it': *HD* 2 January 1868.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has revealed some of the methods used by one journalist to develop a 'brand personality' for his publication, and to put his own ego into print. Hewitson's localisation of the *Chronicle* was a sound commercial strategy, which used established techniques that enabled non-native journalists to impersonate or perform localism. He publicised the distinctive local qualities of Preston and its people more than other journalists and newspapers (demonstrating, incidentally, that some papers are more local than others); he increased Preston content, in the *Chronicle's* news, leader columns, Preston-related features and advertisements. Corpus linguistics methods have shown how Hewitson's projection of his own personality, and focus on other local personalities, prefigured the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s.

As an active owner-editor, out and about in the town, he was a far-from-anonymous member of the same interpretive communities as many of his readers and contributors, making otiose any attempt to trace the direction of influence from newspapers to readers. Influence was reciprocal and iterative. This case study also shows that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was the owners rather than the editors of local newspapers who decided the style and content of their publications. It would have been more difficult for Hewitson to remould the *Chronicle* to the same extent if he had been simply an editor, or a proprietor who did not write. Owner-editors were able to mould papers into distinctive products and it may be that, as owner-editors were replaced by more distant proprietors and employee-editors towards the end of the century and the first decades of the twentieth century, the commercial value of localism was neglected.⁴⁹

Increased circulation, advertisements, readers' letters, second-hand auction values and profits suggest that Hewitson's changes to the paper met a positive response. However, this exercise confirms the methodological difficulties of finding direct causal connections between the publication of a text and its readers' behaviour, particularly when one begins from the text rather than the readers. While it seems likely that Hewitson's tighter focus on Preston was the reason for higher sales in the town (see Chapter 10), we cannot rule out the possibility that more efficient distribution to sales outlets was the reason. The following chapters expand the approach taken in this chapter, with Chapters 6-7 exploring more journalistic techniques used to exploit local patriotism, and Chapters 8-10 analysing newspaper-reading habits in Preston.

⁴⁹ The growing separation of newspapers' business and editorial departments had many other effects, possibly including editorial fastidiousness about 'commercial' developments such as the New Journalism.

6. LOCAL CONTENT AND LOCAL IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds on the previous chapter's case study of one owner-editor's remodelling of a local paper to increase its local appeal, by briefly surveying some other journalistic techniques for the exploitation of local patriotism. More broadly, this chapter aims to describe how the local press was woven into the fabric of cultural life in a provincial town, as a mirror, magnifier and maker of local culture. Although this has been acknowledged by many historians, the processes and techniques employed have not been studied in detail, nor through the medium of one location.¹ Newspapers did more than report their localities, they became part of the loop of making and re-making culture, giving them the status of a local institution, part of the events and processes they reported, both arena and actor.² They selectively promoted certain aspects while ignoring others, and occasionally intervened directly and self-consciously in local culture, initiating events and movements.

It is argued here that local identity guided the selection, interpretation and presentation of much of the content of the local press, including non-local content. First, the concept of local identity is shown to be both complex and dynamic. Chapter 3 demonstrated that Preston news and advertising, and news from other parts of Lancashire, made up the single largest category of content in Preston's newspapers. This chapter analyses the nature of some of that local content and the techniques used by the local press to promote and sustain local identity. Finally, the contested nature of local identity is acknowledged, and the theory that 'othering' is central to identity formation is questioned, in relation to the local press.

The idea that local newspapers influenced local identity was the starting point for this research. It is propounded by journalists and accepted by historians. *Manchester Guardian* editor CP Scott wrote: 'A newspaper ... is much more than a business; it is an institution; it reflects and it influences the life of a whole community.'³ Former *Independent* editor Andrew Marr claimed: 'Anyone who has lived without a local paper

¹ J. Hill, 'Rite of Spring: Cup Finals and Community in the North of England' in J. Hill and J. Williams (eds), *Sport and Identity in the North of England* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996), p.86; Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p.ix; Barry, 'Press and Politics of Culture', p.49.

² J.Gripsrud, *Understanding Media Culture* (London: Arnold, 2002), p. 232.

³ C.P. Scott, 'A Hundred Years', *Manchester Guardian*, 5 May 1921.

quickly comes to realise how important they are; a community which has no printed mirror of itself begins to disintegrate.⁴ Historian Jeff Hill is equally eloquent:

The press is not simply a passive reflector of local life and thought but an active source in the creation of local feeling. And in reading press accounts of themselves and their community the people who buy the newspapers become accomplices in the perpetuation of these legends. To paraphrase a famous observation by Clifford Geertz, the local press is one of the principal agencies for "telling ourselves stories about ourselves".⁵

Fritzsche, in his study of Berlin's local press at the beginning of the twentieth century, argues that 'the city as place and the city as text defined each other in mutually constitutive ways.'⁶ But by what techniques and processes would a newspaper change the way that readers thought about themselves and their place? And what historical evidence could be adduced to test this myth? This and the following chapter address the first question, while Chapters 8-10 address the second.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL IDENTITIES

Joyce argues that class was not the dominant form of identity in Victorian England; instead, people defined themselves by neighbourhood, workplace, town, region, religion and nation.⁷ But few historians have followed his lead, so that the obvious hierarchy of geographical identities still corresponds to a hierarchy of their status within academic history, from national, through regional and county to local, despite evidence

⁴ A.Marr, *My Trade: a Short History of British Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 2004), pp. 44-45. See also W.H.Cox and D.R.Morgan, *City Politics and the Press: Journalists and the Governing of Merseyside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.1; D.J.Monti, *The American City: a Social and Cultural History* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 1999), p.5 and F. Gardiner, 'Provincial Morning Newspapers' in *The Kemsley Manual of Journalism* (Kemsley, 1952), pp.204-05, cited in Jones, 'Local Journalism', p.68.

⁵ Hill, 'Rite of Spring', p.86. See also C.Geertz, *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p193; Jones, 'Welsh Identity', pp.322-23; J.D.Marshall, 'Review Article: Northern Identities', *Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 21, 1, 2000, p.41; B.Beaven, 'The Provincial Press, Civic Ceremony and the Citizen-Soldier During the Boer War, 1899-1902: A Study of Local Patriotism', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 2, 2009, p.212; M.Bromley and N.Hayes, 'Campaigner, Watchdog or Municipal Lackey? Reflections on the Inter-War Provincial Press, Local Identity and Civic Welfarism', *Media History*, 8, 2, 2002.

⁶ Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin*, p.1. See also D. McKitterick, 'Introduction' in D. McKitterick (ed), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 6, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.12; P. Clark, 'Introduction' in P. Clark (ed), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), p.45; Read, *English Provinces*, p.250; Eastwood, *Government and Community*, p.73; Jones, 'Welsh Identity', pp.322-23; M. Wolff and C. Fox, 'Pictures From the Magazines' in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Images and Reality*, Vol. 2 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p.559; Beetham, 'Ben Brierley's Journal', p.75.

⁷ P.Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); see also Marshall, *Tyranny of the Discrete*, pp.98-101.

that local identities were the most powerful on a day-to-day basis.⁸ Some of the identities in such a notional hierarchy seem to 'nest' neatly inside each other, but the relationships between these nested territories are complex, and in constant flux.⁹ Neither are local identities simply scaled-down versions of national identities. Further, local identities can of course co-exist with local versions or building blocks of national identity, as in the German idea of *Heimat* or Russell's 'national-provincial' structure of feeling;¹⁰ Jones argues that Welsh *local* papers contributed to the strengthening of Welsh *national* identity in the nineteenth century.¹¹ However, locality has not been problematised in the same way as the concepts of nation and national identity, despite the fact that life is lived at a local level, in the main.

Local identity is a vague yet powerful notion.¹² It overlaps and combines ideas such as sense of community, *genius loci* (spirit of place), sense of place, civic pride, local patriotism, parochial loyalties, local attachments and local belonging (phrases used in nineteenth-century journalism and in more recent history, geography and sociology). This loose collection of ideas, feelings and habits was important to people in the past, sometimes a matter of life or death. To paraphrase Royle, the local is assumed to exist, and the historian must therefore seek out its meaning and identity, 'unstable, fluctuating and ambiguous though these meanings and identities are ...'¹³ Here, Russell's definition of local identity is adopted: 'an intense identification with a city, town or village where an individual has been born or has long residence or connection.'¹⁴

Table 25 overleaf brings together some likely factors in the creation and development of local identity. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive list, and it would be difficult to decide which ones were necessary or sufficient. Not all the factors are of the same type or of the same importance. For instance, those grouped under the title 'Self-conscious differentiation and expression of local identity' (the 'collective self-conscious', perhaps) can each subsume almost any of the other factors. The purpose of the table is to show

⁸ Marshall, *ibid.*, p.105.

⁹ Russell, *Looking North*, p.274; N. Evans, 'Regional Dynamics: North Wales, 1750-1914' in E. Royle (ed), *Issues of Regional Identity: in Honour of John Marshall* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.202.

¹⁰ D.Russell, 'The *Heaton Review*, 1927-1934: Culture, Class and a Sense of Place in Inter-War Yorkshire,' *Twentieth Century British History*, 17, 3, 2006, p.346.

¹¹ Jones, 'Welsh Identity'.

¹² S.Shamai and Z.Ilatov, 'Measuring Sense of Place: Methodological Aspects', *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 96, 5, 2005, pp.467-68.

¹³ E. Royle, 'Introduction: Regions and Identities' in Royle (ed), *Issues of Regional Identity*, pp.2, 4.

¹⁴ Russell, *Looking North*, p.246.

how complex local identity is, how layered and interconnected.¹⁵ It also makes clear that local newspapers are only one factor among many. Local identities were being formed and developed long before newspapers were invented.

Table 25. Some factors in the formation of local identities

FACTORS IN FORMING A COMMUNITY OR SETTLEMENT

Physical characteristics
 Location
 Topography
 Natural resources
 Distance from other settlements

Relationships
 Administrative status
 Links to regional, national or international economy and cultural institutions
 Patterns of immigration and emigration
 Power relationships within the locality

Economic
 Local economy and resultant occupations
 Individual employers, e.g. small, paternalistic
 Land ownership patterns
 Patterns of transport networks

UNCONSCIOUS DIFFERENTIATION/DISTINCTIVENESS
 Accent and dialect
 Food
 Architecture

SELF-CONSCIOUS DIFFERENTIATION AND EXPRESSION OF LOCAL IDENTITY

Memory and custom
 Myths
 Rituals and customs
 Stories of famous local figures

Organised cultural activities
 Sports teams and sporting heroes
 Newspapers and magazines
 Festivals
 Choirs and other amateur performing groups
 Civic institutions
 Architecture
 Trade directories
 Written local histories
 Locally set fiction and poetry
 Personification through famous local personalities

SUPRA-LOCAL AFFILIATIONS, LOCALLY VISIBLE OR LOCALLY EXPRESSED
 Class
 'Race'
 Political affiliations
 Religious affiliations

There is of course disagreement among members of the same community about the unwritten lists of qualities held in common by local people, that differentiate them from outsiders, and this is examined in the last section of this chapter. At its simplest, this contestation might be between elite and popular mentalities. Many historians have

¹⁵ For a case study of one such mosaic, see M.Tebbutt, 'Centres and Peripheries: Reflections on Place Identity and Sense of Belonging in a North Derbyshire Cotton Town', *Manchester Region History Review*, 13, 1999.

been suspicious of local, regional and national identities, seeing them as hegemonic attempts to downplay conflicting class interests, but this is far too simplistic. There is also tension between internal and external characterisations of a place, with internal ones generally more positive.¹⁶ Internal representations, in particular those generated or mediated locally by the local press, are the focus of this chapter. Another aspect of local identity formation – inclusion and exclusion, differentiation or ‘othering’ – is often taken as central to any identity, individual or collective, but little evidence has been found for this idea in Preston’s newspapers.¹⁷

The *process* of creating, sustaining and sometimes destroying local identities happens when some or all of the elements in Table 25 (plus others no doubt omitted) combine in a particular contingent sequence over time. The chronological order in which factors come into play is significant – Gilbert describes the importance of the mining unions in creating community structures in the South Wales village of Ynysbwl, in contrast to the unions’ weakness in Hucknall in Nottinghamshire, where a pre-existing community institution, the Co-op, left little role for the unions outside the workplace. Following Royle, local identity, ‘as a historical concept ... must be made time-specific if it is to have any useful meaning in historical analysis.’¹⁸

Here complexity theory, and the idea of emergent phenomena, help to describe the sequencing, overlaps, and complex interactions between so many variables. The concept of emergence describes how complex systems and patterns in nature and in society emerge from a multiplicity of relatively simple interactions, for example an eddy in a stream, which is more than the sum of its parts, is a pattern or arrangement rather than a thing in its own right, and yet is real - it can be seen and it affects other things.¹⁹ This approach uses probability to say that some things are very likely to proceed in a certain way at a general level of description, but at a more detailed level of description,

¹⁶ D.Smith, 'Tonypandy 1910: Definitions of Community', *Past and Present*, 87, 1980, cited in D.Gilbert, 'Community and Municipalism: Collective Identity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Mining Towns', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17, 3, 1991, p.268. Compare, for example, the two lists of statement from Hull residents and outsiders in D.C.D.Pocock and R.Hudson, *Images of the Urban Environment* (London: Macmillan, 1978), p.111. Equally, unpleasant events of national significance, such as the capture of Rohm and other SA leaders by Hitler at the Tegernese inn in the Bavarian Alps, can be forgotten in the places where they happened, whilst remembered elsewhere: G.Mak, *In Europe: Travels Through the Twentieth Century* (London: Vintage, 2008), p.269.

¹⁷ See also P. Jess and D.B. Massey, 'The Conceptualization of Place' in D.B. Massey and P.M. Jess (eds), *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with the Open University, 1995).

¹⁸ Gilbert, 'Community and Municipalism', p.266; Royle, 'Introduction', p.5.

¹⁹ J. Goldstein, 'Emergence as a Construct: History and Issues', *Emergence: Complexity and Organization* 1, 1, 1999.

a particular case cannot be predicted.²⁰ The contingency and dynamism of the process is seen when two seemingly similar places (the Victorian new towns of Barrow-in-Furness and Middlesbrough, for example) develop very different local identities, and these identities change over time.

Just as the local press was only one among many cultural institutions capable of developing local identities in similar ways, it was only one among many institutions using the same techniques and ideas of what characterised a locality. The content of a local paper had strong similarities to the contents of a public library, or the lecture programme of a literary and philosophical society, for example.²¹ Local newspapers recognised the power of local patriotism and traded on it consciously, often explicitly.²² Some historians have recognised this, but few have examined the phenomenon in detail.²³ Joyce believes that their 'framing' helped to define a place:

The local press was extraordinarily important in ... presenting the town as a universe of voluntary and religious associations in all the range of their many local activities. These it reported on as elements in the life of a single entity.²⁴

As a cultural product, the local press is particularly well fitted to sustain and amplify local identities.²⁵ Its very existence helps to put a locality on the map. Its ability to tell and to enshrine familiar local stories, over and over again, in common with most of the other cultural products and institutions listed under the heading 'Self-conscious differentiation and expression of local identity' in Table 25, above, is crucial. News reporting ('facts') is one aspect of this story-telling function, which Nord distinguishes from a second function of the local press, 'forum', the explicit encouragement of community-building.²⁶ As he point out, this does not require unity or even respect, but the local press can enable readers to meet in print and dispute the nature of local

²⁰ S.Caunce, 'Complexity, Community Structure and Competitive Advantage Within the Yorkshire Woollen Industry, c.1700-1850', *Business History*, 39, 4, 1997.

²¹ When the Victorian Church of England was reorganised geographically, diocesan officials set out to build a sense of loyalty to the new dioceses by publishing calendars and almanacs among other methods. The contents of these publications were remarkably similar to the contents of local and regional papers of the same period: A.Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c.1800-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.111-14.

²² For the difficulty in untangling commercial motives from other ones, see Potter, 'Webs, Networks and Systems', pp.644-45.

²³ D. Russell, 'Culture and the Formation of Northern English Identities from c.1850' in B. Lancaster, D. Newton, and N. Vall (eds), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumbria University Press, 2007), p.280. See, however, Marshall, 'Review Article: Northern Identities', p. 41 and Jones, 'Welsh Identity', p.322-3. For the problems encountered when local and regional identities are left undefined, and the reader perspective ignored, see D.Berry, 'The *South Wales Argus* and Cultural Representations of Gwent', *Journalism Studies*, 9, 1, 2008.

²⁴ Joyce, *Rule of Freedom*, p.125; see also Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.240.

²⁵ Newspapers are strangely absent from an account of writing and place in M.Crang, *Cultural Geography* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp.44-45.

²⁶ Nord, 'Introduction'.

reality. There is no evidence that this 'forum' function declined towards the end of the century; while contemporary commentators noticed the growth of avowedly 'objective' reporting, and a recasting of readers from participants to consumers, other traits of that disputed concept, New Journalism, such as greater reader involvement, could still build communities. Children's nature clubs and competitions in which readers voted for favourite local individuals and institutions are two examples. Three other features of the press are significant here: its constant, gradual, repetitive nature, its miscellaneity and its ability to amplify. Scott-James put the first point well in 1913:

If the Press is powerful it is as an aggregate, as a multitude of writings, each of small importance when taken by itself. It is in its vast bulk, its incessant repetitions, its routine utterance of truth and falsehood, its ubiquity, its permeation of the whole fabric of modern life, that the Press, however blatant, rather conceals than reveals its insidious power of suggestion.²⁷

This argument could equally make the case for the significance of the provincial press, 'powerful as an aggregate'. The second point, the miscellaneity of the press, is made by Joyce above, that the local press is powerful through its function as a container, a box with 'local' emblazoned on its side, so that whatever is put in the box automatically becomes local, or at least locally mediated. The press is able to roll together many of the factors involved in local identity formation, and it seems likely that the more factors that can be combined, the more powerful is the effect (although emergence theory suggests that the process is not one of simple addition or multiplication). The third feature, amplification or publicity, is central to mass media products. Sport can be a particularly powerful expression of local identity, especially when rival teams play the role of 'other', and the growth of professional football during the high point of the Victorian local press was a symbiotic process. Sports reporting amplified the impact.²⁸ 'Amplification' rightly suggests that the press reflected and reinforced aspects of local identity much more than it originated or determined them.

NEWSPAPER TECHNIQUES OF LOCAL IDENTITY PROMOTION

By mid-century, local newspapers not only mediated news from elsewhere for their local audience, they also published news from their own locality. To the mystification of many Victorian metropolitan journalists and some present-day academics, the minutiae of local life mattered to most of the population.

²⁷ R.A.Scott-James, *The Influence of the Press* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co, 1913) p.27.

²⁸ N.A.Phelps, 'Professional Football and Local Identity in the "Golden Age": Portsmouth in the Mid-Twentieth Century', *Urban History*, 32, 3, 2005; A. Metcalfe, 'Sport and Community: a Case Study of the Mining Villages of East Northumberland, 1800-1914' in Hill and Williams (eds), *Sport and Identity*.

Nothing interests a man more than the news of his own neighbourhood ... We shall therefore continue our endeavours to cram our sheet full of facts – facts possessing as much local interest as possible ... Our chief object is to make this paper a faithful record of everything of public importance that may transpire in the neighbourhood ...²⁹

Local newspapers are skilled in emphasising those identity-forming factors that bring people together and give them and their activities a common label. Take for instance a leader in the *Preston Chronicle*, celebrating the opening of the new town hall in 1867, in which the frequent use of ‘we’ and related pronouns is designed to create a sense of inclusion (my emphasis):

What suited **our** grandfathers does not suit **us**. With the increase of **our** population, the extension of **our** streets, and the spread of education among **us**, has come the desire to meet the needs of **our** town by the erection of a municipal palace ... In setting **our** hands to such a work, **we** have felt that **we** had duties to discharge, not only towards the present, but towards the future. **We** inhabit a town, which, for situation, is unrivalled among the districts of the cotton manufacture...³⁰

These first-person plural pronouns were also used in the same way by other newspapers, particularly ‘our’ and ‘us’ in a rhetoric of local identity shared by the speaker and addressee (see below).³¹



Fig. 11. *Barrow Herald* masthead, 10 January 1863.

Publishers and journalists believed that local patriotism made people more likely to buy a local paper. In 1888 the *Preston Guardian* looked forward to the imminent transfer of powers from county magistrates to county boroughs such as Preston because, ‘by promoting and concentrating local patriotism to the full, [this change] should not be without many important direct and indirect effects on the interests of the newspaper press.’³² They also saw the promotion of local identity as part of their job, and could call on a wide vocabulary of techniques. Just by including the name of the town in its title,

²⁹ ‘To Our Readers’, *Barrow Herald* 24 October 1863, p.4; see also Carrington, ‘Country Newspapers’, p.147.

³⁰ *PC* 5 October 1867, p.4.

³¹ These geographical uses of first-person plural pronouns in newspaper discourse are not universal. In the twenty-first century, while they still mean British citizens and/or members of the local community when used in British national and regional newspapers, in Italy they generally include ‘the writer and the readers as human beings, rather than specifically as Italian citizens’: G.Pounds, ‘Democratic Participation and Letters to the Editor in Britain and Italy’, *Discourse and Society*, 17, 1, 2006. See also R.De Cillia, M.Reisigl, and R.Wodak, ‘The Discursive Construction of National Identities’, *Discourse and Society*, 10, 2, 1999, pp.160-64.

³² *PG* 22 December 1888, p.4.

the *Barrow Herald* (see Fig 11 above) sent out a powerful message – ‘this is about you, your town and your life in this place’.³³ Many local newspapers portrayed their town or

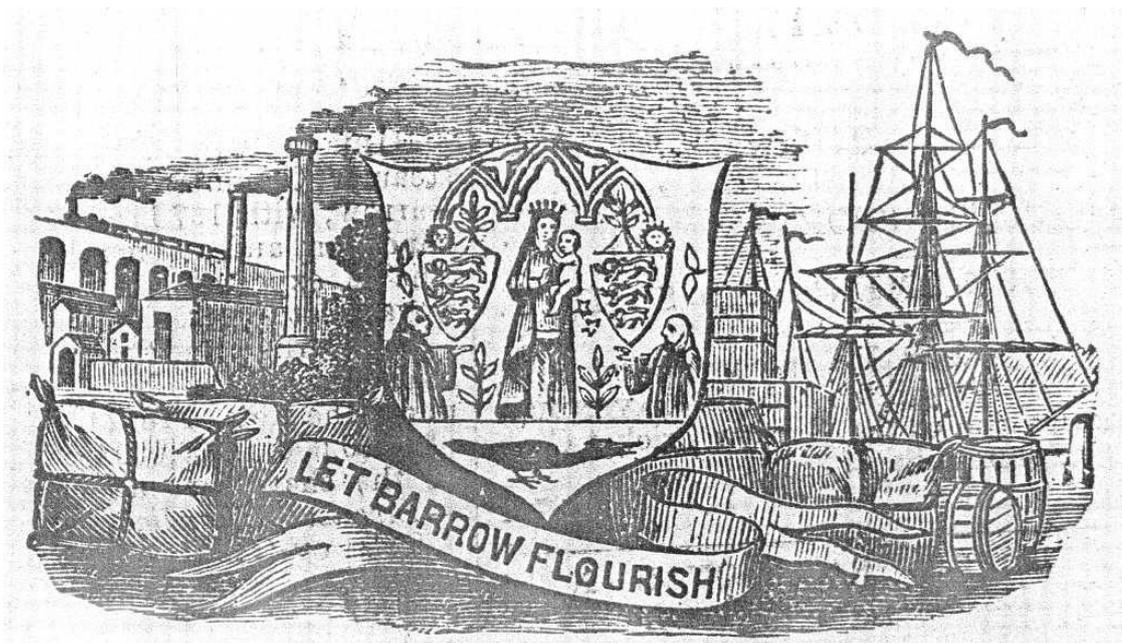


Fig. 12. Close-up of *Barrow Herald* masthead

wider circulation area in symbols and emblems, such as that seen between the words ‘Barrow’ and ‘Herald’ in Fig 12 above. The first paper in this rapidly developing new town was eager to establish an identity for what had been marshland and fields a few decades before. The emblem combines modern images of the railway which created the town, foundry chimneys and a ship in the port, surrounding symbols of the ancient Furness abbey. Another Barrow masthead, that of Richardson’s satirical magazine *Vulcan* (Fig. 13 below), personifies the town through portraits of his targets, the leading industrialists and aristocrats with whom he had clashed. Such imagery would have been pointless in most towns, Preston included, where power was shared more widely.



Fig. 13. Masthead of the Barrow satirical magazine *Vulcan*, 1873

³³ ‘Naming is showing, creating, bringing into existence’: P. Bourdieu, *On Television and Journalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1998) p.31, cited in A. Paasi, ‘Region and Place: Regional Identity in Question’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, 2003, p.480.

Equally, in the old, well established town of Preston, where civic identity was not in doubt, the two leading papers, the *Guardian* and the *Herald*, had no masthead images at all (the *Herald* had carried an image of Britannia in its early years), and those that did tended to choose the town's coat of arms, as a simple assertion of an identity already well known – although allied to symbols of political identity. While the Liberal *Preston Chronicle* gave equal space to the crown and the Magna Carta, either side of the town crest (Fig 14 below), the Tory *Preston Pilot* omitted any symbols of rights or liberty, and made the crown more dominant (Fig 15 overleaf). Both emblems combine national and local imagery. The *Preston Herald*, like most local papers, mapped territorial space simply by its labelling of different news columns – with 'local news' as core and 'district news' as periphery.³⁴ This extra dimension of place reduces the miscellaneous nature of the information on a newspaper page, in a way not available to non-local publications.³⁵



Fig. 14. *Preston Chronicle* emblem, 1 September 1855

Local papers often gave away prints depicting local places or personalities, such as a handsome engraving of the proposed market hall 'presented to the purchasers of the *Bolton Chronicle*' in c.1852, depicting a building obviously designed to increase the town's status.³⁶ While British local newspapers were not as active as their US counterparts in promoting lithographed views of towns and cities, they were significant publishers of local images and maps.³⁷ A town map was given with the *Preston Guardian* in 1865, while views of the town's most elegant buildings were often part of

³⁴ See also Jones, 'Welsh identity', pp.315, 318-19.

³⁵ This crucial point is missed in Henkin's otherwise profound exploration of one city's print culture: Henkin, *City Reading*, p.102.

³⁶ D.Hodson, 'Civic Identity, Custom and Commerce: Victorian Market Halls in the Manchester Region', *Manchester Region History Review*, 12, 1998, p.38.

³⁷ J.W.Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalog of Their Work, 1825-1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), pp.59-60.

sheet almanacs given away before Christmas, such as the *Preston Chronicle's* last almanac, for 1894, featuring a photograph of the handsome Gilbert Scott town hall (see Fig 16).³⁸ Maps and views of Preston had been available long before the town had a newspaper, but in a new town such as Barrow, the press was probably more significant as a disseminator of local images. The *Barrow Herald*, for example, occasionally published lithographed colour maps of Barrow's latest developments, and the *Barrow Times*, linked to the Furness Railway, published a map of the company's network on the front page of every issue for many years.³⁹



Fig. 15. *Preston Pilot* emblem, 13 September 1851

'All maps are rhetorical. That is, all maps organise information according to systems of priority and thus, in effect, operate as arguments, presenting only partial views, which construct rather than simply describe an object of knowledge...'⁴⁰ Local papers could use maps and views to convey their particular construction of local reality. In the 1890s the *Preston Guardian* published nostalgic views of the town by local artist Edwin Beattie, at a time of much redevelopment. Besides views and maps, local papers also published portraits of local individuals. In 1893 the *Preston Herald* ran an illustrated series on Preston's temperance pioneers, included portraits of the mayors of each borough in its circulation area on its sheet almanac, and engravings of Lord Salisbury, the town's MPs and Conservative officials with a picture of the new Conservative Working Men's Club as a souvenir of its opening.⁴¹ Sadly, further work on local newspaper iconography is hampered by the fact that few illustrated supplements, almanacs and souvenirs have been preserved.

³⁸ Almanac given with *PC* 2 December 1893.

³⁹ Lucas, M.Litt, p.106.

⁴⁰ P.K.Gilbert, *Mapping the Victorian Social Body* (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 2004), p.16.

⁴¹ *PH* 14 October 1893, p.4.

Local newspapers were major publishers of fiction and poetry with local themes. Their wider literary role, which also included original reviews of books and periodicals, has been ignored by literary historians who have mistakenly generalised from the lack of literary content in London newspapers.⁴² The *Preston Chronicle* alone probably published more than 4,000 poems (local and non-local), at a conservative estimate, in its 81-year existence. A sampling of the first *Chronicle* in each month for 1855 and 1885 (24 issues) found one or two poems in all but one issue (see Table A20, Appendix). Seven of the 12 poems sampled in 1855 were written by local or Lancashire writers, compared with four of 17 poems published in the 12 issues sampled in 1885. Although there were no poems with local themes in the 1855 and 1885 *Preston Chronicle* samples, they did appear sporadically, such as 'Stanzas on the Leyland Show, &c' in 1860 and 'Right and Left', a comment on a lock-out, in 1878.⁴³ Some, such as the long dialect poem 'Traits o' Accrington' published in the *Accrington Gazette* in 1882, addressed local identity head-on.⁴⁴ Local newspapers, the main forum for publishing local poets, 'constituted at once a nursery and a shop window for new literary talent'. The majority who failed to progress to publishing in book served an important function, however, as a 'slightly more articulate neighbour'. They 'remained in a bardic community with their readers, and were able to represent their views'.⁴⁵

Local and localised novels in serial form, short stories and sketches (the last two in both dialect and Standard English) were also staples of the local press. The ability of fiction to add significance and signification to a place is well expressed by the *Buchan Clown*, a regional Scottish magazine: 'Shall Cock Lane have its ghost, Cato St its conspiracy, and shall the Longate of Peterhead sink into oblivion unheeded and unchronicled?'⁴⁶ In 1864 the *Preston Chronicle* serialised the historical novel 'The Knoll at Over-Wyresdale' (a rural area 12 miles north of Preston) by 'J.H.' and in 1887 the *Preston Guardian* began the serialisation of 'The Black Dog of Preston'.⁴⁷ The author, James Borlase, was not local, but specialised in writing local fiction for newspapers

⁴² See, for example Brake, 'Trepidation', p.98.

⁴³ *PH* 29 September 1860, p.3; *PC* 1 June 1878, p.2.

⁴⁴ Published in instalments in *Accrington Gazette*, January and February 1882, quoted in R.Y.Digby, J.C.Goddard, and A.Miller, *An Accrington Miscellany. Prose and Verse by Local Writers* (Burnley: Lancashire County Council Library, Museum and Arts Committee, 1988), pp.92-96.

⁴⁵ Vincent, *Literacy*, p.214; B.E. Maidment, 'Class and Cultural Production in the Industrial City: Poetry in Victorian Manchester' in A.J. Kidd and K. Roberts (eds), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Cultural Production and Social Policy in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp.158-59.

⁴⁶ *Buchan Clown* 1 August 1838, p.47, cited in Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p.73.

⁴⁷ Serialisation began in *PC* 22 October 1864; *PG* 17 December 1887, p10.

across the Midlands and the North of England.⁴⁸ The formulaic nature of Borlase's stories did not necessarily negate their power to endow place with meaning. Attractions of the *Preston Guardian's* expanded Saturday supplement in 1888 included "Locked Out", 'a Lancashire Christmas Tale in the Dialect', by George Hull, 'numerous SHORT STORIES, generally local, and ORIGINAL LANCASHIRE SKETCHES'.⁴⁹ Appeals to local, county and regional identities were a selling point.⁵⁰ The 'street philosophy' type of sketch, originated in Paris in the 1780s and transferred to London in the 1840s, appeared in the *Preston Chronicle* from the 1860s onwards.⁵¹ In an example from the *Preston Herald* of 1890, an anonymous flaneur described 'Fishergate -- most elegant and fashionable of Preston thoroughfares' as part of a series on Preston's main streets:

It was growing dark as I took up my position in a quiet and unpretentious corner ... standing, so to speak, in the shadows of the Town Hall clock. It was Saturday night ...⁵²

There are many more examples, particularly from the Hewitson era *Preston Chronicle*. The local press brought together this local literary material, which previously would have appeared as street literature, pamphlets or not at all.⁵³

A local press technique for presenting foreign news demonstrates the extra dimension of place available to these publications, connecting readers more closely to far-away events. Individuals from the town who found themselves in foreign lands often asked relatives back home to forward their letters to the local press, such as the young man who joined the Pontifical Zouaves, the volunteer force formed to assist Pope Pius IX in defending the Papal States against the Italian *Risorgimento* in 1868. The letter describes his daily routine, his companions, a 'first-class cricket match', and likens Rome's 'Corse' to Preston's main street, Fishergate.⁵⁴ Here, the reader is invited to identify with another Prestonian, and to see foreign places and events through

⁴⁸ G. Law, 'Imagined Local Communities: Three Victorian Newspaper Novelists' in J. Hinks and C. Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution Since 1500* (London: British Library, 2005).

⁴⁹ *PG* Dec 22 1888, p.4. Hull also wrote the 'The "Guardian" Jubilee Song', sung to the tune of 'The Old Ash Grove': Jubilee supplement, *PG* 17 Feb 1894, p. 16; *LEP* 29 December 1888.

⁵⁰ Law, *Serializing Fiction*, p.190.

⁵¹ C.Waters, "'Much of Sala, and but Little of Russia": "A Journey Due North", *Household Words*, and the Birth of a Special Correspondent', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42, 4, 2009, p.310; for example, 'Atticus' [A.Hewitson], 'Our principal street on the principal day,' *PC* April 25, 1868.

⁵² *PH* 8 October 1890, p.7.

⁵³ *An Accrington Miscellany* was first published in 1970 'to witness to [Accrington's] life and culture' at a moment of civic crisis, the imminent abolition of Accrington Municipal Borough Council. Commissioned by the Libraries and Art Gallery Committee, its material comes chiefly from Accrington's local press, thereby acknowledging these publications, in the words of Jones, as 'an essential component of a community's identity, its remembrancer': foreword and Acknowledgements, Digby et al, *Accrington Miscellany*; Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.8.

⁵⁴ *PC* 4 April 1868, p.2; see also 'The War – Letter from a Prestonian in Belgium', *PC* 24 September 1870, p.5.

Prestonian eyes.⁵⁵ More generally, letters to the editor were a significant way in which local people could represent themselves in print (these are examined in detail in chapter 9).⁵⁶

Table 26. Advertising duty per head of population, 1838

	Population (1841)	No. of newspapers (1838)	Total advertisement duty (£ s d, 1838)			Duty per head of population (pence, 1838)
Newcastle	69,430	5	1,915	8	0	6.6
Liverpool	282,656	12	5,807	2	6	4.9
Manchester	240,367	6	3,561	14	9	3.6
Sunderland	52,818	3	425	6	6	1.9
Preston	50,332	3	365	2	0	1.7
Swansea	32,649	2	222	6	0	1.6
Bolton	50,163	2	316	1	0	1.5
Merthyr Tydfil	42,917	3	137	0	0	0.8

Sources: 1839 (548) Return of Number of Stamps issued to Newspapers and Amount of Advertisement Duty, 1836-38; Enumeration abstract, 1841 Census, p465.

Advertisements for local businesses and events unwittingly made each district's newspapers distinctive, reflecting the local economy and local concerns, 'part of the process whereby newspapers were cemented in to the life of their communities.'⁵⁷ This function gave local papers a competitive edge over London papers.⁵⁸ This local distinctiveness made some places more profitable for advertising than others, for example Milne and Jones believe that the heavy extractive industries of the North-East and Wales had little need to advertise in the local press.⁵⁹ Such statements are difficult to test without advertising revenue figures for the period, although proxy figures are available for some earlier years, using government returns of advertising duty collected from each newspaper. Table 26 (above), using figures for 1838 (information for later years has not been traced) gives qualified support to the views of Milne and Jones, with Merthyr Tydfil in the South Wales coalfield producing the least advertising duty, but Newcastle upon Tyne, a port serving a coal, iron and shipbuilding area, producing the most. Port cities probably produced more advertising because of their associated commerce and the needs of middle-class merchants. However Preston, with its commercial and administrative functions, produced a similar amount of duty to Bolton,

⁵⁵ See also 'Letters from Prestonians in America', *PC* 11 September 1875, p.2. This local press technique was a significant genre of war reporting during the First World War: M.Finn, 'The Realities of War', *History Today*, 52, 8, 2002.

⁵⁶ K.Wahl-Jorgensen, 'The Construction of the Public in Letters to the Editor: Deliberative Democracy and the Idiom of Insanity', *Journalism*, 3, 2, 2002, p.187.

⁵⁷ Brown, *Victorian News*, p.20.

⁵⁸ Scott-James, p.121.

⁵⁹ Milne, 'Survival of the Fittest?' p.195; Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham*, p.133; Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.69.

which lacked such functions and had fewer markets. Clearly, much more quantitative analysis of newspaper advertising is required.⁶⁰

Some individual advertisements were used more explicitly to capitalise on local patriotism, such as that for Preston butcher Richard Myerscough and his North of England Steam Pork Factory, making a play on the letters 'PP' in Preston's coat of arms. Headed 'PP -- Proud Preston -- Prize Pigs. Prime Pork', it begins:

In hist'ry we're told
Proud Preston of old
Was famous for Tories and Whigs;
Time changes; we see,
At present PP
Is noted for Pork and for Pigs.⁶¹

The 'hist'ry' of 'Proud Preston' was another popular local press genre, perhaps because, by its nature, local history writing demands 'expression of a definable identity', as Vickery notes of this genre in book form. Indeed awareness of continuity, or memory, is central to the classical philosophical understanding of personal identity.⁶² Volumes of local history were popular, and 'a staple of modest family libraries', but history was probably more widely read in newspaper form, because of its frequent appearance and wide readership.⁶³ One writer saw the work of the weekly newspaper publisher as, first, to provide local news, but second, to give 'attention to local history and antiquities'.⁶⁴ In an earlier era, 31 out of 49 sampled provincial editors wrote 'local history which was full of intense pride of locality', and in the period under review, Preston's two most distinguished historians were editors in succession of the *Preston Chronicle*.⁶⁵ William Dobson was a member of the learned Chetham Society and published nine books on Preston, while Anthony Hewitson was a member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society and also published many local history books.⁶⁶ As Janowitz notes of the mid-twentieth-century local press in Chicago, the

⁶⁰ The 1838 returns also show that Chartist newspapers had significant amounts of advertising, challenging the view of Curran and others that they operated outside the commercial market: J. Curran, 'The Industrialization of the Press' in J. Curran and J. Seaton (eds), *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.39.

⁶¹ *Catholic News* 4 January 1890, p.8 (see Appendix, p.36 for full poem); for advertising and local identity, see also A.Toplis, 'Ready-Made Clothing Advertisements in Two Provincial Newspapers, 1800-1850', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5, 1, 2009, p.99.

⁶² B.Garrett, 'Personal identity', in E.Craig (ed), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* vol. 7 (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁶³ A.Vickery, 'Town Histories and Victorian Plaudits: Some Examples From Preston', *Urban History Yearbook*, 15, 1988, pp.58, 63; see also Pocock and Hudson, *Images*, p.82.

⁶⁴ A. Paterson, 'Provincial Newspapers', in *Progress of British Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1901), pp.79-80.

⁶⁵ Roberts, 'Still More', p.23.

⁶⁶ Z. Lawson, 'Dobson, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7720>], accessed 8 August 2007.

linking of local history and local identity goes beyond overtly addressing local historical topics, 'through a style of writing which proudly refers to the age of individuals or to the number of years an organisation has been in local existence. Even routine announcements try to emphasise the stability and persistence of organisations and institutions ...'⁶⁷

The other Preston papers lagged behind the *Chronicle* until the 1880s, when their historical content began to increase.⁶⁸ Biographies of local figures such as the *Preston Herald's* series on temperance pioneers in 1893 and obituaries attempted to personify Preston's history.⁶⁹ Almanacs such as that given by the *Preston Chronicle* in December 1893 (Fig.15), intended to hang on walls for the following year, listed, for each day of the year, the deaths of local worthies, dates of lock-outs and riots, the opening of the town hall, notorious local murders and the purchase of the town's first steam fire engine, among anniversaries of national and international events. Local history in Preston showed 'no hint of pastoral regret or nostalgia'. Instead it was written to praise the present, with an understanding that 'identity is always, and always has been, in process of formation', hence the recurring mockery of Garstang as a 'finished town' which neither progressed nor changed.⁷⁰

Boosterism, more a tone of voice than a type of content, was a happy duty for most local publications. Souvenir histories of provincial newspapers stress how their fortunes were tied to those of the area they served, and how the papers helped to promote and develop those areas.⁷¹ Local paper boosterism addressed a wider audience than the locality, as when the *Barrow Times* countered criticism of Barrow in the Liverpool press in 1871, or when the *Barrow Herald* compared local steel production favourably with that of Belgium, in 1878. 'Three days later the *Herald* reported that the story had created a stir among the Belgians, "as we have received orders for papers containing the paragraph, besides instructions to forward the *Herald* regularly".'⁷² Boosterism was particularly prevalent in a new town such as Barrow, especially in the pages of the

⁶⁷ Janowitz, *Community Press*, p. 71.

⁶⁸ For example 'A Lancashire calendar of history, folk-lore, dialect and industries', *PH* August and September 1888; 'Local Notes and Queries' and 'Fifty Years Ago: The Annals of Our Fathers', Advertisement, *PG* 22 December 1888, p.4.

⁶⁹ For more on obituaries, see B.Fowler, 'Collective Memory and Forgetting: Components for a Study of Obituaries', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22, 6, 2005.

⁷⁰ Vickery, 'Town histories', pp.59-60; D.B.Massey, 'Places and Their Pasts', *History Workshop Journal*, 39, 1, 1995, p.186; leader column, *PH* 15 September 1860, p.4; see also *PC* 9 October 1853, p.4, 7 June 1879, p.6. There was similar mockery of Ulverston's lack of development in the Barrow press.

⁷¹ Anon, *Southport Visiter*, p.1; Anon, *Rendezvous With the Past* [*Staffordshire Sentinel*], p.8. Both these newspapers claimed to be instrumental in achieving the incorporation of their towns.

⁷² This account of local paper boosterism in Barrow is taken from Lucas, MLitt, pp. 99, 105, 113, 119.

The Preston Chronicle Almanac, 1894.

Thomas Yates,
WATCHMAKER, JEWELLER, OPTICIAN,
129, FRIARGATE, PRESTON. Established over 50 Years.

English, French, German, and American Clocks in great variety.
ELECTRIC ALARMS.
First class watches repaired or what will repair any kind of clock.
Watches, Clocks, and Jewellery repaired in the shortest notice.

POWELL'S BISCUITS.

They are the Best.

SOLD EVERYWHERE.



PRESTON TOWN HALL, OPENED OCTOBER 5, 1891.

GEORGE HILL,
Joiner, Builder and Contractor.

44, GUNBY STREET, PRESTON.

All Orders Executed with Promptitude.

Cheapest Boot Shop
IN PRESTON.

PERKINS & Co.

Boot Manufacturers,
128, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.

SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO REPAIRS.

BEST LOCAL PAPER.

The Preston Chronicle.

Printed at the Chronicle Press, 129, Friargate, Preston.

Large Circulation & First Class Delivery.

Published Advertising Notice.

Every Sunday (Two Editions) ONE PENNY.

WILLIAM GRAY & COMPANY.

(Incorporated in Trade & Manuf.)

Silk Mercers and Linen Drapers, Mantle and Dressmakers,

HATMAKERS, FURRIERS, GLOVE, BOOTS, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S OUTFITTERS.

CARPENTERS, CABINETMAKERS & UPHOLSTERERS.

19, 20, 21 & 22, FISHERGATE, PRESTON.

Commercial and

Domestic Printing

is the best in the North.

—CHRONICLE WORKS—

CHAS. GRIFFITHS, PRESTON.

Estab'd in 1840.

MONTH	DAY	TEMPERATURE	WIND	MOON	STAR
JANUARY	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	8	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	9	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	10	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	11	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	12	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	13	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	14	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	15	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	16	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	17	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	18	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	19	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	20	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	21	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	22	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	23	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	24	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	25	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	29	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JANUARY	30	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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FEBRUARY	9	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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FEBRUARY	11	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	12	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	13	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	14	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	15	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	16	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	17	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	18	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	19	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	20	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	21	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	22	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	23	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	24	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	25	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
FEBRUARY	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	8	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	9	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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MARCH	17	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	18	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	19	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	20	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	21	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	22	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	23	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	24	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	25	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	29	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MARCH	30	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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APRIL	18	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	19	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	20	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	21	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	22	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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APRIL	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	29	40° - 50°	W	W	1
APRIL	30	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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MAY	22	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	23	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	24	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	25	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	29	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	30	40° - 50°	W	W	1
MAY	31	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	8	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	9	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	10	40° - 50°	W	W	1
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JUNE	24	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	25	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	29	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	30	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JUNE	31	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	8	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	9	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	10	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	11	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	12	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	13	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	14	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	15	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	16	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	17	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	18	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	19	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	20	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	21	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	22	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	23	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	24	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	25	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	26	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	27	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	28	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	29	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	30	40° - 50°	W	W	1
JULY	31	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	1	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	2	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	3	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	4	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	5	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	6	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	7	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	8	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	9	40° - 50°	W	W	1
AUGUST	10	40° - 50°	W	W	1</

Barrow Herald (motto: 'Let Barrow flourish') and the *Barrow Times*, associated with the town's leading industrialists.⁷³ When James Ramsden, the town's most powerful figure, was honoured in 1872, the *Barrow Times* made the most of it:

four pages were devoted to the unveiling of Ramsden's statue, including a brief history of the town of over 7,000 words, and in 1871, nearly 2,000 words were used to describe the "near perfect" new steam corn mill, a report which conjured up Barrow as the centre of a complex network involving Northern Ireland, Southern Scotland, and Yorkshire. Letters praising or defending Barrow and reports and articles of a scientific nature about the iron and coal industries were often published.⁷⁴

While the *Barrow Times* could be dismissed as the mouthpiece of the town's ruling clique, the rival *Barrow Herald* was not part of the inter-connected companies that had built Barrow. Yet it was equally patriotic in promoting the town. The frequency of words such as 'progress', 'rapid', 'unique' and 'increasing' in leader articles in the *Barrow Times*, *Barrow Herald* and *Vulcan* in the early 1870s gives a flavour of the promotional nature of the writing. However, the much lower level of boosterism in the more Radical *Barrow Pilot* shows that it was not an inevitable aspect of new-town Victorian newspapers, and even in the *Barrow Times* this discourse declined in the depression of the late 1870s, although the paper still presented an encouraging picture.

In the papers of Preston, a town with a more stable economic position, boosterism was more muted, particularly in the last decades of the century. However, it can be seen in the Opening Address of the *Preston Herald* in 1855: 'Natives of the town ourselves, we have at heart the good of our neighbours, and shall always be ready to render zealous support to every measure that promises improvement to our locality.'⁷⁵ An 1860 *Preston Guardian* leader extolled 'the extraordinary progress and present prosperity of the town ... No other nearer than Glasgow, can expect to attain the dimensions and influence of a large city, as Preston is certain of doing.' Similarly, in 1867 a *Preston Chronicle* leader described Preston as 'a town, which is historically famous, as well as commercially important...'⁷⁶ Impressionistic comparisons of some civic high and low points in Preston during the period were made, to examine whether the town's identity was discussed more explicitly at these times. This exercise revealed that high points such as the opening of a new town hall and park in 1867, and Preston North End winning the 'double' in 1888 (see next chapter), did produce more characterisations of

⁷³ Ibid., pp.100-01, 109. Likewise, the *Barrow Advertiser & District Reporter's* motto was 'Prosperity to Barrow'. For the more extreme version of boosterism seen in frontier America, see D.F.Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981).

⁷⁴ Lucas, MLitt., pp.100-01.

⁷⁵ PH 7 July 1855.

⁷⁶ PH 1 September 1860; PG 22 September 1860; PC 5 October 1867.

the town, but low points such as a strike and lock-out in 1878, and the near collapse of Preston North End in 1893, did not, showing the selectiveness of Preston's press.

Table 27. Representations of Preston in the *Preston Herald*, 1860-1900

Type of representation	Positive or negative	Source of representation		
		Readers' letters	Reported speech	Editorial voice
High death rates	-	2	13	3
Needs improving	-	10	2	2
Backward in comparison to other towns	-	2	4	7
Dirty town	-	11	0	1
Town in decline	-	0	5	2
Corrupt politics	-	1	1	0
Uncultured	-	2	2	3
Immoral town	-	1	4	0
Stronghold of Toryism	+	2	6	7
Patriotic town	+	1	3	0
Garrison town		1	1	0
Pro-Stanley		1	1	0
Progressive	+		1	1
Anti-Stanley town		0	1	0
Radical past		0	1	0
Sporting prowess	+	1	0	7
Cultured/educated	+		1	4
Musical		1		
Pleasant, attractive town	+	2	2	3
Large and growing town	+	1	1	3
Market town/agricultural centre		0	1	3
Generous, compassionate	+		2	
Catholic town		1	0	3
Birthplace of teetotalism		0	2	1
Total positive		7	16	25
Total negative		29	31	18

However, more systematic analysis of explicit characterisations of Preston in the *Preston Herald* found a propensity to criticise the town almost as much as to praise it, as in an 1890 leader arguing that 'Preston enjoys advantages that Oldham does not and cannot command, but the town has been out-distanced in the race through lack of modern mills, and machinery brought up to date'.⁷⁷ Yet the paper was more likely to boost Preston than were its readers and the local individuals whose comments it reported. Explicit representations of the town were noted in 79 issues of the *Preston Herald* between 1860 and 1900, and grouped into categories. The representations

⁷⁷ *PH* 3 September 1890.

were differentiated by their source, whether from readers' letters, reported speech or the editorial voice of the paper (table 27 above). In its leader columns and other forms of direct editorial address, the *Herald* showed a slight preference for the positive, with 25 positive comments about Preston and 18 negative ones – a close ratio of four to three in favour of the positive. However, in reported speech, negative outweighed positive by two to one, and in readers' letters even more so, by four to one. Typical examples are a municipal election speech by J Whittle, the Progressive candidate, referring to Preston's high infant mortality rate, claiming that 'There were at least a thousand people every year murdered in Preston ... The death-rate of Preston was simply appalling', or a letter from 'Ventilator', saying that 'the town appears to be in a disreputable condition so far as regards sanitary matters ...'⁷⁸ Boosterism was only one viewpoint among many in the contest for local identity, and many people claimed the right to criticise their town, as an expression of local identity.



Fig 17. Preston Pilot office, Church Street, 1853 by J Ferguson
(Image courtesy of The Picture Man, Water Lane, Preston).

Sometimes the local press moved beyond its publishing role in its interventions in local culture, initiating social, charitable and educational activities. The most visible, constant way in which local papers claimed a place in local culture beyond their pages was their physical presence as prominent businesses, usually on the main square or commercial street of the town (see Figs 17 and 18). This visibility was heightened when publishers commissioned purpose-built premises, as the Toulmins did for the *Preston Guardian* in 1872, making their offices 'unique in Preston – or for that matter in the whole of the

⁷⁸ PH 17 October 1900, 23 October 1880.



Fig 18. Purpose-built premises of the *Preston Guardian*, Fishergate.

Source: *Jubilee supplement*, PG 17 February 1894.

northern and eastern divisions of the county', as the paper proudly stated in a two-column celebration. The 'great carved and marbled halls of newspaper offices in the largest cities mimicked the libraries and town halls being raised at the same time.'⁷⁹ Newspapers' status as local institutions was confirmed by their inclusion in trade directories alongside banks, theatres and gas companies. Newspapers also brought readers together, through initiatives such as the *Preston Guardian* Animals' Friend

⁷⁹ 'The New Offices of "The Guardian"', PG 14 December 1872, p.6; Marr, *My Trade*, p.27; the history of the newspaper building has yet to be written, but the *Hereford Times* may boast one of the earliest purpose-built provincial offices, from 1838: *Hereford Times* 150th anniversary special, 2 July 1982.

Society (Fig 19 below, see Chapter 9), or the charity entertainment at Preston's Public Hall in 1895, featuring 150 young performers, organised by the *Lancashire Catholic* magazine.⁸⁰ Local papers often set up, or acted as collecting points, for local charitable appeals such as the smallpox relief fund organised by the *Lancashire Evening Post* in 1888.⁸¹ The *Preston Guardian* claimed that its campaign against steaming in weaving sheds led to the 1889 Cotton Cloth Factories Act, and that its programme of agricultural instruction and associated farmers' associations had

enormous consequences ... affecting the whole country. The movement started from Preston, and *The Guardian* was the initiating force ... it is only two years since that a farmer declared in the ... Public Hall that he would not sell for £200 the knowledge gained by the instruction thus inaugurated.⁸²



Fig 19. *Preston Guardian Animals' Friend Society* membership badge, 20th century.

Competitions, introduced in the 1880s, encouraged readers to respond to local (and other) publications, and to see their writing, ideas, names and addresses in print. Virtually the only local content in the *Preston Monthly Circular* (1895-1915) was a prize competition, launched in 1896, in which readers had to guess what other readers had voted for, in a series of popularity contests including the ten most popular men in Preston, the 12 finest buildings, most popular clergymen, finest streets, most popular

⁸⁰ *Lancashire Catholic* December 1895, p.260. Much higher levels of reader participation were found in regional weekly miscellany papers such as the Scottish *People's Journal* and the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*: Milton, 'Newspaper Rivalry' p.286; Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, passim.

⁸¹ *PG* 30 June 1888, p.2.

⁸² *PG* 30 June 1888; *PG* jubilee supplement, 17 February 1894, p.4, A.Fowler, *Lancashire Cotton Operatives and Work, 1900-1950: a Social History of Lancashire Cotton Operatives in the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); The tradition of the provincial press as watchdog is an old one, the *Leeds Mercury* exposing an agent provocateur, Oliver the Spy, in 1817.

doctors, '12 most attractive pictures in the Art Gallery of the Harris Free Library' and the 12 finest hotels in Preston.

'US' AND 'THEM' AND CONTESTED IDENTITIES

'Othering', or the definition of self through differentiation from an other, is seen by many modern writers as central to identity.⁸³ This technique may fit nineteenth-century Western views of the Orient, for example, but it is less common in nineteenth-century local papers than one might expect, even in football coverage. The idea of 'us' can do its work without its binary opposite, 'them', if 'we' are confident and unthreatened in 'our' identity, as in the ancient, established town of Preston.⁸⁴ In Wales, where nation status had to be asserted self-consciously, the newspapers differentiated the Welsh from the English 'other', while the papers of Barrow, a new town remote from its markets, differentiated it from its sleepy neighbour Ulverston, its new-town rival Middlesbrough, and from other ports and iron and steel areas.⁸⁵

Occasionally, Preston newspapers defined Preston in opposition to an 'other'. This could be London ('We ought to have nothing in Preston approaching in loathsomeness the purlieus of Drury Lane and Baldwin's Gardens and the New Cut') or a generalised South ('Southern agricultural societies might be described as medieval in character ... in Lancashire and the North we smile at such evidences of rural eccentricity').⁸⁶ More often, however the 'other' was the next town. The Victorians kept a close eye on what rival towns were doing, whether it was building a grander library than them, or ensuring more of their children survived to adulthood, and 'very few wanted their own town to be publicly denounced as worse than their neighbours'.⁸⁷ A leader column from the *Chronicle* during a strike and lock-out in 1878 categorises Blackburn's cotton workers very clearly as 'them':

⁸³ 'All "identities" require an other': R.D.Laing, *Self and Others* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1969), p.82. Colley's argument that British identity was formed in opposition to Catholic, aristocratic, decadent France has been influential on this point: L.Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2005); see also E.W.Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003); B.Hywel and J.Adam, "We Beat 'Em': Nationalism and the Hegemony of Homogeneity in the British Press Reportage of Germany Versus England During Euro 2000", *Discourse & Society*, 14, 3, 2003;

⁸⁴ S.Caunce, 'Northern English Industrial Towns: Rivals or Partners?' *Urban History*, 30, 3, 2003, p.339.

⁸⁵ Jones, 'Welsh Identity' p.315; Lucas, M.Litt, p.104.

⁸⁶ Leader column, *PH* 9 October 1880, p2; leader column, *PG* 1 September 1860, p.4. For more on Northern self-definitions against the South, see Russell, *Looking North*, p.250, R. Holt, 'Heroes of the North: Sport and the Shaping of Regional Identity' in Hill and Williams (eds), *Sport and Identity*, p.160; Hill, 'Rite of Spring', pp.102-104.

⁸⁷ Hodson, 'Civic identity', p.37; Caunce believes that such rivalry had a positive effect: Caunce, 'Northern English Industrial Towns', p.350.

... the operative classes of Preston are much more peaceably disposed than those of Blackburn. There is a rough, turbulent, vehemence – a defiant, quarrelsome bull-neckedness about the Blackburnian body ... this, luckily, is not the spirit of Preston operatives – they are more docile, enduring, and order-loving ...⁸⁸

But this was the exception rather than the rule in Preston's papers.⁸⁹ 'Othering' was less common than the other techniques of exploiting local patriotism. Only when there was a threatening level of competition for resources or status (as in a Lancashire-wide strike), did the town's newspapers define Preston against the other. Even then, 'othering' was not inevitable; there was no scapegoating when Preston North End nearly collapsed in 1893 (see next chapter).

Table 28. Conflict in the *Preston Herald*, 1860-1900

	All conflict		Conflict over Preston identity		No. of columns published weekly
	n	%*	n	%*	
1860	29	60.4	12	25.0	48
1870	51	60.7	9	10.7	84
1880	66	51.6	14	10.9	128
1890	23	17.4	8	6.1	132
1900	23	15.5	7	4.7	148

* % of columns published weekly x 100.

A subtler way of defining Preston's identity than invoking the 'other' was through editing out undesirable aspects of the town, a different process of inclusion and exclusion. The quiet confidence of Preston's identity did not preclude conflicts over the nature of that identity, although the amount of conflict declined after mid-century.⁹⁰ Explicit conflict (defined as two opposing viewpoints in the same article) was identified in all sampled issues of the *Preston Herald* (September and October every decade from 1860 to 1900, see table 28 above). In the *Herald*, explicit conflict appeared predominantly in readers' letters (31 of 49 instances of conflict over Preston identity, see table 29 overleaf), but also in reports of public meetings and the deliberations of councillors and Poor Law Guardians, and occasionally in leader columns. Conflicting characterisations of the town included Preston's relationship to the Stanley family (powerful, politically active landowners), the tension between tradition and modernity, whether the town centre should be industrial or exclusively retail and residential, Preston as a Conservative or a Radical town, a Protestant town or a more diverse, tolerant place, and a progressive town with high rates or a retrenching, business-led place. Less explicit but more frequent differences in how the town was characterised would also be apparent to those who read more than one local paper. As we will see in chapter 8, the

⁸⁸ PC 18 May 1878, p.4.

⁸⁹ In mid-twentieth-century Chicago, by contrast, 'controversies which are most popular are those of the local community against the outside urban metropolis; there are few internal dissenters': Janowitz, *Community Press*, p.77.

⁹⁰ See also Bromley and Hayes, 'Campaigner, Watchdog or Municipal Lackey?' p.204.

many reading rooms and news rooms provided plenty of opportunity for such comparisons.

Table 29. Where conflicts about Preston appeared, *Preston Herald*, 1860-1900

Type of item	No. of items featuring explicit conflict
Letters to the editor	31
Report of public meeting	6
Leader columns	5
Other news report	4
Report of public body	3

There was constant conflict between rival newspapers. Irish disestablishment and a long general election campaign in 1868 produced much vituperation, particularly between the *Herald* and the two Liberal papers, the *Chronicle* and the *Guardian*. At less turbulent times, each paper would present their political viewpoint as the norm, by weaving together local and political identities, re-telling old stories that characterised Preston either as Tory or Radical. In October 1893 former Conservative Prime Minister Lord Salisbury visited Preston, to open new purpose-built premises for the Conservative Working Men's Club. The *Herald* announced that a special supplement would be published, containing 'a finely executed engraving' of the new club, with portraits of Lord Salisbury and leading local Conservatives. Extra copies were printed due to the 'unprecedented sale' of the paper, and Lord Salisbury's admiration of Preston's Conservative history drew a 'jealous' response from a Blackburn Tory paper. The *Herald* retorted with a brief history lesson on Conservative organisation in the town, and added a lament for the 'sport of the old-fashioned sort' in the days when the Stanley family led Preston's social and political life.⁹¹ The Stanleys who had sponsored racing and cock-fighting in Preston at the start of the century had actually been Whigs, but the Tory *Herald* assimilated them into an image of Preston as a loyally Tory town, fond of traditional pleasures now defended by Conservatives against Liberal killjoys.

When the three-fold increase in the amount of material published weekly by the *Preston Herald* is taken into account, the fifth column of Table 28 suggests that the proportion of conflict, in this paper at least, greatly reduced during the period. But each newspaper was different: in Furness, the editor of the *Ulverston Advertiser* believed that 'local dissensions are, in all cases, greatly to be deprecated' while his opposite number on the *Ulverston Mirror* relished conflict as part of his anti-authority stance.⁹²

⁹¹ PH 21 and 28 October 1893. For politics and local identity, see A. Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London 1868-1906* (Royal Historical Society, 2007) and Barbary, 'Reinterpreting "Factory Politics"'.
⁹² *Ulverston Advertiser* 31 January 1861, cited in Lucas, 'J.A Bernard's Challenge', p.196.

One might expect even less conflict in a situation of local monopoly, as became the norm in the twentieth century, and further research on this point would be helpful.

Table 30. Use of ‘they’/‘their’/‘them’ (five most frequent meanings, %), in leading articles about Preston and in ‘Atticus’ columns

Hewitson era <i>Chronicle</i>, April 1868	%
Preston Tory MPs	17
Revivalists	11
Orangemen of Preston	9
Magistrates	6
Parsons	6
‘Atticus’ columns, April 1868	
Parsons	25
Preston Poor Law Guardians	24
Preston councillors	15
Tradesmen	6
Reporters	5
Pre-Hewitson <i>Chronicle</i>, Sept-Nov 1867	
The Romans	26
Prestonians	18
Preston corporation	8
Ribble Co & shareholders	8
Commissioners	7
<i>Guardian</i>, April 1868	
Churchmen of Preston	32
Parsons	10
Irish Church	10
Preston Tory MPs	8
Tory rump of Preston council	8

As sociolinguistic studies would predict, the pronouns 'they', 'their' and 'them' were used to distinguish 'in-groups from out-siders, "us" from "them"' in the endless conflict over Preston's true identity.⁹³ These third-person plural pronouns denoted the political, moral and religious opponents – overwhelmingly local - of each paper. Such differentiation in order to create 'an ingroup identity', may be central to all mass media language.⁹⁴ The 'other' was the enemy within, showing the fractured nature of local identity, or rather identities. Both papers examined in the corpus linguistics analysis, the *Chronicle* and the *Guardian*, were Liberal and Dissenting in their stance at the time, hence their antipathy to Preston's parsons, Churchmen, Orangemen and Tory politicians (see table 30 above, showing the five most common uses of these pronouns for each of the four types of text examined). Third-person plural pronouns were used more in Atticus columns (18.1 occurrences per 1000 words) than the other texts examined (12.1-13.7 per 1000 words, see Table 22, Chapter 5). In Hewitson's 'Atticus' columns, his leaders and those of the rival *Preston Guardian*, 'they', 'their' and 'them'

⁹³ Wales, Personal Pronouns, p.8.

⁹⁴ Bell, 'Language Style', p.192.

have a negative meaning, occasionally neutral. 'Atticus' uses them heavily in his descriptions of Poor Law Guardians and parsons, less so for councillors, and very little in his sketch of Fishergate, which is peopled by 'us' – shopkeepers (Hewitson among them), shoppers, workers and market-goers. Describing some of the Guardians, he writes that 'they prate and preach, and rant to poor people' and of some young clergymen he says: 'They have graduated at some fifty-fifth collegiate establishment'. But the tradition that leading articles are against rather than for something does not explain why 'them' is used negatively more in Hewitson's columns than his leaders, nor why there is little antagonism or 'othering' in pre-Hewitson Chronicle leaders.⁹⁵ In these articles, the ancient Romans and modern Prestonians are 'them', but a positive 'them'. The writer has chosen subjects he can praise rather than condemn, and is more conciliatory and less opinionated, even on controversial topics such as the debate over whether to improve Preston's port at ratepayers' expense. There is further discussion of local newspapers' techniques of inclusion and exclusion in the next chapter, with reference to Lancashire dialect.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has interrogated the concept of local identity, and established that it is highly complex, constructed as it is from many different elements, layered and interconnected in different ways in each place. While local newspapers were only one among many factors involved in the development and promotion of local identity, they were involved in an explicit project of promoting and exploiting local patriotism. This may explain why local newspapers are used so heavily by historians in studies of local identity; when the rhetoric is taken at face value, the dangers are obvious. This chapter has built on the insights of Hill, Jones and Joyce to offer a detailed analysis of some techniques used by nineteenth-century local newspapers in this project. Many of the techniques are so banal that they are rarely noticed, such as including the name of the town in the paper's title. Others are more sophisticated, such as the 'rhetorical web'⁹⁶ woven by careful use of 'we', 'our' and 'us', for example. Newspapers also published visual images of the locality, labelled news items in a way which divided the world's events into local, district, general or foreign news; published local and localised fiction and poetry, advertisements and history. The newspaper as a cultural form is well suited to the promotion of place identities, thanks to its iterative, repetitive nature, its ability to

⁹⁵ Goldsworthy, 'English Nonconformity', p.393.

⁹⁶ Jones, 'Welsh identity', p.316.

roll together many disparate elements of local identity, thereby increasing their power, and its ability to present highly constructed, artificial notions as normal and implicit, seen in its division of the world into 'us' and 'them'. Corpus linguistics is an effective tool for making explicit these rhetorical strategies. Defining local identity through differentiating from an external 'other' was present, but weakly expressed and not central to the Preston papers' methods; the local press focused on 'us' far more than 'them'. Othering may have been important in places with less established, or more embattled, identities, such as Barrow or Wales. In such places, the role of the local press in conjuring up Benedict Anderson's imagined communities may have been more significant, too, than in more confident, established places such as Preston, where the official signs of geographical status were more visible and therefore less imagination was required.

The local press was a mirror and a magnifier of local events, but it also helped to shape local culture, becoming an institution in its own right, with its premises at the heart of the provincial town, collecting together the miscellaneous advertising previously published in other formats, and sponsoring sporting, musical and charitable endeavours. Provincial culture had managed without the press in previous ages, but it is hard to imagine late Victorian society functioning without the infrastructure it provided.⁹⁷ Lee was unduly pessimistic when he claimed that, by the early twentieth century, 'the press had become a business, not only first, but increasingly a business almost entirely, and a political, civil and social institution hardly at all.'⁹⁸ The next chapter takes as case studies the coverage of professional football and the use of Lancashire dialect in Preston's papers, exemplifying the principles established in this chapter.

⁹⁷ Modern recognition of the power of these techniques at national level can be seen in initiatives such as USAID's 'Iraq Civil Society and Independent Media Program' and the BBC's charter, recently amended to include the purpose of 'sustaining citizenship and civil society': 'USAID assistance for Iraq: Civil Society and Media Development', [www.usaid.gov/iraq/accomplishments/civsoc.html], accessed 26 October 2006; 'The BBC and Civil Society: an address to the NCVO Annual Chair and Chief Executives Dinner, October 2006', by Michael Grade CBE, BBC Chairman [www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/workarea/linkit.aspx?LinkIdentifier=id&ItemID=3447], accessed 17 October 2006.

⁹⁸ Lee, *Origins*, p. 232.

7. DIALECT, SPORT AND IDENTITY IN THE LOCAL PRESS

This chapter comprises two case studies illustrating the local press techniques of place promotion which were described in the previous chapter. The first concerns the *Preston Chronicle's* use of Lancashire dialect. It explores the plural, contested nature of local identities, the way in which other discourses such as social class intersected with localism, and the dynamism of appeals to local identity. The second case study investigates an equally dynamic development, the coverage of professional football, and explores how local press techniques of capitalising on local identity were magnified when applied to another source of local identity, sport.

FROM 'THEM' TO 'US' IN LANCASHIRE DIALECT

The *Preston Chronicle's* use of dialect reveals a shift from treating working-class residents of Preston as 'them', to incorporating them into a wider 'us' that had previously been exclusively middle-class, showing how language can be used as 'an instrument of communication and excommunication'.¹ Initially, dialect was used divisively to demarcate class boundaries, but, as working-class readership grew, it was used in an inclusive way which promoted local identity and sense of place.

The following discussion of Lancashire dialect and accent adopts the definitions used by Russell, taken from current mainstream thinking in linguistics:

"Dialect" is defined here simply as a regional variant of a language that also has a standardised and thus more prestigious form ... dialects are not debased or incorrect versions of "Standard English" but valid linguistic systems derived from Old English, Norse and Norman roots and possessing their own distinctive accent, vocabulary and grammar. Standard English is itself a dialect but one which, through association with the nation's geographical and social power bases, has come to dominate, first of all in print from the late fifteenth century, and increasingly in spoken form from the late eighteenth.²

Accent is distinct from dialect. It is possible to deliver the syntax and vocabulary of Standard English with a pronounced Lancashire accent, as did Friedrich Engels and

¹ P.J. Waller, 'Democracy and Dialect, Speech and Class' in P.J. Waller (ed), *Politics and Social Change in Britain* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987), p.2, cited in Russell, *Looking North*, p.111.

² *Ibid.*, pp.111-12.

three-times Prime Minister Lord Derby, for example.³ The fact that dialect and accent make 'each utterance ... an act of identity' make these aspects of language an ideal focus for the study of local identity in the local press.⁴

Table 31. Change over time in usage of Lancashire dialect, *Preston Chronicle* 1831-89 (instances per 1000 pages, *n*=159)

Genre	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s
Dialect poetry/dialect in poetry			0.5	1.3	0.2	
Dialect fiction/dialect in fiction			0.2	1.3	0.5	0.2
Dialect non-fiction		1.9	0.5		3.1	1.4
Writer's own words				0.7	1.9	1.0
Reported speech, court case defendant or witness	1.1	2.4	5.3	2.6	1.2	0.7
Reported speech in news/feature article	0.5	1.4	2.5	1.7	2.6	1.4
Reported speech in reader's letter					1.2	
Reported speech in non-dialect fiction or poetry				0.2		1.0

Use of Lancashire dialect in the *Preston Chronicle* was examined by searching a digital edition of the paper between 1831 and 1889 (the long time-span has been used to show change over time more clearly; the 1880s were the last complete decade before the *Chronicle's* demise in 1893).⁵ Dialect passages were identified by searches for two common dialect terms chosen at random, 'agate' (meaning 'on the way'; 'about to') and 'gradely' (meaning 'good', 'proper', 'right'), eliciting 159 articles containing either word. The context of the use of dialect was analysed, and, more problematically, the social class of the speaker or writer was identified. The dialect words appeared in three main text-types: first, the established genre of dialect writing, encompassing poetry, prose and non-fiction; second, dialect words and phrases used alongside Standard English in writing such as letters and travelogues, written for publication; and third, dialect in reported speech. This typology can be subdivided into eight distinct usages (see Table 31 above). The number of dialect instances was divided by the number of pages of the *Preston Chronicle* published in that decade, to take account of changing frequency (the paper went from weekly to bi-weekly in July 1858 before reverting to weekly publication in September 1862) and changing pagination. However, no attempt was made to

³ A.N.Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Arrow, 2003), p.114; J. Burnet, 'Sir Robert Peel' in *The Collected Essays and Addresses of the Rt Hon Augustine Birrell 1880-1920* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), pp.330-31.

⁴ L.Mugglestone, *'Talking Proper': the Rise of Accent As Social Symbol* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.66.

⁵ 19CBLN.

control for changes in type size, page size or the number of columns, to avoid a descent into spurious accuracy. The paper published around 21,000 pages between 1831 and 1889, containing in the order of 270 million words.

The bulk of dialect writing in newspapers was anonymous, and hence it has been difficult to ascertain most authors' identities and therefore their class. Individuals such as lawyers and labourers can easily be allocated to a social class, but where status is more ambiguous, certain assumptions have been made. Joyce, Lucas, Russell and Salveson suggest that many nineteenth-century writers of dialect prose and poetry were middle-class.⁶ Some were not even native speakers but had the technical facility to convincingly reproduce dialect speech, a way of performing local identity, aided by the growing volume of glossaries and other dialect literature; these writers included the Middlesbrough-born journalist Joseph Richardson and the Nottingham-born surgeon-turned-vicar Dr Barber, who both published literature in the dialect of Lancashire 'north of the sands'.⁷ Where biographical information is missing, writers of dialect literature in the *Preston Chronicle* have been allotted equally to the working and middle classes.⁸ The following are also designated middle-class: councillors, journalists, clergymen, farmers and writers of poetry predominantly in Standard English, but using some dialect. The writers of two letters to the newspaper in which some grammar is non-standard, and the style is close to spoken English, have been designated working-class. Taken together, these assumptions probably overstate the number of middle-class writers and speakers of dialect.

The use of dialect in the *Preston Chronicle* changed significantly over time, with a decline in dialect in reported working-class *speech*, and a growth in cross-class dialect *literature*. The divisive technique of using dialect in reported speech to mark speakers as working-class, or as quaintly rural, peaked in the second half of the 1850s and declined thereafter. It was used most commonly when quoting defendants and witnesses in court reports:

... The defendant, Brown, said that ... Dawson challenged him to fight; that they got "agate a fighting;" that his (Brown's) jacket was torn ...⁹

The conscious decision to use orthography to highlight Lancashire dialect emphasised the class of the speaker, particularly in the formal setting of the court, where Standard English (SE) was expected. Many of the people in the court would have used dialect in

⁶ P. Salveson, 'Region, Class, Culture: Lancashire Dialect Literature, 1746-1935' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Salford, 1993), p.4; Joyce, *Visions*, p.258; Lucas, 'Dialect Boom', p.205; Russell, *Looking North*, pp.120-121.

⁷ Lucas, MLitt, p.16; Lucas, 'Dialect Boom', p.205.

⁸ Russell's analysis of Yorkshire dialect writers up to 1945 suggests that the class distribution was about even: *Looking North*, pp.120-21.

⁹ PC 11 July 1857.

other parts of their lives, but those who were middle-class, or aspired to be so, would have another vocabulary available for such formal situations, or had their dialect translated into SE by journalistic convention (see below). Dialect in reported speech was also used to demarcate another distinction, that between the town and the less sophisticated countryside; this usage continued into the 1880s, when dialect as a class marker had declined in the *Preston Chronicle*. Below is an excerpt from a report of Garstang Petty Sessions, headed 'A Rustic's treatment at a wedding'.

... One of the witnesses was the brother of the plaintiff, a youth who had seen about seventeen or eighteen summers, who gave his statement in a half jocular, half serious style, which created much merriment in the court. – On being examined by Mr. Tilly, he said: - Aye, I wur at th' wedding'. It wur on th' 3rd of February last. My sister an' Armstrong an' a lot moor besoides wur there, too. I went eawt o'th' dur, because I wur sick, an' when I geet to th' dur I seed that chap (defendant) an' my sister come eawt o' th' stable...¹⁰

The 'half jocular' use of dialect above may have been a strategy of resistance, a refusal to recognise the status of the proceedings. But the heading suggests that the reader was also invited to join in the merriment by laughing at simple country folk. Dialect speech was often used for comic effect in court reporting, as it sometimes had been in the fiction of writers such as Dickens.¹¹

In contrast, middle-class use of dialect was under-represented in newspapers. When middle-class speakers used dialect, reporters and editors usually chose to hide this from readers, following the class-differentiated literary convention of rendering middle-class dialect speech as SE. This was despite the fact that dialect was part of the native tongue, to varying degrees, of many middle-class people, and was used even in formal situations.¹² Yet only ten cases of middle-class people speaking in dialect were discovered in this sampling of the *Preston Chronicle*, compared with 86 examples of working-class dialect speech.¹³ The newspaper convention of 'translating' middle-class (but not working-class) dialect into SE is revealed in a serialised, anonymous memoir of the 1840s, 'Recollections of Blackburn and its Neighbourhood', published in the *Chronicle* in 1877:

Moses Cocker, the vice-chairman of Blackburn Board of Guardians, delivered himself in the barbarious [sic] dialect of the district, which was rendered literally by Mr Brooks, the then editor and reporter for the

¹⁰ *PC* 2 February 1867.

¹¹ For example, the Cockney characters of Sam Weller in *The Pickwick Papers* or Sarah Gamp in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. 'English writers have seldom felt able to take the risk of depicting a hero or heroine as a dialect speaker ... Of course, if the intention was to portray a character as ignorant and comical, the use of dialect would serve very well': W.R.O'Donnell and L.Todd, *Variety in Contemporary English* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.133.

¹² Wales, *Personal Pronouns*, p.128.

¹³ Newspapers were less daring than novelists such as Charlotte Bronte and Elizabeth Gaskell, who had created sympathetic middle-class characters who spoke in dialect in the 1840s and 1850s (Hiram Yorke in Charlotte Bronte's *Shirley* [1849] and Margaret Hale in Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* [1854-55]).

Blackburn Mercury... One day Moses met Mr Brooks and asked him if there was anything he could "tice" him with. His family felt very keenly that he (Mr B) made him into a public laughing stock by not writing his speeches "gradely." He would give him anything to be thick with him. Mr Brooks replied that it was the province of the press to show up the shortcomings of public men, and he then turned on his heel.¹⁴

Moses Cocker's social class was ambiguous: his occupation, bone-setting, was a craft rather than a profession, making him a skilled manual worker.¹⁵ But his official position as vice-chairman of a local government body responsible for Poor Law administration was usually held by middle-class men. Moses Cocker was penalised by the *Blackburn Mercury* not because he was 'monodialectal', but because his social status was ambiguous.¹⁶ The orthographic rendering of his dialect was an attempt to label him as working-class 'them' rather than middle-class 'us', an example of policing of the borders of social distinction by the press.¹⁷ The newspaper was upholding 'prescriptivist' conventions and hierarchies of dialect and accent established by eighteenth-century writers such as William Enfield, who decreed that a metropolitan, non-local accent should mark 'the speech of a gentleman, who is supposed to have seen too much of the world, to retain the peculiarities of the district in which he was born.'¹⁸ Further evidence comes from the contrasting treatment of Preston town councillors in news reports of council meetings and Hewitson's light-hearted 'Atticus' columns. While the middle-class professionals and tradesmen who sat on the council were made to speak Standard English in the news reports, their uncorrected dialect was revealed in Hewitson's more candid description of 'Our Town Council and its Members'.¹⁹

While the *Preston Chronicle*'s use of dialect as a class marker declined, Table 31 confirms a boom in the cross-class genre of dialect literature from the 1850s to

¹⁴ PC 22 December 1877. For more on editorial decisions over translation of local dialect into Standard English, see Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp.61-64.

¹⁵ R. Cooter, 'Bones of Contention? Orthodox Medicine and the Mystery of the Bone-Setter's Craft' in W.F. Bynum and R. Porter (eds), *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy 1750-1850* (London: Croom Helm, 1987).

¹⁶ Russell, *Looking North*, pp.114, 116.

¹⁷ The *Printers' Register* recalled having 'once heard a very ungrammatical councilman gravely bring it before the town council as a grievance that a certain reporter had, with malice aforethought, put into the newspaper a verbatim report of one of his speeches': 'Reporters and reporting', *PR* February 7, 1870, p.27. For another example of this established tactic, see Nulty, *Guardian Country*, pp.61-62.

¹⁸ W.Enfield, *The speaker, or, miscellaneous pieces, selected from the best English writers, and disposed under proper heads, with a view to facilitate the improvement of youth in reading and speaking. To which is prefixed an essay on elocution* (1774), a2^r, cited in Mugglestone, 'Talking Proper', p.66.

¹⁹ PC 4 April 1868.

1870s.²⁰ At this point it is necessary to briefly outline the nature and significance of dialect literature in Lancashire newspapers. Lancashire and Yorkshire produced more dialect literature than any other part of England, published in broadsides and ballad form, pamphlets, books and almanacs, and read, or performed, in public and at home.²¹ Most local newspapers carried some dialect writing, making them important players in this literary market, alongside other middle-class patrons of the genre.²² Dialect literature published in Lancashire newspapers was typically domestic, sentimental and stoic in its acceptance of the status quo. These aspects, positively presented, may have reinforced local and regional identities, which saw such personal qualities as distinctive. Dialect literature promoted 'us', but with little reference to a 'them'.²³ Hollingworth believes that Lancashire dialect poetry, unlike conventional poetry, was used mainly to express 'a feeling of community', a collective identity, and Salveson argues that writers selected their less divisive, more non-political pieces for submission to local papers.²⁴

A typically deferential theme, of the shared interests of capital and labour, is expressed in a poor-quality piece of prose from 1878, 'Eaur Folks Wur Locked Out, But They'n Getten To Their Wark Again' '(By a Weaver's Wife)' at the end of a pay dispute.²⁵ Its two themes, gratitude for middle-class charity and the defence of the masters' property, confirm current social and political structures. Lucas has shown that much dialect writing in the newspapers of Furness, in the far north of Lancashire, was produced by employees of the publications (in one case, three individuals sharing a pseudonym).²⁶ It is quite possible that 'a Weaver's Wife' was in fact a reporter or other member of the *Chronicle* staff, as it chimes with the paper's editorial attitude to the dispute. Dialect writing was often harnessed in this way, downplaying class differences and highlighting the shared interests which come from living in one place.²⁷ In this passage, the employers' point of view has been put clearly, but clothed in the accent and dialect conventionally assigned to workers. It uses local patriotism to appeal for consensus.

²⁰ B. Hollingworth, *Songs of the People: Lancashire Dialect Poetry of the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), p.2; Hollingworth dates the boom to 1856-70.

²¹ G. Shorrocks, 'Non-Standard Dialect Literature and Popular Culture' in J. Klemola, M. Kytö, and M. Rissanen (eds), *Speech Past and Present: Studies in English Dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1996), pp.390-91.

²² A particularly rich source of Preston dialect writing is *Longworth's Preston Advertiser* (1873-77). Dialect items also appeared in the *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, the *St Helens Newspaper*, *Barrow Herald* and *Sheffield Courant*: Lucas, MLitt, pp.16, 74; 'The Sheffield Dialect', *PR* 6 July 1868.

²³ Russell, *Looking North*, pp.35, 37.

²⁴ Hollingworth, *Songs*, p.6; Salveson PhD, p.133.

²⁵ *PC* 29 June 1878.

²⁶ Lucas, MLitt, p.16; Lucas, 'Dialect Boom', p.205. Newspaper management encouraged journalists to perform roles in this way, for instance by companies retaining legal ownership of pen names such as 'Olympian', used in the Tillotsons' *Football Field*: Tate PhD, p.58.

²⁷ Salveson PhD, summary [n.p.].

Russell believes that such 'unifying narratives' of regional identity were used 'consciously or otherwise, to maintain social advantage.' Such 'modes of northernness' were used 'by the northern middle and upper classes in their attempts to manage the field of class relationships.'²⁸

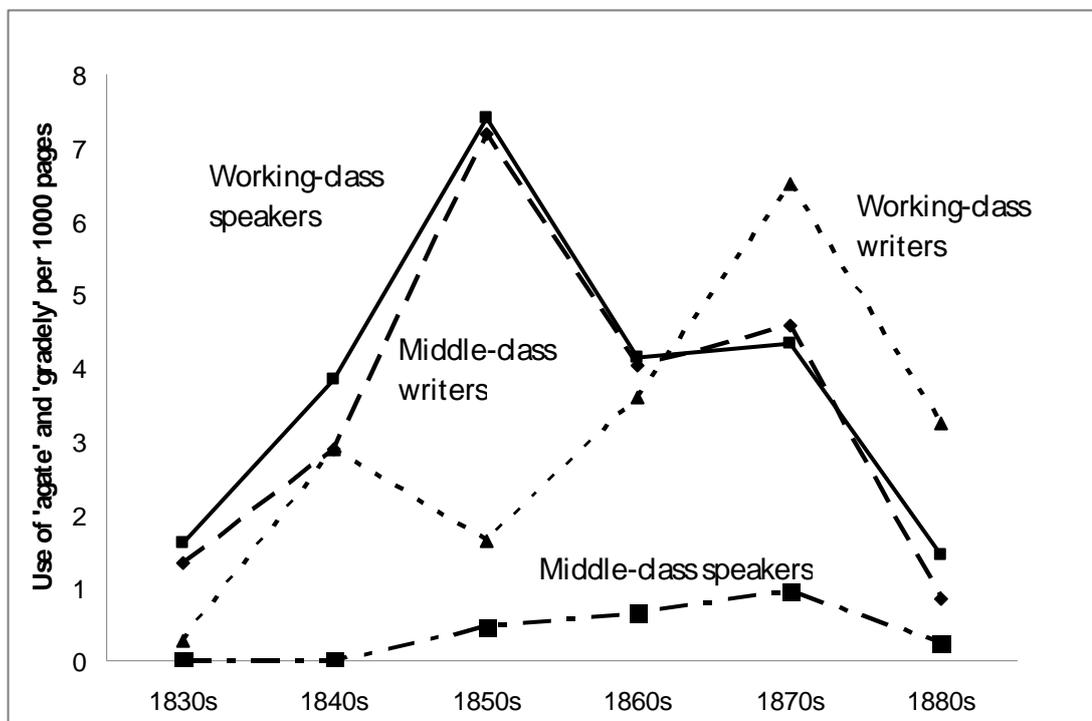


Fig 20. Speakers and writers of dialect by class, *Preston Chronicle*, 1831-89

Dialect appeared almost exclusively as a spoken form in the *Preston Chronicle* at the beginning of the period, but the balance was reversed by the 1880s; as the literature boom raised the status of dialect, so its usefulness as a class marker declined. (A dialect writer is defined as a person who uses dialect as part of their own vocabulary, or who puts dialect in the mouths of fictional characters, while a dialect speaker is someone whose spoken words are reported verbatim.) Fig 20 shows these two separate processes at work, alongside other trends. The representation of working-class dialect speakers peaked in the 1840s and 1850s, decades of heightened class conflict, before falling steeply. The trend for middle-class *writers* using dialect rose and fell in step with representations of working-class dialect speech, revealing the higher status of dialect literature – suitable for the patronage of the middle classes – and lower status of dialect speech. The almost identical trends in middle-class dialect *writing* and representation of working-class dialect *speech* are probably related; perhaps the middle-class local correspondents, staff reporters and other journalists trying their hand at dialect literature were the same individuals who began to insert more dialect quotes

²⁸ Russell, *Looking North*, p.279.

from working-class characters into their news reports; this is probably another example of the close relationship between news and more literary genres found in newspapers.²⁹ Dialect literature by working-class writers followed a different trajectory, rising sharply from a low level in the 1860s and 1870s, before declining in the 1880s, although it was still the most common form of dialect content in the *Chronicle* at the end of the period surveyed. Representations of middle-class dialect speakers declined sharply in the 1880s; Counce believes that in Northern England, 'the middle class muted their speech' about this time, 'increasingly not fully part of their local culture yet not able to live out their class ideal in a satisfactory way. Northernness was thus becoming ... a *spoiled* version of a generally accepted unitary national ideal.'³⁰

However, there was a more generalised legitimacy of dialect as one literary device among many, to be used in a growing range of contexts. For example, the *Preston Argus* introduced itself to readers thus:

As this is our first appearance under the new name, we take off our hat and give you kindly greeting, if only for the purpose of proving to you that we have "larn't manners."³¹

The dialect may have been in inverted commas, but it was now found in sections of these publications where previously only Standard English had appeared. From a literary perspective, it is clear why journalists seized on vivid verbatim snatches of dialect, because of their communicative and emotional power. They used dialect speech as a literary technique, in the same way as novelists such as Elizabeth Gaskell and Charlotte Brontë, and aimed for similar effects.³² Journalists, as members of newspapers' 'literary departments', were likely to pick up literary trends before most of their readers, which could explain the later use of reported dialect speech in readers' letters in the 1870s, after the use of the device had become established first in fiction and poetry, and then in newspaper reporting.

²⁹ In Manchester many journalists worked through the Manchester Literary Club to compile a glossary of Lancashire dialect: M. Beetham, 'Healthy Reading' in Kidd and Roberts (eds), *City, Class and Culture*, pp.173-74.

³⁰ S. Counce, 'British, English or What? A Northern English Perspective on Britishness As a New Millennium Starts' (unpublished conference paper delivered at 'Relocating Britain' conference, University of Central Lancashire, 2000), n.p.

³¹ *Preston Argus*, September 17, 1897, p.1.

³² P.Ingham, 'Introduction' in E.Gaskell (ed P.Ingham), *North and South* (London: Penguin 1995). Many local newspaper reporters also wrote poetry, fiction and other literature, for example John Stanyan Bigg, editor of the *Ulverston Advertiser*. For journalistic writers of fiction serialised in provincial papers, see Law, *Serializing Fiction*. By the 1860s, even metropolitan periodicals were defending dialect as poetic, vigorous and colourful: L.McCauley, "'Eawr Folk": Language, Class, and English Identity in Victorian Dialect Poetry', *Victorian Poetry*, 39, 2, 2001, p.294.

'Changes in the use of language can often indicate important turning points in social history'.³³ Over time, as more working-class newspaper readers became newspaper purchasers, dialect was used less to exclude, and more to include.³⁴ In linguistic terms, newspapers used it less as a sociolect. Place increasingly trumped class; local identity was highlighted, class differences played down. For commercial reasons, newspapers adapted their language to accommodate new working-class readers, welcoming them into an expanded 'imagined community' of other readers.³⁵

Many historians have noted a lessening of conflict in the pages of late nineteenth century local newspapers (see table 28, p.126). Murphy believes that the 'ideology of impartiality' was a result of newspapers' move from the political arena into the marketplace: 'the new commercial papers of the late nineteenth century identified themselves with a sort of parish-pump patriotism, a supra-factional, local, public interest ...'³⁶ They downplayed conflict and 'encouraged positive identification with the local community, its local traditions and its middle class leadership.'³⁷ This was certainly true when Preston's football club nearly collapsed in 1893 (see below). Factors beyond the press may also have been involved in the reduction of class and religious conflict, such as a calmer political atmosphere after the Second and Third Reform Acts, higher real wages and shorter working hours, and more tolerance of Catholics. However, the evidence from this study of dialect suggests another commercial reason, an attempt to welcome new working-class readers into a classless conception of the locality.

SPORT AND LOCAL IDENTITY

Sports history has produced some of the most perceptive writing available on the nature of local – and regional – identities. It seems that sport, and football in particular, is the quintessential creator and sustainer of local identity. Like the local press, it has the capacity to incorporate almost any other factor in creating local identity, thereby combining and magnifying elements into a more powerful whole – but with the added

³³ G.S.Jones, *Outcast London: a Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.v, cited in Mugglestone, p.71.

³⁴ Newspapers began to claim a working-class readership around the time of the second Reform Act (1867): Brown, *Victorian News*, pp.73-74.

³⁵ J. Curran, 'The Press As an Agency of Social Control' in Boyce, Curran, and Wingate (eds), *Newspaper History*, p.71; Russell, *Looking North*, p.127; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

³⁶ D.Murphy, *The Silent Watchdog: the Press in Local Politics* (London: Constable, 1976), p.28.

³⁷ Curran, 'Social Control', p.71.

ingredient of emotional involvement.³⁸ Jeff Hill's classic study of the ritual of the Cup Final demonstrates powerfully the number of elements at play, magnified and mythologised by the local press, which 'often stepped into the realm of myth-making. By offering comment and opinion on the events, or simply by selecting certain aspects for attention, newspaper editors and reporters played upon notions of identity which drew on and at the same time reinforced a sense of local distinctiveness.'³⁹ As the following section demonstrates, Preston newspapers, like many others, incorporated into their sports coverage many of the techniques discussed in the previous chapter such as local history, boosterism and 'othering', in an appeal to local patriotism.

Working-class interest in football developed earlier in Lancashire than other places, and Association Football reached Preston from East Lancashire, where it had been popular since the late 1870s.⁴⁰ Preston North End (PNE), originally a cricket club, switched from rugby to the 'dribbling game' fully in 1882.⁴¹ They quickly adapted to the new code, and began to import Scottish players and the Scottish passing style of play. While other clubs were still concocting *ad hoc* teams for each fixture, PNE concentrated on building a stable, consistent team, better able to play in an 'organised scientific style'. From August 1885 to April 1886 the club had an undefeated run, although success in the Lancashire and FA cup competitions eluded them. By 1886 the club had 'assumed the prerogative of using the ancient town crest', thereby claiming to represent the whole of Preston.⁴² In 1888 they reached the finals of the FA Cup and the Lancashire Cup, but refused to compete for the latter trophy against Accrington, in Blackburn, because of the hostility of Blackburn supporters (demonstrating the fierce inter-town rivalries expressed through football).⁴³

Football and the local press

Contemporary reading surveys found that many men, particularly among the working classes, read sporting papers, taken to include halfpenny local evening publications among others (see chapter 9). These publications developed around the same time as professional football, and Mason is one of many sports historians to have identified an 'important symbiotic relationship between the expansion of the game, both amateur

³⁸ For a superb account from an earlier period of local identity and cricket, see M.R. Mitford, 'A Country Cricket-Match' in M.R. Mitford (ed), *Our Village: Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery* (London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1828), pp.146-63.

³⁹ Hill, 'Rite of Spring', p.102; *passim*.

⁴⁰ Russell *Looking North*, pp.13, 19.

⁴¹ D.Hunt, *The History of Preston North End Football Club: the Power, the Politics and the People* (Preston: PNE Publications, 2000), p.44.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.17, 42, 76.

and professional, and both the growth of a specialised press and the spread of football coverage in the general newspapers.⁴⁴ Mason has claimed, further, that 'sports coverage in local papers helped shape local identities and boost partisanship.'⁴⁵ This is certainly what the local press set out to do, but whether they were successful is harder to prove. The local and regional sporting press grew enormously in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with evening papers (and some weeklies) adding special late football editions to their Saturday papers, including the *Blackburn Times* (1883), owned by the Toulmins, publishers of the *Preston Guardian* and *Lancashire Evening Post*.⁴⁶ These football and sports specials were 'arguably the most important consumer product produced for supporters'.⁴⁷ However, such publications had two distinct selling points: first, their local flavour, and, second, the speed with which they delivered results, reports and comment, on football but also on non-local sports, notably horse racing. Lee claims that 'London evening papers sold a quarter to a third more copies during the racing season'.⁴⁸ Evidence that the local and localised content was a large part of the appeal of sports news comes, paradoxically, from the 'national' press, in which sports reporting was the most localised content. The *Daily Mail*, for example, utilised the ability to publish variant regional editions, thanks to its publishing operation in Manchester, in which sports content was the most differentiated type of content. Content analysis of two Monday editions of the *Mail* in 1900, after the launch of its Northern edition, and in 1908, found that the sports news accounted for 55 of the 87 column inches which were different in the two sampled issues, and the same First Division football matches were reported differently in each edition, with reports in the northern edition written from the perspective of northern fans, and those in the London edition written from the perspective of southern fans.⁴⁹ The local and regional nature of interest in professional football was well understood, and catered for.

⁴⁴ A.Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p.187; T. Preston, 'The Origins and Development of Association Football in the Liverpool District, c.1879 until c.1915' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, 2007), pp.309, 311.

⁴⁵ T.Mason, 'All the Winners and the Half-Times', *The Sports Historian*, 13, May, 1993, p.12.

⁴⁶ Mason, *Association Football*, p. 193; B.Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: an Illustrated History of the English Newspaper to 1899* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p.129.

⁴⁷ A.Jackson, 'Reading the *Green 'Un*: The Saturday Football and Sports Special as a Consumer Product and Historical Source' (unpublished paper, 2007), p.12.

⁴⁸ Lee, *Origins*, p.127.

⁴⁹ Both editions of Monday 5 February 1900 carried results from Divisions 1 and 2, but where the northern edition had results from the Lancashire League, the Lancashire Combination, the Lancashire Alliance and other Manchester and Lancashire leagues, the southern edition had instead results from the Southern League, the Midland League and the Kent League. For 5 February and 3 December 1900, there was an average of 64 columns inches of sports coverage from north of Watford in the northern edition, compared with an average of 23 inches in the southern edition. Quantitative analysis of the 1908 editions does not capture the differences as well: the same FA Cup matches were given equal space in each edition in February 1908, but were written from northern or southern perspectives.

Table 32. Sports coverage, selected Preston newspapers, 1880-1900 (no. of columns published per week)

	1880	1890	1900
Preston sport			
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>		3.4	5
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	0.8	0.6	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	0.3	0.3	0
<i>Preston Herald</i>	0.7	4.6	1.5
Lancashire sport			
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>		8.8	25.5
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	0.2	0.6	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	1.6	0.3	0
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1	5.5	0.3
Total sport*			
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>		25.1	57.3
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	1	1.5	
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2.9	0.8	0.3
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1.7	14.7	4.3

* 'Total sport' includes sport from outside Lancashire and international fixtures.

This section examines press coverage of football, the most popular sport in the last two decades of the century, and in particular the reporting of Preston North End. A comparison of the main Preston papers shows that sports coverage was minimal in 1880, with the one weekly and two bi-weekly papers devoting between one and three columns to it per week, the bi-weekly *Herald* and *Guardian* giving slightly more space than the weekly *Chronicle*. James Catton, an apprentice reporter on the *Herald* at the time, later wrote of PNE captain Harry Cartmel, 'how desperately he used to try and secure the support of the local press, which just tolerated football in an off-hand kind of way at that date.'⁵⁰ By 1890, sport (mainly football) was now a significant part of the contents of the *Herald*, with more than 14 columns per week devoted to it, or 11.1 per cent of its total space, while 25 columns of sport in the new *Lancashire Evening Post* accounted for more than 20 per cent of its space (Table 32 above). Sometimes there was even more, as in the Saturday 2 September 1893 *Evening Post*, in which sport accounted for more than two-thirds of editorial content. The *Herald's* focus was narrower, concentrating more on Preston and Lancashire sport, while the *Evening Post* featured more regional and national sport. Generally, football coverage was more focused on Preston than was cycling or cricket coverage. By 1890 the *Guardian* had decreased its coverage, probably to avoid competition with its sister evening paper, while the ailing *Chronicle*, now in new hands, had only slightly more sport than under Hewitson's ownership. By 1900 the *Evening Post* was clearly dominant in its sports coverage, devoting a third of its space to it, more than 17 columns. The *Herald* had

⁵⁰ 'Tityrus' [J. Catton], *The Rise of the Leaguers, A History of the Football League* (London: Sporting Chronicle office, 1897) p.95, cited in Tate, PhD, p. 219.

ceded to this dominance, reducing sport from around 14 to about four columns per week, or less than three per cent of its space.

In 1888 the four-page *Evening Post* concentrated most of its football coverage in its two Saturday late editions, the 7pm 'football edition' and the 8pm 'extra special edition'. All Saturday editions carried previews of the day's matches around Lancashire. Another column, 'We Hear and See', comprised snippets of news, gossip and comment, plus excerpts from other papers, metropolitan and provincial, about Lancashire clubs and football in general. The two late editions also carried match reports of league and cup matches and the final scores of other matches, professional and amateur. Monday's late editions featured a round-up of significant Lancashire games and how they affected the league and cup standings, plus commentary and descriptions of the main matches. While the evening paper could report Saturday's matches within hours of the final whistle, with additional comment two days later, the bi-weekly *Herald* had to wait until the following Wednesday. Both papers professed to circulate in and report on the whole of North Lancashire, home to some of the most successful clubs of the era, but both gave precedence to Preston North End, in order of priority and amount of editorial space; this suggests that Preston was the core of their sales area. However, the *Herald* often hedged its bets when reporting a Preston game against another North Lancashire side, for example in the 24 October 1888 issue, when Preston played Accrington in the League. One paragraph of notes and analysis of the game from Preston's perspective is followed by a paragraph beginning, 'The Accrington view of the game was as follows ...'⁵¹ This technique is still used in the northern and southern editions of twenty-first-century national newspapers, but one version replaces the other, rather than sitting together in the same edition, as in the *Herald*. Did this accentuate local patriotism, whilst allowing each team's fans to learn how others saw their club – or was it merely confusing? The *Preston Guardian* Wednesday edition carried three or four columns of sports news in 1888, but most of this material was identical to that published in its sister paper, the *Evening Post*, and so has been excluded from this account.

The *Preston Chronicle* covered cricket, bowls and rifle volunteer shooting matches, but under Hewitson's editorship, no football. His diary explains why. He saw his first football match in 1884: 'I don't care for the game and I believe it would not by any means be so very popular as it is if it were not for the betting & gambling mixed up with it.'⁵² When a North End player broke a leg a month later, Hewitson commented, 'I wish

⁵¹ See also *PH* 19 December 1888, 16 January and 20 February 1889.

⁵² *HD*15 November 1884.

lots would do same. I'm disgusted with it & the gambling associated with it.⁵³ What annoyed him most were the large crowds outside rival newspaper offices in Fishergate during matches, gathered to read, hear and discuss telegraphed reports of the games. At the start of the 1886 season the only mention of football in the *Chronicle* was a paragraph in the 'Local Chit-Chat' column calling on the Watch Committee or police authorities to 'stop the insane crowding of Fishergate, especially on Saturday evenings, by persons waiting for football returns' as it affected trade.⁵⁴ The *Chronicle* was the only paper to publish letters critical of football, such as one headed 'Is footballing a game, or what?' from 'Old Prestonian' in 1887.⁵⁵ Hewitson's diary entry for 5 March 1887 reads:

Preston North End footballers beaten to day by West Bromwichers at Nottingham. A big, idle, godless, hands-in-breeches-pockets, smirking, spitting crowd in Fishergate waited a considerable time for the result ... Could like to see a hose pipe opened or turned full on them.

Besides snobbery and a personal dislike of the game, no doubt there was envy at the popularity of football coverage in the *Herald* and the *Evening Post*. In contrast, one of the purchasers of the *Chronicle* when Hewitson sold up in 1890 was Francis Coupe, one of the original 12 directors when PNE became a limited company in 1893.⁵⁶ Strangely, Coupe's name disappeared from the imprint of the paper in the same week that he was elected to the committee overseeing the conversion of the club into a company. The influence of the *Chronicle's* new owners was apparent from their first issue, when football coverage increased from nothing to almost two columns.⁵⁷ By 1893, the *Chronicle* typically published a single column of sports news, either cricket or football depending on the season, comprising very brief match reports, league tables and a county round-up. Hewitson's decision to ignore football shows the influence of an individual publisher, but also suggests the business costs of missing a significant journalistic trend.

The crowds outside newspaper offices were a symbol of the mutual benefits derived by football clubs and local papers. A description of the crowd during an FA Cup tie at Aston Villa in 1888 shows how the supporters shared the limelight with the players in football reportage, how newspapers revelled in their new role, and how hard it is to imagine professional football becoming so successful without the infrastructure provided by the local press.

⁵³ *HD* 13 December 1884.

⁵⁴ *PC* 22 September 1886, p.5.

⁵⁵ *PC* 26 March 1887. This letter received an appreciative response from another reader the following week.

⁵⁶ Hunt, *Preston North End*, pp. 92-93; 1891 Census. I am grateful to Steve Tate for this information. For more on Coupe see Tate, PhD, pp.125-26.

⁵⁷ *PC* 6 September 1890.

By half-past two there would be at least a couple of hundred people in front of the office of the *Lancashire Evening Post*, and half an hour later there was a ... busy bustling crowd which reminded one of the exciting days of electoral conflict. The excitement became intense, and groups of people were discussing the probabilities with great animation ... By four o'clock the gathering had assumed very large proportions, the crowd extending almost to the Town Hall in one direction and to Guild Hall street in the other. The notes on the progress of the game, periodically posted, were read with the most absorbing interest ... round after round of cheering went up at the splendid win. The news was speedily carried to all parts of the district ... The final result was first announced from the door of the *Evening Post* Offices, by Mr John Toulmin ... Coloured lights were ignited on the balcony of the Conservative Club, in Church-street, and fireworks were discharged in other parts of the town.⁵⁸

While pubs, sports outfitters and tobacconists also posted telegraphic football news, many supporters preferred to stand outside a newspaper office. The reference to Preston's lively electoral history gives a flavour of the heightened atmosphere, and the fact that a proprietor of the paper gave the final score shows the importance attached to this duty. However, the carrying of the news 'to all parts of the district', the Conservative working men's club lights and the fireworks, show that football fever was more than a press-inspired fad.

That said, the local press was 'absolutely indispensable' to the organisation and popularity of the game, especially the local amateur game.⁵⁹ The 'Brief Results' column of the *Evening Post* in 1888, for example, listed the scores of some 50 amateur Preston teams, the information supplied by 'secretaries of clubs desirous of making the exploits of their organisations known'.⁶⁰ Newspapers met the demand for facts and figures through their 'Notices to Correspondents' sections and 'offered prizes, management, commitment, even judges and referees. Newspapers helped to form those sporting sub-cultures that grew up around particular sports and particular competitions.'⁶¹

In football as in other spheres, Preston's most potent 'other' was Blackburn. 'There are signs that the Blackburn crowd is slowly learning to appreciate really good football', the *Herald* condescended in 1889.⁶² In 1893, when Blackburn defeated Preston at Deepdale, 'The enemy came over from Blackburn, and literally took possession of the Proud town on Saturday. Fishergate was captured, and Prestonians were generally

⁵⁸ *LEP* 7 January 1888, p3.

⁵⁹ Preston, PhD, pp.302-3, 306-7.

⁶⁰ *LEP* 20 October 1888; *PH* 10 September 1890, p.2.

⁶¹ Mason, 'All the Winners and the Half-Times' p.3; Mason suggests that this tradition was created by the pioneering sporting paper *Bell's Life in London*, which promoted and sponsored sport, and whose editors often acted as stakeholders in wagers: T. Mason, 'Sporting News, 1860-1914' in Harris and Lee (eds), *Press in English Society*, p.172.

⁶² *PH* 16 January 1889.

walked over ...⁶³ A gentler 'othering' is seen in the mockery of a traumatised Wolves fan at the end of the Cup Final, whose speech is rendered phonetically, as he protests at the sight of the cup denied to his team: 'Toike it away! Toike it away! Ow yes, send it to Preston!'⁶⁴

In the same way that the *Preston Chronicle's* changing use of dialect demonstrated attempts to attract working-class readers, so the coverage of professional football in the town's other papers also represented a conscious broadening of appeal. The symbiotic relationship between football and the local press, and the techniques used by the press to incorporate the game into its conventions of local patriotism, are illustrated by coverage of a high point and a low point in PNE's fortunes. In 1889 PNE reached the pinnacle of their career, becoming champions of the new Football League in its first season without losing a match, and winning the FA Cup without conceding a goal. But four years later, in the summer of 1893, the club nearly collapsed under heavy debts, was suspended by the FA, and only just scraped together enough money to re-launch as a limited company.

Winning the double, 1888/89

The underlying tone of this season's coverage was that Preston were the best team in the country and deserved to win the League and the Cup. Preston played well, and it was hard to find an article about the team which neglected to praise their current or past performance, so that no other section of each newspaper published the name of the town so frequently, or so positively.⁶⁵ In the *Herald*, localised pen-names added to the effect, including 'Red Rose' and 'North Ender' in 1890, and a column, 'Notes by "Prestonian"' by 1893. If the team lost a friendly, or played poorly, the papers always offered a defence: a defeat in Glasgow was excused by a tiring journey, and after a lack-lustre performance at Christmas, 'no one can justly blame a team who can win three League matches in what may be called a week, besides travelling the best part of two nights'.⁶⁶ Statistics were used to show that a weak game was merely an aberration, as when North End drew with Blackburn Rovers in January 1889 and the *Herald* reminded readers that 'the Prestonians are ... the winner of the thirteen out of the last

⁶³ *PH* 1 November 1893.

⁶⁴ *LEP* 1 April 1889.

⁶⁵ Russell, *Looking North*, p.241.

⁶⁶ *LEP* 15 September 1888; *PH* 2 January 1889.

sixteen matches played between the clubs', above a table listing all Preston-Blackburn results since February 1884.⁶⁷ Repetition, which came naturally to serial publications, was also apparent in the league tables published every week, always with Preston at the head. The serial nature of League and Cup football can only have added power to sport's ability to promote local identities.⁶⁸

Although North End had been playing association football for less than a decade, the press, the club and its supporters already had a strong sense of history. Reporting carried a 'golden-age' undertone that this season's team was not as good as in recent years, despite their successes in the two competitions. In January the *Herald* reminded readers of North End's 'brilliant record' and both papers seized on a collection of match statistics given at the club's AGM in early February, including 44 consecutive wins in the previous season, the *Post* proclaiming that 'no other club in the annals of football has ever come near achieving such a magnificent performance.'⁶⁹ The *Post* repeated the figures in its Saturday edition for good measure.⁷⁰ Statistics were used in the same way in both papers' preview coverage of the semi-finals and final, while Preston's record of no appeals for the re-play of any match they had lost, was invoked in coverage of West Bromwich's appeal after a pitch invasion during the semi-final.⁷¹

'Association football thrived on the pitting of one local identity against another local identity in a national framework.'⁷² This suited the local press perfectly, which was structured, as we have seen, as a national network of local 'nodes'. Jackson has highlighted how local sports commentators ensured 'that the local was linked to regional and national competitions and topics', never more so than when this national network of writers entered into debates with each other, reproducing and commenting on press comment from elsewhere. Simultaneously, this technique promoted local and national identities.⁷³ Praise from outsiders carried extra prestige, and amplified local achievements already known to supporters, as when the *Herald* quoted a 'Scotch paper' as saying that 'Preston's play was simply perfection'.⁷⁴ Criticism in other papers

⁶⁷ *PH* 16 January 1889.

⁶⁸ J.Bale, 'The Place of "Place" in Cultural Studies of Sports', *Progress in Human Geography*, 12, 1988, p.514.

⁶⁹ *PH* 2 January 1889; *LEP* 5 February 1889, *PH* 6 February 1889.

⁷⁰ *LEP* 9 February 1889.

⁷¹ *PH* 27 March 1889.

⁷² J.Hill, 'Anecdotal Evidence: Sport, the Newspaper Press and History' in M. Phillips (ed), *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), p.122.

⁷³ Jackson, 'Reading the *Green 'Un'*', p.5; A.Jackson, 'Football Coverage In The Papers Of The *Sheffield Telegraph*, c.1890-1915', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5, 1, 2009, pp.80, 63.

⁷⁴ *PH* 5 September 1888.

was often answered point by point.⁷⁵ In February, when North End had completed their League fixtures without defeat, the *Herald* and *LEP* both devoted half a column to press extracts praising PNE, from the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Times* and *Birmingham Daily Post*, the *Wolverhampton Evening Express & Star*, *Athletic News* and London's *Daily News*.⁷⁶ The *LEP*'s subsequent remarks on this laudatory 'criticism' reveal the circuit of press comment, pub conversation and official club discussion in which local newspapers created, supported and magnified a local footballing public sphere, and connected it to a national one.⁷⁷

... this criticism was taken into a certain bar-parlour on Tuesday last, and read aloud; ... subsequently a great authority who lately complained about the croakings of a section of the local press held this up as a sample of how he wished the team to be treated; ... if this is the kind of matter the North End want reeling off every week, the general opinion is they desire to have their powers and abilities over-estimated; ... when another prominent North Ender was told that this was the kind of criticism officially requested for North End, remarked that if they got it the club would think the papers were trying to ingratiate themselves, and in doing so were overstepping the mark.⁷⁸

One aspect of local identity formation was problematic for North End, and for the local papers that supported the team: the fact that few of the players were local (three out of eleven in the 1888/89 season).⁷⁹ Mitchell's St George's, the *LEP* noted, were proud that all the team were born within six miles of the Birmingham brewery which sponsored them; and a comment on Wolverhampton Wanderers - 'they all hail from one town, I believe' - by FA president Major Marindin, in his Cup Final speech, was probably a dig at Preston's imported team.⁸⁰ However, North End's pragmatic approach to the business of football was applauded by the *Evening Post*, who commented that 'nobody desires to see more Scotchmen introduced and yet the local talent is not of a sufficiently high order.'⁸¹ Winning came first. Nonetheless, the Preston newspapers made the best of what they had, with the *Herald* emphasising the local origins of the three Preston-born players, such as left full-back Robert Holmes, 'a Preston lad, born and bred'. In the same Cup Final preview supplement, the *Herald* stressed the local links of the club's committee, led by William Sudell, the chairman, whose ancestors included a seventeenth-century Guild Mayor, the very epitome of Preston-ness.⁸² After

⁷⁵ *PH* 16 January 1889.

⁷⁶ *PH* 13 February 1889.

⁷⁷ M.Johnes, *Soccer and Society: South Wales, 1900-39* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), p.10.

⁷⁸ *LEP* 16 February 1889.

⁷⁹ This was not unusual: D.Russell, *Football and the English: A Social History of Association Football in England, 1863-1995* (Preston: Carnegie, 1997), p.65.

⁸⁰ *LEP* 2 March, 1 April 1889.

⁸¹ *LEP* 17 November 1888.

⁸² *PH* 30 March 1889.

the final, the *Evening Post* described 'the best football team in the world' as 'Proud Prestonians', bestowing honorary citizenship on the predominantly Scottish players.⁸³

County and regional identities were also emphasised in the coverage. The *LEP*'s preview of the semi-final games appealed to Lancastrian identity, noting how well the county's teams had done in the cup in recent years.⁸⁴ In the same paper's preview of the final a headline, 'Lancashire champions', introduced an article explaining that North End 'seek to regain for Lancashire the possession of the "blue riband" of the Association code.' A potted history of the competition told how 'the North has advanced by leaps and bounds while the Metropolitan district has remained to all intents and purposes stationary...'⁸⁵ Earlier in the season, regional identity was combined with class consciousness in a comment on North End's victory over the leading amateur side, public school old boys the Corinthians. North-South rivalry, overlain with the class-inflected conflict between amateurism and professionalism and pride in the fact that football was then largely a game of the North and the Midlands, is encapsulated in a remark about the Corinthians tour, said to have made a £1000 profit. 'Of this, about £400 has been paid to "Pa" Jackson and his boys; and information as to how they have disposed of it would be gladly received by Northerners.'⁸⁶ The implicit reference to North End's previous victories in the battles over professionalism would be apparent to many readers.⁸⁷

The local press techniques for creating attractive, profitable coverage of local football teams outlined above are all adaptations of established methods. But the most distinctive aspect of football coverage – the treatment of football consumers as subjects of reportage in their own right – has few antecedents, unless we look to reporting of rowdy local elections in the era before the secret ballot. It may have been established in the early years of association football, when the size of crowds for this new sport was newsworthy;⁸⁸ it may have been an acknowledgement that, in a

⁸³ *LEP* 3 April 1889.

⁸⁴ *LEP* 16 March 1889.

⁸⁵ *LEP* 30 March 1889. At other times, Lancashire dialect was used, as in 'those who were not present may lay the flattering unctio[n] to their soul that, to use a Lancashire term, "they missed nowt": 'Notes by Prestonian,' *PH* 6 September 1893, p6.

⁸⁶ *LEP* 12 January 1889. For more North-South rivalry concerning the Corinthians, see *LEP* 2 February 1889; Jackson, 'Football coverage', p.64. 'In the South there is not the enthusiasm shown in the sport as in other parts, and the lethargic Southern amateur will wait for the cool breezes of October before he ventures on his exertions': *LEP* 26 August 1893. For more on sport and northern identity, see Hill and Williams, 'Introduction', p.6, R.Holt, 'Heroes of the North' and T.Mason, 'Football, Sport of the North?', all in Hill and Williams (eds), op. cit.

⁸⁷ Hunt, *Preston North End*, pp.17, 59.

⁸⁸ Lorenz believes that high numbers of supporters were evidence that the host city 'had successfully demonstrated its energy and vitality': S.L.Lorenz, "'In the Field of Sport at Home

commercial business, the number of paying customers was crucial; perhaps, where few players were native, the local nature of the supporters could be fixed on,⁸⁹ perhaps the sayings and doings of the fans were so colourful that they deserved coverage;⁹⁰ or it may have been a controlled way of allowing predominantly working-class men access to the columns of a middle-class medium, a public sphere by proxy.⁹¹ Northern crowds in this period had a reputation for partisanship, and it would be interesting to compare the treatment of southern football supporters by their local papers with that of northern papers such as Preston's.⁹²

Whatever the reason, the crowd was written into professional football reportage at every opportunity. High gates were a source of pride, as when Preston's attendance of 6,000 was second only to Everton's 10,000, or linked to almost any evaluation of North End's performance, good or bad - 'not only the team, but every Prestonian who takes an interest in the club, will be justly proud' or 'the spectators were evidently tired of the exhibition being made by [Preston], and repeatedly shouted at them to "play up" ...'⁹³ Quips were reported, such as one about the recent departure of star defender Nick Ross to Everton: 'the question was asked, "Where has North End's defence gone to?" and the reply came readily, "Everton".'⁹⁴ The manner in which supporters celebrated was described, for example after Preston completed their last League fixture, before their Cup run:

the pride of their supporters has been raised considerably by their newly gained honour, and last Saturday night it required a considerable number of refreshers to quench the enthusiasm of some of the players and their admirers ... there is yet hope for them bringing that "blessed pot" to the banks of the Ribble.⁹⁵

The crowd was also part of the match reports and analyses, for example in a report of an away match against Blackburn:

and Abroad": Sports Coverage in Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1850-1914', *Sport History Review*, 34, 2, 2003, p.149, cited in Preston, PhD, p.289.

⁸⁹ Bale, 'Place of place', p.516.

⁹⁰ The Preston papers occasionally contrasted the behaviour of football and cricket crowds, without making judgments (*PH* 20 March 1889); cricket spectators were not incorporated into the reportage in the same way, perhaps because cricket was a participatory rather than a spectator's sport.

⁹¹ Russell, *Looking North*, p.56. For the view that the late nineteenth-century press saw itself as 'representative', see Hampton, *Visions*.

⁹² A.Jackson, 'The Chelsea F.C Chronicle: More than a programme?' (unpublished, 2009). n.p. The Sheffield publication *Football and Cricket World* exemplified this northern attitude. 'We do not believe in the wishy-washy talk about no partisanship being felt. We want to see Sheffield football triumphant': *Football and Cricket World* 9 September 1895, cited in Jackson, 'Football Coverage', p. 69.

⁹³ *LEP* 15 September 1888, 11 February 1889; *PH* 12 December 1888.

⁹⁴ *LEP* 13 October 1888. The *Liverpool Echo* 'Saturday Night Football Edition' included imagined dialogues between fans: Preston, PhD, p.287.

⁹⁵ *LEP* 12 January 1889.

when play started it was quickly evident that there was a strong contingent of Prestonians present, for there was a huge cheer when Graham neatly grassed Jack Southworth ... The failure of Thomson to lead through was received with a groan. A loud cheer at the end of 23 minutes announced that Thomson had scored for the visitors.⁹⁶

All of the other techniques described above could be given extra local value when voiced and amplified by supporters, such as the appeal to North End's proud history when a victory over West Bromwich Albion 'brought back to the memories of thousands the grand battle fought by the North End when making their name, and after the match the exploits of the men in their famous games were recounted with gusto.'⁹⁷

Fan culture was supported and reported in other ways. The *Evening Post* published a 180-word review of the PNE fixture card in October 1888, noting that 'Mr J Miller, lithographer, Preston, has surpassed all his previous efforts on behalf of the club. The style is less pretentious than in past years, but is much neater and more artistic.'⁹⁸ Adverts next to or within the sports columns promoted 'football houses', pubs devoted to the game, including the Lamb, on Church Street, run by North End goalkeeper Jim Trainer, whose name appeared prominently in the advert.

Hill noted three elements of twentieth-century local press coverage of cup finals featuring Northern teams: the spectators' journey to London, enjoyment of the match in the stadium and at home, and the welcoming home of the team.⁹⁹ In 1889 the *Preston Herald* and the *Lancashire Evening Post* followed only part of this formula, with heavy preview coverage, barely a mention of travelling fans, fairly 'straight' reporting of the match itself, but detailed coverage of the victorious homecoming. The *Herald's* four-and-a-half columns of match-day preview coverage was twice the length of the *Post's*, perhaps because it was unable to publish a match report that evening.¹⁰⁰ But both were similar in content: an engraving of the FA Cup, a history of northern club appearances in the competition, a history of PNE, recent statistics, including favourable comparisons with opponents Wolves, and biographies of players (and of club officials, both with portraits, in the *Herald*). The *Post's* preview merged into its reporting of the day itself, with a piece headed 'Reception of the News at Preston' describing the crowd outside its office on Fishergate.¹⁰¹ A week later the *Post* had a short item on the experiences of

⁹⁶ *LEP* 12 January 1889.

⁹⁷ *LEP* 20 October 1888.

⁹⁸ *LEP* 13 October 1888, p4.

⁹⁹ Hill, 'Rite of Spring', p.94.

¹⁰⁰ *PH* 30 March 1889. Without access to all editions of the *Herald*, it is impossible to know for sure that no post-match edition appeared.

¹⁰¹ *PH*, *LEP* 30 March 1889.

supporters in London, of Lancastrians bumping into 'brother Northerners' and out-cheering the 'Cockneys' at the Oval.¹⁰²

The team's return to Preston followed the ritual already established for these occasions. Beneath a headline, 'Return of the North End team. Brilliant ovation from twenty-seven thousand people', the *Herald* reported that the Public Hall 'was packed as it has never been packed before by an audience representative of all classes of the community', emphasising the unifying nature of the occasion. The platform party included the town's great and good, with councillors and aldermen, doctors, solicitors and businessmen. A message was read from the mayor (absent through illness), linking the success of the 'Invincibles' to the prestige of the town and to imperial themes: 'Outdoor sports have been important factors in forming and maintaining the manly robust, invincible character of the British race, and it is most gratifying to know that one's town can take the foremost place in them.' In the absence of the town's MPs and other political leaders (away in London, steering a Bill through Parliament), solicitor TM Shuttleworth, Esq, took the chair. He declared the occasion 'unique in the history of the good old town – (hear, hear)' and admitted that he

was not an habitu  of the football field, but he was one of those who had followed with keen interest every move of the celebrated North Enders – (hear, hear and cheers) – and nobody rejoiced more than he did on Saturday, when he elbowed his way through the crowd to look at the window of the *Herald*-office, and saw to his delight the result ... He asked them to give the North End team a right royal Lancashire welcome, for they were the finest football team in the world.¹⁰³

As with any speeches on such an occasion, the oratory aimed to crystallise and celebrate North End's achievement, and link it to civic and wider themes.¹⁰⁴ The next speaker, Alderman Walmsley (Hewitson's enemy), described himself as 'one of the spectators of the matches at Deepdale'. The following speaker also linked North End's qualities to imperial triumphs, and evoked inter-town rivalry when he 'ventured to express a hope that the club would be able to outrival even the achievements of the Blackburn Rovers in the Cup competition' (Blackburn had won it three times). The coverage of the *Evening Post* and even the usually disdainful *Chronicle* was similar to the *Herald's*, with the *Post* measuring the crowds favourably against Preston's highest benchmark, the audience for the Guild's textile trades procession.¹⁰⁵ The press reported these speeches and resolutions, confirming the audience's experience and

¹⁰² *LEP* 6 April 1889.

¹⁰³ Even at this early date, the occasion was less a 'spontaneous celebration of *club*' and more a 'semi-official glorification of *town*', challenging Hill's chronology: Hill, 'Rite of Spring', p.100.

¹⁰⁴ M.Huggins, 'Oop for T' Coop: Sporting Identity in Britain', *History Today*, 55, 5, 2005.

¹⁰⁵ *PH*, *LEP* 3 April 1889; *PC* 6 April 1889, p.5.

informing those not present. By committing the occasion to print, the papers lent it status and permanence.

All this must have come as a surprise to readers of the *Chronicle*. Hewitson's paper had studiously ignored North End's greatest season, not even giving final scores, nor mentioning their League champion status, until the Saturday following the cup final. Then, a news report, headed 'The Champion Exponents of Association Football' grudgingly admitted that, 'In the eyes of the Press, local and otherwise, they constitute the finest Association all-round football team that has ever graced the Oval.' The *Chronicle* followed the same model of reportage as the other papers for the homecoming, describing the same events in the same way (indeed the account may have been taken from the other papers). While Hill's general point is accepted, that the local press used such occasions to create and sustain myths, it is hard to imagine any other way of describing the home-coming.¹⁰⁶ Even the cynical *Chronicle* had no other vocabulary, in its news reporting at least.

Hewitson's commentary was a different matter. On the same page as the news report, in his 'Local Chit-Chat' column, he found

the massing of so many thousands of Preston people in the streets, &c ... to see eleven vanquishers in the domain of ball-kicking ... quite inexplicable, and absurd on account of its excess ... The town has a right to feel proud of its football champions; but the town need not go silly ...

North End close to collapse, 1893

By 1893, Preston had won the league again, been runners-up three times and reached the FA Cup semi-finals once. Between late July and early September of that year, an alarming story unfolded, of debt, FA suspension, a plan to save the club by converting it into a limited company, the suspense of a slow take-up of shares, and - finally - resolution, after the bare minimum of shares had been sold, debts were paid and the club reinstated by the FA. The *Herald*, *Evening Post* and *Chronicle* (the latter now under new ownership, and featuring more sport, particularly football) all reported the story in a similar way, demonstrating how the presence of a successful football club was seen as essential both for the prestige of the town and for the commercial well-being of its press.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Hill, 'Rite of Spring', p.102.

¹⁰⁷ Hill, 'Anecdotal Evidence', p.121; Bale, p.516.

The crisis began with a much-delayed annual general meeting in late July, greeted in advance with optimism from the *Herald* and the *Chronicle*.¹⁰⁸ This optimism continued throughout the summer, whether it was warranted or not.¹⁰⁹ This boosterism took on almost desperate tones in mid-August, after Preston's suspension from the FA, but 'the new committee ... may be relied upon to set matters right,' predicted the *Chronicle*. Against all the evidence, it added that 'the shares in the new company ... are being quickly taken up, and there is every promise of a prosperous future for North End', a formula repeated the following week almost word for word.¹¹⁰ As time ran out for the share issue in late August, day after day the *Post* reported that, whilst yesterday's sales had been disappointing, today's were picking up.¹¹¹ The *Chronicle's* confidence was confirmed by support from the spirit world. A séance at the Public Hall included a question to the medium 'as to whether North End would head the League during the coming season. The lady had no hesitation about her answer. It was a decided affirmative ...' The medium's husband, Professor Baldwin, confirmed this evidence by offering to make 'a reasonable wager'.¹¹²

The corollary of such optimism was a willingness to play down the bad news. The *Post* was the most even-handed, for example reporting the AGM without comment but nonetheless describing irregularities in the accounts, the disquiet of some members, and the defensiveness of the chairman, William Sudell, who had run the club successfully for more than a decade as a benevolent dictator. The *Herald* gave a fuller account, diluting the bad news slightly, while the *Chronicle* omitted those parts reflecting poorly on Sudell. When Preston were suspended by the FA for an unpaid debt to Everton, the *Post* devoted only four lines to it, the *Herald* and *Chronicle* two. The language was generally defensive. The *Post* claimed there were 'no grounds for alarm' over whether the players would sign with Preston again for the coming season, and 'no fear' that one player, Cowan, wanted to leave; words and phrases such as 'satisfaction', 'satisfactory' and 'no fear of difficulty' jarred with the grim news they accompanied.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ *PC* 15 July 1893; *PH* 19 July 1893.

¹⁰⁹ *PH* 22 July 1893; *LEP* 11 August 1893. Surprisingly, none of the papers set an example by publicly buying shares themselves, although the Toulmins 'became large shareholders in the club': Hunt, p.12. The owners of the *Eastern Daily Press* bought 25 shares in Norwich City FC in the early 20th century: T. Clarke, *Pilgrims of the Press: a History of Eastern Counties Newspapers Group 1850-2000* (Norwich: Eastern Counties Newspapers, 2000) p.22.

¹¹⁰ *PC* 12 August 1893.

¹¹¹ *LEP* 22, 23, 24 August 1893.

¹¹² *PC* 29 July 1893.

¹¹³ *LEP* 10, 12 August 1893.

Readers were exhorted to unite behind the new regime and to buy shares. 'Whatever little difference there may have been should now be forgotten,' the *Chronicle* pleaded. 'All well wishers of the winter pastime will best consult the interests of the club by forwarding their deposits at once', the *Post* urged.¹¹⁴ These exhortations were made chiefly on two grounds, an appeal to civic pride, and to the club's proud history and reputation. Unlike four years previously, football was now considered a fit subject for a leading article in the *Post*, which urged members to unite in promoting 'the interests of the great club, the fortunes of which, in a way, may raise or lower the reputation of the town.' The *Herald* urged 'the lovers of football in Preston [to] combine together in support of the winter sport and those who so well maintain the credit of the town in its practice'.¹¹⁵ There were many appeals in the name of North End's distinguished history, such as the *Post*'s reminder that 'in the past, as everyone knows, the team has been in the front rank of Association elevens, and with the support of the townspeople it will retain its old and proud position'.¹¹⁶ The arguments put forward, and the vocabulary employed, were almost identical in all three papers, suggesting that reporters were receiving the same briefings from the club, perhaps simultaneously, or that there was only one way for the local press to report the story, within the conventions of late nineteenth-century local journalism.

The crisis ended days before the start of the new season. As it became clear that enough shares had been sold to pay the club's debts, the papers began to refer to widespread fears among fans, now past, that the club might collapse. The papers had closed ranks, underplaying the depth of the crisis and adopting a boosting role, which left no room for the untidy, uncertain and fickle voices of the fans. Unlike the coverage at North End's high point in 1888/89, the fans were noticeably absent from the reporting of the 1893 crisis. Only in mid-September did the *Herald* acknowledge 'the, more or less, twaddle talked by some individuals during the heated period when the new company was being floated'.¹¹⁷ The slow take-up of shares suggests that many North End fans did not share the papers' confidence in the viability of the club nor the ability of its managers.

¹¹⁴ *PC* 5 August 1893; *LEP* 22 August 1893.

¹¹⁵ *LEP* 21 July 1893; *PH* 23 August 1893.

¹¹⁶ *PC* 22 July 1893; *LEP* 19 August 1893.

¹¹⁷ *PH* 13 September 1893.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter's case studies of Lancashire dialect and football coverage demonstrate how Preston newspapers co-opted two cultural phenomena to promote local identity and make their publications more attractive to readers. Both examples also highlight the representation of class in the local press, and how the content and address of local newspapers changed significantly over time.

The digitised *Preston Chronicle* was used to analyse the paper's use of Lancashire dialect, revealing the dynamic and contested nature of local identities. In a newspaper, 'what is arrayed before the reader is not pure information but a portrayal of the contending forces in the world.'¹¹⁸ These contending forces were present in the multiple local identities fought over within and between each publication, class identities amongst them. There was more than one imagined community. We saw in the previous chapter that explicit conflict in Preston's papers declined towards the end of the century as the tone of voice became more inclusive and consensual, and this is confirmed in the *Chronicle's* changing use of Lancashire dialect. The *Chronicle* moved from using reports of spoken dialect to label and mock working-class speakers, highlighting class identities, to publishing more dialect literature to highlight local and county identities and downplay class differences. This case study also shows that the local press was a significant publisher of dialect in many ways other than as literature; it reveals a wider range of dialect genres than previously acknowledged. Comparisons of dialect in Conservative papers and more working-class halfpenny evening papers would be instructive, as the *Preston Chronicle* was a Liberal paper, possibly with a more middle-class readership than its local rivals. Comparisons with other 'bilingual' publishing situations, such as English-language newspapers in Wales, would also be useful.

Close reading and comparison of rival publications was used to show how Preston's main newspapers reacted to another cultural movement, professional football. The symbiotic relationship of the local press and professional football benefited both parties, and the press took full advantage of the regional and local nature of the new phenomenon, adapting established techniques and adopting new ones to capitalise on local identity in its coverage. Whilst rivalry was intrinsic to football coverage, there was surprisingly little 'othering' of rival teams, beyond the bounds of sportsmanlike fair play. The emphasis was on 'us' rather than 'them'.¹¹⁹ Sports coverage, particularly of

¹¹⁸ Carey, *Communication as Culture*, p.20.

¹¹⁹ In Mary Mitford's words, 'to be authorised to say we': Mitford, 'A country cricket-match', p.153.

football, enabled newspapers to package together many other elements of local identity into one topic, making local patriotism more intense and emotional. Football reporting provides a particularly good example of local newspaper boosterism – although there is little evidence that this boosting had any direct impact - and was well suited to combining identities at local, county, regional and national level. The habit of quoting and debating comment on local teams from other newspapers around the country strengthened and made use of the national network that was the local press.

Preston's papers, regardless of their political stance, followed the same template when reporting the new phenomenon of professional football. It is hard to imagine how else they could have reported PNE's triumphal homecoming after winning the FA Cup, an event which drew a quarter of the town's population onto its main street. The exception was Hewitson's *Chronicle*, perhaps confirming that by the late 1880s, he was out of step with contemporary journalism, despite his stylistic innovations in the 1860s and 1870s. The Preston press's football coverage was usually more passive than Hill suggests, creating myths through selective repetition and through reporting, such as that around the FA Cup in 1889, in which the speech-makers at the Public Hall rather than the newspapers did the work of connecting North End's victory to civic identity. But when PNE was nearly destroyed by a financial crisis in 1893, the Preston papers offered more active, partial constructions of reality, playing down bad news, wishing good news into existence and adopting a tone of exhortation, urging readers to buy shares and save the ailing club, for the sake of the town. The only other time such direct appeals to the reader were seen was during election campaigns. Finally, in the previous chapter we saw that historical self-consciousness, or a sense of continuity was important to local identity, and professional football rapidly accumulated this sense of history, aided by the local press.

This section of the thesis has described the circumstances in which Preston's newspapers were produced, and has established that an appeal to local patriotism was intrinsic to much of their content. The next section moves from the texts to the readers, to explore how local newspapers were used by people in Preston.

PART C: READING THE LOCAL PRESS

8. WHERE AND WHEN THE NEWS WAS READ

INTRODUCTION

This second part of the thesis moves from the production of newspapers to their use by readers in Preston. This chapter makes concrete the places and times of reading, particularly news-reading, as part of an empirical study of this activity. It focuses on two significant places which brought newspapers and readers together, for which evidence is available – the news room and the newsagent's shop. Both showed rapid and significant change during the period. The evidence presented in this chapter establishes the centrality of newspapers in the reading world of a provincial town in the second half of the nineteenth century, although it does not differentiate locally published reading material from that produced outside Preston, as the same places were used to read them all. However, the next chapter analyses the relative importance of different kinds of newspapers and periodicals to Preston readers, and shows that the local press was often preferred. Chapter 10, the final chapter in this section, considers the many ways in which readers *used* the local press.

This chapter aims to re-create the reading world of Preston in the second half of the nineteenth century, in order 'to understand the use of the materials we are investigating within the precise, local specific context that alone gave them meaning'.¹ While placing the act of reading in a particular time has recovered the historical reader, the importance of putting reading in a particular place has been neglected. Photographs of Preston and surrounding district (figs 21-24) show that the reading habit was widespread, at home, on the street and in publicly funded rooms specially set aside for the activity. The images also show the social range of readers, from men in top hats, apparently from the merchant class, to others in bowlers, smart jackets and ties, and those wearing flat caps and creased jackets. The only image of a woman reading is, significantly, not in a public place but at home. The images also suggest the purposes for which reading took place – business, relaxation in front of the fire, or possibly to assess a horse's form. Other evidence reveals the rapid changes which took place in news-reading habits during the period.

¹ R. Chartier, 'General Introduction: Print Culture' in A. Boureau, R. Chartier, and L.G. Cochrane (eds), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), p.3. See also Darnton, 'First Steps', p.167. For the importance of placing newspaper readership in the wider context of print culture as a whole, see A.G. Jones, 'Constructing the Readership in Nineteenth-Century Wales' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Serials and Their Readers, 1620-1914: 14th Annual Conference on Book Trade History* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1993), p.161.

READING PLACES

Table 33. Some Preston reading institutions, 1853-1901

	1853	1873	1901
Schools	66	77	86
Booksellers	27	30	28
Newsagents	7	33	75
Libraries, news rooms and reading rooms	9	10	13
Lending & circulating libraries	3	4	2
Publishers	4	6	7
Printers	18	10	32

Sources: Oakey's trade directory, 1853; Slater's 1876 directory (schools); Mannex 1873 directory (printers); Gillbank's 1857 directory (printers); Barrett's 1901 directory.

Table 33 above shows approximate numbers of reading places in Preston during the period. These places have been identified from trade directories, library reports, autobiographies, newspaper articles, oral history and photographs. Attempts to supplement this information from the Census were hampered by frequent changes in the classification of reading-related occupations (see Table A21, Appendix). The numbers in Table 33 are almost certainly underestimates. However, they are all formal reading places, or institutions. It is likely that most reading took place elsewhere: in public houses,² at home, on the street and (by the end of the century) on public transport. Evidence of such informal reading places is even more scarce than for formal reading places, but their importance in the lives of readers should not be ignored.³

In Fig 21 (overleaf), a middle-aged woman reads in front of a fire. Although the photograph is probably from the early twentieth century, some aspects may have been similar in the second half of the nineteenth century. The most obvious feature is the lack of light.⁴ Small print, weak eyesight due to poor nutrition, and the cost and danger of candles and rush lights made reading at night difficult at the beginning of the period, but print size increased after the abolition of the newspaper taxes, and the spread of gas lighting at the end of the century changed the reading environment, making home

² See for instance W.C.Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire: in a Series of Letters to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin* (London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1842) , p.136.

³ For the distinction between social and institutional reading circumstances, see Pawley, 'Seeking 'Significance'', pp.145-47.

⁴ In 1860, Clitheroe weaver John O'Neil wrote in his diary that 'It was so dark I could not read unless I was standing at the window or door' (O'N, 5 January 1860).



Fig 21. Annie Stephenson, mother of Tom Stephenson, Chorley

Source: T. Stephenson, *Forbidden Land: The Struggle for Access to Mountain and Moorland* (Manchester University Press, 1989), photograph copyright of the Ramblers' Association.

reading easier and cheaper.⁵ Reading newspapers at home, particularly the local evening paper, often in front of the fire, is mentioned frequently in oral history interviews and in local memoirs. There are also mentions of reading books secretly in bed, and of reading the *News of the World* in the outside toilet. Even if home was the workhouse, reading was still encouraged.⁶

Public places outside the home were awash with print. The public house was a common reading place, where it was the norm for at least one newspaper to be provided by the landlord even in smaller pubs, perhaps the *Morning Advertiser*, organ of the Licensed Victuallers Association, or a sporting paper such as *Bell's Life in*

⁵ Altick, *Common Reader*, pp.91-92.

⁶ 'A Library for the New Workhouse' (*PG* 30 January 1869, p.2) reports the vicar of Preston defending the right of inmates to read the local papers on Sundays. In 1897, Mrs Cummings of the Old Dog Inn sent 'a number of periodicals' to the workhouse: *Preston Argus*, 24 September 1897, p.1. Surveys conducted by readers of the *Review of Reviews* in 1890 found that most workhouses provided books, magazines and newspapers for inmates: *Review of Reviews* 1:4, (April) 1890, p.269.



Fig 22. News room sign in window of the Lion Tavern, Moorfields, Liverpool, built c.1841 (photo: 2009)

London, while larger commercial hotels advertised the number of titles available.⁷ In the early years of the century, William Cobbett believed that for many men, the pub's chief attraction was the newspaper rather than beer, and one writer claimed that newspapers in pubs were in such demand before repeal of the newspaper taxes that 'a placard was generally hung up in the bar requesting gentlemen not to monopolise the current paper for more than (five minutes)'.⁸ In Preston, reading the paper aloud and discussing its contents had been a formalised event during the excitement of the 1830 election, at which the radical Henry Hunt defeated Lord Stanley:

They flocked to the public-house on a Sunday evening as regularly as if it had been a place of worship, not for the set purpose of getting drunk, but to hear the newspaper read. The success of the landlord depended, not on the strength of his beer altogether, but on having a good reader for his

⁷ Altick, *Common Reader*, pp.200-201; Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, pp.9, 29; M.McIntire, 'Odds, Intelligence, and Prophecies: Racing News in the Penny Press, 1855-1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 41, 4, 2008, p.353; Robinson, *Boston's Newspapers*, p.8. The *Morning Advertiser* 'was the public house journal, and, after a copy was stale in the pub, it might be circulated through an entire street': R.K.Webb, *The British Working Class Reader 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955), p.33.

⁸ *Cobbett's Political Register*, 26 Sept 1807, cited in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, p.11; J.F. Wilson, *A Few Personal Recollections by an Old Printer* (1896), p.11, cited in Lee, *Origin*, n.64, p.245; Robinson, *Boston's Newspapers*, p.3.

paper ... it was not the general custom to drink during the reading of the paper. Every one was expected to drink during the discussion of any topic, or pay before leaving for the good of the house.⁹

From 1856 to 1861, John O'Neil walked a mile into Clitheroe every Saturday evening to read the newspapers in a pub. There is evidence of reading the paper aloud in the pub as late as 1874, in Sheffield at least, and it seems likely that pubs continued to be significant reading places, particularly of newspapers, well into the twentieth century, although contemporary commentators believed that the competition from public libraries, news rooms and working men's clubs began to reduce the importance of the public house.¹⁰ The Victorian sign in the Liverpool pub in Fig. 22 shows that pubs saw newspapers as an attraction worth advertising, even dedicating valuable space for their reading.

The street was also a popular reading place, as seen in the 1906 postcard (Fig. 23, p.164) showing a wealthy-looking man in top hat and frock coat reading a newspaper as he walks down Fishergate, Preston's main commercial street. Walls were plastered with advertising signs and posters and political placards, broadsides, almanacs, chapbooks and newspapers were sold and read there.¹¹ Handbills and religious tracts would also have been given out in the streets.¹² Street-sellers of newspapers sometimes sold ballads as well, as did the Preston character 'Uncle Ned', who also sang his wares.¹³ It may have been Uncle Ned who was recalled by JH Spencer, a collector of the song sheets now held in Preston's local studies library:

It was one Saturday evening and he was stood at the corner of New Street and Lord Street ... The man wore a battered shabby tall hat and a frock coat which was very shiny and decidedly the worse for wear. He held a

⁹ W.Pilkington, *The Makers of Wesleyan Methodism in Preston, and the Relation of Methodism to the Temperance and Teetotal Movements ... With a Preface by the Rev. C. Garrett* (Preston: published for the author, W. Pilkington, 101, Friargate, 1890), p.183.

¹⁰ Brown, *Victorian News*. Reading aloud in another Lancashire news room, opened in the 1840s, 'led to confusion and bickering [and] the room had to be closed': *The Spectator*, quoted in 'Prosperous Lancashire', *PC* 24 October 1891. 'It used to be a great treat to hear John McArdle [landlord of a pub in Crosbie St, Liverpool], on a Sunday night, reading the "Nation", which then cost sixpence, and was, therefore, not so easily accessible, to an admiring audience, of whom I was sometimes one ... McArdle was a big, imposing looking man, with a voice to match, who gave the speeches of O'Connell and the other orators of Conciliation Hall with such effect that the applause was always given exactly in the right places, and with as much heartiness as if greeting the original speakers': Denvir, *Life Story*, pp.15-16. For commentary on the decline of the pub as reading place, see references in E.M.Palmegiano, 'A Conundrum on Character: Periodical Perceptions of Press Readership in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished paper given at the conference 'Characters of the Press,' Roehampton University, London, 4 July 2008), p.6.

¹¹ Robert Roberts recalls groups of working-class men and boys reading racing pages and comics on the street corners of Edwardian Salford: Roberts, *Classic Slum*, pp.127-28.

¹² The Religious Tract Society had a Preston auxiliary, active at least until 1860: *PC* 5 November 1859. The society was the publisher of *Leisure Hour*, *Sunday At Home*, the *Boys' Own Paper* and other wholesome popular titles.

¹³ *PG* 6 October 1860.

long pole across the top of which was fixed a shorter pole at right angles in the form of the letter T. Over this was drawn through a corded loop a big bundle of long printed sheets illustrated with a crude picture at the top swung to and fro with the wind and the motion of the man's body. He sung the doggerel verse to some popular tune of the day and the one I remember was,

“O, naughty Mrs Maybrick, what have you been and done,
Your goings on are bad I must confess.”¹⁴

There were also itinerant ‘hand-sellers’ of books. Such sellers fixed their

temporary rostrum at some street corner, upon some vacant ground, or, if allowed, in the Market Place ... There is another class of "booksellers" [that] ... deals in those only that are disgusting and vicious ... a lot of fellows who prowl about the streets, without exhibiting anything openly for sale, but who, whenever they see a young man, or a lad, that looks likely to become a purchase, approach him, and draw from an inside pocket a small book, opening it so as to show a most disgusting and highly-coloured picture, and ask him to purchase it.¹⁵

Like Uncle Ned, street-sellers of books, newspapers and ballads were often disabled men, or, later in the century, boys.¹⁶ In 1895 boys from the St Vincent de Paul orphanage in the Preston suburb of Fulwood were enlisted to sell the *Lancashire Catholic* magazine, and in 1898, a writer complained that ‘at night the heavens are rent with the combined musical agonies of lads shouting evening papers.’¹⁷ Some male oral history interviewees sold the *Lancashire Daily Post* and the *Football Post* on the streets in the early twentieth century, buying three copies for a penny and selling them for a halfpenny each.¹⁸

Street reading material was available in the windows of Preston's newspaper offices, grouped along Fishergate and its side-streets. Telegrams and posters in these windows were the Victorian version of ‘rolling news’, covering events such as foreign wars, election or sporting results.¹⁹ Major events such as the death of Lord Palmerston

¹⁴ The reference to Maybrick, the Liverpool poisoner, dates the song to 1889 or later: J.H.Spencer, ‘A Preston Chap Book and its Printer,’ *PH* 21 January 1948.

¹⁵ F.Folio [J Page], *The Hawkers and Street Dealers of Manchester and the North of England Manufacturing Districts Generally: Being Some Account of Their Dealings, Dodgings, and Doings* (Manchester: A Heywood, 1858), pp.78, 83.

¹⁶ Mr C1P (b. 1884) and Mrs C5P (b. 1919) both recalled the *Lancashire Evening Post* being sold or delivered by disabled old men: ‘Social and family life in Preston, 1890-1940’, transcripts of recorded interviews, Elizabeth Roberts archive, Lancaster University Library (hereafter *ER*; the letters P, B or L at the end of the interviewee's identifier denotes whether the interviewee was from Preston, Barrow or Lancaster).

¹⁷ *Lancashire Catholic*, August 1895, p.163; *Cross Fleury's Journal*, November 1898, p.2.

¹⁸ Mr C1P, (b.1884), Mr G1P, (b.1907), *ER*. For street-selling in Middlesbrough, see Bell, *At the Works*, p.144.

¹⁹ Smith, ‘Religion or Party?’, Mr B7P (b.1904), *ER*.



Fig 23. Man reading newspaper (to left of tram) in Fishergate, Preston, 1906.

attracted crowds to the newspaper office windows, as the *Preston Guardian* boasted in 1870:²⁰

'The surrender of the Emperor [Napoleon III] -- Great excitement in Preston ... A large crowd gathered on our special edition being published.'²¹

Chapter 7 described how large football crowds outside newspaper offices became the norm from the 1880s onwards, as Preston North End supporters waited for news of their team. In the 1850s and 1860s, crowds would also have gathered to read or hear news at Preston's two telegraph offices, the Magnetic Telegraph Company on Fishergate and the Electric and International Telegraph Company at the railway station. Before the telegraph came to Preston in 1854 people may have waited for news via newspapers arriving by train, as they did in Clitheroe.²² After the invention of the halfpenny evening newspaper, there are reports from other towns of punters waiting outside the offices to buy each new edition for the latest racing results.²³

More formal reading places have left more traces, in trade directories, library reports, autobiographies and newspaper advertisements and reports. These sources were used

²⁰ *HD* 18 October 1865.

²¹ *PG* 3 September 1870, p.5.

²² M.T.Mynott, *The Postal History of Preston, Garstang and the Fylde of Lancashire From the Civil War to 1902* (Preston: Preston & District Philatelic Society, 1987), p. 131; *O'N*, 28 March 1857.

²³ W Downing, cited in '*Northern Despatch 50 years ago*' (special edition), 4 Sept 1964, p.3, in Gliddon, 'Politics for Better or Worse', p.240.

to identify the most significant types, their locations, and their frequency over time (see Table A22 and Figs A6-A8, Appendix). They include schools, where reading would have been a central activity, although at a basic level. Newspapers were occasionally read in elementary schools. In 1851 an 'old educationist' told the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps how important local reading material was in keeping schoolboys interested in reading:

The only effectual thing to induce them to keep or create the habit of reading was some local newspaper. If you began in that way, by asking them to read an account of somebody's rick that was burnt down, you would find that you would succeed.²⁴

Between 1862 and 1882 newspapers were considered the pinnacle of reading material in schools, with Standard VI for reading proficiency (the highest) requiring 'a short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative,' at a time when few concessions in writing style were made to newspaper readers with limited literacy (suggesting that Victorian educationalists placed the local paper further up the suggested hierarchy in Table 1, Chapter 1 than do twenty-first-century historians). However, only two per cent of pupils reached this Standard VI, even fewer in Preston, according to a commentator in 1874 who claimed that 'Preston, with her possible school population of nearly 20,000 can never in any year present so many as one hundred in Standard VI.'²⁵ An oral history interviewee born in 1895 recalled his class entering their drawings in a *Preston Guardian* competition.²⁶

A minority of the products of these schools were required to read in their subsequent employment, particularly in a legal, administrative and market centre such as Preston, in solicitors' offices, courts, borough (and later county) council offices, Poor Law Union administration, in shops and factory offices, and many other places. Printing and publishing companies were of course places of reading, and not only for those who worked there. There were about 20 printing businesses in Preston from the 1850s to the 1880s, after which they began to increase, reaching 32 in 1901. Publishers showed a more modest increase, from five at the start of the period to seven at the end (see table 33 above). Among them was John Harkness, who continued to produce the ancient genre of the broadside ballad into the 1880s, well beyond the abolition of public

²⁴ Newspaper Stamp Committee, Q. 3240, cited in Altick, *Common Reader*, p.353.

²⁵ Altick, *Common Reader*, p.158; Vincent, *Literacy*, p.43. See also 1887 [C.5158] *Royal Commission to inquire into Working of Elementary Education Acts (England and Wales): Third Report, Evidence*, 356, in which a headmaster described the reading tests for Standard VI and VII students in his previous British School: 'Our plan there was to get in an "Echo," [London evening paper] or some newspaper, and Mr Sharpe generally had the newspapers distributed, and had the highest boys in the school to read from it.' The Preston figures may have been exaggerated, as the writer was using them to argue for the establishment of a School Board in the town: Letter from Mr T Paynter Allen to the *National Education League Monthly Paper*, quoted in 'Education in Preston and Blackburn', *PC* 16 May 1874, p.3

²⁶ Mr G4P (b. 1895), *ER*.

hangings in 1868, which had greatly reduced the trade in execution broadsides.²⁷

Printing and publishing offices were reading places in that some customers read the publications on the premises or immediately outside (such as Alderman Walmsley, before hitting Hewitson with his paper, as we saw in Chapter 5), and publishers also sold books, pamphlets and papers which had been published elsewhere. Newspaper offices were also used as reference libraries by readers.²⁸

Libraries, news rooms and reading rooms

Preston was one of only three provincial towns with a public lending library before 1850 (the other two were Manchester and Glasgow).²⁹ Dr Shepherd's Library, founded in 1761, was open to the public in theory, but the requirement of an alderman's recommendation made it exclusive in practice. Two membership libraries operated at the start of the period, at the Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge (the mechanics' institute), founded in 1828, and the Literary and Philosophical Institute, founded in 1848, which duplicated much of the work of the former but for a wealthier membership. From the early 1850s onwards the latter struggled to attract subscribers, and in 1867 sold its premises to the corporation. It was dissolved in 1878, when its museum and library of 4,000 books were also sold to the council.³⁰

Commercial lending libraries, known as circulating libraries, are more accurately described as services rather than places. They were offered to members of Preston's Literary and Philosophical Institute and the Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge through the best known circulating library, Mudie's, and were part of the business of some bookshops and newsagents. It is likely that the branch of WH Smith on Preston station (opened between 1861 and 1873) was an outlet for Smith's own subscription library, a direct rival to Mudie's. Smith's subscribers could borrow 'the Quarterly Reviews and first-class Magazines' and high-class periodical lending was an important

²⁷ For an account of Harkness's career as a broadside publisher, see M. Rowland, 'Popular Working-Class Song in Industrial Lancashire, c.1832-1862: an Investigation of Local Political and Gender Identities' (unpublished MPhil. dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, 2007); A. Ford-Smith, 'Confessions: the Midlands Execution Broadside Trade' in J. Hinks and C. Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution Since 1500* (London: British Library, 2005), p.164.

²⁸ The Notices column of the *Preston Guardian*, February 15, 1879, p.4 contains the following reply to "J.F.L." of Darwen: 'The *Statesman's Year Book* ... would furnish you with the information you seek as to the number and charges in respect of the army and navy of the leading nations. You may consult the work at our office in Preston.'

²⁹ A. Andrew, 'The Working Class and Education in Preston 1830-1870: A Study of Social Relations' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leicester, 1987), p.150.

³⁰ *PC* 3 January 1852, 8 June 1867, 28 December 1867, 29 December 1877, 26 January 1878.

part of Mudie's business.³¹ There were also local circulating libraries, typically 'small High Street businesses, with between a few hundred and a couple of thousand volumes', run as sidelines by town-centre bookshops in mid-century Preston.³² In the 1850s Henry Oakey ran one as part of his bookselling and stationery business in Fishergate, and in the 1860s Richard Lambert in Cannon Street advertised his business as a 'cheap book shop', a 'second-hand bookshop', a 'cheap stationery shop' and a circulating library.³³ In the same decade, Parkinson's Penny Circulating Library in Lancaster Road boasted of 'upwards of 2,000 volumes of novels, tales, and thrilling romances'.³⁴

As Parkinson's advertisement suggests, small circulating libraries were known as outlets for sensation fiction, read mainly by women, and were a source of great concern to contemporary middle-class commentators. An anecdote from 'a French paper' gives a flavour of their reputation:

A lady entering a circulating library asks for a novel: "I don't know how to tell you exactly the kind I want," she says. "O, I think we shall be able to suit you," was the reply. "I mean something lively," exclaims the intending reader; "the sort of book that would not be precisely suitable for the library of a young girl." "Marie," cries the keeper of the book shop to her assistant, "novel for a woman of thirty-five."³⁵

This low status is one reason why public library lending departments (sometimes called circulating libraries, to their detriment) were the subject of less advocacy than reference departments and news rooms. For example, Preston's Alderman Gilbertson believed that 'a circulating library was another matter, but a good reference library, he had no doubt, would be much in request.'³⁶ Trade directories are unreliable, but the downward trend they show in the number of small circulating libraries is clear: two appear in the Preston directories in the 1850s, four in the 1860s, one in the 1870s and one in the 1880s. They were probably affected by the trend to publish more affordable editions, enabling more people to buy rather than borrow, and by the opening of Preston's Free Library in 1879.³⁷

³¹ S.Colclough, "'A Larger Outlay Than Any Return': The Library of W. H. Smith & Son, 1860-1873", *Publishing History*, 54, 2003; G.L.Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970), pp.18, 39.

³² K.A. Manley, 'Lounging Places and Frivolous Literature: Subscription and Circulating Libraries in the West Country to 1825' in Hinks and Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places*, p.107.

³³ *PC* 6 July 1861.

³⁴ *PC* 28 October 1865.

³⁵ *PC* 24 April 1869. The *Chronicle* also reports that the medical superintendent of Morningside (Edinburgh) Asylum 'includes in his list of causes of insanity the "sensational" novels with which every circulating library is now so well furnished': *PC* 28 February 1863.

³⁶ *PC* 3 May 1879, p.3. See also Hewitt, 'Confronting', p.71.

³⁷ Oral history interviewees do not mention any Preston circulating libraries in the early twentieth century, but a Barrow interviewee mentions Storey's (Mrs H2B, b.1885) and a Lancaster interviewee recalls Valentine's (Mr J1L, b.1903).

While libraries had broader purposes, news rooms were established for no other purpose than reading and discussing the news.³⁸ The significance of news in people's lives is shown by the much lower number of circulating libraries, institutions dedicated to the reading of fiction, and by the primary importance of the news room in many clubs, mechanics' institutions and mutual improvement societies. There was no clear distinction between news rooms, reading rooms and libraries.³⁹ In the Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge (which only opened a news room in 1850, 22 years after the institution was established), they occupied three separate spaces, in others, the library (a cupboard or a few shelves) may have been in the corner of a news room, while the Harris Free Library, purpose-built in 1893, contained a news room and reading room alongside reference and lending libraries. Smaller news rooms and reading rooms such as those in commercial hotels stocked nothing but newspapers, but most also took quarterly and monthly periodicals. Other news rooms and reading rooms, such as those run by church mutual improvement societies, also included books. Neither were there any clear demarcations between new and second-hand bookshops, between booksellers and newsagents or between shops and libraries. WH Smith, for instance, sold new and second-hand books, operated a circulating library, and was both a bookseller and newsagent.

Places set aside for newspaper-reading needed to be warm, comfortable and well-lit. The Exchange and News room, opened for the use of businessmen in Preston's new town hall in 1867, when it had 380 members,⁴⁰ was furnished with four tables, 9ft x 3ft 9ins; four loose newspaper stands with reading table; two tables with tops; 20 chairs; one telegraph stand, 6ft 6ins high; two benches with back rails, 10ft x 1ft 6ins; two umbrella stands; inkstands; one towel rail and roller; a letter box, blackboard, toilet materials and six spittoons. 'All the furniture [was] to be of best Dantizic Oak – French polished.' The inkstands suggest that writing – possibly note-taking – went with reading the news, adding weight to Colclough's hunch that 'the culture of transcription ... may ... have played a significant ... part in the dissemination of texts'.⁴¹ The rules of the

³⁸ Two were already well established by 1824, 'one called "The Coffee House" in Church Street, and the other "The Guild-hall News-room," adjoining the Town Hall ... the Coffee-room is the resort of the gentry and men of leisure, and the Guild-hall room affords its more ample accommodation to commercial gentlemen and tradesmen': E.Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer for Lancashire* Vol II, 1824-5.

³⁹ O'Neil used the terms 'club room', 'news room' and 'reading room' interchangeably, to describe Clitheroe Liberal Club's reading facilities.

⁴⁰ *PG* 3 August 1878, p10.

⁴¹ Writing materials were also available in the Winckley Club newsroom - 'No Blotting paper or writing Pad in the News room', October 19, 1873 entry in Winckley Club (hereafter WC) suggestion and complaint book, 1870-88, LRO DDX 1895.

Exchange and News room stipulated no smoking and no dogs, and requested 'that no person detain a newspaper longer than fifteen minutes after its being asked for; and that no preference be shown by the exchange of papers.'⁴² A comment from a member suggests groups of friends or like-minded acquaintances - interpretive communities? - gathered for conversation in different parts of the room:

Occasionally on a very cold day there was only one fire the consequence being that all political creeds and set classes of theologians were pitched into one corner ... when there was no doubt but that they desired being seated with their own fellows ...⁴³

The news room of the Central Working Men's Club presented a cosy picture in 1864:

The fire was blazing cheerfully, the paper and pictures upon the walls were as beautiful as any artist could desire, and the general effect was decidedly one of comfort and quiet enjoyment. The library or reading room, as the adjoining apartments were designated, was furnished in a similar manner, only books took the place of newspapers.⁴⁴

In 1893 the news room and reading room of the Harris Free Library accommodated 276 people, with a separate ladies' reading room (news rooms, like pubs, were overwhelmingly male places).⁴⁵ Fig 24, from 1895, shows light streaming onto the high, sloping reading desks of the news room in the background, where newspaper readers are standing, unlike the book and magazine readers in the reading room in the foreground.⁴⁶

As its name suggests, the Free Library made no charge, but in the 1850s, the cost of using a news room or reading room ranged from £2 12s 6d per year at the Winckley Club to a penny a week at institutions aimed at operatives, such as church mutual improvement societies (see Table A22, Appendix). However, even the Winckley Club subscription was cheaper than buying a few of the quarterly reviews and general magazines, and suggests that private ownership of reading matter was beyond the means of many wealthy men.⁴⁷ Until the opening of the Free Library and the Co-op's reading rooms, poorer readers' access to reading material was limited, segregating them from middle-class readers.⁴⁸

⁴² Minutes of Preston Exchange & News Room committee, 24 June 1867, LRO CBP 53/4.

⁴³ 'Annual meeting of the subscribers to the Exchange Newsroom', *PC* 19 November 1870.

⁴⁴ 'Travels In Search Of Recreation II, Central Working Men's Club', *PC* 20 February 1864.

⁴⁵ J.Convey, *The Harris Free Public Library and Museum, Preston 1893-1993* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1993), p.20.

⁴⁶ W.Bramwell, *Reminiscences of a Public Librarian: a Retrospective View* (Preston: Ambler, 1916). Many libraries only had standing accommodation: R.Snape, *Leisure and the Rise of the Public Library* (London: Library Association, 1995).

⁴⁷ Altick, *Common Reader*, p. 319.

⁴⁸ See Barton and Hamilton, *Local Literacies*, p. 17 on inequality in access to 'literacy resources' in the late twentieth century.



Fig. 24. Reading room with news room at rear, Harris Free Library, Preston, 1895 (by permission of the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston)

Private ownership of newspapers and periodicals was available at reduced rates, however, through a recirculation system which challenges ideas of the newspaper as ephemeral.⁴⁹ The enduring value of used newspapers is shown by an appeal for reading material from the curate of St Paul's church, for a parish reading room: 'We would promise to send for the papers, keep them clean, and return them at any time that might be wished.'⁵⁰ Some newsagents sold day-old papers at half-price, and reading rooms and news rooms reduced their costs by selling back-copies to members.⁵¹ Members of news rooms, and sometimes the general public, bid in auctions for the right to take home used papers and magazines for the following quarter or year, in a futures market in secondhand papers. The proceeds provided a substantial proportion of their income, at least in the early part of the period. The Winckley Club spent £99 2s 5d on newspapers and periodicals in the year to April 1851 (the largest single item of expenditure), but recouped £24 7s 4½d from selling the back copies to members.⁵² Similar resale values, of between a quarter and a third of the original cost, were maintained in the 1850s and 1860s, but sampling of the minute

⁴⁹ An even more affordable way was to steal papers and periodicals, as happened in the men's and ladies' reading rooms of Preston's free library: Bramwell, *Reminiscences*, p.23. For evidence of the long lives of eighteenth-century newspapers, see U.Heyd, 'What News? Newspapers and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008).

⁵⁰ *PC* 6 September 1856.

⁵¹ For example, 'The Daily Telegraph may be had at half price the morning after publication, at [Lytham] Times office': advertisement, *PP* 18 November 1885, p. 4; 'Newspapers at half-price ... the day after Publication, punctually posted from a News Room,' Liverpool advertisement listing some of the titles available, *PC* 23 December 1865, p.1.

⁵² WC minute book, LRO DDX 1895/1.

books suggests that secondhand values fell in later decades, accounting for 17 per cent of the £111 8s 11d spent in 1879-80, and 15 per cent of the £84 10s 2d spent on newspapers, periodicals and stationery in 1899-1900. This suggests that new copies of the publications, for reading at home, were now more affordable or desirable for these gentlemen.⁵³ However in a different reading community, at Preston's Central Working Men's Club, secondhand newspapers still sold for around a quarter of their value in 1873, presumably because they were less able to afford to buy new.⁵⁴

A mixed economy of news rooms prevailed in Preston at the start of the period, including larger institutions such as the mechanics' institute (60 news room members in 1852, rising to 75 in 1854), the Winckley Club (established in 1846) with its 'elegant club-room in Winckley-square, where the leading gentlemen of the town resort to read newspapers and chat over the events of the day' and the Literary and Philosophical Institute.⁵⁵ Paternalistic mill owners such as John Goodair provided workplace libraries, and there was a handful of small trades union and commercial news rooms.⁵⁶ Contemporary commentators believed that newspaper reading was moving away from the pub and into public libraries, news rooms and workers' clubs as early as the 1850s and 1860s.⁵⁷

Church-sponsored reading rooms, aimed at working-class adults, flourished in the 1850s and '60s. In the 1850s, rooms in at least five Church of England parishes opened in connection with mutual improvement societies (it is not known whether the opening of five in five years was due to inter-parish competition or a diocesan or national initiative). The 250 members of St Peter's Young Men's Club paid 1d per week in 1861 for:

a reading room supplied with the leading papers; a library, containing 400 volumes; educational classes, three nights a week; a conversation room,

⁵³ In some towns a complete list of auction prices for each title was a regular news item in the local papers, 'because it affords a very fair guide to the estimation in which they are held by the public of our town', as the *Barrow Herald* explained (8 October 1870, p.2). For a rare Preston example, see *PC* 6 January, 1872.

⁵⁴ LRO DDX 1895, Box 1. The Central Working Men's Club spent £33 11s 10d on 'newspapers, &c' in 1873 and recouped £8 8s 5d from their sale: *PC* January 24, 1874.

⁵⁵ *PC* 3 January 1852, 8 June 1867, 28 December 1867, 29 December 1877, letter from 'A Working Man', *PC* 14 February 1857; 26 January 1878.

⁵⁶ John Goodair, *Strikes Prevented* (Preston, 1854), cited in H.I.Dutton and J.E.King, *Ten Per Cent and No Surrender: the Preston Strike, 1853-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 85.

⁵⁷ 'Manchester Free Libraries', *Chambers' Journal* 3rd s., 13 (1860), p. 341; [Henry Solly], 'Working Men's Clubs and Institutes', *Fraser's Magazine* 71 (1865), p. 391; 'Popular Reading-Rooms', *Chambers' Journal* 3rd s., 20 (1863), pp. 411-12; 'Refreshments and Reading-Rooms for the Working Classes', *Leisure Hour* 1 (1852), pp. 526-27; [George Dodd and Henry Morley], 'Accommodation for Quidnuncs', *Household Words* 8 (1853-54), pp. 88-91, all cited in Palmegiano, 'Conundrum', 2008.

where bagatelle, chess, draughts &c. are allowed; and an excellent refreshment room ... The club ... affords to the working man opportunities for spending his time rationally and instructively, without resort to the pot-house, where his money is wasted, and himself ultimately reduced to beggary.⁵⁸

The aim of keeping men away from the pub, to prevent drunkenness and poverty (and perhaps to limit political discussion) was behind many other reading rooms, such as the Temperance Hall in the 1850s and '60s, the Alexandra coffee tavern, opened in 1878, and reading and recreation rooms opened for dock workmen in 1886.⁵⁹ The denominational flavour of church reading rooms reflected their balance among the population, with Anglicans in the lead, followed by Catholics and then Nonconformists.

Commercial news rooms such as Cowper's Penny News and Reading Room in Cannon Street (1854-55) and the Exchange and News Room (1867-78) were most numerous from the 1850s to the 1870s.⁶⁰ The Exchange news room was set up with the support of the corporation as a venue for gathering trade intelligence and conducting business, and at the end of its first full year of operation, in September 1869, it had 304 members, but this had declined to 97 by the time it closed in 1878. Telegrams were received there (nationally, news rooms accounted for almost a third of the income from the telegraph companies' news service), and an itemised description of the service they took from the Press Association in 1870 shows the commercial nature of that particular room (see Table A23, Appendix).⁶¹ The British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company opened a news room above its Fishergate office in 1857 which was still extant in 1866, 'a place of great public resort by our heaviest ratepayers ... cotton spinners, manufacturers, tradesmen, &c...'⁶² Its 172 subscribers presented a silver watch to telegraph clerk Mr WF Bottomley in 1862 for his 'civility, attention and punctuality' and 'his copious and well-written telegrams', suggesting such qualities were not commonplace. More typical were the complaints that the news rooms' telegraphed news was late, sometimes illegible, and meagre.⁶³ Cowper's closed a few weeks before the abolition of Stamp Duty in 1855, which – as widely predicted – led to a reduction in newspaper prices, enabling more people to buy their own copy. The conductors of the mechanic's institute noted a fall in news room subscriptions at the

⁵⁸ *PC* 31 October 1861. See similar descriptions of St Luke's Conservative Association, *PH* supplement, week ending 17 September 1870, p. 3, and Preston Temperance Society annual report for 1862, p. 7, University of Central Lancashire, Livesey Collection, LC M [Pre]).

⁵⁹ *PG* 4 September 1886, p.6.

⁶⁰ LRO CBP 53/4.

⁶¹ Silberstein-Loeb, 'Structure of the News Market', p.6.

⁶² *PC* 25 January 1862; 'Public opinion on the town hall question', letter, *PC* April 30, 1862; 'News rooms and their frequenters', letter, *PC* 9 July 1864.

⁶³ *PC* 25 January 1862, p.3; 'Telegraphic news', letter, *PC* 14 July 1866.

same time, although three years later the room was 'well sustained by numerous subscribers' once again.⁶⁴

Political parties opened reading rooms, to educate, entertain, or both, from the late 1860s, particularly around the time of the 1867 Reform Bill, which extended the franchise to working-class men in urban constituencies such as Preston. The local branch of the National Reform Union opened a reading room in March 1867, and in November 1869, within a week of each other, Preston's General Liberal Committee opened a reading room in Fishergate and the Central Conservative Club opened in Lord Street. Trades union rooms multiplied in the 1860s, and all kinds of clubs and associations offered reading rooms as a benefit for their members, such as the Preston Operative Powerloom Weavers' Association, the 11th Lancashire Rifle Volunteers and the Central Working Men's Club.⁶⁵

The reading ecology of the town changed with the opening of the council-funded free library in 1879, in the former premises, aptly, of the loss-making middle-class Exchange and News Room, in the town hall.⁶⁶ The free library's arrival led to another fall in membership of the news room of the mechanics' institute, especially among subscribers on the lowest rates, followed by the news room's amalgamation with the reading room two years later. By 1884, an average of 1,492 visitors used the Free Library reading room every day.⁶⁷ In the 1890s, after the library had moved to grand, purpose-built premises, a newspaper report described 'men with clogs on pattering away over the beautiful marble hall', and Fig 23 shows newspaper-readers in cloth caps, bowlers and top hats, indicating that all classes used the Free Library's news room.⁶⁸ Its arrival had less impact on news rooms provided by organisations as part of wider membership benefits, notably those of the Preston Industrial Co-operative Society, the single biggest provider of reading rooms in the town from the 1890s to the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1862 there was one Co-op news room, by 1889 there were six; ten years later there were 14 co-op groceries in Preston, and it is

⁶⁴ Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, annual reports for 1855, p5; for 1858, p.6, University of Central Lancashire, Livesey Collection, uncatalogued; *PC* 30 June 1855.

⁶⁵ *PC* 22 December 1861, 5 September 1863, 1 July 1871.

⁶⁶ When a member of Preston Co-op's Educational Committee suggested opening 'a grand central reading room equal to any political room in the town' in 1891, a voice from the floor of the meeting shouted 'The Free Library will do': report of quarterly meeting, *PC* 18 April, 1891. For the opening of the Free Library, see *PG* 3 August 1878, p. 10, 2 January 1878, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Sixth annual report of the committee of the free public library and museum of the borough of Preston, 1884, Harris Library T251 PRE.

⁶⁸ Bramwell, *Reminiscences*, p.18. In Accrington, weavers made up 25 per cent of library borrowers, and labourers seven per cent: Snape, *Leisure*, p.48. However, many commentators in other towns thought that libraries in general were little used by working men: Hewitt, 'Confronting', p73; Leigh, 'What do the Masses read?', p.169; Bell, *At The Works*, p.163.

possible that each one had a reading room (for Table 34, it has been assumed that 50 per cent of branches had one).⁶⁹ There is little evidence here for the thesis that, from the 1880s, newspapers were no longer seen as educational or morally uplifting.⁷⁰

Table 34. Approximate numbers of news rooms, reading rooms and libraries, Preston, 1850-1900

Pre-1850	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
5	27	27	24	16	16

Sources: Trade directories and searches of the digitised *Preston Chronicle*, using the search phrases 'reading room' and 'news room' (see Table A22, Appendix for detailed list).

The number of individual institutions and organisations offering reading facilities rose to a peak in the 1850s and '60s and then fell (Table 34 above). However, those that remained were larger – pre-eminently the Free Library, the two Conservative clubs and the Liberal club, so the actual numbers of readers using public reading institutions may not have declined. Exceptions to this trend towards fewer, larger news rooms were the co-op's many small reading rooms. There was a decline in middle-class institutions and free-standing news rooms not connected to a club or organisation, but an increase in working-class ones, perhaps reflecting a middle-class shift from reading in public to reading in private. It was no longer necessary to join a news room, thanks to falling cover prices, rising incomes and the growth of free public libraries. But many people still preferred to read newspapers and periodicals in pubs and less formal news rooms, where they could also discuss the news with like-minded people.

This aspect of reading in a public news room or reading room (less so in the Free Library, with its rule of silence) could explain the survival of the Winckley Club's news room, patronised by some of Preston's richest men. It may be that private ownership of a wide range of periodical reading matter was beyond even wealthy men, or it may be that they valued the convivial atmosphere of a club room, in which oral and print culture were combined. This atmosphere was also available in the public house, political clubs and in reading rooms attached to other membership organisations which brought like-

⁶⁹ *PC* 8 January 1862. It has not been possible to identify the six extant in 1889: *PC* 6 April 1889, p5. In 1879 the Rochdale Pioneers co-operative society had 18 news rooms, Bury's had 12, Oldham's 17: Baggs, 'Libraries of the Co-operative Movement', pp.90, 92. In 1891 there was an unsuccessful attempt to halve the two-and-a-half per cent educational levy in Preston, which funded the co-op's news rooms. A member of the Educational Committee referred to complaints that the North Road reading room was badly attended, while another member claimed that educational activities attracted new members, with news rooms a major factor: *PC* 18 April, 1891. Two years later a similar motion, claiming that 'the various newsrooms have proved to be burdensome and expensive, and have not attracted a sufficient number of readers', was also defeated, by 166 votes to 142: *PC* April 15 1893.

⁷⁰ See Hampton, *Visions*, for a recent exposition of this view.

minded people together. 'Reading communities' and 'interpretive communities' were historical facts, and not just theoretical constructs.

It is likely that the increase in news rooms, at least in the 1860s and 1870s, enabled more people to read newspapers. They also enabled individuals to read the newspaper more often, as with O'Neil, who walked a mile into Clitheroe every Saturday night to read a newspaper in a pub, before the Mechanics' Institute and Reading Room re-opened in his village of Low Moor in 1861, charging a penny a week for sight of daily and weekly newspapers. In 1872 he joined the newly opened Liberal Club in Clitheroe, which had a news room.⁷¹ He also mentioned reading a newspaper at home occasionally, suggesting that he had bought it himself - something that would have been far less affordable before the abolition of Stamp Duty in 1855.⁷² His membership of the two reading rooms led to more frequent newspaper-reading. Previously, he would typically read a paper once a week (for example in January 1861), but after the reading room opened in his village, he mentioned reading a paper 15 times in January 1862, or every other day, and after the Liberal Club reading room opened in 1872 he sometimes mentioned reading papers there three times a week.⁷³ The club was a mile from his house, but perhaps the 'speeded-up society' created by the growth of daily papers had made him willing to make the journey into town more often than when he read once a week, in a pub.⁷⁴ O'Neil's reading was fairly evenly split between public and private places, as he continued to use pubs and reading rooms, probably for the wider range of publications available, but perhaps also for their social aspects, even though he had access to a newspaper at home.

Newsagents and booksellers

Mr John Proffitt (Fig 25 overleaf) ran one of nine Preston businesses described as newsagents around 1860. The advertisement for his shop, on the main north-south route through Preston, tells us a great deal about newsagents at the start of the period. Although most of the text is devoted to newspapers and periodicals, he describes himself as a 'hair dresser' first, 'news agent' second. This was a time when newsagents, or news-vendors, were starting to distinguish themselves from booksellers

⁷¹ O'N, p.xv.

⁷² In 1850 Cobden wrote: 'Who below the rank of a merchant or a wholesale dealer can afford to take a daily paper at five pence? Clearly it is far beyond the reach of the mechanic and the shopkeeper', cited in G.A.Cranfield, *The Press and Society: From Caxton to Northcliffe* (London: Longman, 1978), p.205.

⁷³ O'N, 28 September, 1873.

⁷⁴ Jones, *Powers of the Press*, pp.4-5.

JOHN PROFFITT,

HAIR DRESSER, NEWS AGENT, &c., &c., 86, North-road, corner of Fish-street, and opposite Great George's-street, returns thanks to his many friends, and solicits their future patronage and support.—The sick and infirm attended at their own homes.—Razors ground and set.

J. P. begs to inform the public of Preston generally that he takes great interest in extending the circulation of Cassell's Family Bible, published in weekly Penny Numbers, beautifully illustrated. This work is highly recommended as the best gift of parents to their children.

LONDON AND COUNTRY NEWSPAPERS TO ORDER.—
Daily.—Manchester Guardian, 1d.; Manchester Examiner and Times, 1d.—*Weekly*.—PRESTON HERALD, 2d.; Preston Pilot, 3½d.; Preston Guardian and Supplement, 3½d.; Preston Chronicle and Supplement, 3½d.

MAGAZINES, &c.—Weekly.—Biblical Educator, 2d.; Cassell's Family Paper, 1d.; Christian World, 1d.; Family Herald, 1d.; Christian Cabinet, 1d.; Bouton Loominary, 1d.; History of England, 1d.; Sunday at Home, 1d.—*Monthly*.—British Workman, 1d.; British Messenger, 1½d.; Sabbath School Messenger, ½d.; Band of Hope, ½d.; Gospel Trumpet, ½d.; Cassell's Natural History, 6d.; Leisure Hour, 5d.—These works are illustrated. Any other publication will be left at any address in town or country, without extra charge, as early as possible from the press.—A Circulating Library—1d. per week.

Printing and Bookbinding; pictures framed in every variety of style; second-hand books bought and sold; writing paper, envelopes, music, &c., &c.—Licensed to sell Stamps.

N.B.—The shop closes at eight o'clock, except Saturday; closed all day on Sundays.

Fig. 25. Advertisement for John Proffitt, hairdresser, newsagent, &c &c
 Source: *Preston Herald* 1 September 1860.

and grocers, but a shop devoted mainly to papers and magazines was still a rarity. As well as cutting hair and sharpening razors, Proffitt also offered printing, bookbinding, picture-framing, stationery, second-hand books and a circulating library. At this time it was the norm for a purchaser to buy their paper in a grocer's or corner general store, a bookshop, stationer's, or tobacconist's, even fruit-shops, oyster-shops or lollypop-shops, as Wilkie Collins found in his survey of sellers of 'penny-novel Journals'.⁷⁵ For Proffitt, however, the periodical press seems to have been an important part of his business, including newspapers from London and Manchester, Preston papers, 'number publications' such as Cassell's Family Bible, and weekly and monthly

⁷⁵ Collins, 'Unknown Public'. Boys' adventure stories were sold from 'lollipop and toy shops, sweetstuff vendors, and small chandler's shops' in London: J.Springhall, 'Disseminating Impure Literature': The 'Penny Dreadful' Publishing Business Since 1860', *Economic History Review*, 47, 3, 1994, p. 572, and Preston grocers sold newspapers: Z.Lawson, 'Shops, Shopkeepers, and the Working-Class Community: Preston, 1860-1890', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, 141, 1991, p. 311. Such shops were still selling newspapers in Middlesbrough at the start of the twentieth century: Bell, *At The Works*, p.144.

magazines. The periodicals advertised are mainly family magazines with a strong Christian or temperance slant, although there is also the *Bouton Loominary*, a Lancashire dialect title published in Bolton. No sales records have been located for any newsagents and booksellers, but it seems likely that they sold large quantities of local papers, and smaller quantities of a much wider range of non-local titles.⁷⁶

Newsagents' shops could also serve as informal reading rooms, where reading and discussion was combined, as in Rochdale in 1856, where the founder of the *Rochdale Observer*, Joseph Lawton, allowed the young James Ogden to read without buying:

to have the run of a newsagent's shop at that time, before reading rooms for young people and free libraries existed, was, to a studious and, in literature a ravenous lad, a perfect Godsend ... when seated at his counter, I was immersed in the news of the day, the purchase of which was beyond my slender resources ...⁷⁷

In Clitheroe, within the circulation area of the Preston papers, one newsagent's shop was described as a meeting place and debating chamber for professional men. The owner was a Quaker, who refused to sell the pro-Church of England, Conservative *Preston Herald*.⁷⁸ W Abram, editor of the *Blackburn Times* and *Preston Guardian*, recalled the atmosphere of a Blackburn newsagent's shop in 1849, when the Preston papers arrived:

The Blackburn newsman who sold the most papers ... was Mr Edgar Riley, whose shop ... was the only news shop in the town that afforded elbow room, and elbow room was needed where many hundreds of large newspaper sheets had to be folded within an hour or so, before they could be sold singly to customers... Into his shop, about eight o'clock a.m. on Saturdays, were hauled three parcels of papers from Preston. The biggest was the parcel of *Guardians*. The *Chronicles* and *Pilots* likewise made good sized parcels. With deftness, Mr Riley, at the back of the shop, stood whipping the papers into their proper folds as fast as he was able, whilst the people poured in and out in a stream to buy their copies. The purchaser of a *Preston Guardian*, for which he had paid fourpence half-penny, considered that he had possessed himself of provision for an intellectual feast at the week's end.⁷⁹

John Proffitt's advertisement offers free delivery to 'any address in town or country'. How such deliveries out of town were organised is worthy of further study beyond the present project: they presumably constituted a separate system from those operated by individual local newspaper publishers at the time, such as the team of 'newsmen'

⁷⁶ For interpretation of sales records of a newsagent and circulating library in Castlebar, Co Mayo, see Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, ch. 11.

⁷⁷ 'The Birth of the "Observer"', by James Ogden, *Rochdale Observer*, 17 February 1906.

⁷⁸ Aspden, *Fifty Years*, p.9.

⁷⁹ *PG* jubilee supplement, 17 February 1894, p.12.

employed by the *Warrington Advertiser* for that town's outlying areas in 1863, who had 'districts assigned to them for regular perambulation'.⁸⁰ This system dated back to the eighteenth century, and has similarities to the work of chapmen.⁸¹ Postal delivery to subscribers of newspapers, local and otherwise, and of periodicals was also common at the start of the period, until the abolition of the voluntary postal stamp on newspapers in 1870. Door-to-door newsagents operated in towns, too.⁸²



Fig. 26. E. Smith, 'stationer, newsagent, toy dealer,' Fylde Street, Preston, c.1908. A newsagent of this name on this street first appears in the trade directories in 1869. Reproduced by permission of Mr William Smith, Preston, son of William Sillson Smith (left) and nephew of Richard Smith (right).

Trade directories and newspapers show how protean was the emerging category of newsagent. The *Preston Herald* published a list of 66 Preston agents for the paper in 1870, 24 of whom did not appear as newsagents or booksellers in the trade directories of the 1860s and 1870s.⁸³ Conversely, 22 newsagents listed in the 1873 directory did not appear in the *Herald* list, emphasising the unreliability of trade directories. The 24 *Herald* outlets absent from the directories were spread evenly around the town, including five in the slum area south-east of the town centre. These were probably small grocer's shops; other outlets are listed under different classifications in earlier directories, including a confectioner, a retailer of beer, grocers, a chemist and druggist,

⁸⁰ Nulty, *Guardian Country*, p.9.

⁸¹ C.Y.Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.208.

⁸² J.B.Brooks, *Lancashire Bred: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Church Army Press, 1951), p.169.

⁸³ *PH* 3 September, 1870, p. 5.

and a milliner and dressmaker, demonstrating the variety of shops and offices where one might encounter reading matter for sale, and the types of businesses that developed into newsagents. Neither were there any clear demarcations between new or secondhand bookshops, booksellers or newsagents, shops or libraries. WH Smith was not unusual in selling newspapers, new and secondhand books and periodicals, and operating a circulating library (like Smith's, Mudie's circulating library also sold used periodicals second-hand).⁸⁴ A rival newspaper of the same political persuasion, the *Pilot*, is also listed as a stockist, while the offices of the two Liberal papers are not, showing how politics intersected with commercial considerations.

Table 35. Preston booksellers and newsagents, with indices of readership, 1853-1901

	1853	1860	1870	1880	1889	1901
Booksellers & stationers	27	31	28*	22	26	28
Newsagents	7	9*	38**	53	66	76
Population (10,000s)	6.9		8.5	9.7	10.8	12.5
% men signing marriage register		64.7	72.3	92.4		
% women signing marriage register		30.7	47.4	81.7		

*1861; **1869. Population figures from Censuses of 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901. Sources: see Table A22, Appendix.

The population of Preston increased by roughly 50 per cent during the period, and the proportion able to read probably doubled, yet the number of newsagents increased tenfold (see Table 35 above).⁸⁵ However, the figures for the 1850s and 1860s are probably bigger underestimates than later figures, for the reasons discussed above. The development of newsagents as a distinct type of shop, away from their origins as a sideline to bookselling and grocery can be seen in the fact that all seven 'news-venders' identified in 1853 were also classified as booksellers.⁸⁶ By 1901, however, only 12 newsagents out of 76 were also booksellers. The expansion of news-selling between 1853 and 1873 is striking, particularly their spread into respectable working-class areas. The greatest expansion was in those areas populated by textile worker households whose relatively high disposable incomes drove the growth of music hall, the seaside tourism industry and professional football.⁸⁷ Did the reading habits of this culturally dynamic group shape the publishing industry in equally distinctive ways? The contrast between the steady number of booksellers and the hugely increased numbers

⁸⁴ Colclough, 'Larger Outlay'; Griest, *Mudie's*. See list of 'second hand reviews and magazines' from Mudie's 1890 catalogue reprinted in Brake, 'Trepidation', p. 82.

⁸⁵ The signing of the marriage register (as opposed to making a mark) is here used as an index of the ability to read. For justification of this method, see Vincent, *Literacy*, pp.17-18.

⁸⁶ Oakey's 1853 directory of Preston.

⁸⁷ Walton, *Lancashire*, p.190; R. Poole, *Popular Leisure and the Music Hall in Nineteenth-Century Bolton* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 1982); Russell, *Football and the English*; J.K.Walton, *The English Seaside Resort* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983). For an explicit linking of these workers and new publishing genres, see Beetham, 'Oh! I do like to be Beside the Seaside'.

of newsagents shows how periodical reading matter was central to the changing nature of the Victorian reading world in the second half of the century.

Unfortunately, 'newspaper agents' were combined with 'news room keepers' in occupational tables in the Census for this period (see Table A21, Appendix). While this tells us that contemporary social scientists saw the categories as closely related, it prevents us from comparing trends between the two occupations. Together, however, these occupations as recorded in the Census follow a similar trajectory to that described by other evidence, increasing steadily in the 1850s and 1860s, before rising exponentially in the last three decades of the century. In Preston, the combined category of newspaper agent and news room keeper rose from five in 1851 to 11 in 1871, more than doubling to 26 in 1881, with a similar rise to 63 in 1891, and an even steeper rise to 199 in 1901. These accelerating increases are almost certainly due to the growth in newsagents, rather than news rooms.

While population growth and advances in literacy must be among the reasons for this expansion of the news trade, the explosion of cheap reading matter, including the provincial press, could also be an important factor. In Preston, the biggest leap in literacy was in the 1850s and 1860s, before compulsory education, but during the ten years of greatest print expansion, beginning with the abolition of Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855 (see Figs 27 and 28, Chapter 9). This can be deduced from the steep increase in signatures on marriage registers during the 1870s, double the rate of growth of the previous decade, with these signatures of young adults in their mid- to late twenties reflecting their schooling some 15 years earlier.⁸⁸ This sharp rise in literacy overlaps with the time of greatest expansion in the Preston news trade, which quadrupled during the 1860s, if we take the directory figures at face value.⁸⁹ It seems likely that growing supply and demand fed each other.

⁸⁸ Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society*, p. 13.

⁸⁹ It may be that, after the spurt of new publications in the 1850s, the 1860s was a time of consolidation, in which greater numbers of the same titles were sold. The steep rise in Preston newsagents in the 1860s contrasts with evidence that paper production and the launch of new titles plateau'd in this decade: S.Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994), pp.24, 85.

READING TIMES

Reading did not occur uniformly around the clock, and identifying the times of day, days of the week, seasons of the year and other special reading times adds to our understanding of the circumstances of reading in Preston during this period. There were clear reading rhythms to the day, starting with the arrival at the station of the morning papers from Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds before the day began.⁹⁰ The commercial and middle-class reading rooms opened between 8am and 9am 'so that persons on their way to business can see the morning papers.'⁹¹ Other reading places such as the YMCA in Fishergate (8am-10.30pm), Cowper's Penny News and Reading Room in Cannon Street (9am-10pm) and from 1879 the free library (9am-10pm) opened at similar times (see table A22, appendix). The London and Scottish papers arrived before lunch, and on Wednesdays and Saturdays the first editions of the Preston papers came off the presses around mid-day.⁹² In some workplaces, including those mills which provided libraries, lunchtime would be a chance to read.

By the end of the 1860s, late afternoon would see the arrival of evening papers from London such as the *Standard* and the *Echo*, and from Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton and other Lancashire towns.⁹³ During the Franco-Prussian War and continuously from 1886, Preston had its own evening paper, sold in shops but also in the streets and outside factory gates as the hooters sounded at the end of the working day. They were probably scanned on the way home, and local autobiographies and oral history interviews record how the man of the house (less often the woman) would relax in the evening by reading the paper, in working-class and middle-class homes (see chapter 10). The final editions of Preston's weekly papers were printed in the early evening of Saturday, around the time that reading rooms for working men in church and school premises began to open. By 8pm, newsagents' shops were closing, although reading matter could still be obtained at later hours in the smaller grocers' shops in the back streets. Between 9pm and 10pm the reading rooms in the town centre and on the outskirts of Preston closed their doors (except the Winckley Club, which stayed open

⁹⁰ 'It would be a great convenience to the early frequenters of the News Room if the Committee could make an arrangement for the Liverpool Papers to arrive earlier – say 8.30am. They are never in the room until after 9 o'clock': WC suggestion book, January 18, 1879, LRO DDX 1895.

⁹¹ Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, annual report, 1872, p2, Livesey Collection.

⁹² 'Earlier arrival at Preston (11.35 noon) of the Glasgow Herald', advertisement, *PH* 27 September 1873, p7.

⁹³ For arrival times of Manchester evening papers, see WC suggestion and complaints book, 6 Dec 1872, 20 February 1885; for London morning papers, Dec 15, 1875, all LRO DDX 1895.

until 11pm, possibly later), and the only remaining reading places would be homes and pubs.

The reading week had its rhythms, too, with long working hours limiting leisure time, including reading time, to the weekend for many people: on Saturdays, for textile workers like John O'Neil, who gained the half-holiday from the 1860s onwards, but mainly on Sundays. Hence most of Preston's weekly and bi-weekly papers published on a Saturday (the main market day, with mid-week editions appearing on the other main market day, Wednesday, revealing the newspaper's integration into the routines of the local economy). Regional weekend news miscellanies such as the *Liverpool Weekly Post* and the *Manchester Weekly Times* also published on Fridays and Saturdays.⁹⁴ Popular Sunday newspapers had the highest circulations of any individual title throughout the period. In the early twentieth century, a Preston man made a Manchester Sunday paper part of his weekend routine while his children were at Sunday School:

The absence of the children on Sunday afternoons gave an opportunity to father to have his weekly fireside bath and afterwards to relax in an armchair contentedly reading his favourite newspaper, the *Sunday Chronicle*. He loved to read aloud the most telling and eloquent passages of articles by a popular journalist of the period, Robert Blatchford.⁹⁵

Such Sunday leisure was enjoyed less often by women, particularly those Preston wives and mothers who worked in the mills, who had to cram much of the housework into the weekend.⁹⁶ In contrast, Sunday afternoons were set aside for reading by a mother in Barrow, where fewer women worked:

The only time my mother used to read was Sunday afternoon. She was always working, looking after the family, but Sundays, no work on Sundays, nothing had to be done. After Sunday dinner mother used to get those little books like *Home Chat* and she'd read those and St Mark's church magazine.⁹⁷

The oral history material also suggests that men generally had more time, as well as more places, to read.⁹⁸ Few women would have been able to devote as much time to reading the paper as the Clitheroe weaver John O'Neil, a widower living with his daughter, who would sometimes spend the whole of Sunday in reading a newspaper from his home town.

The association of reading with Sunday leisure was even found in the Preston workhouse:

⁹⁴ Altick, *Common Reader*, pp.86-87; Law, *Serializing Fiction*.

⁹⁵ Mr B10P, written account of life in Edwardian Preston, *ER*.

⁹⁶ See also Leigh, 'What do the masses read?' p.176.

⁹⁷ Mr B1B (b.1897), *ER*.

⁹⁸ Bell's survey of working-class Middlesbrough households includes many instances where 'wife no time for reading': Bell, *At The Works*, pp.146-162.

Mr Howitt stated that he went to the new workhouse on Sunday morning last, and instead of finding service being conducted there, as he expected, he found the men sitting reading the papers, spitting about the floor, and indulging in ribald and indecent talk. The women were also engaged in reading the papers.⁹⁹

The papers in question were the Preston ones. 'Many persons believe it to be wrong to read newspapers and secular books on Sundays,' as one correspondent to the *Preston Chronicle* wrote in 1857.¹⁰⁰ The letter, from 'A Member of a Mechanics' Institute', was a response to a previous letter criticising the Sunday closure of Preston's mechanics' institute; many of the town's other public reading places were closed on Sundays, with the pubs and the Winckley Club (of which Mr Howitt was a member) the chief exceptions. Clergymen complained that the weekend papers kept people away from church.¹⁰¹

In earlier, less leisured times, the *Preston Guardian* was savoured over several days, by 'those who were ready to pay 4½d or 3½d for their weekly journal, and who, bent on getting their money's worth out of it, read it in leisure minutes through the ensuing week.'¹⁰² The publication day of a favourite magazine was a special event for some readers:

My father used to read to [my mother], the newspaper, and he would read bits out of the newspaper and he used to read her the *John Bull* every Thursday, that was her highlight.¹⁰³

Beyond daily, weekly and monthly rhythms, reading had its seasons too. Christmas annuals and supplements of popular monthly and weekly journals 'bulging with verse, stories and pictures', were popular then as now, such as *Owd Wisdom's Lankashire Awmenack for th' yer 1860, bein leop yer*, a dialect almanac published from Bolton but apparently printed and/or sold in many other Lancashire towns, including Preston.¹⁰⁴ Sunday School prizes, given at Christmas parties or school anniversaries, are mentioned frequently in oral history interviews. Cold weather might encourage reading - Bell notes that a Middlesbrough couple 'read a good many novels during the winter evenings'.¹⁰⁵ Conversely, newspaper sales fell in the summer, one reason given for the closure of the *Preston Evening News* in June 1871: 'Summer is upon us, when the proper out-door recreations of the season greatly modify the appetite for newspaper

⁹⁹ 'A Library for the New Workhouse,' *PG* 30 January 1869, p2.

¹⁰⁰ *PC* 7 February 1857.

¹⁰¹ Letter from FO Morris, *The Globe*, December 3, 1870, pp.1-2.

¹⁰² *PG* Jubilee supplement 7 Feb 1894, p13.

¹⁰³ Mrs B1P (b. 1900), *ER*.

¹⁰⁴ The almanac was edited and published by James T Staton, 'editor oth "Bowton Loominary"', and the imprint includes J Harkness of Church Street and J Foster of Maudland-Bank in Preston, among others.

¹⁰⁵ Bell, *At The Works*, p.173.

reading.¹⁰⁶ Seaside and holiday annuals, with a distinctive Lancashire flavour, were popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁷ For other readers, seasons and holidays made little difference. On Christmas Day 1877 the Winckley Club in Preston was open for business as usual, and in 1909-10 the Barrow public library was open on Christmas Day, Good Friday and Easter Monday.¹⁰⁸

There were less regular or predictable times when reading, particularly reading of news, became more important, such as wars, elections and other newsworthy events. Preston's Central Working Men's Club found its newsroom 'frequently crowded, especially during the meeting of Parliament, and when other questions of national interest are pending' while Hewitson noted in 1872 'a great run on London papers; yesterday being National Thanksgiving Day for recovery of Prince of Wales.'¹⁰⁹ We have seen how newspaper readers met in the pub on Sunday nights during the 1830 election. Such occasions were important news events, with voting taking place over many days providing a running news story for local papers such as the *Preston Herald* and *Preston Guardian*, which published ad hoc supplements carrying verbatim reports of election speeches.¹¹⁰ During the Preston lock-out and strike of 1853-54, enforced leisure increased reading, of books at least:

the sale of the penny publications has scarcely diminished, though the demand for higher priced works has. The pawnbrokers, also, tell me of a fact, which points to the inference, that reading is becoming necessary to the working-man – viz., that the number of books in pawn is now very much less than it was during the time of full employment.¹¹¹

In Barrow, the public library was busier during trade depressions; after one such slump, the librarian's annual report for 1889-90 records that:

the daily average number of books lent out from the Library is less than during the period covered by the last Report. This may be attributed, and the reason is a very satisfactory one, to the great improvement that has taken place in the trade of the town during the last year, thus affording less leisure for reading.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ *Preston Evening News*, 7 June 1871, p.2. The same seasonal dip in sales still holds true in the twenty-first-century, according to one Preston wholesale newsagent.

¹⁰⁷ Beetham, 'Oh! I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside'.

¹⁰⁸ 'No London papers at the Club on Christmas Day. It has not occurred before in my recollection', WC complaints book, December 25, 1877, LRO DDX 1895; C.Baggs, 'More gleanings from public library annual reports', LIBHIST email discussion message, 6 Jan 2003, [<https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A0=lis-libhist>], accessed 21 May 2010.

¹⁰⁹ *PC* 24 January 1874; *HD* 28 February 1872.

¹¹⁰ For this practice by the *Warrington Examiner*, see Aspden, *Fifty Years*, p.21.

¹¹¹ Letter from John Clay to Lord Stanley, 25 Jan 1854, in W.L.Clay, *The Prison Chaplain: a Memoir of the Rev. John Clay, B. D.,... With Selections From His Reports and Correspondence, and a Sketch of Prison Discipline in England* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1861).

¹¹² See also 1896-97 annual report.

In Preston, ephemeral public reading places came and went, in response to similar crises, organised by trade unions, churches and middle-class benefactors. In 1862, during the 1861-65 Cotton Famine, the *Preston Chronicle* reported that 'The READING ROOM, established a few weeks ago in the Temperance hall, North-road, is well frequented. A good fire is constantly kept, and all unemployed operatives are welcomed.' A year later the Mechanics' and Engineers' Society of Preston started a reading room and school for unemployed members.¹¹³

War has always been good for the news trade, but it also encouraged the creation of reading institutions, such as the Lord Street Working Men's Reading Room in Carlisle, which began when 50 men, 'anxious to read about the European revolutions of 1848, clubbed together to buy newspapers'. A few years later the Crimean War motivated Hebden Bridge men to join a society in order to read the papers.¹¹⁴ The Clitheroe weaver John O'Neil was gripped by reports of the battle which ended the second War of Italian Independence in 1859; he wrote in his diary, '... I have never been out of the house. I have been reading nearly all day different accounts of the great battle of Solferino.'¹¹⁵ In 1868 *The Press News* reported how a

composer ... being recently out of work ... called upon a job printer, who had a machine, and suggested the publication of a special Abyssinian newspaper, on the receipt of the telegrams by each mail. This was done, and he tells us that in four days they managed to dispose of 10,000 copies of their *Abyssinian Gazette Extraordinary*, at a profit to him, personally, of not less than £12.¹¹⁶

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 was the first 'European war on a grand scale since the recent development of the cheap press and telegraphy,' as the *Printer's Register* noted:

There is a greater avidity for early information now manifested by the public than ever previously. The appetite for latest details is one that "grows by what it feeds on" – the more it is catered for and indulged the more voracious it becomes. Families which would a few years back expend a shilling in the course of a week will now spend three; and men who were content with their favourite morning paper formerly, must now indulge themselves with an evening paper as well, and occasionally with a second or third edition.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ For trade union facilities, see Andrew, PhD, p.114; *PC* 15 November 1862, 28 November, 1863.

¹¹⁴ Rose, *Intellectual Life*, pp.65-66.

¹¹⁵ *O'N*, 3 July 1859.

¹¹⁶ Cited in *PR* July 6, 1868, p.171.

¹¹⁷ 'The war and the newspapers', Supplement to *PR*, Aug 6, 1870, p186; 'Later Notes on Periodicals', Supplement to *PR*, Oct 6, 1870, p224. See also 'Getting Through the Morning Newspaper', *The Journalist and Newspaper Proprietor*, October 20, 1900, p329.

A week later another trade paper reported that ‘the war has been the means of increasing the sale of newspapers immensely, both London and Provincial.’¹¹⁸ In Preston, too, the demand for news had an impact. In 1869-70, the Winckley Club spent £53 8s1½d on newspapers, periodicals and stationery; the following year, this figure increased to £74 4s 6d. The minutes offer no explanation, but it is possible that the 40 per cent increase was due to the purchase of more titles and more editions. Even second-hand newspapers were in greater demand in 1870 - at the club’s annual auction of second-hand papers and magazines that year, the resale value of newspapers such as the *Preston Chronicle*, *Liverpool Mercury* and *Manchester Guardian* rose, while those for magazines fell (see Figs 30-32, Chapter 9).

Chapter 3 demonstrated that demand for war news prompted the launch of three short-lived daily papers in Preston, and in 1871 the Conservative weekly the *Preston Herald* claimed that its circulation had ‘more than trebled during the past twelve months’, no doubt due to interest in war news. Pubs used war news to attract customers; an 1870 advert in the *Preston Chronicle* informed readers that ‘the latest news from the seat of the war can be read at Barry’s Hoop and Crown, Friargate’, while the Cheetham’s Arms, London Road, simply headed its advert in the same issue, ‘War News’.¹¹⁹ During the Russo-Turkish War, newspapers (from Manchester and London) were mentioned more frequently in the postcard correspondence of the Vicar of Wrightington, Rev John Thomas Wilson (see Table A24, Appendix).¹²⁰ The Boer War had the same effect, boosting circulations of the *Lancashire Evening Post* (see Chapter 3) and other provincial and London papers, particularly when news came through of events such as the Jameson raid or the relief of Mafeking.¹²¹

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has made more concrete the changing circumstances in which local newspapers were read in Preston in the second half of the nineteenth century. The overriding impression is one of exponential growth in the number of places in which news was read, and from which news could be bought. However, the availability of evidence has dictated the focus of this chapter, towards news rooms and newsagents. Those who used public reading institutions were always a minority of readers, although

¹¹⁸ ‘Miscellaneous,’ *London, Provincial, and Colonial Press News* Aug 15, 1870, p18.

¹¹⁹ *PC* September 3, 1870, pp.1 and 4.

¹²⁰ A.R.Bradford, *Drawn by Friendship: the Art and Wit of the Revd. John Thomas Wilson* (New Barnet: Anne R. Bradford, 1997).

¹²¹ J.B.Paterson, ‘*Western Evening Herald*, *Quadrat*, a Periodical Bulletin of Research in Progress on the British Book Trade’, 12, 2001.

other evidence points strongly to the likelihood that many residents of Preston read the news in public houses, especially at the start of the period, and increasingly at home.

As this dynamic period in the history of reading evolved, there were fewer hearers of news, and greater numbers of readers and purchasers of news. Lower cover prices and rising earning power enabled more people to buy their own newspapers rather than wait for someone else to read one to them.¹²² Before the repeal of Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855, public houses were the most accessible places to find a newspaper, and there were only half a dozen rooms in Preston set aside for the reading of newspapers. Less than ten years later there were more than 25 news rooms, but their numbers declined sharply around the time the town's first state-funded reading place, the Free Library, opened, with newspaper-reading central to its purpose. The hugely expanding print market was mediated by a relatively new occupational group, newsagents, who became part of the physical and cultural landscape of urban areas. They were serving not so much new audiences as new purchasers – poorer people had always had access to print culture, whether or not they could read.

Spurred on by the abolition of the three newspaper taxes, a huge growth in news rooms in the 1850s and 1860s was led by church-sponsored reading places, showing how the newspapers habit was now seen as respectable and educational. Experiments with commercial reading rooms in the 1850s and 1860s were short-lived, and the most significant development came in 1879, with the opening of a council-funded public library. This rise and slight decline in news rooms, and the huge increase in newsagents, suggests a trend from sharing newspapers in public places, associated with discussion and conversation, to buying them for private consumption.¹²³ However, this requires qualification: middle-class news rooms such as the Exchange, the Literary and Philosophical Institute and the mechanics' institute declined more than working-class ones, and there is no evidence that working-class readers stopped reading the news in pubs. The shift from public reading to domestic reading was probably greater among the middle classes, whose use of public reading places declined. Their homes were also more conducive to reading. The trend appears to be more complex among working-class readers: by the end of the century they could also afford to buy cheap reading matter from newsagents, and read it at home, but many continued to read in pubs, in the Free Library and in their own public reading places, such as political clubs

¹²² Hampton, *Visions*, p.28.

¹²³ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p. 105. This trend was mirrored by the decline of the three-decker novel and the great circulating libraries, and a related growth in consumption of new novels in cheaper editions, as middle-class readers began to buy rather than borrow new novels: G. Law and R.L. Patten, 'The Serial Revolution' in McKitterick (ed), *op. cit.*, p.168.

and Co-op reading rooms. The evidence is unable to tell us whether the same working-class individuals who bought their own paper for the first time were also the individuals who used public reading places.

The reading rooms set up by the churches in the 1850s and 1860s, and those opened by respectable groups such as the notoriously conservative textile unions and Preston's equally conservative co-operative movement, could conceivably be interpreted as part of an attempt by the middle classes to control working-class reading habits.¹²⁴ Further, the Free Library brought a significant proportion of public reading experiences under state control, however benevolent (as symbolised by the policeman in the free library reading room, Fig. 23), and its rule of silence influenced the style of reading, and began to break the old association between reading and discussing the news.¹²⁵ There is some truth in Martin Hewitt's claim that free libraries were disempowering. Within a year of opening, Preston's best stocked and best used reading room was the one controlled by the local state. But the chronology of Preston's reading places shows that the free library did not kill off a rich ecology of associative reading places, as Hewitt describes in Manchester; the town's free-standing news rooms, unattached to any organisation, devoted solely to the reading of newspapers, had already closed before the public library opened, and a major strand of associative reading places, sponsored by the Co-op, continued to expand into the twentieth century.¹²⁶ Further, any attempt to control reading material and behaviour had to be negotiated with the readers. In practice, the chief librarian allowed a wide range of reading matter, and refused to censor betting news on principle. While limited social mixing had always taken place in inns and public houses, the free library was Preston's first reading institution to be used by all classes and both sexes, a neglected aspect of these institutions.

The growth of free libraries was a significant development during the period, in Preston as elsewhere, but this chapter has shown that a more significant development in access to newspapers and magazines was the astonishing growth of the newsagent. The capitalist publishing market gave working-class people the freedom to create their own reading worlds – a democratisation of print. As we saw in Chapter 3, these new purchasers (as opposed to new readers) encouraged newspaper publishers to adapt their publications, in their content, writing style and price. But an abhorrence of atheism, socialism and sexual licence was shared by most working-class readers, and the proliferation of newsagents offering salacious Sunday newspapers, penny

¹²⁴ Savage, *Dynamics*, pp. 136-7, 143, 154-5; Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, p.13.

¹²⁵ Hewitt, 'Confronting', pp.86-87.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.85-87.

dreadfuls and radical magazines, created a free trade in print, outside the control of any one group.

An older perception of newspapers, as containing dangerous political information, to be kept out of the hands of working-class readers, died out during the period. By the late 1860s, both political parties in Preston were encouraging working-class news reading, by opening news rooms in the hope of influencing new voters. Previously, only Radicals had encouraged such behaviour. 'What was outspoken, radical and proscribed ... became something close to the cultural and political orthodoxy.'¹²⁷

There is no evidence here for Vernon's argument that a shift from oral culture to print culture was imposed by government, nor that it was designed to replace the public, collective and emotional character of oral and visual politics with a more private, individualised, rational and less democratic conception of politics.¹²⁸ However, factors such as increased mechanisation, lower newsprint costs and cheap telegraphed news combined with the influences outlined above to create the trend identified by Vernon: the reading of newspapers began to change in nature from a collective, oral activity to a private, silent activity.

This chapter has also viewed newspaper-reading as an activity that happened at particular times, to bring out how publishers and readers both accommodated their routines to each other. In a regional market centre like Preston, most newspapers began by publishing on Saturday, the main market day, and the three papers which published bi-weekly all chose the second most important market day, Wednesday, for their mid-week edition. Regional and metropolitan papers also worked around readers' routines, publishing at weekends when there was more leisure time for reading. News-reading declined in the summer, and increased in the autumn and winter, when Parliament was in session and, in later years, when the football season was running. The move from weekly to bi-weekly and eventually to daily publishing rhythms enabled a significant change in reading habits for people in Preston. The halfpenny evening paper, for example, allowed many to read news at home in the evening for the first time (see chapter 10). Times of news-reading were also dictated by less predictable events, such as the death of a statesman, a famous boxing match, strikes or wars.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Maidment, 'Manchester Common Reader', p.119. Maidment is comparing the 1830s with the early 1850s.

¹²⁸ J.Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture c.1815-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.106, 142-43, 336-37.

¹²⁹ The 'unpredictable ebb and flow of news at the different offices throughout the country' created a staffing nightmare for the telegraph companies: Silberstein-Loeb, 'Structure of the News Market', p.15.

Telegrams posted in windows, special editions and new wartime publications catered for readers' demands in these situations. Readers became accustomed to receiving the latest news, and publishers were happy to respond to this growing demand.

However, the evidence presented in this chapter tells us little about the place of the *local* newspaper in a provincial town: a class at one school entered a competition organised by a local paper; evidence from elsewhere suggests that school pupils found the local press more interesting to read than other newspapers and content such as market prices and shipping news in Preston's papers suggests that they were read in many offices, for business purposes. The aim of this chapter was to establish the broader context within which the local press was read. The next chapter assesses its significance to news-reading in Preston.

9. WHO READ WHAT

INTRODUCTION

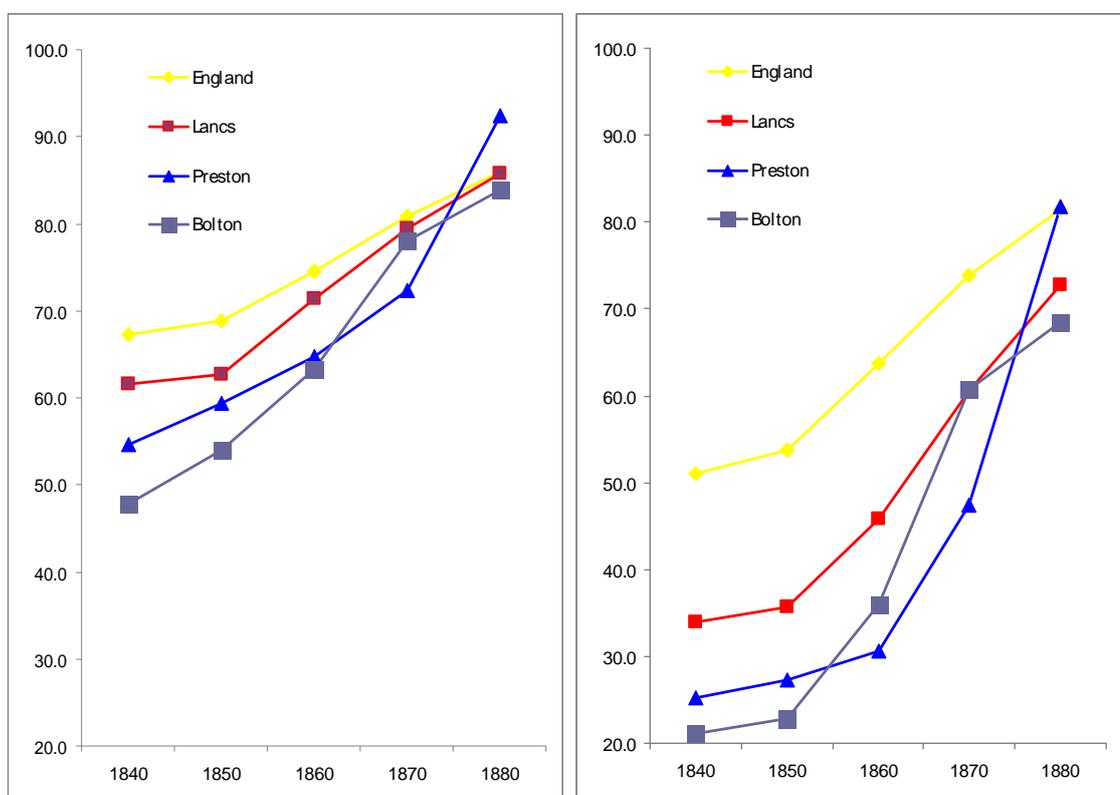
The previous chapter showed how the enormous growth in newspaper publishing affected Preston, as more people read and bought newspapers, and news rooms and especially newsagents' shops became an expanding feature of the townscape. This chapter argues that the majority of readers chose newspapers published in their locality and region, in preference to those published in London. Magazines were a different matter, with no local or regional publications challenging the dominance of the metropolis, apart from regional news miscellanies. This chapter also investigates the influence of social class and gender on preference for local papers. It explores the extent to which access to news was limited by literacy, and the nature of Preston's many public reading places, which enabled consumers of print to read extensively and promiscuously. Some neglected sources and innovative methods are used to pursue the history of reading here: records of libraries and reading rooms are utilised; oral history material is analysed quantitatively and second-hand periodical prices are compared to measure the perceived value of publications and genres. These aim to move beyond the 'implied readers' deduced from individual publications. While the focus is on Preston, comparisons with Barrow and some other towns are used to calibrate the Preston evidence.

The practice of reading newspapers aloud, in public and at home, which continued into the twentieth century, meant there was no simple relationship between literacy and access to news.¹ However, the steep growth in literacy during the period provides a background to the growth in newspaper-reading and sales. Figs 27 and 28 show the percentages of bridegrooms and brides respectively who signed the marriage register between 1840 and 1880.² Literacy in Preston improved greatly, but was much lower among women than among men, with the proportion of women signing their names rising from 25 per cent to 82 per cent, compared with 55 per cent rising to 92 per cent

¹ For example, Mr T2P (b.1903), *ER*.

² Preston's lower literacy rates earlier in the period could be due to the failure of its educational facilities to cope with a rapidly growing population; the low demand for literacy in the textile industry also had an influence. For detailed discussion of literacy rates, see Vincent, *Literacy*, pp.24, 97 and Stephens, *Education*, pp.5-7, 10-11, 19, 96, 327.

for men; however, women closed the gap on men. These rough indices of literacy in Preston imply that as time went on, there was less need for reading aloud for the benefit of those who could not read themselves, and that the ability to read was becoming normal, and therefore an individual as well as a collective resource. However, it is important to distinguish between the ability to read and the practice of reading, ‘the complex process of translating literacy into reading habits’.³ For those who could read, news was still often received by word of mouth, or from listening to someone else read aloud.⁴ Further, the growth of reading as an individual capacity does not imply that its social, discussion dimension necessarily declined, even when print prices fell and incomes rose to enable working-class readers to have their own copies of papers and magazines.⁵



Figs 27 and 28. Men (left) and women (right) signing marriage register (%) 1840-1880, selected areas. Source: Registrar General annual reports.

³ Eastwood, *Government and Community*, p.73.

⁴ O’Neil, an able reader, sometimes noted in his diary news he had heard rather than read, for example the entry for February 5, 1856, p3.

⁵ For example, ‘I used to get the *Woman’s Companion* ... the woman across the street got the *Woman’s Companion* [established in the 1940s] and we would be at the door sometimes discussing the stories’: Mrs P1P (b. 1898), *ER*.

The sharp gender differences in literacy are naturally reflected in reading behaviour, and this project's focus on newspapers automatically skews it towards male readers.⁶ In the memories of the oral history interviewees, men were twice as likely to read newspapers and periodicals as women: 29 men to 13 women in Preston, 27 to 14 in Barrow, but – intriguingly – a more even 15 to 12 in Lancaster (see Table A25, Appendix).⁷ Eight boys read comics, but only one girl, across all three towns. Women were probably more restricted in the places where they could read; fewer women used pubs, and many public reading rooms (including some church-sponsored ones) appear to have been male spaces. They were more likely to be read to in the home, typically by the father of the family, as with the Preston husband who read extracts from *John Bull* to his illiterate wife; this practice may have lessened the impact of lower female literacy.⁸ However, men would have been read to more often in public places such as the street, in pubs and reading rooms.⁹

Women and men with limited literacy were not deterred from struggling through the local paper (which made few concessions to elementary school education), and this was often their only reading matter:¹⁰

[My mother] would read the *Post*. She could read and she could write but she wouldn't sit and read a long book because she was never used to it.¹¹

Q: When your mother and father were at home, did any of you ever do any reading?

A: No, they just used to like the *Lancashire Daily Post*. They didn't read books or anything.¹²

Tom Stephenson, born in Chorley, ten miles south of Preston, in 1893, remembered as a child reading the local paper with his grandmother:

She had had no schooling but had somehow learned to read in middle age. We would tackle the *Chorley Guardian* together, stumbling over the long words and improvising the pronunciation.¹³

⁶ M. Lyons, 'New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers' in Cavallo and Chartier (eds), op. cit., p.319.

⁷ The gender of readers (as distinct from interviewees) was noted only where explicit or where it could be safely inferred, so that the number of readers by gender is lower than the number of total readers. The lack of consistent questioning about the reading of books makes any comparison between books and newspapers difficult.

⁸ See also Mrs M6L (b.1885), *ER*. For the expectation that fathers should read aloud to the family, see Wright, 'Readers and Reading', p.316.

⁹ Mrs B1P (b.1900), *ER*.

¹⁰ Altick, *Common Reader*, p.318.

¹¹ Mrs W4P (b.1900), *ER*.

¹² Mrs B2P (b.1916), *ER*.

¹³ T. Stephenson (ed. A. Holt), *Forbidden Land: the Struggle for Access to Mountain and Moorland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p.15.

Those who could not read, even in the early twentieth century, were eager to listen to the local paper:

I used to go down the road for the newspaper and when I came up with it all the old people in Rigby Street used to follow me up because my grandmother was the only one that could read.¹⁴

This evidence is supported by the popularity of Preston newspapers in the Free Library (see below), where the semi-literate were more likely to venture because no subscription fee was charged.

Evidence from news rooms in the following discussion is largely taken from lists of papers and periodicals provided in each place. These have been tabulated and classified according to type of publication (see Table A26, Appendix, for full classification of Preston Free Library publications). Figures for the Winckley Club refer to titles sold second-hand, so are not directly comparable to lists of publications taken in other rooms. The surviving lists are sporadic, and not always recorded in the same way. Some publications were given to news rooms by publishers, particularly those promoting minority political and religious views; some local publications were also 'presented' in some years, but numbers of titles and copies of local papers remained the same regardless of whether they were bought by the news room or presented by the publisher, suggesting that this practice has not distorted the evidence. Despite these limitations, some patterns are pronounced enough to allow tentative comparisons. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Free Library had in the order of ten times as many users as other news rooms, and so evidence from this source should be weighted accordingly.

The news rooms whose records have survived stocked a surprising number of publications and this number grew substantially, up to 171 different titles in the Free Library by the end of the century. Naturally, the selection of titles available in each room differed according to its clientele and purpose. The gentlemen of the Winckley Club took 22 papers and periodicals in 1851, rising to 55 titles by 1900, with London daily papers the single most popular genre.¹⁵ The middle-class Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge took 52 titles in 1861, rising to 62 in 1869, with an emphasis on literary and technical publications. Here, provincial dailies were the most common type of newspaper, and Preston papers were more popular than at the Winckley Club, judging by the multiple copies required. The Exchange Newsroom took 33 titles in 1868 and 36 in 1874, with provincial dailies the most common type. The Free Library stocked

¹⁴ Mr T2P (b. 1903), *ER*.

¹⁵ WC minute books, LRO DDX 1895.

BOROUGH OF PRESTON.

NOTICE.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY
AND THE
NEWS AND READING ROOM,
At the TOWN HALL,
WILL OPEN ON WEDNESDAY,
THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY NEXT.

The News and Reading Room will be Opened
every week-day from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., and the
Library from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.
27th December, 1878. BY ORDER.

PRESTON FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The following Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., will be
supplied:—

The Quarterly Review.	The Leisure Hour.
" Westminster Review.	The Nineteenth-Century.
" Edinburgh Review.	Routledges Magazine for
" Times.	Boys,
" Daily News.	Temple Bar.
" Standard.	Scribner's Monthly.
" Telegraph.	The Academy.
" Manchester Guardian.	The Athenæum.
" " Courier.	The Builder.
" Liverpool Mercury.	The Engineer.
" " Courier.	Engineering.
" Saturday Review.	The English Mechanic.
" Spectator.	The Field.
" Economist.	The Illustrated London
" Local Papers.	News.
All the Year Round.	Nature.
The Art Journal.	Notes and Queries.
Blackwood's Magazine.	Punch.
Bradshaw's Railway Guide.	Graphic.
Cassell's Magazine.	The Garden.
The Contemporary Review.	Journal of Horticulture.
The Cornhill Magazine.	Scientific American.
Frazer's Magazine.	Library Journal.
The Fortnightly Review.	

December, 1878,

Fig 29. Advertisement announcing opening of Preston Free Public Library, 1879.

Source: PC 28 December, 1878.

48 publications plus 'local papers' in 1879 (Fig 29 above), rising to 81 titles the following year (five quarterlies, 33 monthlies, 35 weeklies and nine dailies), and 171 by 1900 (nine quarterlies, 73 monthlies, 65 weeklies and 24 dailies).¹⁶ Magazines

¹⁶ However Preston never matched the selection offered at the free library of a smaller town, Barrow-in-Furness, where 195 titles were available in 1888, compared with 117 in Preston: Barrow Library annual report, Barrow Record Office and Local Studies Library, 1887-89 Ba/L/1/1-1/5. The advertisement in Fig 29 does not mention books, suggesting that newspapers and periodicals were the main attraction. Free news rooms were specifically mentioned in the 1850 Public Libraries Act, revealing their importance to the free library ethos, and in

containing fiction were the most popular genre, while the most popular individual titles were local newspapers, if we take multiple copies as an index of demand. The Free Library's range of titles was wider than that in other reading rooms, from the *Anti-Vivisectionist* to the *Westminster Review*, the academic philosophy journal *Mind* to the women's magazine *Madame*. No records of church or working-class news rooms in Preston have been traced, but references to them in newspaper articles usually mention a selection similar to that suggested for a proposed reading room at St Paul's school in 1856: 'the London and Manchester daily and weekly papers, the local papers, *Household Words*, the *Leisure Hour*, *Family Economist*, &c &c.'¹⁷ While such evidence is taken from the Preston papers themselves, it is unlikely that these reports were fabricated.

It seems likely that, in a public house where only one paper was taken, readers were exposed to viewpoints other than their own, and in a news room taking a variety of titles, they could read widely, indeed were sometimes forced to do so, whilst waiting for someone else to finish reading a favourite publication. Some pubs no doubt had party affiliations, especially at election times, while others might attract particular occupations or, later in the period, gain reputations as 'football houses'. All these specialisms might dictate the reading material available. John O'Neil, who read his news in the Castle Inn in Clitheroe, probably read more than one paper, as he often used the plural to describe his reading matter, and sometimes made comparisons between the stances of different papers.¹⁸ The material available in news rooms and reading rooms was usually chosen by the members, although publications in rooms with clear religious or political agendas may have been selected by clergymen and ward committees rather than the readers. In anywhere larger than a public house, newspapers of opposing politics would normally be found, although political rooms probably favoured their own press. In 1853 James Hole claimed that working-class newsrooms' selection of papers did not give both sides of the argument, unlike mechanics' institutes.¹⁹ A speaker at the opening of a reading room established by the Preston Branch of the National Reform Union in 1867 hoped that the Liberal *Times* and the Tory *Standard* would both be

Manchester, 'the newsroom was generally more popular than the book rooms by a ratio of two or even three to one': Lee, *Origins* p.36; W.R. Credland, *The Manchester Public Free Libraries: A History and Description* (Manchester, 1899), p. 216, cited in Powell and Wyke, 'Manchester Men', p.2.

¹⁷ *PC* 6 September 1856. See also advertisement for Cowper's Penny News & Reading Room, *PC* 30 September 1854; 'Travels In Search Of Recreation II, Central Working Men's Club', *PC* 20 February 1864; report of St Peter's Working Men's Club, *PC* 22 October 1864, p.4.

¹⁸ For example Saturday 5 January, 24 May, 21 June 1856.

¹⁹ J Hole, *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutions* (1853), pp.72-74, cited in Lee, *Origins*, p.37.

available, 'as he was always desirous of seeing both sides of the question.'²⁰ The significant proportion of letters to the editor which were responding to other newspapers, usually of opposing politics, is further evidence (see next chapter). However, for many, papers with disagreeable politics may have been read only reluctantly. For example, a letter to the *Preston Chronicle* in 1869 complained that there were 13 Liberal newspapers and only one Conservative title in the Exchange and Newsroom. Worse, 'most of the Radical journals are in duplicate, so that if one enters the room tired, and desirous of reading a paper while seated, nothing but a red-hot Radical effusion is get-at-able.'²¹ What is more certain, is that news rooms enabled members to read more than one publication. As Thomas Wright, the 'Journeyman Engineer', wrote in 1876:

At present a working man with a taste for reading will in the course of a week glance through a score of papers – not to speak of periodicals – lying on the tables of the "Institution" to which he belongs ... [Previously] he would probably have had to be content with a single weekly paper, for which he would have to pay treble the amount of his weekly subscription to a modern institution.²²

News rooms are the most likely places where readers would have seen publications from elsewhere and felt inspired or outraged to write a letter, like the Catholic readers who wrote letters to papers around the country (see Chapter 10). It would also explain letters such as the one to the *Preston Chronicle* in 1868 which began, 'I was rather amused the other day, on looking through the *Belfast Times* ...'²³

READING PREFERENCES

The ubiquity of local newspapers in references to news rooms and reading rooms, throughout the period, shows that there was a continuing demand for them, despite huge changes in the print market. If anything, demand grew, as the number of multiple copies increased in some news rooms. They appeared to be least important in the most 'cultured' room, that of the Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, a mechanics'

²⁰ *PC* March 9, 1867. For an opposing view, see J.B.Kinnear, 'Anonymous Journalism', *Contemporary Review* 5 (July 1867), pp.330-31; on the practice earlier in the century, see Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, p.25 and Asquith, 'Structure, Ownership and Control', p.101.

²¹ Correspondence, *PC* 2 October 1869, p6.

²² Wright, 'Readers and Reading', pp.316-17. If indeed many readers ceased to buy their own paper and began to subscribe to a news room, this might explain Eliot's plateau-ing in raw paper production and the launch of new titles in the 1860s, which was probably the high point of the news room; however it does not fit with the increase in Preston newsagents in that decade: Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends*. In the early twentieth century the father of Mr G1L (b. 1904, *ER*), who worked in domestic service, at Williamson's lino factory and as a Co-op coalman, read daily newspapers at Lancaster library instead of buying them, according to his son.

²³ Correspondence, *PC* 12 September 1868, p.6.

institute commandeered by the middle classes, where the emphasis was on literary and technical periodicals. In 1866, for example, the Institution offered 13 reviews and 10 scientific and technical titles, but only one copy each of the four Preston papers. A few hundred yards away, at the most socially exclusive reading place, the Winckley Club, account books show that the Preston papers were purchased, but not always sold second-hand at auction. A resolution at the 1860 AGM, 'that the *Preston Guardian* be sold', suggests that it had previously been filed for reference.²⁴ In the sampled years when Preston papers were auctioned at this gentleman's club, they had a higher relative resale value than Manchester and Liverpool papers, although much lower than the *Times* or metropolitan magazines and reviews (see Figs 30-32 below).

Table 36. Publications with multiple copies, Exchange Newsroom, Preston, 1868 and 1874

	1868	1874
<i>Preston Herald</i>	3	2
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	3	2
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	3	2
<i>Liverpool Courier</i>	2	1
<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i>	2	1
<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>	2	2
<i>Manchester Courier</i>	2	2
<i>Manchester Examiner</i>	2	2
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	1	3
<i>Daily News</i>	2	2
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	2	2
<i>Standard</i>	2	2
<i>Times</i>	2	2

Source: Minutes of Exchange & News Room committee, LRO CBP 53/4.

The Preston papers were more popular in the Exchange news room, frequented by merchants and businessmen, if we take multiple copies as an index of popularity (see Table 36 above). The three main Preston papers (the *Guardian*, *Herald* and *Chronicle*) were the most popular when the news room opened in October 1868, with three copies each (unlike the Winckley Club and the Institution, where there was no evidence of multiple copies of local titles). However, only two copies each of the Preston titles were required in 1874, whilst the number of copies of papers from elsewhere was largely unchanged. This is more likely to be because news room subscribers had their own

²⁴ WC minute book 1859-69, LRO DDX 1895. The lack of a consistent record of newspapers and periodicals taken at the club means that we do not know which titles were kept for reference and which had no second-hand value (see below). Koss had the same difficulty when using similar evidence from London gentlemen's clubs: Koss, *Rise and Fall*, vol. 1, pp.158-59. The *Preston Guardian* was 'kept for reference in the Exchanges, Reading Rooms, Hotels and other public places in its district' according to an advertisement in Mitchell's 1864 *Newspaper Press Directory*.

copies, rather than any general fall in demand, judging by the increasing sales of the *Preston Guardian* (see Table 9, Chapter 3).

The Free Library, opened in 1879, had the widest social range and the greatest number of readers of any public reading place in Preston. Here, whilst local papers were insignificant as a genre, accounting for around six per cent of serial publications available, they were the most popular individual titles, taking multiple copies as an index of demand (see Table 37 below).²⁵ In Barrow's free library, the Barrow weeklies and evening paper also required the greatest number of multiple copies (see Table A27, Appendix).

Table 37. Publications with multiple copies, Preston Free Library, 1880-1900

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900
<i>Graphic</i>	1	1	2	2	2	2
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Lady's Pictorial</i>					2	2
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>					4	1
<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i>		1	1	1	2	2
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	1	1	1	1	2	2
<i>Manchester Evening Mail</i>					2	1
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	1	1	1	3		
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2	2	3	3	6	5
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1	2	3	3	5	5
<i>Punch</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Queen</i>	1	1	1		2	2

Source: *Preston Free Library annual reports, 1880-1900, Harris Library..*

As a genre and by individual titles, local newspapers were the single most popular reading matter recalled from the homes of working-class oral history interviewees, from the 1890s to the 1920s. Two-fifths of Preston interviewees (24 out of 60) recalled a local paper being read at home, and the evening paper (then known as the *Lancashire Daily Post*) was the single most popular title, being mentioned 19 times, whilst its nearest rival, the *News of the World*, was mentioned only three times (see Table 38 below, and Table A28, Appendix). Local newspapers were also the most popular genre recalled by Barrow and Lancaster interviewees (22 of 67 interviewees in Barrow, 14 of 56 in Lancaster), but to a lesser extent.²⁶ Across the three towns, local papers were

²⁵ Only two provincial evening papers are recorded, surprisingly, the *Manchester Evening Mail* and the *Lancashire Evening/Daily Post*, the latter launched in 1886 but absent from the library's list of periodicals taken until 1896.

²⁶ Bell's survey of working-class Middlesbrough readers at the turn of the century found the evening paper equally popular, 'the favourite being a local halfpenny evening paper, which

mentioned 60 times, papers published elsewhere in Lancashire 28 times, and all London publications (daily, Sunday and weekly, including comics and religious publications) 74 times. If we multiply mentions of titles by publication frequency per week, to gain a picture of individual papers purchased (for example six issues of the *Lancashire Evening Post* per week), the balance is 250 local publications against 218 from elsewhere (London, Liverpool, Manchester and Scotland combined).

Table 38. Working-class periodical reading material in Preston, Barrow and Lancaster, 1880s to 1920s

Category	Preston	Barrow	Lancaster	Category total	Editions per week
Local evening	19	13	6	38	228
Local weekly	2	8	7	17	17
Local other	2	2	1	5	5
Regional weekly	1	3	1	5	5
Manchester daily	1	5	3	9	54
Manchester Sunday	4	3	6	13	13
London Sunday	6	4	2	12	12
Sunday, unknown	1	1	5	7	7
All Sundays				32	
Scottish papers	1	4		5	5
London daily	4	8	3	15	90
London weekly	5	6	4	15	15
Comic/children's publication	9	3	6	18	18
Religious	3	4*	2	9	9

Note: 'Morning newspaper' and 'national newspaper' have been included under London dailies, which probably under-represents Liverpool and Manchester papers. *One religious title was published in Liverpool. For a fuller version of this table, see Table A28, Appendices.

Men were twice as likely as women to read local evening papers (see Table A25, Appendix), possibly because of their content, containing substantial amounts of political news and sport, particularly football and betting news. Mrs H3L of Lancaster (b. 1903), referring to the *Lancashire Daily Post*, saw the evening paper as typically male reading matter: 'my dad had a daily paper like every other man'. Men were also more likely to read Sunday papers, possibly because of sport again and also their day of publication, when working-class women, particularly those with jobs outside the home, were catching up on housework.²⁷ Other conclusions are more speculative, because the numbers are smaller, but the equal numbers of men and women reading the local weekly could be because of its greater local content in comparison to the local evening paper, and almost equal numbers reading London weeklies (general interest magazines, also containing fiction) is consistent with other evidence that fiction was of

seems to be in the hands of every man and woman, and almost every child': Bell, *At The Works*, p.144.

²⁷ 'Sunday is their chiefest day of toil': Leigh, 'What do the Masses read?' p.176.

particular interest to women.²⁸ However, even when they read the same publications, men and women might read different sections, for example sport for men and the births, marriages and deaths column for women.²⁹ To summarise, then, the local press was an important feature of most reading places, and grew in popularity over the period. Individual local titles were the single most popular publications in many places, including the home, by the early twentieth century. This preference for locally published material was particularly strong among working-class readers.³⁰

Newspapers published from Manchester and Liverpool were a significant part of the Preston reading diet, and their increasing popularity in the town's public reading places is one of the most striking trends in this survey. These creations of the post-Stamp Duty era, 'the monarchs of the golden age' of the provincial press, had a status second only to the London dailies, and were indeed modelled on their metropolitan rivals, particularly the *Times*.³¹ The *Liverpool Daily Post* and the *Manchester Examiner*, two of the first penny provincial morning papers, were staples of the Preston news rooms, alongside the newly daily *Manchester Guardian*, the *Liverpool Mercury* (daily from 1858) and the *Leeds Mercury* (daily from 1861).³² These papers were more popular in Preston than London papers, probably for three reasons: they contained more regional and local news, they reached Preston four or five hours earlier (until train times improved towards the end of the period), and their news was more recent, thanks to later press times made possible by their shorter distribution journeys. In 1872, when fears over the demise of the provincial press had gone, an anonymous writer in the *Quarterly Review* believed that

Readers who can get the *Manchester Guardian*, *Leeds Mercury*, or *Birmingham Post* at eight o'clock in the morning, with all the local news, in addition to everything of interest in the way of general intelligence, are not likely to care much for the *Times* or *Telegraph* at one o'clock in the afternoon.³³

At the Institution they were the most common type of newspaper, more popular than London or local papers (but less popular than literary and technical periodicals). Three

²⁸ These sex differences are replicated in the male-dominated conference panels on newspapers and the female-dominated panels on periodical fiction at twenty-first-century academic conferences.

²⁹ Mr G2P (b. 1903), Mrs W1P (b. 1899), *ER*. Described as 'the old maid's column', this was included in a list of 'the essentials of a local newspaper' in a letter to the *Ulverston Advertiser*, 10 August 1848, cited in Lucas, *MLitt*, p.4.

³⁰ See also Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, pp.150-51: 'the [Irish] local press was read mainly by those on lower incomes'.

³¹ Lee, *Origins*, p.133; Scott-James, *Influence*, p.122.

³² D.Ayerst, *Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (London: Collins, 1971), p.129.

³³ Anon, 'The Modern Newspaper', p.371.

or four of the Manchester and Liverpool weeklies and bi-weeklies taken before 1855 continued to appear after the abolition of Stamp Duty, now in their daily form, with slightly more titles taken, typically five or six. At the Winckley Club, the most significant change in the list of titles auctioned each year was the growth in the number of big-city provincial newspapers from none in 1851 to five in 1856, after which the number stayed roughly constant. These penny provincial dailies supplemented but did not supplant the London dailies. The absence of provincial dailies from outside Lancashire (apart from the *Yorkshire Post* at the end of the period) suggests that these Manchester and Liverpool papers provided something – unique material, perhaps, or a unique regional selection of material – unavailable in other papers. The *Manchester Examiner* and *Manchester Guardian* were popular enough in 1860 to require two copies of each at the Winckley Club.

At the Exchange and Newsroom, provincial dailies were the most popular type of publication (seven titles in 1868, rising to nine in 1874), and two copies of three Liverpool dailies (the *Courier*, *Daily Post* and *Mercury*) and two Manchester dailies (the *Courier* and the *Examiner*) were needed to meet demand. By 1874, the *Manchester Guardian* required three copies (one of them the second edition). Occasional summaries of reading matter available in church and working-class news rooms usually mention the ‘leading’ or ‘best’ papers (which would be taken to include Manchester and Liverpool dailies), ‘the Manchester papers’, less often ‘the Manchester and Liverpool papers’.³⁴ As we saw in the previous chapter, the Manchester and Liverpool dailies were probably valued more during the ‘newsy’ period of the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War, at least by the Vicar of Wrightington (see Table A24, Appendix). At the Free Library, five provincial dailies were taken in 1880, rising to 13 in 1900, most of them from Manchester and Liverpool, and always outnumbering the London dailies. Papers published elsewhere in Lancashire accounted for ten per cent of publications available. Two copies of the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Manchester Guardian* (from 1894 onwards) and the *Manchester Evening Mail* (from 1896 to 1898) were required to meet demand – the same number of Lancashire dailies requiring multiple copies at Barrow’s free library (Table A27, Appendix). In the early twentieth century, Manchester Sunday papers were as popular as London ones across all three towns represented in the oral history material (13 Manchester titles mentioned, 11 London titles), although in Preston, Manchester titles such as the *Umpire* and the *Sunday Chronicle* were only mentioned four times, compared to six mentions for the London titles the *News of the World*,

³⁴ For example, advertisements for Liberal Club and Central Working Men’s Club, *PC* 1 July 1871; ‘St Peter’s Working Men’s Club’, *PC* 22 October 1864.

Reynolds's News, the *People* and the *Observer*. Only one Preston interviewee recalled a Manchester daily being read at home, although they were mentioned more frequently in Barrow (five) and Lancaster (three). In summary, the evidence shows that the new genre of the provincial daily paper gained instant popularity from 1855 onwards, and was preferred to the London dailies, except at the upper middle-class Winckley Club, and in working-class homes in the early twentieth century. However, most of the oral history interviews recall a time after the *Daily Mail* began publishing from Manchester in 1900, a significant watershed in the rivalry between London and provincial dailies.

Newspapers published in London and other major cities were, of course, widely available in Preston. London morning newspapers such as the *Times*, *Daily News* and *Standard* reached Preston on the day of publication by the start of this period, although they might arrive as late as lunchtime, and certainly hours after their regional rivals from Manchester, Liverpool and even Leeds.³⁵ London evening newspapers such as the *Standard* were taken in Preston's middle-class news rooms, joined in the 1860s by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Globe* and the *Echo* (the first metropolitan halfpenny evening paper).³⁶

The Winckley Club was the only public reading place in Preston where the 'London' papers (which were never described as 'national') were more popular than big-city provincial papers (Table 39 below). They were the single most popular type of publication at the club, increasing from eight to 12 copies over the period, with three London dailies requiring at least two copies: the Radical *Daily News*, the Conservative *Morning Post* (in 1856 and 1860) and the *Times* (1870 onwards). However, the 'London *Times*' and the 'London *Daily Mail*' required a place name when recorded in the minutes in 1900, to avoid confusion with provincial papers with similar titles. Even in this gentleman's club, London was not the default.³⁷ An upper middle-class preference for London papers can also be seen in the correspondence of the Vicar of Wrightington, who mentions metropolitan titles nine times, compared to four mentions each for regional dailies and local weeklies (Table A24, Appendix).³⁸ At the Exchange and the Institution, they were less popular than provincial papers, and at the latter news

³⁵ The *Times* reached Clitheroe a day later than did Preston and Manchester papers, at least at the start of the period: Aspden, *Fifty Years*, p.9.

³⁶ Brown, *Victorian News*, p.110; Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, vol. 2, p.26; Lee, *Origins*, p.69. The *Echo* (1868-1905) deserves more scholarly attention, as an attempt at a popular daily newspaper with national circulation, three decades before the *Daily Mail*. By 1870 it was received in Preston on the day of publication.

³⁷ Minutes of AGM, 17 May 1900, LRO DDX 1895

³⁸ Bradford, *Drawn by Friendship*.

room, were equal in popularity to the Preston papers. At the Exchange, two copies each of the *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Standard* and *Times* were required. Church and working-class news rooms always took ‘the London papers’ or included them among the ‘leading’ and ‘best’ papers. At the Free Library, London titles were always a minority of the daily papers available, increasing from four to ten between 1880 and 1900. No multiple copies of London dailies were required. In the oral history transcripts, London dailies were mentioned four times by Preston interviewees, compared to 21 mentions of local papers. In Preston, London Sundays (six mentions) were more popular than London dailies. Across the three towns, London dailies were mentioned 17 times, London Sundays 11 times. It seems that no self-respecting news room was without one or more London papers, but they were not central to Preston’s reading world, except perhaps at the upper end of the social scale.

Table 39. Publications with multiple copies, Winckley Club, 1856-1900

	1856	1860	1870	1880	1895	1900
<i>Army List</i>						2
<i>Daily News</i>	2	2				
<i>Manchester Examiner</i>		2				
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>		2				
<i>Morning Post</i>	2	2				
<i>Times</i>			2	2	2	2

Source: Winckley Club minute books, LRO DDX 1895

In terms of individual titles available, magazines and reviews outnumbered all other reading material available in Preston’s public reading places (the businesslike Exchange news room the only exception), and their number increased greatly. At the Winckley Club, magazines and reviews grew steadily from nine auctioned in 1851 to 31 in 1900, with growth particularly in comic, sporting and fiction-related titles. Weekly and monthly magazines and reviews were more popular than newspapers at the club from the 1860s onwards. At the Institution, 52 different titles were taken in 1861; a snapshot of the 1860s shows a steady increase in publications available, rising to 62 by 1869. Reviews such as the *Quarterly* and the *Athenaeum* were the most popular type of publication at the Institution, followed by scientific and technical journals such as *Building News* and *English Mechanic*. In the eight-year period for which full lists have been traced, the greatest increase was in fiction (from two titles in 1861 to five in 1869) and humour (from one to five). Unlike the Winckley Club, the Institution stocked publications specifically for women, such as the *Ladies’ Treasury* and the *Young Englishwoman*, and for boys (but not girls), for example, the *Boy’s Own Magazine*. The popularity of London magazines here is shown by the fact that they were the only type

requiring multiple copies, of the *Illustrated London News*, *the Illustrated Times*, *The Field*, *Fun* and *Punch* (Table 40 below).

Table 40. Publications with multiple copies, Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, 1861-69

	1861	1865	1866	1868	1869
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	1	1	2	2	2
<i>Illustrated Times</i>	1	1	2	2	2
<i>Punch</i>	1	1	2	2	2
<i>Field</i>	1	1	2	1	1

Source: Annual reports, Livesey Collection.

In 1857 the curate of St Paul's asked for donations of '*Household Words*, the *Leisure Hour*, *Family Economist*, &c, &c' for a 'reading room for the working classes' and *Chambers's Journal*, Dickens's *All The Year Round*; *Once a week* 'and other good and healthy periodicals' were available at the Central Working Men's Club in 1864³⁹ The severely workful Exchange was the only place where newspapers were more popular than magazines and reviews. One member reported that the uncut pages of the *Athenaeum* showed that it was 'not appreciated' and it was no longer taken in 1874, when the number of magazines taken at the Exchange had fallen from 16 out of 33 titles in 1868 to 12 out of 36.⁴⁰ The *Athenaeum* was a fixture, however, at the Free Library, where the single biggest group of publications in 1880 were those carrying fiction and/or commenting on it, magazines of serial fiction, family miscellanies and literary reviews (25 titles in 1880, 32 in 1900); many other titles included small amounts of fiction, such as newspapers and religious journals. As the chief librarian, William Bramwell, said, 'The people of Preston want something light to read after a hard day's work.'⁴¹ Proportionally, these fiction-related publications decreased over the following two decades. Magazines and reviews made up around 80 per cent of the serial reading matter at the Free Library between 1880 and 1900, and illustrated London weeklies such as the *Illustrated London News* and *Punch* were the second most popular titles to require multiple copies, after the local papers, as they were at Barrow free library (see Table 37 above and Table A27, Appendix). As a genre, London magazines were mentioned 19 times by Preston oral history interviewees, almost as often as local papers (21 instances), but no one title was mentioned more than once. Children's comics and magazines were over-represented, revealing another limitation of these

³⁹ Correspondence, PC 31 January 1857, p.6; 'Travels In Search Of Recreation II, Central Working Men's Club', PC 20 February 1864.

⁴⁰ 'Annual meeting of the subscribers to the Exchange Newsroom', PC 19 November 1870.

⁴¹ Bramwell, *Reminiscences*, p.50.

interviews, with their focus on childhood memories. Across the three towns, seven interviewees remembered mothers reading religious magazines and papers, but none remembered fathers reading such material. Only two individual magazine titles were remembered more than twice across the three towns, *John Bull*, a conservative general-interest news miscellany and the *Catholic Fireside*, a religious and general-interest magazine aimed at women and children, including serial fiction, and originally published in Liverpool.

The growth in the periodical and newspaper market, as seen in the rise of the newsagent (see previous chapter) was mirrored in a decline in the second-hand market which subsidised most news rooms. A rough measure of the perceived value of second-hand publications has been derived from their sale values as a proportion of their cover price (Figs 30-32 and Table A29, Appendix). A representative sample of three types of publications auctioned at the Winckley Club has been used: big city newspapers (the *Times*, the *Liverpool Albion and Mercury* and the *Manchester Guardian*); local papers (the *Preston Chronicle, Guardian, Herald and Pilot*), and a range of magazines (*Illustrated London News, Punch, the Quarterly Review and Temple Bar*). Cover prices were obtained from Ellegard, the Waterloo Directory, the digitised Nineteenth-Century British Library Newspaper collection, and from the newspapers themselves.⁴²

There is a rough order of ranking in the relative second-hand values of the sampled publications, with London publications at the top, followed by local papers slightly higher than regional papers. *The Times* maintained a second-hand value of around half its cover price until the 1890s. In 1856 the *Manchester Guardian* had the same relative second-hand value as the *Times*, but in all other sampled years regional dailies were worth less than the *Times* as second-hand reading material, falling from around 40 per cent to less than ten per cent in the case of the *Manchester Guardian*. The four Preston papers had a resale value similar to provincial dailies at the start of the period of 30-40 per cent, and maintained this longer, into the 1870s, before declining steeply in value.⁴³ The resale value of the sampled magazines and review tells a different story, of an

⁴² Ellegard, 'Readership'; *Waterloo* online, accessed 9 February 2009; 19CBLN. The auction information was combined with details of the publications and biographical notes for 17 successful bidders, in an attempt to re-create the reading preferences of some club members. However, no clear pattern emerged and the preferences are impossible to interpret without knowing why and for whom the publications were bought second-hand.

⁴³ In 1900, a Mr J Toulmin paid more than the cover price for the *Preston Guardian*, perhaps as a joke, or a blatant attempt to inflate its second-hand value for publicity purposes.

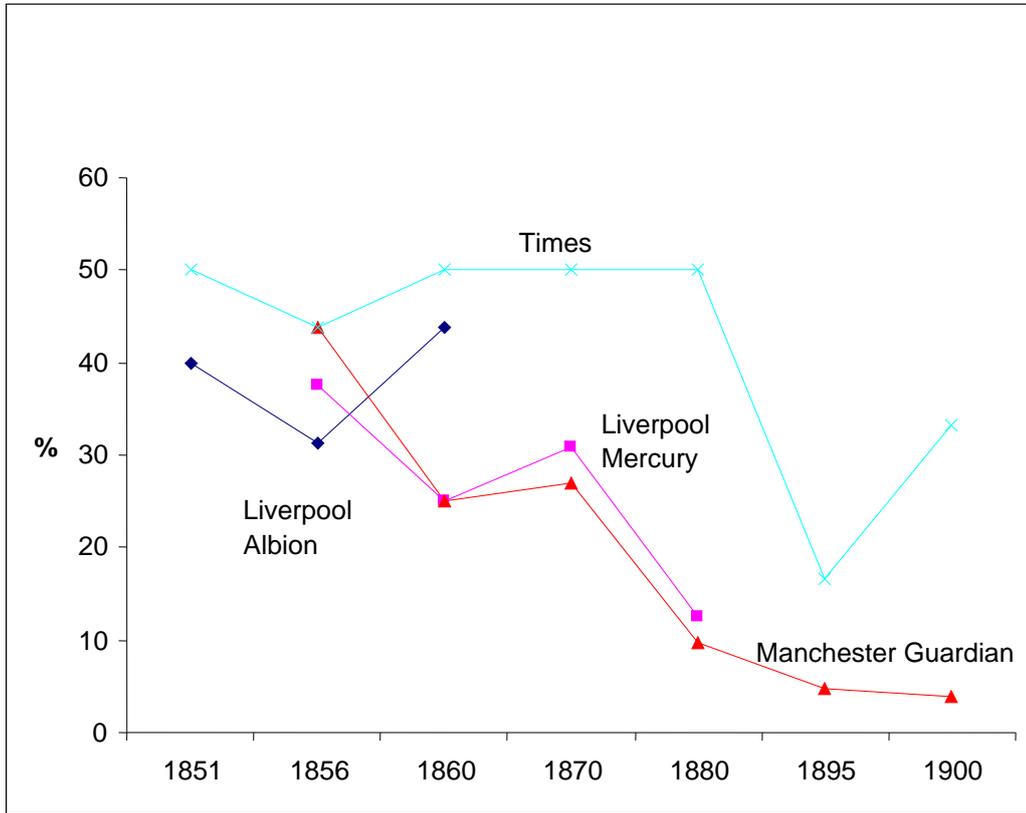


Fig. 30. Second-hand daily newspaper prices as % of cover price, Winckley Club, Preston, 1851-1900.

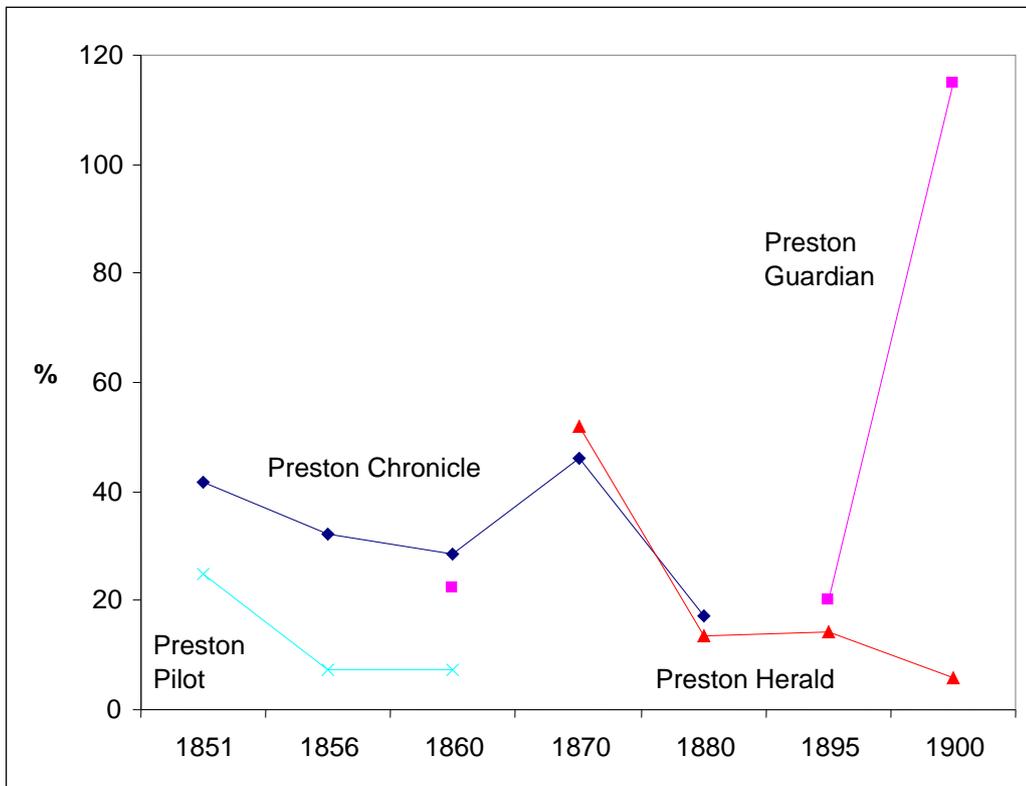


Fig. 31. Second-hand local paper prices as % of cover price, Winckley Club, Preston, 1851-1900.

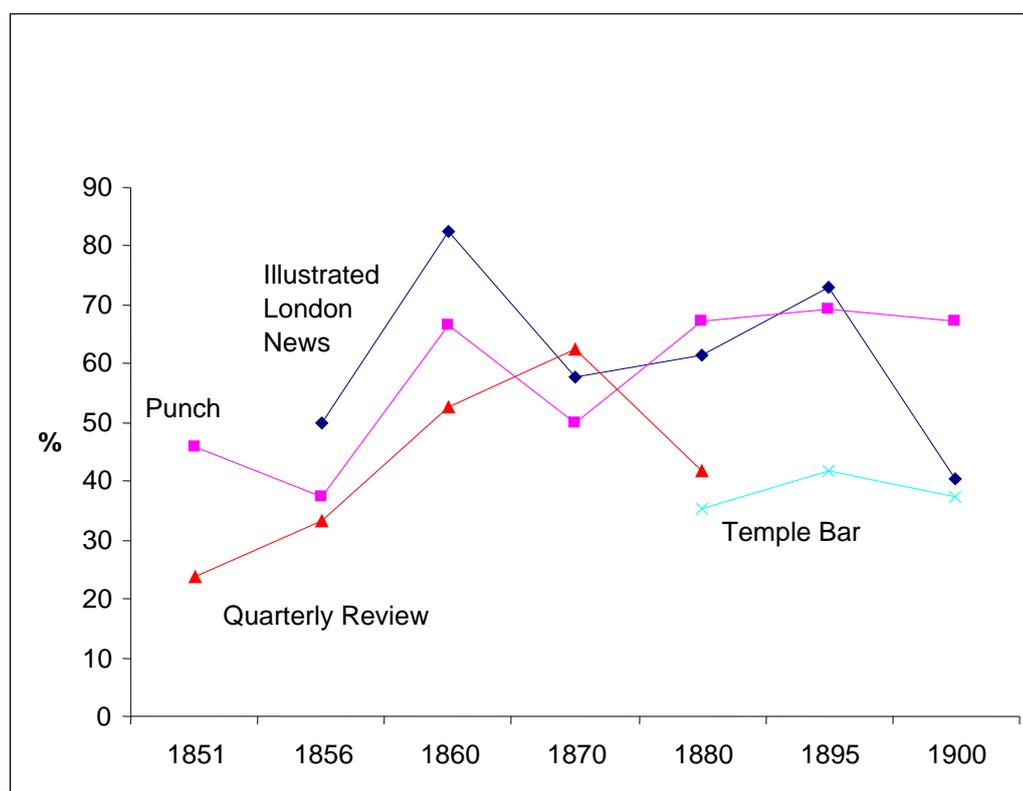


Fig. 32. Second-hand periodical prices as % of cover price, Winckley Club, Preston, 1851-1900.

increase in resale value to a higher level than the newspapers ever reached, before decline in the 1890s.

There are likely to be many factors influencing the second-hand value of a publication, such as its 're-readability' and its availability elsewhere in Preston.⁴⁴ *The Times*, for example, sold far fewer copies in Preston than regional or local papers. From other sources we know that circulation figures for newspapers rose throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, so it seems likely that the increased affordability of papers depressed their second-hand value, as more people could afford to buy them new.⁴⁵ A fall in the cover price of a publication generally coincided with a rise in depreciation, as with most newspapers between 1851 and 1856. While the trends in these auction records are suggestive, the bare names, titles and figures allow too many interpretations, divorced from the commentary and banter that no doubt was part of the

⁴⁴ Erickson, *Economy of Literary Form*, p.9.

⁴⁵ Aspinall, 'Circulation'; Brown, *Victorian News*, pp.52-53; Lee, *Origins*, Appendices.

annual sale. Crucially, while figures are safer at aggregate level, for any particular title there are at least two explanations for a low resale value – either that demand was being met by buying it new, or that it was unwanted both new and second-hand.

Taking all the evidence together, two trends are noteworthy: the rising numbers of publications available, and within that increase, the growing popularity of Preston's local papers, daily papers from provincial cities and magazines published in London. Metropolitan London dailies did not share in the boom, at least from this evidence; as soon as the provincial daily newspaper was invented in 1855, it became more popular than its London rival in most Preston reading places. Newspapers doubled in number but decreased as a proportion of titles available at Preston's public library between 1880 and 1900, where the most significant changes were the growth of women's magazines (from one to 12), business titles (from one to eight), religious journals (from three to 16) and scientific and technical publications (from five to 20). Sport and music titles also grew. The oral history evidence from working-class homes confirms the popularity of magazines published in London, which were about level pegging with the local press. However, local publications were by far the most popular individual titles – the *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Herald* at the Free Library, where they required five or six copies of each to meet demand, and the *Lancashire Daily Post* in the homes of working-class readers.

CONCLUSIONS

Local papers, provincial dailies and London magazines all showed huge growth in popularity, according to the evidence adduced in this chapter, with only London dailies showing a much gentler increase. Despite enormous changes in publishing and reading over such a short period, most of the sources point to the local newspaper being the most popular type of periodical in Preston and other places. Even in the upper middle-class Winckley Club, it seems that a local paper, the *Preston Guardian*, was valued enough to be often filed for reference. No other genre required so many multiple copies to meet reader demand in news rooms, and it was the most popular type of publication recalled from the childhood homes of oral history interviewees. Higher up the social scale, the local press may have been less important than London and provincial daily papers, but for the vast majority of Preston's population, it was pre-eminent.

The evidence from the news rooms, even though they were used by only a minority of newspaper readers, gives some insight into reading habits in these public places, and provides a useful numerical series, while the oral history evidence for home reading remembered from childhood is snapshot evidence of a very different kind. The methods used in this chapter have largely confirmed a similarity between implied and historical readers. However, they have gone beyond the implied 'reader in the text' to reveal promiscuous readers, hearers of texts read aloud, non-contemporaneous readers consulting a second-hand copy or a bound volume, and public readers, sitting or standing in a room where news and comment is being discussed, often by readers with opposing views.

This chapter has confirmed the trends established in the previous chapter: an economic shift from reading public copies of newspapers to buying private copies, and a physical move from public reading places to the home, especially for middle-class readers. These trends are consistent with the rise of the newsagent described in the previous chapter, and the decline in the second-hand value of newspapers, suggesting that demand was increasingly being met by newsagents. Free-standing public spaces created purely for newspaper-reading became unsustainable, and newspaper-reading became integrated with other activities, except at the Free Library. The presence of the halfpenny evening paper in so many working-class homes by the early twentieth century shows the significance of this relatively new genre in bringing the price of a newspaper within reach of most families, thereby turning working-class readers into purchasers, and making the practice of newspaper reading a domestic habit for them too, as was already the case in middle class homes.

Consequently, there may indeed have been a decline in one type of bourgeois public sphere, that of the middle-class news room. However, other public spheres such as Co-op reading rooms and political clubs flourished, where a variety of reading material encouraged promiscuous reading, and where discussion was the norm. The decline in 'non-aligned' news rooms unattached to specific creeds is consistent with evidence from readers' letters in the next chapter, which suggests that newspaper readers ranged less freely across political and religious lines as the period went on. Certainly by the turn of the century, if not long before, most readers used the press to confirm what they already believed, rather than to engage in genuine debate.⁴⁶ However, the growth of political clubs with reading facilities in Preston and the opening of the public library suggest that motives of education, and of political persuasion, continued in the

⁴⁶ Carey, *Communication as Culture*, p.20; Vincent, *Literacy* p.235.

era of the commercial press. It may be that Jones and writers such as Curran have overestimated the political and self-improving nature of the readership of the early nineteenth-century political press, and underestimated that of the later capitalist press.⁴⁷ Perhaps its commercial nature did not mark the end of the bourgeois public sphere, but the beginning of a more boisterous, democratic public sphere.⁴⁸

Among the newspapers available, local and regional ones were always present in every reading place, and were more highly valued, and more central to the reading experience, lower down the social scale, for example at the Free Library, in comparison with the most exclusive reading place, the Winckley Club. There is no reason to believe that this preference for the local press was unique to Preston, as news room lists from Barrow and those gathered by Hood have shown. The ubiquity of local evening papers in working-class oral history testimony also supports this. The next chapter explores the reasons for the local paper's popularity.

⁴⁷ Jones, 'Constructing the Readership', p.160; Curran, 'Industrialization'.

⁴⁸ Henkin, *City Reading*, pp.12-13.

10. HOW READERS USED THE LOCAL PAPER

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter showed the importance of the provincial press, especially the local press, to most Preston readers who left evidence of their newspaper-reading. This chapter addresses a possible confounding factor in the popularity of the regional and local press: its ability to put newspapers into the hands of readers faster than the London press; not only that, but its news was more recent than that found in the London press. So Manchester and Liverpool papers had several hours' advantage over London papers, but Preston papers had the same advantage over the big-city dailies, for news happening in the 24 hours before their editions. For the most important stories, they published special editions within minutes of receiving telegraphed news. But 'how readers read the newspaper suggests what the newspaper is', and this chapter shows that, in Preston, the local newspaper was valuable to readers chiefly for its local content.¹

The popularity of the local press established in the last chapter says nothing, of course, about its significance or influence on its readers.² This chapter deals with this objection by moving beyond the previous chapter's quantitative evidence to examine the qualitative evidence left by readers, for how they valued local newspapers, and how they used them in their public and private lives. Three questions are addressed, in reviewing the reader evidence: how did they use the local press? What uses were unique to the local press, as distinct from non-local publications? And how did readers use it to sustain local identities?

The evidence presented here includes readers' letters, oral history material, autobiographies, diaries, company histories and, where relevant, media sociology research from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, evidence of how readers used the local press is so scarce that supplementary material from places beyond Preston has been used, since it corroborates the local material. The main

¹ Nord, 'Reading the Newspaper', p.247.

² Rose makes this point in relation to books: J. Rose, 'How Historians Study Reader Response: Or, What Did Jo Think of *Bleak House*?' in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth Century British Publishing and Reading Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.205.

source of evidence for readers' uses of the local press comes from correspondence columns within the papers themselves, which have their limitations. The first section of the chapter therefore examines readers' letters in context, before drawing some conclusions from them. Evidence from journalists, readers and commentators suggests that most letters were genuinely from readers; however, a minority were written by journalists or other local 'insiders', and passed off as readers' efforts. The difficulty of identifying the latter means that it is unsafe to put much weight on any individual letter. But using letters in aggregate, quantitatively, avoids this problem, and this is the approach taken here. Letter-writers were not representative of the wider readership, so that reader evidence from outside the newspaper is used alongside correspondence.

The second section examines how readers responded specifically to the localness of the local press, and explores readers' perceptions that local newspapers had the power to confer prestige. The third section analyses the public uses of the local press, in circulating the information necessary for Victorian society to function, and its private uses, as part of domestic routines, and particularly as a source of sustenance of local identities. As a whole, the chapter shows that the local newspaper was still merely raw material when it came off the press. Readers completed the manufacturing process, as they brought local newspapers to life through the many uses to which they put them.

READERS' LETTERS

In 1871 a writer in *Press News* explained how he had revitalised an unnamed small-town paper. The following passage is quoted at length because of the issues it raises about letters as evidence, and their importance as attractive features of a local paper:

As a sort of sky-rocket we let off a sharp letter on the bad playing of the parish organist, and the noise of the charity children in the gallery of the parish church, by a parishioner of thirty years' standing. This was followed up by firebrand number two, in the shape of an angry remonstrance from a railway passenger as to the want of punctuality in the trains, and the absence of fires in the waiting room... the contents of this first number got talked about by everybody from one end of the parish to the other – so much so, that nearly everyone of the inhabitants rushed to the printing-office to get a copy for themselves ... better still if you can get a few of the leading people to write and cut you up for your presumption, for rest assured they will buy to see if their letter is in, and when they are once satisfied on that point, they will buy more copies to give away ... Then there is the universal advertising – all cheap too – which is promoted by the conversation on the correspondence of your last number. The curate goes to the barber's ... he is there asked what he thinks of the letter ... on the church organ and the charity children. He is astonished at the audacity,

buys a copy, and takes it at once to the vicar, who directly orders two more for the bishop, and one for his own solicitor ... The curate is ordered to reply to the vile calumny, but not being equal to the task, he takes it to the schoolmaster, who concocts a letter to order, and signs it "A Seat-holder."³

This passage urges us to treat readers' letters with caution, but not to dismiss them. The printer concocted two letters, with the aim of stimulating talk about the paper, and therefore sales, showing that correspondence is seen as an important selling point. Even 'leading people' would be proud to have their letters published, showing the prestige of the local press and as intended, the letters provoked more letters, giving momentum to public debate. The curate's letter, ghost-written by the schoolmaster, challenges simple ideas of authorship, and reveals the high level of cultural capital required to write a letter to the local paper, which even a curate felt was beyond him. These techniques were a temporary resort, however, to provoke more genuine correspondence, in the same way that the Jesuit priest in charge of the 'Answers to Correspondents' section of Liverpool's *Northern Press* and *Catholic Times*, 'with the view of drawing on real enquiries ... used to concoct and then answer questions on points of doctrine, etc.'⁴ Made-up letters only work if they tap into something genuine, and most 'readers' letters' probably were written by readers; the difficulty is in knowing which ones.

This printer's methods were known to some readers, at least. One gave the following advice to the editor of the new *Birmingham Daily Post* in 1857:

Never introduce minor subjects into your leaders ... Rather than small subjects should occupy your leading space, I would treat such subjects in letters written under fictitious names; then they would not spoil the dignity of your leaders.⁵

Editors collaborated with some higher-status letter-writers, treating them like paid contributors rather than members of the public, thus showing that readers' letters were not a sharply defined category distinct from other editorial matter, in their production and processing. For example, *Preston Guardian* publisher George Toulmin enabled fellow Liberal Edward Ambler to publish a series of letters, and one *Preston Chronicle* correspondent, E Foster, was able to correct a proof of his letter.⁶

³ 'How to improve a country business; or, hints to a young beginner', *London, Provincial, and Colonial Press News* 16 Jan 1871, p.10.

⁴ Denvir, *Life Story*, p.154.

⁵ Whates, *The Birmingham Post*, p.59.

⁶ Letters from E Ambler to George Melly, 23 and 30 March 1864, Liverpool Archive, George Melly Collection, 920 MEL 13 Vol. IX, 1990 and 1991; "Fair-Play," alias the editor of the *Chronicle*, and "E. Foster", letter, *PC* 3 September 1864. Alexander Mackie, publisher of the *Warrington Guardian*, allowed the local Liberal MP, Peter Ryland, to write a series of letters as 'Oliver West', to galvanise the local party: Nulty, *Guardian Country*, p.27.

Like the anonymous printer, other local newspaper publishers and editors saw readers' correspondence as an essential component of their products. In the twenty-first century, the letters page of the local newspaper is more widely read than any other part of the paper apart from the front page, and it is likely that this section was equally popular in the nineteenth century.⁷ Indeed, one letter-writer in 1868 believed that the letters column was the only section read by those who disagreed with a paper's politics.⁸ Like the selection of advertisements, the letters column can unconsciously reveal the distinctive character and concerns of a district, and a lively letters page, then and now, is considered proof of a paper's vitality.⁹

Table 41. Number of letters published in September and October for selected years, *Preston Herald*, *Preston Guardian*, *Preston Chronicle* and *Lancashire Evening Post*, 1860-1900

	<i>Preston Herald</i> Bi-weekly except 1860 (weekly)	<i>Preston Guardian</i> Bi-weekly except 1900 (weekly)	<i>Preston Chronicle</i> Weekly except 1860 (bi-weekly)	<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i> Daily
1860	34	59	56	
1867	76	68	39	
1868	190	78	73	
1870	66	52	51	
1880	86	58	69	
1890	23	8	30	117
1900	21	6		37

Between one and 20 letters were published in each issue of Preston's main newspapers. Table 41 above shows how the number of letters rose and then fell during the period (high numbers in 1868 were due to a general election and controversy over the Irish Church). Without a wider sampling than two months every ten years, it is hard to interpret this downward trend in correspondence during the period. A fall in letters in the *Herald* could be the result of falling circulation, but the same decline is seen in the *Lancashire Evening Post*, which almost certainly increased its readership in the last decade of the century. Numbers of letters were greatly influenced by the currency of particular topics, such as the 1868 Irish Church debate, which more than doubled the

⁷ D. Cox, 'Letters are best-read section of newspaper', *Grassroots Editor*, 47, 1, Spring 2006, p.11, [<http://www.mssu.edu/iswne/grpdfs/spring06.pdf>], accessed 13 January 2010.

⁸ Letter from 'A Fylde Man', *PC* 24 Oct 1868, p.6.

⁹ I. Jackson, *The Provincial Press and the Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 166. The British 'are famous for the flood of correspondence with which they bombard their newspapers': R.Baczynski, *Discontent and Liberal Opinion: Non-Partisan Readers' Letters to British Local Newspapers Since the Late 1960s* (London: Metaballon, 1987), p.13; the USA and the Netherlands have a similar tradition, but Germany and Italy do not: Barker and Burrows, 'Introduction', p.15.

number of letters, or a half-day holiday for shop assistants in September 1890, which partly explains the high number of *Evening Post* letters in that year. Conversely, events such as the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 or the General Election in 1900 could also reduce the space available for letters, as seen in the *Lancashire Evening Post* during the Boer War in 1900. However, the correspondence column survived after this period, and still flourishes today.

The rules by which letters were selected for publication were often revealed in the 'Notices to Correspondents' column, in which reasons were given for declining to publish particular letters, such as 'Too strong in style', 'Too long' and 'Your letter would require re-writing entirely to make it at all presentable, and we cannot spare the time just now to do so'.¹⁰ Party political considerations also governed the exclusion of some letters.¹¹ These comments also suggest that the majority of correspondence came from readers, rather than being 'home-manufactured'.

However, those who used a local newspaper in a public way, leaving historical traces, probably had more in common with the publishers and journalists than with the readership as a whole.¹² In particular, they tended to be middle-class and male. Most occupations and offices held by letter-writers who volunteered such information show a consistent bias to the professions, followed by tradesmen (16 professionals, six tradesmen and only two working class writers in the *Preston Herald* sample). Where writers used occupational pseudonyms, only a tiny minority were avowedly working-class, although they became more frequent when this lent authority to letters because of the topic, as in 1880, when a textile strike loomed. The six letters about the dispute all used working class pseudonyms ('A Cotton Operative', 'A Weaver', 'A Factory Lad', 'An Overlooker') and there was a similar surge of working-class occupational pseudonyms during the 1890 campaign for a shop assistants' half-day holiday, but these were exceptions. Even when the use of pseudonyms declined (see Fig 33 below) and signatures became more common, the class profile did not change. Lucas found that less than ten per cent of letters to Furness newspapers could be identified as

¹⁰ "Notices to Correspondents', *PC* 8 September 1860, 'Editorial Notices', *PC* 25 February 1871; *PH* 17 October 1868. Today, local newspapers' selection criteria have become narrower, including rejection 'if they did not respond to newspaper content': Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Construction of the Public', p.188; K.Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Letters to the Editor As a Forum for Public Deliberation: Modes of Publicity and Democratic Debate', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18, 3, 2001; Conboy, *Tabloid Britain*, p.20.

¹¹ Buckley, 'Really Smart Sheet', p.23.

¹² B.McNair, *Journalism and Democracy: an Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.108, cited in Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Letters to the Editor', p.228.

coming from working-class writers, whilst the evidence above shows that the proportion was even lower in Preston's papers.¹³ It was indeed a bourgeois public sphere. Yet other evidence shows that the local press was read – or heard - by working-class people (see Chapter 9), in their news rooms and even in the workhouse. In 1870, a correspondent to the *Herald* assumed that some readers were too poor to have the franchise, writing: '*If you have a vote, go and give it [my italics] ...*' and the *Lancashire Evening Post* was found in working-class homes from its inception in 1886.¹⁴

Equally, it was generally unacceptable for women to write letters, in Preston's papers at least. Women began to take a more active part in the public life of Preston during this period, with single women gaining the municipal franchise in 1869, the right to stand for the Board of Guardians from 1875, and the right to vote for and serve on parish, urban and rural district councils in 1894, but this broadening public sphere was not reflected in local correspondence columns.¹⁵ Only 12 out of some 900 letters in the sample purported to be from women, and only three carried a woman's full name (two were writers of circular charity appeals, the third was the sister of a local landowner).¹⁶ Seven letters used female pseudonyms, but only four appear genuine – those from 'A Wife And A Liberal', 'A Housekeeper', 'Lucretia Nettle' and 'A Dressmaker' (the first and third of these called for women to have the vote).¹⁷ Two other writers identified themselves as mothers in their letters, but not in their initials (EE and CE), in a debate about Preston's high infant mortality figures.¹⁸ However, Preston's newspaper public sphere may have been atypical in its male domination – in contrast, the *Ulverston Advertiser* reported 'a deluge of letters from Miss A or Miss B requesting a few words' in support of women's suffrage in 1872, although they were not published, and only

¹³ Lucas, MLitt, p.61.

¹⁴ 29 October 1870, p6.

¹⁵ Keith-Lucas, *English Local Government Franchise*, pp.55, 59, 69; P.Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp.207, 357, 392. The right to serve on borough councils such as Preston's was granted in 1907.

¹⁶ *LEP* 24 October 1900; *PH* 3 September 1870; *PC* 18 May 1878. In Aberdeen, women giving their name and address usually belonged to the middle or upper classes: S. Pedersen, 'Within Their Sphere?: Women's Correspondence to Aberdeen Daily Newspapers, 1900-1918' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Robert Gordon University, 2004), p.59.

¹⁷ *PG* 1 June 1867; *PG* 05 October 1867; *PH* 24 September 1867; *LEP* 27 October 1890. The other three - from Mary Ann, Polly and Mariana – were probably written by men, judging by the subject matter. 'Mariana', meaning 'Star of the Sea', was the signature on a letter about a Fleetwood boat accident, *PC* 22 June 1878; the other two letters, from 'Mary Ann' (*PC* 12 September 1868) and 'Polly' (*PG* 24 October 1868) both appear to be using a female persona for comic effect.

¹⁸ *LEP*, 23 and 25 October 1890.

nine letters purportedly from women were actually published in the newspapers of Furness in North Lancashire between 1846 and 1880.¹⁹

Those who did write letters to the editor, therefore, were more likely to be members of the same interpretive community as the producers of the paper, and may have had considerable influence on its content. These active readers were similar to the minority of 'fans' of the Chicago community press identified by Janowitz in the mid-twentieth century, individuals who were emotionally involved with their weekly local paper.²⁰ In nineteenth-century Preston they used the paper in many different ways, as an interactive reference source, as a noticeboard, a stimulus to action, a visitors' book, a substitute for the duel in defending reputations, as a permanent record, and most of all, as a debating forum, an essential tool in the creation of a public sphere in the late nineteenth century. They may have been a minority, but their contributions were one of the most popular parts of the paper and the local press was far more significant than the London press in enabling them to vent their spleen in print.

These more active, public readers believed that the correspondence column served many important functions, not least as a platform on which to perform in front of others. One self-deprecating letter-writer claimed 'that proud prerogative of the Englishman ... to thrust his grievances into the columns of newspapers', and grievance was indeed the default register, typically complaints about Preston corporation, or public nuisances (see Tables A30-31, Appendix).²¹ One correspondent believed that readers' letters were 'almost the only medium through which we can lay our grievances, and plans for their removal, before the public', another saw readers' letters as part of the press's noble mission to speak the truth, in a comment on a Leyland curate said to have broken up a Liberal meeting:

Thank the stars we have a free press, and if Mr Jacques is afraid of an oral display in his village of [the] truth, we would remind him that in spite of his

¹⁹ Savage, *Dynamics*, pp.71, 80-81. P.J.Lucas, 'The Regional Roots of Feminism: A Victorian Woman Newspaper Owner,' *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, Series 3, 2 2002, p.293; Lucas, MLitt., p.73. Pedersen found similarly low numbers, of about 20 female letter-writers per year in 1900, in two morning papers, increasing to more than 100 per year in 1916. Her research is based on 1,709 letters: Pedersen, PhD, p.17.

²⁰ 'Fans' accounted for 11 per cent of survey respondents: Janowitz, *Community Press*, pp.106-07.

²¹ Letter complaining about uncomfortable trains, from Lumbaginiensis, *PG* 12 October 1872, p.6; see also Jackson, *Provincial Press*, p.153; Pounds, 'Democratic Participation', p.55.

hostility we can send that truth to the hearths of even his own parishioners.²²

Others sought community and fellow feeling, such as John Hagan, incensed at the injustice of poor tenants having to pay their own rates: 'Last Saturday morning, as soon as I could get a *Preston Guardian* to buy I did so. I thought to find your columns devoted to letters of correspondence filled up with indignation ...²³ But some had a lower opinion of readers' letters, with one writer dismissing (in a short letter) 'those foolish persons who wish to see their names in print, by writing long letters to the papers'.²⁴

Table 42. Topics of letters, Preston Herald 1860-1900

	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Complaints over local bodies & responses	3	13	16	7	4
Politics, general	1	23	3	1	2
Religion, local		4	16	1	
Complaints over public nuisance & responses		3	12	3	1
Call for improvements	10	1	2	5	
Politics, local	6	3	6	1	2
Inter-personal disputes	1	2	6		6
Observations	1	2	8		1
Announcements, advice	1	2	3	2	3
Religion, general	3	2	2		
Fund-raising	1	1	1	1	2
Corrections	2	2	1		1
Other		3	2	1	
	29	61	78	22	22

The popularity of readers' correspondence was due in large part to its local focus. It concerned matters close to the hearts of most readers, with local topics accounting for the majority of letters in the *Preston Herald* in all but one of the sampled years (see Table 42 above). The only exception was 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war dominated the correspondence columns.²⁵ As Tables A30 and A31 (Appendix) and Table 42 show, local identity was a common topic in readers' letters, explicitly and implicitly. Correspondents debated the state of the town, compared it to other places, looked back on its history and tried to characterise it. Writers occasionally used local metaphors, for example arguing that one could 'As well try to stop the flow of the Ribble

²² 'Winter recreations' from Abolitionist, Correspondence, *Barrow Herald*, 31 October 1863; letter, 'Brawling at Leyland' from A Protestant, *PC* 5 September 1868.

²³ Letter from John Hagan, *PG* 28 September 1867.

²⁴ Letter, 'Mr Harper and the Orangemen of Preston', from TB, *PC* 25 April 1868, p.6.

²⁵ This British preference continues into the twenty-first century, when readers' letters are still more likely to be about 'specific and localised topics' such as the quality of Bury black puddings, whereas Italian letters 'tend to deal with issues of more general interest such as the meaning of life': Pounds, 'Democratic Participation', p.53.

as to stop the advance of public opinion' or that 'a Protestant might as well attempt to fly up to the pinnacle of the Town Hall spire as attempt to get work at [a certain] mill ...²⁶

Lancashire dialect was used in readers' letters, to express local and county identity, and to claim particular political viewpoints as being 'naturally' allied to the commonsense, honest, unpretentious local identity evoked by dialect.²⁷ Although dialect letters appeared occasionally in the *Preston Chronicle* in the 1840s and 1850s, they became more common from the 1860s, according to a search of the digitised paper.²⁸ Their new popularity was probably related to the dialect boom of the 1860s to the 1880s (see Chapter 7).²⁹ A systematic comparison of dialect content between the three Preston weeklies and bi-weeklies in September and October 1868 found 17 dialect letters in the Conservative *Herald*, one in the Liberal *Guardian* and none in the Liberal *Chronicle*, confirming the conservative stance of the majority of dialect writing published in newspapers.³⁰ All but one of the 18 letters published in these two months were about local campaigning for the general election (the exception was purportedly from Darwen, making fun of the dismal tones of Preston's new town hall clock). As noted in chapter 7, dialect was associated more closely with rural characters – 15 dialect letters (all in the *Herald*) were about the campaign for the rural North Lancashire division, and only two – one in the *Guardian* and a riposte in the *Herald* – were about electioneering in the borough of Preston.³¹ Most of the letters were probably from non-journalists, as the literary quality ranged from mediocre to poor, and there is no evidence that these were regular correspondents, as was the case in papers where dialect letters were written by staff members.³² The letters mocked Liberal campaigning, and often praised the Conservative *Herald* and attacked the Liberal papers, particularly the *Preston Guardian*. There was even a conversion narrative, with

²⁶ Untitled letter, from 'W.W.', *PG* 11 April 1868; Letter, 'Messrs "Atticus" and Tate,' from 'A Conservative From Conviction', *PH* 12 September 1868, p.6.

²⁷ Salveson, PhD, summary [n.p.]. For Scottish dialect letters to newspapers, see Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p.53.

²⁸ For example, 'Trip to Lungrige' from 'Tummus', *PC* 14 October 1843; 'An Account of the Exhibition by a Lancashire Man', from 'Robert Hodge', *PC* 19 July 1851.

²⁹ Lucas, 'Dialect Boom'.

³⁰ Salveson, PhD, p.133.

³¹ Both letters appeared the same day, the speed of the *Herald's* reply suggesting it was composed by a member of staff. 'Eawr four candydates', from 'Tummus Treddle', *PG* 5 September 1868; 'Tummus Treddle un is four candidates', from 'Blind O' One Eye, But Can See A Bit Wi' T'Other', *PH* 5 September 1868.

³² Lucas, 'Dialect Boom'; Donaldson, *Popular Literature*.

'Rhale Liberal' becoming 'Rale Liberal Tornd Tori' by his second contribution, all thanks to reading the *Herald*.³³

The letters use the persona of the simpleton who triumphs over the dodges of his sophisticated opponents, similar to George Formby's character a few decades later.³⁴ 'Clodhoper', for example, explains why he has been unable to write for a while: 'I hev hed a teribl freet, which hes kwite deranjd my nervos system and totly shaterd my konstitushion.' The calamity took place at Poulton station when a Liberal supporter tried to raise the cry, 'Hartington for ever' as the Marquis arrived. But the much louder Tory response, 'Stanley for ever', from hundreds of passengers, 'med th plase seawnd as if th slates wor kumin off. I run eawt of th station thinking th roof wor folein an I hev sufrd fro th freet evur sin.'³⁵ The letters also mock pomposity, for instance describing the minister of a Nonconformist chapel in Longridge as 'Nebuchadnazur, th'Dependunt-Independunt King o'Berry-loine Radikuls'.³⁶

Dialect also enabled correspondents to say things that could not be said in Standard English. A letter from W Streight in 1872 used the exclusion from a civic function of Mr H Crook, a life-saving hero, to make a dig at the poor creditworthiness of some local dignitaries:

... if he cannot get invited to the Mayor's garden party he can do this, at all events, namely, keep agate paying his debts, and that is more than some of the heavy swells can do who were present.³⁷

The active, practical connotations of the word 'agate' contrast with the unproductive leisure of the Mayor and other 'heavy swells'. Another letter, supporting Russia against Turkey in 1877, uses the inclusive undertones of the word 'gradely' to add emotional power to the writer's argument:

"Do unto others as thou wouldst have others do unto thee" was never intended to guide our dealings with such people as the Mahommedans. Not a bit of it. They are not "gradely" people you know...³⁸

A Lancashire identity is used as a benchmark to decide who is 'us' and who is 'them'. On the assumption that readers rather than journalists were behind at least some of these letters, written wholly or partly in dialect, they show that print consumers used the local press to express and contest identities in linguistically sophisticated ways, and in

³³ 'Th'Foild Kuntri, Septembur 24th, 1868', from 'Rhale Liberal', *PH* 26 September 1868; 'Th'Foild Kuntri', from 'Rale Liberal Tornd Tori', *PH* 17 October 1868.

³⁴ Russell, *Looking North*, p.158.

³⁵ 'Elekshun Dooins At Pooton-le-Filde', from 'Clodhoper', *PH* 24 October 1868.

³⁶ 'Lecshun Doings At Lungridg', from 'Oringe An Blu', *PH* 3 October 1868.

³⁷ *PC*, August 24, 1872.

³⁸ *PC*, February 10, 1877.

response to a welcoming reception to such contributions from the *Herald* and other papers. Once again, the London press could not have been used in the same way.

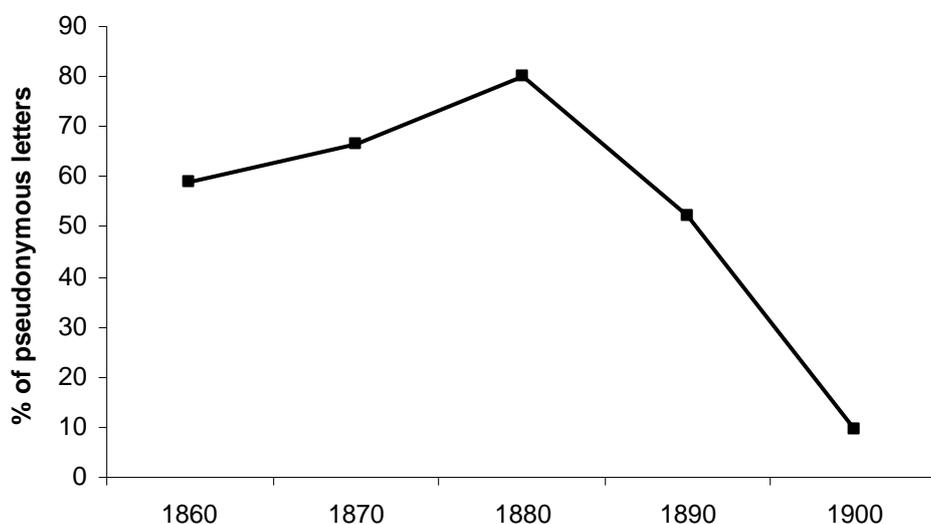


Fig. 33. Percentage of pseudonymous letters to *Preston Herald*, 1860-1900 ($n = 230$)

Letter-writers felt the need to justify to other readers (and perhaps to the editor) why their correspondence deserved to be published, and often did this through the pseudonyms they chose. The use of pseudonyms rose and then fell in Preston's newspapers during the period. Correspondence in the *Preston Herald* was fairly typical, with 60 per cent of letters pseudonymous in 1860, rising to a peak in 1880, when 80 per cent were signed with pseudonyms, before declining rapidly to around ten per cent by 1900 (Fig 33 above).³⁹ It is harder to explain the growth of the pseudonym in the 1860s and 1870s than its decline after 1880, which follows the trend in metropolitan journalism from anonymous to signed journalism. Most pseudonyms were related to the topic of the letter, and changes over time, and differences between papers, in the popularity of particular types of pseudonym were related mainly to topics in the news. When compiled as a list (see Tables A32-A33, Appendix), these pseudonyms are almost poetry, so dense are they in meaning, in linguistic playfulness and creativity. In a few terse words, they reveal the concerns, divisions, obsessions and humour of provincial Victorian society. Only a small minority were completely anonymous to other readers, such as those signing their letters 'XYZ', and yet fewer were unknown to the editor, who insisted that correspondents supply their real names, as *bona fides*.⁴⁰

³⁹ The proportion of pseudonymous letters to two Aberdeen morning papers was similarly low in 1900: Pedersen, PhD, p.65.

⁴⁰ Some letters were ghost-written, unbeknown to the editor, as with the schoolmaster writing a letter for the curate above; Preston Liberal Edward Ambler wrote a letter on behalf of a friend:

About half of the 300 or so pseudonyms sampled from correspondence columns in Preston's three main bi/weekly papers and the *Lancashire Evening Post* claimed, or pleaded, entitlement to speak publicly on the topic in question (see Table 43 below), suggesting that publication was seen as something to be earned or granted, a privileged status rather than an automatic right. To have one's letter published in the local paper was a source of pride, because of the special status of the printed word.⁴¹ Pseudonyms pleaded for this privilege either on the basis of occupation ('A Tradesman', 'An Operative'), position ('A Sunday School Teacher', 'A Tenant') or citizenship and membership ('A Large Ratepayer', 'One Of The Parishioners'), often appealing to length of residence or membership, as in 'a parishioner of thirty years' standing'. Credentials linked to long residence or association confirm the centrality of continuity and history to ideas of local identity. The adjective 'old' appears often, as in 'An Old Inhabitant'. A subset of these claims to citizenship were explicitly Preston-related names, such as 'A Prestonian'. This type of pseudonym was also used in the new town of Barrow as early as 1863, in the initial years of its development ('Barrowite' and 'Barrovian', for example).⁴²

Table 43. Types of pseudonyms used by letter writers to *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian*, 1867 and 1868 (percentage of all pseudonyms in each paper, for sampled years)

<i>n</i> = 167	Position	Citizenship or membership	Occupational	Topic-related	Stance or values	Preston-related	Other place-related
<i>Preston Chronicle</i> 1867	11	27	4	19	19	19	0
<i>Preston Guardian</i> 1867	24	29	9	5	21	9	2
<i>Preston Chronicle</i> 1868	35	10	2	19	33	0	2
<i>Preston Guardian</i> 1868	43	13	6	6	30	2	0

Source: All letters using pen-names, September and October 1867 and 1868

letter from E Ambler to George Melly, 29 April 1864, Liverpool Archive, George Melly Collection, 920 MEL 13 Vol. IX, 1999.

⁴¹ See, for example, 'Th'Foild Kuntri', from 'Rale Liberal Tornd Tori', *PH* 17 October 1868.

⁴² 'What does Barrow want?' (a reply to 'Barrowite'), *Barrow Herald* 5 September 1863, p.5; letter from Barrovian, *Barrow Times* 6 November 1875, cited in Lucas MLitt, p.124.

Readers who lacked the confidence to express an opinion in a letter might still see their initials, if not their name or pen-name, in print if they sent a question to the local paper. The Preston press, like its counterparts elsewhere, was seen as an authoritative source of information on local and other matters, and readers turned to it with queries on local politics, history and sport, and sought legal and marital advice. The editorial answers, but rarely the original queries, appeared in a short section before the leader column, entitled 'Notices to Correspondents', 'Editorial Notices' or similar, and had the same intriguing appeal as overhearing one side of a conversation. Wilkie Collins and others have noted the attraction of such columns, which date back to 1690 at least.⁴³ In the Preston papers, this section was used to acknowledge receipt of letters and articles, to explain why such contributions had not been published, and to answer factual queries and give advice. It offered a level of reader involvement below that of the correspondence column, and where the editorial voice was dominant, although in direct response to readers.⁴⁴ The most gnomic type of reply was a bare 'No'.⁴⁵ The topics of readers' queries overlapped with those of the correspondence column, but were not identical – most notably in the case of sport.

Table 44. Answers to correspondents, 1890 and 1900, *Lancashire Evening Post*

Topic	1890	1900
Football	12	4
Acknowledging receipt/explaining rejection	11	8
Politics	1	18
Non-local other	1	9
Local other	3	7
Unknown	1	6
Geography	0	4
Local history	0	7
	29	63

Source: *LEP*, Sept-Oct 1890 and 1900.

The difference in status (and perhaps in authors) between the correspondence column and replies to correspondents is brought out by the absence of letters about football in

⁴³ Collins, 'Unknown Public'. The *Athenian Mercury* is thought to have originated the practice: D.Brod, 'Letter writing began in the colonial period', *Grassroots Editor*, 47, 1, Spring 2006, p.2 [<http://www.mssu.edu/iswne/grpdfs/spring06.pdf>], accessed 13 January 2010.

⁴⁴ Although Warren identifies this difference, such columns never consisted 'solely' of the editorial voice: Warren "Women in Conference, p.123. This service was probably used to settle wagers, as in the *Preston Guardian* in 1878 ('Notices', 2 January 1878, p.4) when 'J.H' wrote, 'Be kind enough to inform me in your next issue whether Mr James Pilkington was a member for Blackburn during the passing of the Ten Hours Bill.' But 'A Subscriber' (Blackburn) wrote, 'Do not ancer the letter respect James Pilkington be a member of Parlement when the 10 houers bill passed or not until next week.' The editor gave the information anyway, after a third Blackburn reader wrote with the same query.

⁴⁵ For example, *PC* 1 October 1870.

the *Lancashire Evening Post* of 1890 (none in September and October of that year), while football dominated the readers' queries, with 12 answers making it the most popular subject.⁴⁶ Even during Preston North End's high point of 1888 and low point of 1893, few letters about the club or any other aspect of football were published. The queries were about dates, scores and other match statistics, mainly concerning PNE, less often about Blackburn. Even in the early days of football, fans needed facts, as fuel for discussion and argument, and they turned to the local press.⁴⁷ The number of answers to correspondents roughly doubled between 1890 and 1900 in the *Lancashire Evening Post* (see Table 44 above), probably due to rising circulation, but also due to the Boer War, a General Election campaign and the Taff Vale trades union case in 1900 arousing more reader curiosity and comment. The number of readers' queries was in inverse proportion to the number of letters published in these years (see Table 28 above), raising the possibility that pressure on space from war news forced the editor to merely acknowledge correspondence in 1900, rather than print it in full.

THE APPEAL OF LOCAL NEWS AND VIEWS

The local press was so successful because it fulfilled the desires of readers to read about themselves, and about others who lived their lives in the same place as them. In Barrow, the *North West Evening Mail* was taken every night 'to see who was dead and born'. A Lancaster interviewee, referring to the early twentieth century, stated the rarely stated obvious when he said: 'the only literature that ever came into the house was the *Lancashire Daily Post* which we used to read for the local news.'⁴⁸ This reason for reading local newspapers has been underplayed in press history and the history of reading, in which betting news and romantic fiction have been highlighted as more significant motivations for new working-class readers to maintain their literacy skills.⁴⁹ In late twentieth-century Lancaster, people read in order to take part in their local

⁴⁶ Columnists such as 'Looker On' in the *Sheffield Green* 'Un began to quote and respond to readers' letters in the first decades of the twentieth century: Jackson, 'Football Coverage', p.81; N.A.Phelps, 'The Southern Football Hero and the Shaping of Local and Regional Identity in the South of England', *Soccer & Society*, 2, 3, 2001, p.53; Johnes, *Soccer and Society*, p.11.

⁴⁷ R.Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp.168-9. Demand for such information led to newspapers' involvement in publishing football and cricket yearbooks and annuals, such as the *Athletic News* annual from 1887, the *Birmingham Daily Gazette* football guide 1897-1903 and *Smirk's Handbook: An Association Football Season* (E.H. Smirk, Preston, 1897/8).

⁴⁸ Mrs C2B (b. 1887); Mr M1L (b. 1910), *ER*. 'Community news' was the most popular type of content in mid-twentieth-century Chicago local papers: Janowitz, *Community Press*, p.133.

⁴⁹ Vincent, *Literacy*, p.190.

community (with the local paper a key text), and this seems equally true for nineteenth-century Preston.⁵⁰ In 1890, a letter-writer in another town described how 'one opens one's *Leek Times* on a Friday night, to see what one's neighbours are doing ...'⁵¹ Fred Ching carried the *Dursley Gazette* to Dursley station on Saturday mornings in 1918, where the 'workmen who played for the local football teams ... would come rushing up to buy a *Gazette*, to see their names and the teams listed for the weekend matches.'⁵² Likewise, a company history of the *Eastern Football News* (the '*Pink 'Un*, established 1913) remarks: 'Isn't it strange how the Norwich City match reports are always most eagerly devoured by people who were actually at the game?'⁵³ Once again, Carey's insight applies: for such readers, 'nothing new is learned but ... a particular view of the world is portrayed and confirmed'.⁵⁴ Henry Lucy claimed that the people of Shrewsbury preferred leader columns about 'the new sewage system and the proposed Market Hall' rather than the American Civil War, 'and when they found these matters discussed in the columns of the *Observer* ... they rushed to buy the paper. Its sale went up in inspiring fashion...'⁵⁵ Even the Vicar of Wrightington, who favoured London papers over the local press, was eager to see the reports of his church events in local and regional papers, and for his Preston friend to read them too.⁵⁶ In the mid-twentieth century, readers of small weekly community papers in Chicago evinced the same desire to know and be known through the local press, seeing these papers as an extension of their own social networks. One Chicago interviewee liked the paper because there were 'so many people you see in it that you know', while another said: 'I like to read about the people I know.'⁵⁷

Janowitz describes this pleasure at seeing one's community captured in print as the democratisation of prestige.⁵⁸ There are numerous examples from this period and others, of readers' pride in becoming part of the text they revered. 'It is my greatest desire to see my name in print,' Annie Trousdale wrote to the *Northern Weekly Gazette*

⁵⁰ Barton and Hamilton, *Local Literacies*, p.153.

⁵¹ Letter to *Leek Times*, quoted in letter, 'Controversy', from John Hobson Matthews, Cardiff, *Antidote* 4 November 1890.

⁵² A.Hayes, *Family in Print: Bailey Newspaper Group Ltd, a History* (Dursley: Bailey Newspaper Group, 1996), p.21.

⁵³ Clarke, *Pilgrims of the Press*, p.31.

⁵⁴ Carey, *Communication as Culture*, p.20.

⁵⁵ Lucy, *Sixty Years*, p.46.

⁵⁶ 'Please look in your Manchester Courier beginning with yesterday's under the heading of local Gleanings -- Lancashire and Cheshire -- for something about Heskin School' (22 Sept 1877); 'Our Party nevertheless was a great success ... The great speech of the evening you will doubtless find reported in most of the neighbouring newspapers ...' (10 Jan 1879): Bradford, *Drawn By Friendship* [n.p.].

⁵⁷ Janowitz, 'Imagery of the Urban Press', pp.522, 529.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.527.

in 1911, which ran an animal welfare society for young readers.⁵⁹ A similar club in Preston, the *Preston Guardian Animals' Friend Society*, had a membership of more than 8,000 children, each of whom had the pleasure of seeing their name included in the lists of new members published every week. Adult readers also believed that the local paper conferred status on its subjects. One reader of the *York Herald*, on seeing his verses published in 1827, wrote: 'I cannot describe the sensation I felt. It was the pride of a conqueror. That, I thought, is celebrity.'⁶⁰ John Rushton, a coalminer from Walkden near Bolton, gave a paper at a mutual improvement class in 1868, on gas in coal mines, and 'had preserved -- and quoted in full -- the short report which the *Farnworth Weekly Observer* published of that meeting.'⁶¹ The memoirs of many nineteenth-century journalists describe the same pride at first seeing their name in the local paper.⁶² Entering competitions was another way to get into print – with the chance of a prize, too, and this channel of reader involvement was as popular in the local press as in metropolitan publications. Children entered a competition to select extracts for reading in the *Preston Herald* in 1890, while women competed in a prize draw for ladies' gloves in the same paper in 1900. Readers responded enthusiastically to competitions promoting local identity in the *Preston Monthly Circular* in 1896, in which they nominated their favourite local people, places or objects, and they sent their photographic work to the *Empire Journal* in 1897.

The status of the local press as a highly visible carrier of local identity was recognised by other local organisations, and not just by journalists and publishers. Fig. 34 shows a postcard advertising Burton-on-Trent's most famous export, Bass beer. The other prominent object chosen to proclaim 'Burton-ness' is a copy of the local paper. In Preston, the members of St Jude's Anglican church were following custom when they laid the foundation stone of their church extension in 1890, and under the stone, in a bottle, they buried 'the Preston papers' and the parish magazine, among other commemorative items.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Northern Weekly Gazette*, 3 June 1911 quoted in Milton, 'Uncle Toby's Legacy', p.115.

⁶⁰ *Yorkshire Herald* 7 September 1920, cited in Arnold, MPhil, p.126.

⁶¹ Unpublished autobiography of John Rushton of Walkden, coalminer, 1833-c.1914, written 1908, in J.J.Bagley (ed), *Lancashire Diarists: Three Centuries of Lancashire Lives* (London: Phillimore, 1975), p.178.

⁶² Anon, 'Journalistic Autobiographies', p.157; Baczynski, *Discontent and Liberal Opinion*, p.12.

⁶³ *PH* 29 October 1890, p.5. For similar uses of local papers, see *O'N* 15 June 1861; Anon, *Rendezvous with the Past*, p.15.



Fig 34. Bass advertising card with local paper in background, 1909

Private scrapbooks often included cuttings from the local press, suggesting that readers prized reports of themselves and their families, further testament to the status conferred by publicity in the local paper. The scrapbook of J.J. Myres, a Preston solicitor and alderman, includes his electoral addresses and reports of the activities and achievements of him and his family, all from the local press.⁶⁴ Here was evidence of involvement in local life, sanctioned and recorded by local newspapers, and preserved by readers because of its importance to them. The status of the local press meant that the promise of appearing in print was sometimes used as an incentive, as when 'a lady' was encouraged to attend a meeting in defence of the Irish Church in 1868, with the promise that 'arrangements had been made for the accommodation of ladies ... all of whose names it had been arranged to publish in a certain Church paper [probably the *Preston Herald*], whose reporter was sure to be in attendance.'⁶⁵

⁶⁴ J.J. Myres's scrap book relating to Preston, 1857-1892, Harris Library, LE02. See also Scrapbook of Douglas C Logan, 1901-1916, Highland Council Archives, Lochaber, GB3218/L/D1, which includes reports of shooting matches in which he was successful, and his activities as a committee member of local sporting and social bodies, and a letter published in the local paper.

⁶⁵ 'How to enlist the sympathy of the ladies', letter from 'One in the Secret', *PG* 19 September 1868.

THE PUBLIC SPHERE AND OTHER USES OF THE LOCAL PRESS

The public sphere defined by Habermas is one of the most significant ways in which readers used their local newspapers – to discuss matters of local, national and international import, but particularly the first type of issue. However, before examining the role of the local press as a public sphere, it should be acknowledged that it was woven into the expanding public life of towns such as Preston in many other ways, lubricating local life with information.

The local press served as a noticeboard on which information could be posted, for example to attract support for new initiatives such as a Free Library, public readings or the campaign against steaming in weaving sheds.⁶⁶ This sharing of information led to action, as with some of the complaints made in readers' letters. In Preston, a reader thanked the tram company for following his suggestions for a more efficient service, and in Barrow, the council's surveyor returned a 'fine, fat goose' sent by a builder after the gift was revealed in a reader's letter.⁶⁷ Sometimes this noticeboard function was exploited by visitors to the area, such as the letter from 'A Fortunate Visitor at Poulton-le-Fylde' keen to record his favourable impressions of the town, using the newspaper like a visitors' book.⁶⁸ The local press was used for political manoeuvring, as seen in the letters from the Liberal wire-puller Edward Ambler in support of Parliamentary candidate George Melly.⁶⁹ Reputations, personal and civic, were defended publicly, such as the letter claiming that Preston, rather than Garstang or Lancaster, had the oldest charter in Lancashire; or the plea from the curate of Leyland to his accuser over allegations of rabble-rousing at an election meeting:

I respectfully request you, as a gentleman, to give to another gentleman all the satisfaction in your power by making me an apology for the serious charges contained in your letter published in the *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Chronicle* of Saturday last.⁷⁰

Readers sometimes relied on the local press to express their thoughts and feelings more eloquently than they could themselves. Rev WD Thompson, vicar of St Saviour's in Preston, quoted from Hewitson's series *Our Churches And Chapels* (later

⁶⁶ Letter from JA Ferguson, Secretary of Preston Temperance Society, *PG* 13 October 1860.

⁶⁷ *PG* 6 December 1890, p.4; Lucas MPhil, pp.72, 82.

⁶⁸ *PH* 2 October 1880.

⁶⁹ Taylor, 'Politics in Famine-Stricken Preston'.

⁷⁰ 'Garstang Historical Oratory', letter from 'A Preston Freeman', *PC* 7 June 1879; 'The great Jacques question', letter from Rev Kinton Jacques, *PG* 19 September 1868.

republished in book form) when recounting the history of his church's schoolroom.⁷¹ JA Bernard, editor of the *Ulverston Mirror*, often ended his leaders in condemnation of the police with the phrase, 'Who rules in Furness?' When a police superintendent was told to move out of a private carriage at Furness Abbey station, an onlooker mocked him by shouting, 'Who rules in Furness?' and a host of voices, in concert, rejoined, "Who rules in Furness Abbey?"⁷² Here, the words of the journalist were taken off the page by the mocking passengers and used against their target, demonstrating these readers' support of the paper's editorial stance.

Readers in business needed the local press, alongside regional and metropolitan publications for commercial information, and, logistically, publications from elsewhere were unable to compete in offering such detailed and up-to-date information as could be found in the 'market editions' of the Preston papers, which listed that day's prices at Preston's markets within hours of the farmers' carts trundling into town.⁷³ The members of the Exchange and News Room ordered later editions of the three Preston papers and the *Manchester Guardian*, presumably for these purposes, as well as receiving market prices and other information from across the country by telegraph.⁷⁴

Facts were important, but so was the 'forum' role of the local press, providing an infrastructure for a public sphere. When readers' letters are analysed according to their orientation - whether they were responding to leader columns, news articles, or other readers' letters - it becomes obvious that readers used correspondence columns to talk to each other, rather than to the paper or its editor (Table 45 overleaf, Table A34, Appendix).⁷⁵ It is rare to find a letter beginning 'Thanks for your leader ...' so that 'letters from readers' would be a more accurate description than 'letters to the editor'.⁷⁶ Readers were much more likely to make announcements, complain, take issue with the reported comments of a public figure, or to respond to other readers, for example arguing over rival conceptions of local identity, as in the political dialect letters above.⁷⁷

⁷¹ 'Tea-party at St Saviour's: Inaugural opening of the new schools', *PC* 10 September 1870, p.6.

⁷² *Ulverston Mirror* 4 August 1860, cited in Lucas, 'Bernard's Challenge', p.206.

⁷³ S.Caunce, 'Market reports', in *DNCJ* online, accessed 21 May 2010.

⁷⁴ Preston Exchange and Newsroom minutes, 4 January 1869, 3 December 1872, LRO CBP 53/4.

⁷⁵ Similar categories are used in Pedersen, PhD, and Nord, 'Reading the Newspaper'.

⁷⁶ For a rare exception, see 'The Next Election and the Liberals of Preston', Correspondence, *PC* 16 May 1868, p.6; R.Connelly, "'Letters from Readers" a more appropriate heading', *Grassroots Editor*, 47, 1, Spring 2006, p.7 [<http://www.mssu.edu/iswne/grpdfs/spring06.pdf>], accessed 13 January 2010.

⁷⁷ N.Hayes, 'The Construction and Form of Modern Cities: Exploring Identities and Community', *Urban History*, 29 (3) 2002, p.416; Nord, 'Introduction', p.13.

Some proactive letters stood alone, generating no response, while others initiated long-running debates. (The proactive category is probably overstated, as it includes responses to public meetings, sermons, placards and rumours, and no doubt responses to news articles and leaders to which allusions have been missed.)

Table 45. Orientation of letter, *Preston Herald* 1860-1900

Proactive (setting own agenda)	112
Response to news report same publication	84
Response to letter same publication	73
Response to news report other publication	15
Response to letter other publication	7
Response to leader column	6
Response to advert	1
Total	298

Editorial concerns, reflected in leader columns or the proportion of Preston news, were not reflected in readers' letters, suggesting that readers brought their own frames of reference to the newspaper, rather than any mechanistic following of the newspaper's worldview. Lack of response to leader columns also calls into question their use by historians as an index of public opinion (although see p.235 for other types of response to them).⁷⁸ As we saw in Chapter 6, readers were more negative than public figures quoted in news reports, and much more negative than editorial comment in the newspapers themselves (see Table 27, Chapter 6). This only partly explains the mismatch between the point of view of readers and the publications they read – they also preferred to engage more with other readers, or follow their own agendas. Similarly, the proportion of readers' letters about Preston in the *Preston Herald* bore little relation to the proportion of Preston news in the paper, as Fig 35 (overleaf) shows, apart from in 1860.

The masked ball of pseudonymous correspondence, at which readers did not know quite who they were dancing with - although they knew who the host was, and therefore the sort of guest who might attend - helped to fulfil one of the conditions of a public sphere, or deliberative democracy: that participants met as equals, although we have seen that badly written letters were less likely to be published, because of the extra editing time required, if for no other reason.⁷⁹ Pseudonyms were used 'to suggest

⁷⁸ See, for example, the otherwise excellent Read, *Press and People*, p.73.

⁷⁹ Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Construction of the Public', p.71; Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Letters to the Editor', p.223.

that an individual was speaking not for him or herself, but as the representative of a wider social group, or even of the public as a whole.⁸⁰

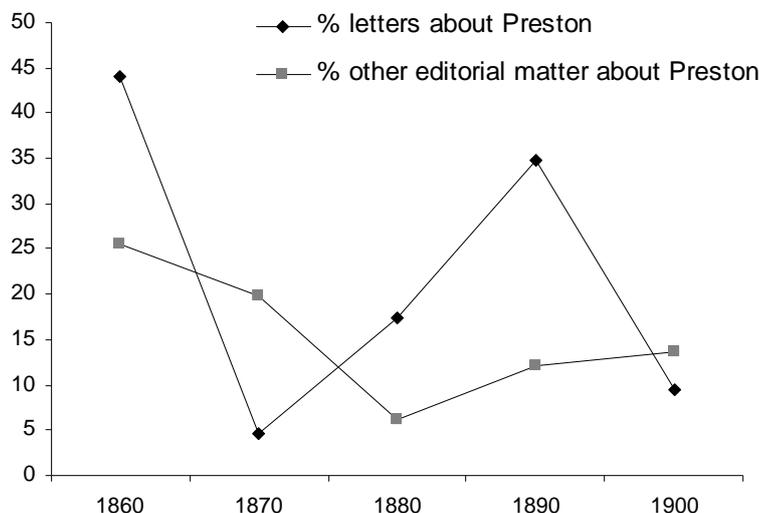


Fig 35. Letters about Preston and proportion of Preston content, *Preston Herald* 1860-1900

Controversy was central to this public sphere, as it was to the nineteenth-century press as a whole.⁸¹ The *Preston Herald* boasted that it ‘advocates the principles of the Constitution in a vigorous and argumentative manner’.⁸² Rather than something to be avoided, disputation was pursued and embraced, and was seen as a high-minded exercise in establishing and defending the truth, involving courage and skilful technique, akin to a martial art. It was important to know one’s enemy, and to use the right methods. Catholic letter-writers who had defeated the Anglican controversialist Dr Littledale were commended to other Catholics for using

the simple tactic of going straight at him, like a fox-terrier at a rat, utterly neglecting all the side issues which he raised up, and forcing him to keep to the point first raised, until he either owned himself in the wrong, or took refuge in sullen silence...⁸³

This analysis was published in a Preston publication which claimed a small national circulation in the early 1890s, and was devoted to equipping and encouraging Roman

⁸⁰ H. Barker, ‘England, 1760-1815’ in H. Barker and S. Burrows (eds), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.94. Paradoxically, the same value – the public sphere – is expressed in exactly opposite terms in modern US newspapers, many of which now refuse anonymous letters, even if the writer supplies their name and address as bona fides: ‘the newspaper is a public forum. If one enters a public forum they need to be public about who they are’: Connelly, ‘Letters from Readers’, p.7.

⁸¹ For the tradition of controversy in religious publishing, see J.L.Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (London: Greenwood, 1989), pp.16, 18, 141.

⁸² Advertisement, *NPD*, 1871.

⁸³ *Antidote*, 1 February 1890, p.14.

Catholics to use the public sphere of the correspondence column – chiefly in the provincial press – to defend and promote their faith. It provides further evidence of the importance of the provincial newspaper letters column as a public sphere. The publication in question, the *Antidote*, began as a column in the *Catholic News*, a weekly paper published from Preston with a regional readership, but the column was also issued separately as an independent in quarto (roughly A4-size) publication from 1890 to 1892, and operated as a Victorian Catholic rapid rebuttal service. Every week it carried this appeal on its front page:

It would be doing a great service to the cause of Catholic Truth if our friends up and down through the country would send us – immediately they come across it – any slander upon the Catholic religion published either in the Press or from the platform. A prompt refutation will be given in these columns, and the evil can be met by circulating THE ANTIDOTE freely on the spot where the slander arose.⁸⁴

The cultural capital of rhetorical skills and facts were needed to take part in the public sphere of the correspondence column, according to a book reviewer in the *Antidote*:

anyone who can write correct English and condense his ideas, armed with this little book, need not fear to do battle in the public Press with any of the champions of Church Defence. There is not one whose sophistries, shallowness and unhistorical fables cannot be refuted ... by the treasures of facts crowded together in these pages, and wisely woven together in a letter to a newspaper.⁸⁵

Controversy was also pleasurable, as evinced by one letter-writer who was attempting to initiate a debate about the financial problems of local co-operative societies:

I think a good newspaper discussion might help them. I did get two on in one paper some time ago, but I cannot draw them out now. I have just had a discussion in a Chorley paper with two co-operative persons ... I intend to keep the subject sore and open.⁸⁶

As with any well-matched contest, there was mutual respect between combatants, an 'agreed behavioural code to which even bickering groups within communities can subscribe', as in a tribute to a Southport paper from the Dean of Liverpool, who recalled 'good scuffling with the *Visiter* and that in itself is one of the best compliments I know ...'⁸⁷ Editors also subscribed to this view, with a journalism handbook from 1894 advising that:

⁸⁴ An antidote to poison was a common metaphor in cultural debates about the press, and was chosen as the title of publications opposed to Chartism, Tractarianism and the Mormon church among others: Jones, *Powers of the Press*, p.99; *WD*.

⁸⁵ Anonymous review of *Continuity or Collapse?* by Canon McCave DD, and Rev JD Breen BA, OSB, edited by RJB Mackinlay OSB, *Antidote* 19 August 1890, p.224.

⁸⁶ 'Co-operation', letter from 'Live And Let Live', Correspondence, *PC* August 24, 1889.

⁸⁷ R.Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians* (New York: Alfred A.Knopf, 1969), pp.454-55, cited in Hayes, 'Construction and Form of Modern Cities', p.416; Anon, *A Century of Progress*, pp. 23-24.

wordy strife may provide a means of escape for bitterness, malice, and uncharitableness ... enabling ... a visible and immediate growth of the spirit of toleration and of sweet reasonableness.⁸⁸

Controversies between public figures were treated respectfully, as when a Catholic and a Protestant clergyman took part in an 11-month debate on Papal jurisdiction in the *Manchester Courier* in 1889-90 and 'the editor, with much courtesy, placed a column at the disposal of each of the disputants, and carefully shut out all intervention of others than themselves.'⁸⁹ Debates at such length were not uncommon. These exchanges were sometimes considered valuable enough to be re-published as pamphlets.⁹⁰ Not everyone admired such disputes, however. A Barrow clergyman wrote that, 'of all religious controversies, so called, those carried on [in] a newspaper are the least profitable.'⁹¹

Active readers who wrote regularly to the Preston papers formed a small community, with regular signatures continuing to appear over the years, such as 'Saxon', 'Fakradeen' and some writers who gave their names, such as E Foster and Albert Simpson. No doubt other readers tired of their constant appearances in the correspondence columns, but there is evidence from the twenty-first century that many readers grow fond of such characters, and that they are missed when they go.⁹²

The public sphere created by readers' letters, and other newspaper content, provoked oral debate, too. We saw in Chapter 8 that newspaper-reading was associated with discussion, in pubs and in news rooms. Edward Ambler told the Preston Liberal candidate George Melly that Ambler's anonymous letters promoting Melly's cause were being talked about, much as the anonymous editor's fictitious letters about the choir at the beginning of this chapter provoked discussion.⁹³ Letters sometimes broke out of the rule-bound safety of rational discussion. In 1860 a letter published in the *Blackburn Times*, criticising the Darwen shoemakers' union, led to the picketing of a cobbler's shop after he was heard to agree with the letter, and the same letter was then the

⁸⁸ Mackie, *Modern Journalism*, p 76.

⁸⁹ 'The last of a long controversy', *Antidote* September 23, 1890, p.265.

⁹⁰ For example, this pamphlet advertised in the *Antidote*, 16 December 1890, p36: "All roads lead to Rome," an account of a recent controversy in the *Lakes Herald*...To be had of Father Sellon, Ambleside (Westmoreland), price 2½d, post free.'

⁹¹ Letter from TD Anderson, *Barrow Herald* 29 10 1870.

⁹² Jackson, *Provincial Press*, pp.169-71. Keith Flett is a case in point.

⁹³ Letter from E Ambler to George Melly, 21 April 1864, George Melly Collection, 920 MEL 13 Vol. IX, 1996. Similarly, an article by James Dibdin Hubbarde in the *Hull Packet* 'set the town talking' in 1846: C Cooper, *An Editor's Retrospect* (London, 1896), p.18, cited in Arnold, MPhil, p.126.

subject of a public meeting.⁹⁴ Violent opposition to the stance of a local paper can be interpreted as readers defining their identities in opposition to the views of particular publications, as when a Church and King mob let off a cannon near the offices of the *Preston Review* in 1793, and Chartists fired a pistol at the *Preston Pilot* offices.⁹⁵ Crowds who burnt piles of papers and editors' effigies, and individuals who physically assaulted editors such as Hewitson, obviously cared about what the local press wrote.⁹⁶ In 1844 the *Hull Advertiser* claimed that one old Holderness farmer was so attached to the paper that he shed tears when it declared itself against the Corn Laws.⁹⁷ Readers and non-readers alike cared deeply about what was written in the local press. These violently non-textual reactions to editorial opinion suggest that the correspondence columns under-represented the wider readership's response to leading articles.

We saw in Chapter 3 that the provincial press functioned as a national system and as a national network, thanks largely to the efforts of publishers and journalists. However, readers were also involved in knitting together publications from the four corners of the country, and even overseas. Their responses to the content of one paper, when published in another, wove the publications and their readers into a larger public sphere. At the local level, for example, 'An Old Political Pioneer' wrote a letter to the *Preston Chronicle*, encouraging Catholics to vote Liberal in the November 1868 general election. A rhetorical question in his letter was quoted out of context by a Conservative councillor at a public meeting and on placards posted around the town. The original correspondent then replied to his Tory opponents, but in the safety of the *Liberal Chronicle's* correspondence column.⁹⁸ We have seen already how common it was for Preston correspondents to use one paper to reply to a letter or editorial comment in a rival paper, particularly at the start of the period. The same process of dialogue and controversy across a number of publications also linked distant papers, as when 'Latris' wrote a letter from Preston to the *South Bucks Standard*, beginning:

A friendly controversy has been going on between the editor of the *Wycombe Leaflet* and myself, writing in the CATHOLIC NEWS, a Preston paper, and I understand that it has been followed with interest by several of

⁹⁴ *PG* 1 September 1860. p.7.

⁹⁵ E. Baines jr, *The Life of Edward Baines* (London, 1851), p.20; 'Death of Mr TW Clarke', *PG* 15 August 1863, p.5.

⁹⁶ F. Large, *A Swindon Retrospect, 1855-1930* (Wakefield: S.R. Publishers, 1970), p. 73; for another assault on an editor, see Robinson, *Boston's Newspapers*, p.13.

⁹⁷ *Hull Advertiser* 12 April 1844, cited in Arnold, MPhil, p.126.

⁹⁸ Correspondence, *PC* 3 and 17 October 1868.

your readers. May I ask the favour of insertion of this short letter, in reply to what appears in the current number of the *Leaflet*?⁹⁹

This letter was then republished in the *Catholic News* and the *Antidote*, thus connecting four publications hundreds of miles apart through one correspondence. Such long-distance exchanges were not unusual, and if drawn on a map, they show how these active reader-correspondents created a national network of local papers, by circulating, recirculating and responding to texts from these publications. 'Such correspondence provides the clearest indication that the reading of newspapers was a creative process that could add to or alter intended meanings and in turn produce a vast amount of new, unsolicited writing.'¹⁰⁰ This public sphere encompassed other forms of print, including pamphlets, placards, books and magazines, and also the platform and the pulpit. In 1870 'Fakradeen', a regular correspondent to the *Preston Herald*, wrote a letter mocking the 'mad teetotal preachers in the Orchard on Sunday night' (Chadwick's Orchard was a public meeting place in the centre of Preston). The following week 'Fakradeen' returned to the Orchard and saw one of the preachers

with the *Herald* in his hand, and I tell you, Mr Editor, he did give your paper a character and no mistake, simply because you had allowed a poor simple correspondent like me to have my say on a few matters ...¹⁰¹

These active readers had a clear understanding of the networked nature of the press. In 1851 a Preston Catholic bookseller described how 'newspaper transcribed from newspaper' to publish slanders against the Catholic church.¹⁰² In 1891 *The Antidote* asked readers 'to have an eye on [Anglican] parish magazines' after one had repeated the supposed Catholic 'curse' from *Tristram Shandy*: 'This paragraph will probably be repeated right and left, and be spread through hundreds of towns and villages in England.'¹⁰³ In 1890 *The Antidote* warned readers about a false reference to Aquinas first used by Collette, the 'no-Popery lecturer', in a controversy in the *Midlands Counties Express* in 1867-68. Such detailed reference to correspondence from more than 20 years earlier suggests some kind of cuttings archive, perhaps an indexed

⁹⁹ *Antidote* 25 November 1890, p.335. In 1868 a *Preston Chronicle* reader wrote to comment on an article in the *Belfast Times*: Correspondence, *PC* 12 September 1868.

¹⁰⁰ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.198.

¹⁰¹ Correspondence, *PH*, 10 September 1870, p.6; see also 'A few words from Fakradeen in reply to "Deplorer"', Correspondence, *PC* Oct 29, 1870.

¹⁰² Speech of Evan Buller reported in 'Catholic Defence Association, meeting in Preston', *PC* 18 October 1851; a similar organisation, the Preston Society for the Defence of Catholic Principles through the Medium of the Press, had been formed in 1823: T.Smith, 'Preston Catholics Before Emancipation,' *North West Catholic History*, 26, 1999.

¹⁰³ *Antidote* 24 February 1891, p.53; much of the content of Anglican parish magazines was indeed syndicated: V.J.Platt, 'Parish magazine', *DNCJ* online.

scrapbook or the use of a press cuttings agency.¹⁰⁴ Active reader-correspondents were numerous enough to have publications such as the *Antidote* dedicated to them; likewise, 'the editors of Temperance periodicals despised the passive reader: they wanted readers who would ... scrutinise hostile papers for heresies requiring exposure ...'¹⁰⁵ Such readers may have been cranks, but they were legion.

The local press was particularly important to these readers in allowing them to express and defend their religious, moral and political identities and views. Of the 86 publications dealt with in the first volume of the *Antidote*, the most common type was the local press, with 31 mentions (see Table A35, Appendix). There is no reason to think that local papers were any more anti-Catholic than other types of publication. The next most common category, London non-denominational papers and reviews, received 20 mentions. When the local press was cited, it was the correspondence columns which provoked response, while for London papers and Anglican publications, it was the editorial content, typically articles or answers to correspondents. This shows the importance of the provincial letters column to this public sphere. Local papers may have been at the heart of such public debate because it was easier to have one's views published there (a strength, not a weakness), but also because the local press was more pervasive. The *Antidote* illustrates two other points: first, that the public sphere had its limits and blind spots, in this case, the anti-Catholic bias of much of the press, particularly Conservative papers; second, that in the 1890s, long after Habermas and other scholars believe that the public sphere had been corrupted by commercialisation, reasoned argument was thriving in the correspondence columns of the local press in England.¹⁰⁶

However, this reasoned argument no longer took place in a unified public sphere in Preston's press at the end of the century. Instead, there was a growing divergence in the topics addressed in letters to newspapers with opposing politics. Earlier in the period, in September and October 1860, 72 per cent of letters in the Liberal *Preston Guardian* and the Conservative *Preston Herald* were on the same topics (62 out of a total of 86). But by the last decade of the century, this common ground had reduced

¹⁰⁴ For example, Walker's "*Century*" *Scrap & Newscuttings Book (patented) No.2*, c.1901, 'for authors, clergymen, students, lawyers, and all literary men. specially prepared for those who desire to conveniently keep their cuttings relating to one subject within two boards for ready reference.'; for the use of a cuttings service by an active provincial newspaper reader, see Pedersen, PhD, p.51.

¹⁰⁵ Harrison, 'World'.

¹⁰⁶ Paz, 'Popular Anti-Catholicism', pp.1-2; Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp.168-69; Hampton, *Visions*, pp.30, 130.

from 72 per cent to 29 per cent (58 out of 198 letters), in a comparison of letters published in the *Herald* and the Liberal *Lancashire Evening Post* for the same months of 1890 and 1900. The same story is told in a decline in the number of readers' letters responding to either news or correspondence in other papers. In September and October 1860, the *Preston Herald* published nine responses to material in other papers, and in 1868, the *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian* each published 10 letters in response to other papers. But by 1900, the *Herald* published only one such letter in the same two months, and the *Evening Post* only three. At the end of the period, there were two distinct readerships, members of politically differing interpretive communities, who probably bought a copy of their favourite paper, rather than reading it in a news room alongside rival titles.

While the local press was part of the infrastructure of public life, it was also part of the furniture of private and domestic life.¹⁰⁷ Reading the local paper was a ritual, woven into weekly and daily routines, as seen in this effusive (and suspiciously well-written) letter in a Preston paper of 1852:

'I am an old man; and having, for ... thirty years, been a devoted reader of the *Preston Chronicle*, that newspaper has become, as it were, a part and parcel of my very existence. I could as soon think of leaving Preston on the market-day *minus* my favourite old mare ... as to leave the town without taking home with me a *Chronicle* ... When the toils of the day are completed, and our substantial evening meal has been partaken of, it would gladden your heart to see how anxiously my family assemble, with eager ears, to listen to the events recorded in your columns.'¹⁰⁸

Whether this letter is genuine or not, such an attitude would have been credible to readers, as shown by numerous descriptions in oral history and autobiographical material, of how the local evening paper was part of a routine of leisure, particularly for men, but also for women:

Bert's slippers were warming by the fire. And by his chair were his packet of Woodbines, matches and the *Evening Gazette* ... After his tea he would make himself comfortable in his own reserved chair and read the newspaper while puffing on his Woodbine.¹⁰⁹

My grandmother ... had a double-jointed gas pipe near so that she could pull the gas flame near to her *Lancashire Daily Post* in an evening.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *Victorian News*, p.273.

¹⁰⁸ 'Rural Footpaths', letter from 'An Old Man', Correspondence, *PC* 11 September 1852, p.6.

¹⁰⁹ J.M.Shansky, *Yesterday's World* (Preston: Smiths, 2000), describing the early 1900s.

¹¹⁰ Mr M2P (b.1901), p.3, *ER*.

The same ritual was enacted in middle-class Preston homes, too, as described in this recollection from the early twentieth century of Dr Arthur Ernest Rayner, by his daughter:

... in front of the fire he would light his beloved cigar -- Ramon Allone Corona -- unfold the *Lancashire Daily Post*, and undo a waistcoat button. At last he was relaxed and we could breathe.¹¹¹

'I should say nearly every home took the [*Lancashire Evening Post*]', one interviewee said of Preston in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹¹² Whether they did or not, this reader imagined that they did – confirming Benedict Anderson's theory that the very act of privately reading the local paper encourages each reader to imagine the thousands of others who are performing the same act or 'ceremony' – thereby connecting them, in their imagination, to other readers.¹¹³

The local press moved from background to foreground at times of crisis for local identity, as seen in the twentieth-century examples of local government reorganisation which threatened the status of Accrington and Herefordshire (see p.115, n.54, Chapter 6).¹¹⁴ Individuals also turned to the local press when the geographical aspects of their personal identities were threatened, particularly by exile from their birthplace. Comparison of the reading matter available in Preston and Barrow Free Libraries reveals the use of the local press to sustain expatriate local identities. The more settled population of Preston required only four non-local provincial weekly papers at any one time, while the 'shifting and fluctuating' population of Barrow, a town of migrants, required 16 such publications.¹¹⁵ The papers in Barrow Free Library were from other parts of Furness and Lancashire, from Cumberland, Westmorland, the Isle of Man and Cheshire, matching the places of birth revealed in the Census. The only surprise is the lack of any papers from Staffordshire, a significant source of immigration to Barrow, although the publications auctioned at Barrow Working Men's Club and Institute in 1870 included one from Wolverhampton, among a similar geographical spread of

¹¹¹ P.Hesketh, *What Can the Matter Be?* (Penzance: United Writers, 1985); see also '[My mother] always read the [*Evening*] Post at night, from beginning to end': Mrs J1P (b.1911), *ER*.

¹¹² Mr G1P (b.1907), *ER*.

¹¹³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 35-36.

¹¹⁴ When the county identity of Herefordshire was threatened by its planned merger with Worcestershire in the early 1970s, the local paper, the *Hereford Times*, was the obvious forum in which to protest. Correspondence grew to 'record proportions' and sales of the paper increased: C.R.Goulding, 'Defeat in the battle for Herefordshire,' *Hereford Times* 150th anniversary special, 2 July 1982.

¹¹⁵ Barrow Free Library annual reports, Barrow Record Office and Local Studies Library. As well as looking back to their places of origin, Barrow Library's readers also looked forward to opportunities elsewhere, as seen in the higher number of specialist migration titles; Marshall, *Furness*, p.310.

titles.¹¹⁶ Around the turn of the century, the parents of Barrow oral history interviewees preferred local newspapers, both from Barrow and their places of origin. The local press was mentioned in similar numbers as in Preston, and more than in Lancaster, but there were also more non-local papers, especially from Scotland, where many interviewees' parents were born. Often it was the same family that took a Barrow paper and a paper from their home town – of the nine families who took provincial papers from elsewhere (including Manchester mornings and Sundays), six also took a Barrow paper. These six families felt no need to choose between their previous home and their present one, perhaps like those cricket fans whose parents were born in Pakistan, who see no contradiction between being British and supporting Pakistan.

Expatriates who travelled further afield likewise used local papers to keep informed of events back home, and to sustain their local identities.¹¹⁷ Thomas Parkinson, who emigrated from Preston to the United States in 1851, regularly received Preston papers from his mother and sister, and almost a century later, Southport clergyman Rev NC Oatridge described the response of local soldiers to receiving copies of the *Southport Visiter* overseas: 'their letters of appreciation show what it means to them. The provincial paper ... provides an indispensable link for those away from home...'¹¹⁸ Nearer home, 'Bert', mentioned above, probably read the Blackpool *Evening Gazette* although he lived in Preston, because he was a Blackpool expatriate. Similarly, a Lancaster oral history interviewee's parents, both from Penrith, received the Penrith paper every week in Lancaster.¹¹⁹ The most eloquent evidence for the use of the local paper to nourish local identities is found in O'Neil's diaries. O'Neil, born in Carlisle but settled in Clitheroe, 100 miles away, summarised in his diary what he learnt from the paper each week, but rarely recorded his feelings. Yet when he occasionally received a paper from his home town, his writing became more emotional:

¹¹⁶ See also Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, p.69. 'Barrow Working Men's Club and Institute', *Barrow Herald* 8 October 1870, p.3. In 1871 40.7 per cent of Barrow's population had come from Staffordshire, Westmorland, Ireland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Worcestershire and Scotland, in that order. During the 1880s, an estimated 12 per cent of the town's population, 5,700 people, migrated elsewhere: Marshall, *Furness*, p.355; T.H.Bainbridge, 'Barrow in Furness: A Population Study', *Economic Geography*, 15, 4, 1939, pp.380-81.

¹¹⁷ B. Bell, 'Bound for Australia: Shipboard Reading in the Nineteenth Century' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Journeys Through the Market: Travel, Travellers, and the Book Trade* (Folkestone: Oak Knoll Press, 1999); A. Crisell and G. Starkey, 'News on Local Radio' in B. Franklin (ed), *Local Journalism and Local Media: Making the Local News* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.23.

¹¹⁸ Thomas A Parkinson, 'A Preston Emigrant to America 1851, His Diary & Letters from England' (1983), typescript, Marian Roberts Collection, University of Central Lancashire; Anon, *Century of Progress*, p. 29.

¹¹⁹ Mrs W2L (b.1910), *ER*.

I got the *Carlisle Journal* today which was sent me and I was very glad to get it, it is the first news I have had from Carlisle this many a month and it is very full of news it being the assize week. I read it all through advertisements and all I was so keen of it.

I got a newspaper from Carlisle ... I read the local news and advertisements which makes me think I am at home again.¹²⁰

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has demonstrated that readers used the local press in many ways, to lubricate local society with information and to sustain their own local identities. Many of the local newspaper's functions could not be fulfilled by publications from elsewhere. These conclusions are supported by readers' diaries, correspondence and oral history interviews, and by lists of periodicals provided by free libraries. Similar trends have been detected from the analysis of readers' letters; such corroboration increases the reliability of correspondence columns as evidence, despite their many problems. It is acknowledged that letter-writers were representative of the interpretive communities from which each local paper sprang rather than the wider readership, yet their output was read avidly by less active readers. Some new and unusual techniques have been used in this chapter, including quantitative analysis of letters by their orientation, quantitative analysis of pseudonyms, and comparison of periodicals taken in the libraries of contrasting towns.

Little reader evidence has been traced concerning the ways in which readers used the local press as players or supporters of local sports teams. However, Jackson has established that the print culture of sport varied greatly from place to place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and it may be that Preston lagged behind cities such as Sheffield and Birmingham and the towns of East Lancashire in its football coverage.¹²¹ As Chapter 7 demonstrated, football fans brought the atmosphere of Deepdale to Fishergate, as they blocked the streets to congregate near newspaper offices, waiting for news of away matches; the late football editions of the *Lancashire Evening Post* on Saturdays and Mondays were popular; at certain times football fans also used local papers as sources of football knowledge to feed discussion and

¹²⁰ O'N Wed 13 August 1856; 2 March 1857.

¹²¹ Jackson, 'Football Coverage'.

argument.¹²² We have also seen how members of local amateur teams and fans who had attended professional matches were keen to read what they already knew, to bask in the status of print and to aid discussion, respectively. However, no evidence has been found for nineteenth-century Preston of the kind used by Jackson from an early twentieth-century Yorkshire football and sports special, in which local columnists debated with local supporters.¹²³

This study demonstrates conclusively that the local press was an important part of public and private life in this period. However, the scarcity of evidence for how readers used the local press might raise doubts. It is hard to argue from an absence, but this thesis, following Brown, has demonstrated that the local press was like furniture, or a roof over one's head, part of the basic infrastructure of life. Similarly, the lack of historical evidence for the appreciation of chairs or houses does not mean that they were not significant in people's lives. Hewitson could not have done his job without reading scores of local papers from near and far every week, yet his diary mentions only high-status books he read for relaxation on Sundays. Like the *Burton Daily Mail* in the background of Fig 31, the local press formed the background to many aspects of readers' lives. Although most readers did not think this activity was important or unusual enough to be worth recording, other evidence, such as numbers of titles, copies sold, and copies taken in reading rooms, shows that local papers were a significant part of Preston's reading world.

The active readers discussed in this chapter responded as journalists hoped, in many instances, such as supporting the editorial stance, defending the paper against attacks, basking in the status of print and deferring to the editor's bottomless knowledge. But they also maintained an independent attitude, often setting their own agenda when writing to the paper, and rarely responding to the hallowed leader column. They constructed their own networks of readers, through correspondence with other papers. Readers' uses of the paper were influenced by but not *determined* by the content of local papers, and by the conscious decisions and intentions of publishers and journalists.¹²⁴

¹²² N.Fishwick, *English Football and Society, 1910-50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) pp.99-100.

¹²³ Jackson, 'Reading the *Green 'Un'*, p.81.

¹²⁴ M.d.Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. xiii, xvi-xvii.

This chapter investigates three questions: how did readers use the local press, what uses were unique to the local press (as distinct from non-local publications), and how did readers use it to sustain local identities. In answer to the first question, readers used the local press as public persons - to build and sustain political, social, commercial and cultural infrastructures and to take part in a local public sphere of reasoned discussion. The importance of the provincial press to this public sphere is shown by its dominance (particularly its readers' letters) among the publications which the *Antidote* responded to in the early 1890s. Such reader-to-reader relationships are not a given – twenty-first-century research has found it lacking in Italian newspapers, for example.¹²⁵ However, it is important not to overstate the role of the local press in fostering deliberative democracy. The papers more often followed local initiatives than led them, as with the shop assistants' half-day holiday in 1890. The success of the initiative was due mainly to canvassing of shopkeepers, rather than publicity in the newspapers. This chapter has also shown how readers used local newspapers as private persons, for relaxation and leisure, and to feel part of a community.

The second question, what did readers get from the local press they could not find elsewhere, also explains why the mid-nineteenth-century prophecies of doom for the provincial press did not come to pass. Nowhere else could people read so much and so often about people and places they knew or knew of, about other Prestonians' activities and opinions, thereby connecting them with their neighbours or former neighbours, family and friends. Nowhere else were they as likely to gain the prestige of print themselves, with a positive mention, set in the permanence of type. The local press offered active readers a platform for self-expression and for action. None of this could be supplied in such quantity, or so powerfully, by non-local publications. While all newspapers were prestigious, the limited space and subject matter of the high-status London press could not provide the opportunities, spread across the nation, that the local press exploited, for distributing and democratising the prestige of seeing oneself and one's place in print. The hundreds of names printed in each edition, of people at public meetings, members of committees, subscribers to charitable causes, defendants and witnesses, public officials, people at funerals, pub cricketers and church football teams, all provided 15 minutes of local fame, a century before Warhol's prediction.

¹²⁵ 'The writer's interaction with the readers is markedly stronger in Britain than in Italy ... references and direct address to the readers are much more common in Britain': Pounds, 'Democratic Participation', p.49.

As regards the third question, Chapter 5 found the response to Hewitson's localising of the *Preston Chronicle* equivocal – readership, and reader involvement, increased, but this may have been due to improved business methods rather than the increase in local content. However, the evidence presented in this chapter is more clear-cut, and is summarised in Table 45 overleaf. Readers liked local news and pictures of local personalities and places, they saw the local press as a welcoming platform on which to perform dialect writing, they valued fiction, poetry and historical writing about the locality, and they believed that writing about local people and places raised their status. When newspapers organised social and cultural events and competitions on a local theme, readers and their families took part enthusiastically. Readers relied on the local press as the infrastructure for local professional and amateur sport, particularly football. They used the local press to argue about local identity. All these are positive responses – no doubt the majority response was less active, as with readers' responses to leader columns; only one type of negative response has been found, that of readers' resistance to the boosterism of local newspapers. In Chapter 6 we saw that the local press in the new town of Barrow tried harder to evoke and exploit a rapidly developing local identity, but the only reader evidence traced so far suggests that many readers looked to the press 'back home' for sustenance of their local identities.

Readers used the local paper to propose, sustain and contest local identities by taking generic journalistic methods and focusing them on their own locality; they enjoyed the prestige that print gave to local people and places, and the permanence bestowed on fleeting events by their being recorded in the local paper. They also brought their interpretations of other aspects of local identity, such as dialect and local history, to the newspaper. Usually these uses of the paper were implicit, but crises of local identity – public and private – made the value of this cultural product more explicit. When distance from home threatened the local identity of the reader, or when the continuity of a place was disrupted, as in local government reorganisation, people turned to the local press.

Table 45. Newspaper content capitalising on local identity, and likely reader reaction

Newspaper content	Likely reader reaction
Local news	Read and bought local newspapers; <i>Chronicle</i> sales increased with increase of Preston content
Use of we/us	[No evidence]
Dialect	Wrote dialect letters
Labelling content as local	[No evidence]
Local imagery in mastheads	[No evidence]
Local almanacks and prints	High reader demand; often sold out
Local maps	Ditto
Local fiction and poetry	Scottish evidence of popularity; evidence from scrapbooks
Street sketches	Indirect evidence that description and naming in print conferred status on people and places
Foreign news through Prestonian eyes	[No evidence]
Advertisements on local themes	Popularity of births, marriages and deaths column
Local history	Readers bought local history books, many of them originally published as newspaper series; readers wrote 'Notes and Queries'
Boosterism	Some readers resisted this; lack of boosting in readers' letters
Newspaper-related events and organisations	Participation in <i>Lancashire Catholic</i> concert, membership of <i>Preston Guardian</i> Animals' Friend Society
Reader competitions on local themes	Many readers entered
Local sports news	Readers bought <i>Lancashire Evening Post</i> football editions; crowded outside newspaper offices; wrote in with queries; wanted to read about their own teams, as players or supporters
Othering	Many readers' letters criticising other towns, other political and religious views
Contestation between rival local identities	Many readers' letters criticising differing views espoused by rival local papers

11. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to explain why local papers were the most widely read type of newspaper in the second half of the nineteenth century and to examine whether readers used them to sustain local identities. The evidence presented in the body of this thesis has demonstrated that the local press sold more copies and was more widely read than other types of newspaper for two reasons: it reflected the lives of its readers more closely, and its national structure enabled it to deliver news to readers more quickly.

An analysis of the place of the local press in local society has required a great deal of conceptual and empirical groundwork. The quantitative national supremacy of provincial newspapers has been established, concepts of the 'local' and 'national' press and of local identity have been clarified, and the historiographical neglect of the local press has been explained. Using Preston as a case study, the town's periodical print culture has been introduced, along with the most important newspapers and some of the key personnel who produced them. The historical circumstances of newspaper reading and purchase in Preston have been reconstructed. All this has provided necessary context for the study of how readers used the local press, both privately and collectively, in Preston, whilst offering a significant contribution to nineteenth-century press history and the history of reading.

The argument of the thesis can be summarised thus. Many of the dominant paradigms in press history and the history of reading are peculiarly unsuited to the study of the local press. A focus on centralised modes of cultural production misses a nationally networked phenomenon such as the local press, and dismisses local phenomena as unimportant. The anachronistic and confused concept of the 'national' newspaper was not used of nineteenth-century newspapers, and has hindered press scholarship; further, concentration on a print genre that was part of high politics, diplomacy and elite culture has ignored another genre which was relatively insignificant in these areas of human endeavour. Scholarship on 'significant' literary figures has taken no account of the low status of the local press, which led famous writers and intellectuals to hide or downplay their involvement in such lowly literature. Moreover, while a 'spatial turn' is highlighting the importance of place in many areas of history, this development has barely reached the histories of reading and the mass media.

More copies of provincial newspapers were sold and read between the early 1860s and 1900 than any other type of newspaper. In Preston's news rooms and reading rooms, no other type of publication required so many multiple copies to meet reader demand as the local paper, and it was this print product which was most often recalled from the childhood homes of oral history interviewees. While local papers had to compete with other genres for popularity among upper-middle-class readers, they were pre-eminent for readers lower down the social scale. Local newspaper publishers and journalists consciously set out to promote local identity, seeing this as part of their cultural role, whilst also aware of the commercial benefits. This was apparent in the case studies of Anthony Hewitson's remoulding of the *Preston Chronicle* to appeal to Preston readers, in the treatment of Preston North End in Preston's newspapers, and in the use of Lancashire dialect in the *Preston Chronicle*. Other newspaper techniques for building and exploiting local patriotism have been surveyed, and the concept of performing local identity has been introduced.

These case studies of newspaper content capitalising on local patriotism go some way to explaining why the local press outsold the metropolitan press. It offered content that could not practically be provided by London papers. An extra vocabulary of place was available to the local press, literally so in the case of Lancashire dialect, whose untranslatable nuances could add depth to any piece of writing. Football reportage, with its focus on local supporters, gave readers the opportunity to read about themselves. Unlike the *Daily Mail*, for example, the local press could provide local football information and infrastructure, for both the amateur and the professional game. The structure of the local press, enabling it to function as a national system and a national network, was another reason for its success in this period.¹ Non-local news could reach readers more quickly if it was telegraphed to hundreds of local newspaper offices throughout the nation and then printed in newspaper form and distributed across small areas. The alternative, of telegraphing the same news to London newspaper offices and printing and transporting newspapers hundreds of miles by rail, was much slower.

These competitive advantages have been confirmed by evidence from the readers themselves. They often used local papers for purposes which publications from elsewhere could not fulfil, and incorporated them into local politics, social movements, commerce and culture, and used them as local public spheres. They also used them more personally, for leisure and as extensions of their social networks. Local papers were better able to fulfil these functions because there were more of them, providing

¹ Hobbs, 'When the Provincial Press was the National Press', passim.

more opportunities, across the nation, for Janowitz's 'democratisation of prestige', the mundane glamour of appearing in print under the gaze of one's neighbours. But there was more than a logistical, quantitative difference between readers' uses of the local press and of publications from elsewhere – there was also a qualitative difference, enabling readers to write in their own dialect, to discuss local issues, and to feel connected to the people and places given status in the local paper. However, as regards local identity, the local press played only a small part in the formation and development of sense of place. Further research would be valuable into the role of the press in Victorian new towns such as Barrow, but the evidence presented here suggests that, even at the height of the local newspaper's powers, it was only one among many factors creating local patriotism. Local identity was more significant to the newspaper than the newspaper was to local identity.

A number of theoretical approaches have proved useful, particularly those of Fish's interpretive communities, and Carey's view of newspaper-reading as ritual rather than a search for new information about the world. As the research progressed, Fish's 'interpretive communities' began to appear in the evidence, personified as members of Preston's many news rooms, and as groups of journalists, councillors, businessmen, friends and regular correspondents, grouped around each of Preston's newspapers. They were all readers, and many were also writers, collectively forming the cultural environment in which the newspapers were written and interpreted. In describing the ways in which local newspapers were created and used within any one place, and how constituent parts of their texts moved around the country, in the national network of the local press, 'the concept of circulation is crucial since it allows for the possibility of interaction between elements of the process and does not imply a single "one-way flow" from the top to the bottom of the system, i.e. from production to reception.'² Repetition is part of ritual, and Carey's insight tallies with the repetitive nature of serial publications such as newspapers, as Scott-James noted: 'The function of a newspaper is to express repeatedly, not the same facts, but the same sort of facts; not the same ideas, but ideas based upon the same outlook upon life or a department of life.'³ Complexity theory has also been of assistance, in capturing the dynamic, contingent nature of local identities, and the equally dynamic, inherently unstable local newspaper market, in which a shifting set of factors combined to determine the success or failure of particular titles in particular places at particular times.

² G.Philo, 'Can Discourse Analysis Successfully Explain the Content of Media and Journalistic Practice?', *Journalism Studies*, 8, 2, 2007, p.194.

³ Scott-James, *Influence*, p.210.

Content analysis has demonstrated the complex, constantly changing nature of the texts of local newspapers, and the case studies on content related to local identity show how local newspapers were highly artificial, mediated, 'literary' texts.⁴ We have seen this in the translation of Lancashire dialect spoken by middle-class individuals into Standard English, and in the mediated actions and opinions of working-class football supporters, who were not allowed to speak directly through the press at this time, and in the attempt to convey a misleading picture of consensus during the Preston North End crisis of 1893.

The 45 years covered by this thesis encompass a fast-changing, dynamic period in periodical print culture and reading behaviour, and the research presented here has demonstrated many significant developments. In Preston as elsewhere, more titles were published, more copies were sold, and established publications grew in their physical dimensions and in the number of their pages and editions. New genres appeared, such as the provincial evening newspaper. The local press diversified, with more periodicals and specialist publications serving particular religious denominations, leisure interests and occupational groups. Local papers adapted their content to a larger, more socially diverse readership, with shorter articles, shorter paragraphs and more variety in their non-news articles. Newspapers' address shifted from middle-class to classless, as new working-class readers influenced journalists' language; the boundaries of 'us' were expanded to include readers previously represented as 'them', expressing more consensus and less conflict. Rising literacy and cheaper newspapers encouraged more reading, more public places in which to read and an exponential increase in shops from which to buy papers.

While news was widely available at the beginning of the period, it was often heard rather than read, or read from a newspaper owned by somebody else, in a public place. As time went on, more hearers became readers, and more readers became purchasers. News rooms became integrated in the activities of political parties, clubs and societies, and with the opening of Preston's Free Library, became available to all, if they so desired. Reading the newspaper at home became more common, first for lower middle-class readers and then for working-class readers, at the end of the period, with a consequent decline in the use of news rooms for middle-class readers (and a decline in the second-hand value of papers and periodicals). However, at the end of the period, when newspaper-reading was becoming part of the domestic routine of even working-

⁴ R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette : Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), cited in L. Brake, 'Gendered Space and the British Press' in T. O'Malley and M. Harris (eds), *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1995 Annual* (London: Greenwood, 1997), pp.104-05.

class readers, reading a newspaper in a public news room was still a normal activity, and one which often involved discussion of what was read. This middle-class move from public to domestic newspaper-reading may have been connected to a splitting of Preston's print-based public sphere at the end of the period, as readers went from reading and responding to a wide range of titles in public places to buying a smaller number of publications for domestic use.

News was at the heart of the most dynamic changes in the reading world of a provincial town like Preston. The rise of the news room, and the even greater rise of the newsagent, eclipsed any other changes in the circumstances of reading. These findings confirm other evidence that newspapers and, to a lesser degree, magazines were the fastest growing and most popular forms of literature in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵ The comparative significance of newspapers in the public life of a town is illustrated by the contrast with the far fewer institutions dedicated to the reading of fiction, such as circulating libraries. Facilities to read and discuss the news were thought attractive enough to be offered as benefits for members of clubs and societies, and to be used as bait to lure men into churches and political parties, pubs and temperance halls. As the pace of publication quickened and news rooms, newsagents and a purpose-built newspaper office appeared in the town, newspaper-reading began to change the appearance and routines of Preston - and most of the newspapers being read were provincial ones, particularly those published in Preston.

A number of misconceptions about the metropolitan and provincial press have been challenged in this thesis. First, that provincial newspapers were parochial during this period.⁶ Content analysis shows that national and international news, and non-news items, almost matched local news in most of Preston's papers; this misconception may be based on London local papers, which were exceptional in consisting chiefly of local news.⁷ The idea that metropolitan newspapers were national papers in this period has been dealt with in Chapter 1; in fact, London papers circulated mainly in South-East England, and to local elites elsewhere, and contained little news of British events outside the South-East. The idea that newspapers contain only news is demonstrably false, as shown by the examination of content related to local identity in Chapters 5-7, including sport, poetry, serialised fiction, history, geography, biography, book reviews, maps, portraits and other illustrations. This thesis has built on the work of Brake and others in demonstrating that newspapers cannot be dismissed as shallow, transparent,

⁵ Altick, *Common Reader*, p.318; 'Compared to Books', *WD* online, accessed 21 May 2010; Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends*, pp.88, 99.

⁶ Anon, 'On the parish', pp.273-76.

⁷ Lester, 'Local Newspapers'.

'sub-literary' texts. In fact, newspapers are much more complex than novels, made by many authors, using many genres, for a variety of motives, most of them concealed or unconscious. Many of the authors of each issue never met nor agreed with each other, and readers' responses were routinely incorporated into the text.⁸ The example of Hewitson has shown that provincial editors and newspaper proprietors were far from anonymous.⁹ The nameless metropolitan editor was the exception rather than the rule in Victorian journalism.¹⁰ Another misconception, that profit replaced politics as the primary motive for newspaper publishing in the late nineteenth century, has found no support in the case study of Preston, or elsewhere in provincial journalism. A complex mix of motives continued to motivate the launch, purchase and continuation of newspapers, and many papers were founded chiefly for political reasons into the twentieth century.

Turning to misconceptions about newspaper readership, the bound file copies kept in news rooms, and the demand for second-hand copies, challenge ideas about the ephemeral nature of newspapers.¹¹ There is some truth in the view that readers' political views can be inferred from a paper's political stance, but users of news rooms and reading rooms read promiscuously, and technically superior papers or those with specialist content such as farming news, were read even by those who disagreed with the paper's politics.¹² Finally, the assertion that 'the popular classes and the elites' have never read the same papers¹³ is contradicted by the presence of the *Times* even in working class news rooms; further, a divide between a 'quality' press and a 'popular' press is harder to sustain when examining local weekly and evening papers.

Sources and methods were dealt with in Chapter 2 and throughout the thesis, so it remains only to summarise their strengths, weaknesses and potential for further study of the local press. The availability of digitised newspapers has been a great boon, and removes one of the chief objections to the study of the provincial press, its unwieldy profusion. Their search capability has been used to find examples of poetry and of Lancashire dialect, for example, and greatly facilitated the cataloguing of public reading places in Preston, but their potential is only beginning to be tapped. Corpus linguistics has also proved invaluable, in revealing rhetorical strategies, teasing out nuances, identifying individual writing styles, and highlighting similarities and differences between

⁸ Brake, 'Old Journalism and the New', p.1.

⁹ M.Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.85.

¹⁰ Milne, 'Periodical Publishing'; Roberts, 'Still More'.

¹¹ Morison, *English Newspaper*, p.1; for further challenge to the ephemerality of newspapers, see Heyd, PhD.

¹² Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism*, p.129.

¹³ Chalaby, *Invention*, p.179.

texts. The need for a large corpus of text from which to work means that in this project, the technique has been used only on newspapers themselves, but it could also be used on reader sources such as newspaper correspondence, diaries, autobiographies and private correspondence, if enough text could be assembled for analysis. Content analysis has been essential to this project, in order to move beyond impressionistic assertions and make safe generalisations from transparent data. However, this technique is not without its problems, not least the difficulty of accommodating the growing physical dimensions of newspapers during the period, so that column inches and percentages have sometimes told different stories, and there have been dilemmas over whether to compare content per page, per issue or per week, when different titles were of different dimensions, pagination and frequency. The diaries of a provincial journalist, Anthony Hewitson have been used where relevant, adding a valuable insider's view of the local press during this period; they have great potential for further research. For the future, the methods of Law, who examined one type of newspaper content, serialised fiction, and its circulation through a variety of print genres, could be expanded to study other types of content such as autobiography, reviews, history, dialect writing, illustration, advertising or material from the United States.

Although there are no systematic sales figures for this period comparable to earlier Stamp Duty returns or later Audit Bureau of Circulation evidence, there are many claims about circulation in newspaper directories and other promotional material, anniversary supplements and company histories. It would be a valuable exercise to bring this data together, in a more complete way than has previously been attempted.¹⁴ A larger body of such figures would at least give orders of magnitude and enable simple comparisons. There is also a need for more sophisticated methods which could explore the complexity of newspaper circulations, including their dynamism and other issues such as 'density' of newspaper sales.

The evidence for sales and readership in this thesis has two dimensions: numbers of titles mentioned, and numbers of copies of individual titles taken in news rooms or sold in newsagents. At a national scale the two dimensions are related: when entrepreneurs saw sales of individual titles in a particular genre increasing, they were encouraged to launch new titles in the same genre. However, in restricted local markets, the escalating start-up costs for a weekly or daily paper, and the limited profits obtainable, made new title launches rarer. Therefore it seems likely that, in any one town, or any one newsagent's shop, one or two local newspapers could easily outsell all the other

¹⁴ Some figures have been compiled in Aspinall, 'Circulation of Newspapers'; Wadsworth, 'Newspaper Circulations'; Ellegard, 'Readership'; Lee, *Origins* and Brown, *Victorian News*.

papers and periodicals put together. Even in the early twentieth century, decades after the number of magazine titles had overtaken the number of newspaper titles, the oral history evidence suggests that two Preston papers sold roughly as many copies as all magazines combined, among working-class consumers.¹⁵ Earlier in the period, when the local press was well established but there were fewer magazine titles, we can surmise that local papers outsold all magazines combined, in any one place, by a clear margin.

The long search for reader evidence was worthwhile. Future research of a similar nature will benefit from ranging more widely, beyond just one town, but this thesis demonstrates that evidence for such an apparently humdrum, low-status activity as reading the local paper does exist. This evidence has enabled the reconstruction of the reading world of a substantial provincial town, and offered a much more holistic view of the local press than has been available previously. Further, most of the reader evidence, although fragmentary, points in the same direction, to the significance of local newspapers. Similar studies across wider areas may also assist in teasing out the connections between the local press and local identity. The oral history material is invaluable, in eliciting attitudes and behaviour related to the local press which usually go unspoken. The large sample means that, when analysed quantitatively, the most distinct trends can be relied upon, so that the greater popularity of the local paper among newspapers is a robust finding, but the phrasing of the questions means that no safe comparisons can be made with other types of reading material. Readers' letters have been of less use than hoped, because of their opaque authorship. Records of news rooms provide evidence consistent with other sources, even though they may only relate to a minority of newspaper-readers. No doubt other and better reading sources are to be found, perhaps even the treasures of a retail newsagent's sales records. Study of a greater number of more private forms of reader evidence such as diaries and scrapbooks could shed light on the silent majority of readers, using prosopographical methods. Such sources might also reveal readers' uses of advertising, for which little evidence was found in this study.

Methods intended to relate reader response directly to particular aspects of the local press, such as Hewitson's changes to the *Chronicle*, the use of dialect or, more broadly, content celebrating local identity, have been less successful than those which brought a more open agenda to the study of reading behaviour. Methodologically, it has proved more effective to investigate historical acts of reading by starting from the

¹⁵ For comparisons of magazine and newspaper titles, see Law and Patten, 'Serial Revolution' and Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends*.

reader rather than the text.¹⁶ Otherwise, the researcher is looking for a needle in a haystack, even though the haystack may tell us more about the past than the needle.

It could be objected that more than three years of research have produced relatively little evidence of reading the local paper in Preston. As discussed in the previous chapter, the local paper probably worked at a subliminal level, and was part of the furniture of life; in the same way that the use of everyday furniture has left few traces in the historical record, so with the use of the local paper. Further, at times of local crisis it became more overtly significant, and what little evidence there is, points in the same direction. However, the absence of evidence for sports fans' and players' use of the local press is more problematic, especially as local sports teams are so emblematic of local identity.

Many fruitful areas for further research have been opened up, besides those related to methods discussed above. Generally, there is much more work to be done on the local newspaper, as the most common Victorian print genre. Syntheses bringing together work on individual titles would be particularly valuable, as well as studies of individual genres of provincial print such as provincial magazines, sports titles, the religious press, halfpenny evening papers and weekend miscellanies, the latter two particularly significant in spreading the newspaper-buying habit more widely among working-class readers. The relative unpopularity of local magazines, compared to local newspapers, seems surprising, given that their content was often more distinctively local, and this issue deserves more attention. In the early twenty-first century, by contrast, sales of county and local magazines are rising whilst those of provincial newspapers decline.

Aspects of reading behaviour requiring further study include the purchase of second-hand newspapers and periodicals, evidence of which could usefully be married with other sources for the history of reading. There is further research to be done, too, on where and when newspapers were read aloud in this period, and more generally on reading in the public house and the home. More work on Preston, because of its unusual electoral history, could trace the relationship between newspaper-reading and political involvement, using voting lists and other biographical information to characterise and differentiate readers of different papers, and examine the question of whether a wider franchise affected newspaper readership.

¹⁶ M. Johnes 'Text, Audiences and Postmodernism: The Novel as Source', *Journal of Sport History* 34, 2007, p.11.

The connections between place and print culture have great research potential. The impact of distinctive local economies on the local press, for example, would provide further economic analysis of the provincial press, which was probably more significant to the nineteenth-century British economy than London newspapers. Further study could also be undertaken of the links between local social and economic circumstances, and the development of distinctive print genres, or the nature of newspaper circulation, in relation to railway networks, for example. This thesis has touched on the fact that the disposable incomes and shorter working hours of workers in Lancashire and the West Riding fuelled the development of music hall, football as spectator sport and the seaside holiday, yet their impact on print culture has been harder to discern. Reading differed from these other pastimes in that it required a skill, literacy, which was significantly scarcer in textile areas such as Lancashire. Music hall and then football may have been in direct competition with reading as forms of working-class consumption, although football and its coverage in the local press developed to mutual advantage from the mid-1880s. It may be coincidence that a pioneering provincial weekend miscellany, the *People's Journal*, was published from Dundee, a textile town, and that one of the first provincial evening papers, the *Bolton Evening News*, was published in a Lancashire cotton town by the same publishers who launched one of the first sports specials, the *Football Field and Sports Telegram*, but this coincidence between textile areas and new provincial genres is worth pursuing.

Comparative studies could address issues such as the reporting of football supporters in northern and southern local papers, to examine whether the local press applied uniform techniques around the country, or whether there were regional differences in the practices of journalism. A study of places at the core and periphery of local newspaper publishing could tease out the impact of the local press on readers' perceptions of place, developing the work of Winstanley and Lucas on Oldham and Barrow.¹⁷ Related to this, there is more theoretical work to be done, building on the insights of Patrick Joyce and Benedict Anderson in relation to the role of print culture in creating 'imagined communities' below the level of the nation.

Although the provincial press, and within that the local press, has been separated from other types of newspaper in this study, they are of course closely related, and the eventual aim must be to synthesise the scholarship on the London and provincial press. More work is needed on the relationship between metropolitan and provincial print cultures, both in the Victorian era and in the twentieth century. Times of conflict between local and national government might be revealing, for instance over the

¹⁷ Winstanley, 'News from Oldham'; Lucas, 'Publicity and Power'.

introduction of the New Poor Law, or studies of short time periods such as the 'newspaper year' of 1870, a significant moment in newspaper publishing and reading, when the telegraphs were nationalised and the Press Association became operational, when the Franco-Prussian War produced an unprecedented demand for news, and publishers responded with new titles and more frequent editions of established titles. A detailed study of this year might highlight how the phenomena combined, and accelerated the newspaper-reading habit. Other times of change which would repay further study are the early decades of the twentieth century, when the 1914-18 war led to the closure of many papers, local monopolies were created and the London press began to develop into a truly national press.¹⁸ Only when such work has been done can we begin to approach a truly national history of print culture, rather than the distortedly London-focused one we have at present.

The argument presented here - that readers preferred the local press because, among other reasons, they liked to read about themselves, people they knew, and the places they loved – is, of course, open to challenge. Even when one accepts that the local paper was the most widely read type of newspaper in the second half of the nineteenth century, the significance of this phenomenon can still be questioned. People may have read the local press, but perhaps it had little impact on them, on their society, and on the nation. This can be addressed in two ways: first, the local press may have been a small part of most people's lives, but the reader evidence suggests that other newspapers and periodicals had even less significance for them. Second, we have seen that, for some readers at least, the local paper was integrated into their daily routines, their sense of self (as an exiled native of Carlisle, for example) or their way of doing business. At a community level, this thesis does not claim that the local press was indispensable in local society, but that the information circulated by local newspapers became increasingly important as the Victorian state and associative culture developed. They were not essential, but it is hard to imagine local Victorian society functioning without them. Rightly or wrongly, people believed that the presence of a local paper gave status to a town, enhanced local democracy, elevated the public events it reported and held leaders and criminals alike to account. Objections to the study of the local press on the grounds that it was nationally insignificant are based on misunderstandings of the national nature of the local press, of how national culture was

¹⁸ The literature on local and regional newspapers for the first half of the twentieth century is small; notable examples include Lee, *Origins*; Boyce, Curran and Wingate, *op. cit.*; Buckley, 'The Baron and the Brewer'; Buckley, 'Really Smart Sheet'; M. Dawson, 'Party Politics and the Provincial Press in Early Twentieth Century England: The Case of the South West', *Twentieth Century British History*, 9, 2, 1998, and Pedersen, PhD.

produced and reproduced at local level, and of the English nation itself, as no more than a small group of powerful individuals living within 50 miles of Westminster.

It could be argued that a faster news service and lower price were the main attractions of the halfpenny local paper, and no doubt these were important. International news, particularly of wars, increased newspaper sales significantly. However, journalists and readers alike saw local content as valuable, and the circulations of local (but not regional) papers continued to rise until the 1950s, despite London newspapers and radio being able to deliver non-local news more speedily and cheaply.

The final objection addressed here is that this examination of reading Preston's local press cannot necessarily be generalised to other places. This is a weakness of any case study, and the more that the role of place and local distinctiveness is foregrounded in history, the more this objection applies. The distinctive (yet far from unique) character of Preston must be taken into account when extrapolating the findings of this research, but only two aspects would make the local press unusually popular here, the tradition of wider political participation, and lower literacy rates (the oral history material demonstrated a link between poor literacy and a preference for the local paper). Even after these phenomena had disappeared, the traditions established by them could have persisted. However, only two minor differences were detected between Preston and its comparator, Barrow. As an old, established town, the boosterism of Preston's newspapers was more muted than in the striving new town of Barrow (except when reporting the 1893 Preston North End crisis). Further, as a *de facto* county town and market centre, Preston's press may have had less need to appeal to working-class readers until the late 1880s, unlike the Welsh-language press or that of Barrow, for example, where there were not enough middle-class readers to go round.¹⁹ However, secondary literature from elsewhere suggests that Preston was broadly similar to other places in its print culture and reading behaviour. Only further studies will test this point.

This thesis helps to explain many seemingly anomalous aspects of nineteenth-century press history. The greater popularity of the local press is unfathomable without a recognition of the importance of place to the majority of the population. The lack of a truly national press in the nineteenth century, and the difficulties with the notion of a national press, explain the seemingly odd strategies of newspaper publishers, such as

¹⁹ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p.198. There were 828 middle-class Barrow residents in 1911, in a population of 63,770: C. Joy, *War and Unemployment in an Industrial Community: Barrow-in-Furness 1914-1926* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, 2004), p.31.

partly printed sheets, the daily 'newspaper' issued by the Central Press and printed on one side of the paper only to aid speedy typesetting, the group of Catholic local papers with syndicated content published by Charles Diamond, or the ability of a syndication agency in the northern industrial town of Bolton to commission *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* from Thomas Hardy. Equally, the lack of a national press, and the high value placed on local news, explains the methods of popular London papers in the twentieth century as they developed national news-gathering, distribution and sales operations. These methods included the opening of 'secondary' centres of 'national' newspaper production in Manchester and Glasgow and the resort to regional and occasionally local editions, paradoxically achieving national status by becoming more local. Sense of place, combined with the effective national system created by the provincial press, also explains the attitude of provincial readers such as JB Priestley's father in Bradford, a teacher who never read a London newspaper, finding all he needed in the Bradford morning paper. These provincial morning dailies were to suffer the most when the London dailies began to become genuinely national in the twentieth century, because they contained the least local content of any provincial genre.

This research has implications for the disciplines of media history and the history of reading, and perhaps even for present-day provincial journalism. It demonstrates that an acknowledgement of the importance of place to media audiences can cast new light on audience behaviour. It suggests that some theories of the nineteenth-century newspaper are applicable only to London publications, representing a minority of the field. Chalaby's chronology of pre-repeal political 'publicists' being replaced by post-repeal commercial 'journalists' is too simplistic, especially as the same individuals were often involved.²⁰ The provincial press, like the London press, adapted to the new market conditions post-1855, but current knowledge of the diverse nature of this adaptation is too limited to say anything beyond the fact that it did not fit the London pattern suggested by Chalaby.²¹ The same is true for recent formulations of New Journalism as the death of the Liberal educational press idea.²² The tradition of direct political control of newspapers continued longer in the provinces than in the capital, and the greater provincial diversity of newspaper genres, allied with innovations in style and content around the country, meant that recognisably New Journalistic approaches could go hand-in-hand with 'old-fashioned' didactic style and content. Equally, a slight

²⁰ This was also true of Manchester wholesale newsagent and publisher Abel Heywood. For an analysis of his career which offers a convincing narrative of the development of the nineteenth-century newspaper press, see Maidment, 'Manchester Common Reader'.

²¹ Chalaby, *Invention*.

²² Hampton, *Visions*.

decline in readers' correspondence and in the level of conflict displayed in the Preston press does not in itself constitute evidence for a decline in the public sphere.²³

For the history of reading, the discipline's alternate title of the 'history of the book' becomes positively misleading when attempting to encompass the nineteenth century, in which newspapers – particularly provincial newspapers – were far more widely read than books. Sources and methods more suited to the history of bound volumes of text, pre-eminently the novel, need to adapt to capture the distinctive nature of newspaper publishing and reading (only a tiny minority of provincial newspapers were sold via wholesalers, for example). The focus on books has understandably led to a concentration on London as a publishing centre, with the unfortunate consequence that place, and sense of place, has once again been downplayed. Yet when book history starts from readers rather than books it is better equipped to recover the print culture of past ages, as opposed to the texts we retrospectively value.²⁴

Finally, in a different age, and for different reasons, commentators are again declaring that the provincial press is a thing of the past. Careful comparison of the nineteenth-century provincial press and its twenty-first-century successors, currently in deep crisis, may be able to offer some possible solutions, particularly as regards local and localised content. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century at least, this thesis has established that readers responded positively to the way that local newspapers expressed a sense of place in print, thus helping to make the provincial press the most successful print genre of the period.

²³ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*.

²⁴ Paraphrasing R.J.Mayhew, 'Review of William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31, 1, 2005, p.199, cited in W. St Clair, 'Where Do We Go From Here?' in McKitterick (ed), *Cambridge History of the Book*, vol 6, p.709.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1

Table A1. Summary of content, *Preston Chronicle*, 1860 and 1890

Page	1 Sept 1860	6 Sept 1890
	8 pages of 6 columns	8 pages of 7 columns
1	Advertisements, all Preston	Advertisements, all Preston
2	Foreign News (1 ¼ columns) Vicar's adultery court case, London (1 ½ columns) Miscellaneous News (2 columns) Agriculture and Gardening (1 ¼ columns)	National branded adverts (3 1/3 columns) 'Social Gossip' from <i>The World, Truth, St Stephen's Review</i> (1 column) 'Cuttings from the Comics', from <i>Punch, Fun, Judy, Funny Folks, Moonshine</i> (1 column) Trains to and from Preston (1 column) Markets: Preston, Birkenhead, Garstang, Blackburn, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Doncaster, Newcastle, Manchester, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin (2/3 column)
3	Royal North Lancashire Agricultural Association annual exhibition, Burnley	General News: Foreign (1 column) UK (6 columns)
4	Agricultural exhibition (cont.) Omnibus departures Advertisements, Preston (2 columns) Notices to Correspondents Leading article (1 ½ columns) Local Intelligence (1/2 column)	Sales by auction (1 ½ columns) Announcement and leading article on change of ownership Events of the week 'Stray Notes' 'Local Gossip' Parish church services 'Local News'
5	Local Intelligence (3 ½ columns) Darwen Blackburn Births, Marriages and Deaths UK and foreign news Markets: Preston, Blackburn, Garstang, Ormskirk, Manchester, Liverpool, London, Wakefield, Dublin, Cork Shares Shipping News	'Local News' 'District News' from Walton le Dale, Bamber Bridge, Leyland, Longridge, Fylde, Garstang (3 columns) Preston shipping news Marriages and Deaths Preston and district hide and skin market prices
6	Correspondence (3/4 column) Police Intelligence Preston Town Council (1 ¼ columns) Board of Guardians (3/4 columns) Opening of the new Catholic church at Westby (1 column) Blackburn Blackpool Chorley Clitheroe	Correspondence (1 ½ columns) District flower shows: Longridge, Kirkham (1 ½ columns) Boards of Guardians: Preston (3/4 column), Fylde (1/4 column) Football (1 ½ columns) Church News (1/2 column) Preston police intelligence (1/2 column) Local boards: Leyland, Walton le Dale, Kirkham (1/2 column)

7	Accrington and Haslingden Ulverston and the Lakes Darwen Southport Lancaster Sporting (racing and coursing) Preston Post Office posting times Markets: Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Gisburn, Salford, Blackburn, Huddersfield, Bradford Gazette Announcements National branded adverts (2 columns)	Poem: 'A Thames idyl' by Cotsford Dick, from <i>The World</i> Hints to Housewives (3/4 column) 'Ethel Grey', a novel, by W Stephens Hayward, ch.1 (3 columns) Our Ladies' Column, by One of Themselves (1 3/4 columns) Jokes (1/4 column) UK and foreign news
8	Adverts: Preston (1 column) Other Lancashire (1 column) National (3 columns) Train times from Preston (1 column)	Holiday tours: A run on the continent, no.1 (2/3 column) Preston to Pembrokeshire by bicycle (1 2/3 columns) The Trades Union Congress at Liverpool (2 columns) Agriculture (2/3 column) Shire mares in the Fylde District, by a Fylde Tenant Farmer, no.1 (1/2 column) Great Eccleston Agricultural Show (3/4 column) Stations of the British army (3/4 column)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 3

Table A2. Comparison of Manchester and non-Manchester newspapers and periodicals sold in the city, 1874: interpretation of Nodal and Heywood figures

Total copies sold in 1874	Type of publication	Rationale for figures
36,816,000	Manchester morning and evening papers	Minimum of 118,000 morning and evening papers sold per day, six days per week, 52 weeks per year (p.40)
2,860,000	Manchester weeklies	Minimum of 55,000 per week, 52 weeks per year (p.44)
4,680,000	6 cheap weekly London newspapers sold in Manchester	90,000 combined weekly Manchester sale of <i>Weekly Budget</i> , <i>Police News</i> , <i>Reynolds's Newspaper</i> , <i>The Englishman</i> , <i>Weekly Times</i> , <i>Lloyd's News</i> (p.35)
1,144,000	All pictorial, humorous, sporting, and high-class political and literary journals	22,000 combined weekly sale of 'all pictorial, humorous, sporting, and high-class political and literary journals' (p.35)
600,000	<i>British Workman</i> , <i>British Workwoman</i> , <i>Children's Friend</i> , <i>Family Friend</i>	More than 50,000 a month (p.35)
3,640,000	Penny miscellanies e.g. <i>Family Herald</i>	70,000 weekly aggregate sale of <i>Family Herald</i> , <i>Every Week</i> , <i>London Journal</i> , <i>Family Reader</i> , <i>Bow Bells</i> (p.36)
60,000	Shilling magazines (e.g. <i>Cornhill</i>), <i>Chambers's Journal</i> , <i>All Year Round</i> etc	<i>British Workman</i> etc sells more than 50,000 a month, 'or at least ten times the number of the shilling magazines, <i>Chambers's</i> and <i>All the Year Round</i> (p.35)
3,293,316	<i>Young Folks' Budget</i> (biggest selling youth publication)	<i>Young Folks' Budget</i> has circulation 'exceeding that of the <i>Family Herald</i> by 5,000 copies per week'; <i>Family Herald</i> sells 20 of every 74 publications of its type, aggregate weekly sale for this type is 70,000 (p.36)
3,293,316	Other boys' publications	<i>Young Folks' Budget</i> sells more than all other boys' papers put together (p.36)
260,000	Penny Dreadfuls	(p.37)

Total Manchester weeklies and dailies per year: 39,676,000

Total non-Manchester publications, excluding London dailies, *News of the World*, Sunday and semi-religious magazines At least 16,970,632

Source: J.H.Nodal, 'Newspapers and Periodicals: Their Circulation in Manchester, I', *Manchester Literary Club Papers II*, 1876; A.Heywood, 'Newspapers and Periodicals: Their Circulation in Manchester, II', *Manchester Literary Club Papers II*, 1876.

Table A3. Average sales per issue, Preston newspapers 1832-54, calculated from Newspaper Stamps sold

	1832-33	1836	1838	1840	1842	1844	1846	1848	1850	1852	1854
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	558	483	1,356	1,923	1,731	971	1,221	1,221	1,212	1,615	1,769
<i>Preston Guardian</i>						1,846	3,257	3,740	5,019	5,442	7,288
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	404	408	552	635	692	538	698	938	921	868	933
<i>Preston Observer</i>			692								

Sources: 1839 (548) Return of Number of Stamps issued to Newspapers and Amount of Advertisement Duty, 1836-38; 1854-55 (83) Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom, 1854; 1854 (117) 1851 (558) Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index; Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom, 1851-53; 1862 (498) Return of Registered Newspapers and Publications in United Kingdom, and Number of Stamps issued, June 1861-62 [all House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online]

Table A4. Preston Chronicle content per week, 1860-1900

	1860		1870		1875		1880		1889		1890	
<i>Bi-weekly 1860</i>												
<i>Weekly other years</i>	cols	%										
Advertising												
Preston adverts	11.1	18.4	11.9	24.4	17.9	32.0	12.6	23.0	6.9	12.3	9.2	16.3
Other Lancashire adverts	0.9	1.5	0.3	0.5	0.7	1.3	0.5	0.8				
National adverts	3.6	6.0	5.7	11.7	6.0	10.8	7.2	13.1	12.2	22.0	3.2	5.6
Editorial												
Preston	13.4	22.2	12.8	26.3	13.9	24.9	9.1	16.6	10.3	18.5	15.1	26.9
Lancs not Preston	11.9	19.8	3.7	7.6	7.2	12.8	10.4	19.0	5.3	9.5	6.3	11.3
Lancs county	5.4	8.9	0.7	1.4	1.3	2.2	2.4	4.4			2.1	3.7
Rest of UK	5.9	9.8	0.9	1.9	3.6	6.4	2.7	4.9	8.6	15.5	6.8	12.1
Parliament & national politics, economy, finance	0.9	1.5	0.7	1.4			2.3	4.2	3.1	5.6	0.8	1.5
Foreign	4.2	6.9	8.1	16.6	0.6	1.1	0.5	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.9	1.6
Features (no Preston angle)	2.4	4.0	3.5	7.2	4.2	7.6	6.3	11.5	9.1	16.4	10.3	18.3
Sport												
Preston	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.8	1.4			0.6	1.0
Lancs not Preston	0.1	0.2			0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3			0.5	0.9
Lancs county											0.1	0.2
Rest of UK	0.4	0.6									0.3	0.4
International fixtures												
	60	100	48	100	56	100	56	100	56	100	56	100

Issues were sampled every ten years, but also in 1875, in the early years of Hewitson's ownership, and in 1889, for comparison between Hewitson's last year of ownership and the first year under its subsequent owners (1890). Sampled issues: 1 and 8 September, 1860; 3 and 10 September 1870; 4 and 11 September 1875; 4 and 11 September, 1880; 7 and 14 September, 1889; 6 and 13 September, 1890. The paper comprised eight pages (Saturday) and two pages (Wednesday) of six columns per page in 1860, eight pages of six columns in 1870, and eight pages of seven columns per page from 1875 on.

Table A5. Preston Pilot content per week, 1860-1888

	1860		1870		1888	
	Cols	%	Cols	%	Cols	%
Advertising						
Preston adverts	6.5	14.1	7.4	18.3		
Other Lancashire adverts	4.9	10.6	1.3	3.1	9.0	22.4
National adverts	6.5	14.2	5.7	14.3	5.5	13.7
Editorial						
Preston	9.3	20.3	3.9	9.7		
Lancs not Preston	2.5	5.4	1.1	2.8	5.0	12.4
Lancs county	4.5	9.8				
Rest of UK	1.8	3.8	3.0	7.6	5.5	13.7
Parliament, national politics, economy, finance	0.5	1.1	0.3	0.6		0.0
Foreign	4.0	8.7	17.3	43.1	1.5	3.7
Features (no Preston angle)	1.5	3.3	0.2	0.4	13.0	32.3
Sport						
Preston			0.1	0.1		
Lancs not Preston					0.3	0.8
Lancs county						
Rest of UK	4.0	8.7			0.3	0.8
International fixtures						
	48	100	40	100	40	100

Sampled issues: 1 Sept 1860; 3 and 10 September 1870; 16 May 1888. The paper was eight pages of six columns in 1860, eight pages of five columns in 1870 and 1888. **Harris library has no copies after 1877.**

Table A6. Average sales per issue, Preston newspapers and comparators, 1854, calculated from Newspaper Stamps sold

Preston Chronicle	1,769
Preston Guardian	7,288
Preston Pilot	933
<i>Blackburn Standard</i>	548
<i>Bolton Chronicle</i>	1,923
<i>Liverpool Mercury</i> (bi-weekly)	8,769
<i>Manchester Examiner and Times</i> (bi-weekly)	6,115
<i>Manchester Guardian</i> (bi-weekly)	9,677
<i>Manchester Weekly Advertiser</i>	7,626
<i>Bradford Observer</i>	1,250
<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	14,144
<i>Bristol Mercury</i>	5,760
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	108,228
<i>News of the World</i>	109,106
<i>Sunday Times</i>	7,154
<i>Times</i> (daily)	51,204

Source: 1854-55 (83) Return of Number of Stamps issued at One Penny to Newspapers in United Kingdom, 1854; 1854 (117) [House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online]

Table A7. Preston Guardian content per week, 1860-1900

<i>Bi-weekly 1860-1880</i> <i>Weekly 1890-1900</i>	1860		1870		1880		1890		1900	
	cols	%								
Advertising										
Preston adverts	11.5	17.2	16.5	19.4	24.9	17.8	10.5	10.1	6.5	7.6
Other Lancashire adverts	6	9.0	6.0	7.0	7.5	5.4	3.1	3.0	8.0	9.3
National adverts	2.7	4.0	3.4	4.0	7.6	5.4	4.4	4.2	7.3	8.5
Editorial										
Preston	11.4	17.1	10.8	12.6	8.1	5.8	11.6	11.1	16.2	18.8
Lancs not Preston	16.5	24.6	21.3	25.0	40.1	28.7	34.4	33.1	12.7	15.7
Lancs county	3.0	4.5	1.3	1.5	10.7	7.6	2.6	2.5	0.8	
Rest of UK	5.2	7.7	2.4	2.8	8.3	5.9	6.8	6.5	9.5	11.4
Parliament & national politics, economy, finance	1.7	2.5	0.9	1.1	18.4	13.2	9.0	8.6	2.0	2.3
Foreign	7.3	10.9	20.1	23.6	4.9	3.5	2.5	2.4	9.8	11.4
Features (no Preston angle)	1.3	1.9	1.8	2.1	6.3	4.5	18.3	17.6	12.8	14.9
Sport										
Preston	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2		
Lancs not Preston			0.5	0.6	1.1	0.8	0.3	0.3		
Lancs county					0.5	0.4				
Rest of UK	0.2	0.3			1.0	0.7			0.3	0.4
International fixtures							0.2	0.2		
	68	100	84	100	140	100	104	100	84	100

Sampled issues: 1 and 5 (dated week ending 8) September 1860 (Saturday: 8 pages of 6 columns, Wednesday: 4 pages of 5 columns), 3 and 7 September 1870 (Saturday: 8 pages of 7 columns, Wednesday: 4 pages of 7 columns), 1 and 4 September 1880 (Saturday: 12 pages of 7 columns; Wednesday: 8 pages of 7 columns), 6 and 13 September 1890 (Saturday only: 8 pages of 7 columns + 8 pages of 6 columns), 1 September 1900 (12 pages of 7 columns).

Table A8. Cover prices of selected newspapers, 1855-1900 (pence)

	1855	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	3½	3½	2	2	1	
<i>Preston Guardian*</i>	3½ & 0	3½ & 1	2 & 1	2 & 1	1½	1
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1	2	2 & 1	2 & 1	1 & 1	1 & 1
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	3½	3½	1½	2		
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>					½	½
<i>Times</i>	4	4	3	3	3	3
<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Bolton Chronicle</i>		4				
<i>Bolton Journal</i>				1	1	1
<i>Westmorland Gazette</i>		3 ½		2		1
<i>Blackburn Times</i>		1	1	1	1	1

* Bi-weekly in some years. *Preston Pilot* was given free in 1867.

Table A9. Preston Herald content per week, 1860-1900 (%)

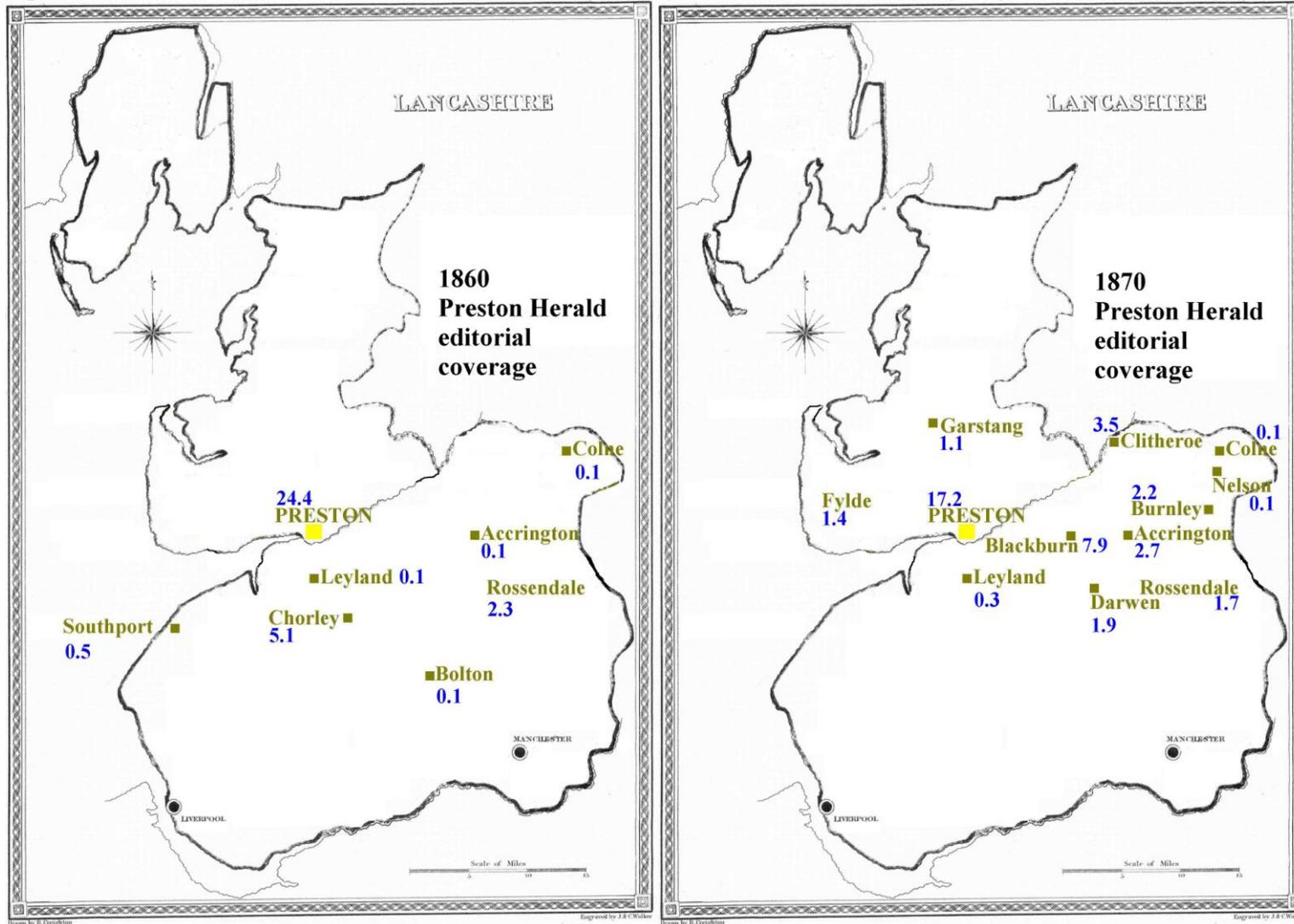
<i>Weekly 1860</i> <i>Bi-weekly thereafter</i>	1860		1870		1880		1890		1900	
	Cols	%								
Advertising										
Preston	10.3	21.5	12.1	12.8	17.6	12.7	10.9	8.3	15.7	11.0
Lancs not Preston	1.3	2.6	9.8	11.5	11.3	8.7	7.6	5.8	13.0	9.1
National	2.0	4.2	1.7	1.5	13.4	10.4	12.2	9.3	11.8	8.3
Editorial										
Preston	12.2	25.5	17.2	19.8	7.2	6.2	16.1	12.2	19.5	13.6
Lancs not Preston	5.7	11.8	24.4	30.5	43.9	35.6	35.6	27.0	44.4	31.1
Lancs county	8.5	17.7	0.3	0.3	7.4	5.2	0.5	0.4		
Rest of UK	3.4	7.1	1.4	1.4	6.4	5.3	4.5	3.4	5.8	4.1
National	1.0	2.2	0.3	0.3	6.0	5.4	8.9	6.8		
Foreign	2.5	5.3	14.7	19.6	3.4	2.9	0.6	0.5	13.3	9.3
General features	0.6	1.3	1.3	1.2	9.8	6.1	20.1	15.2	15.0	10.5
Sport										
Preston	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.6	4.6	3.5	1.5	1.1
Lancs not Preston			0.4	0.6	0.3	0.2	4.7	3.6		
Lancs county					0.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.2
Rest of UK							4.0	3.0	2.5	1.8
International							0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0

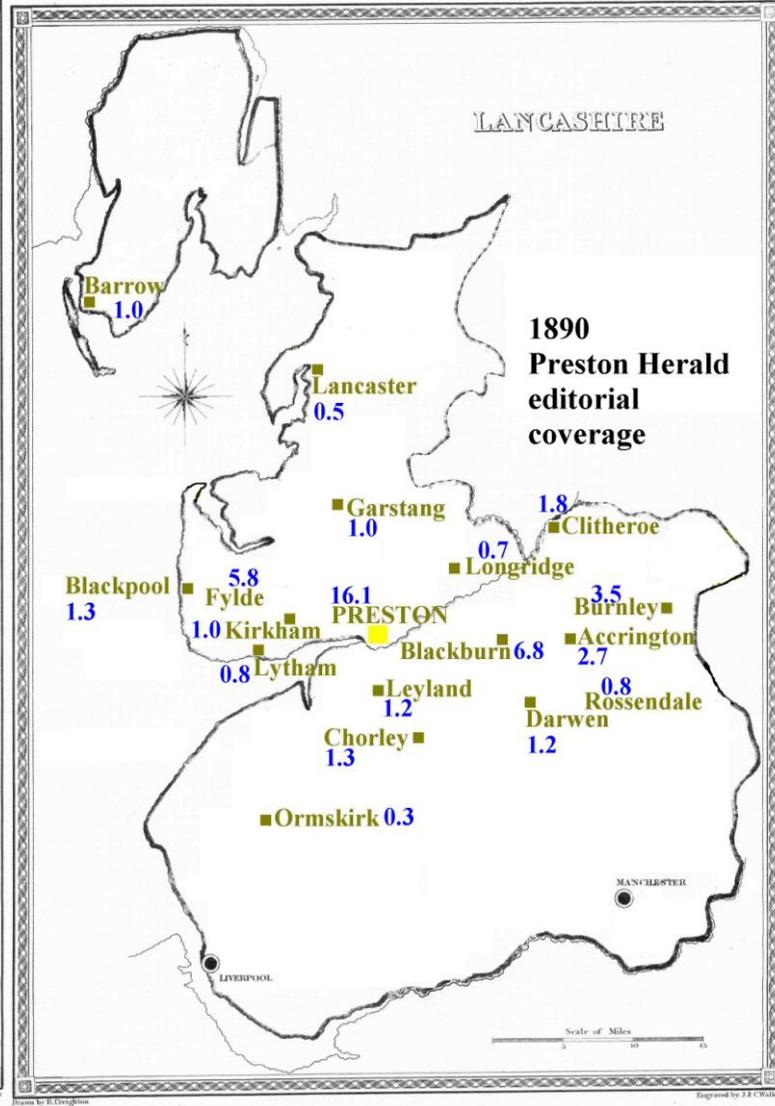
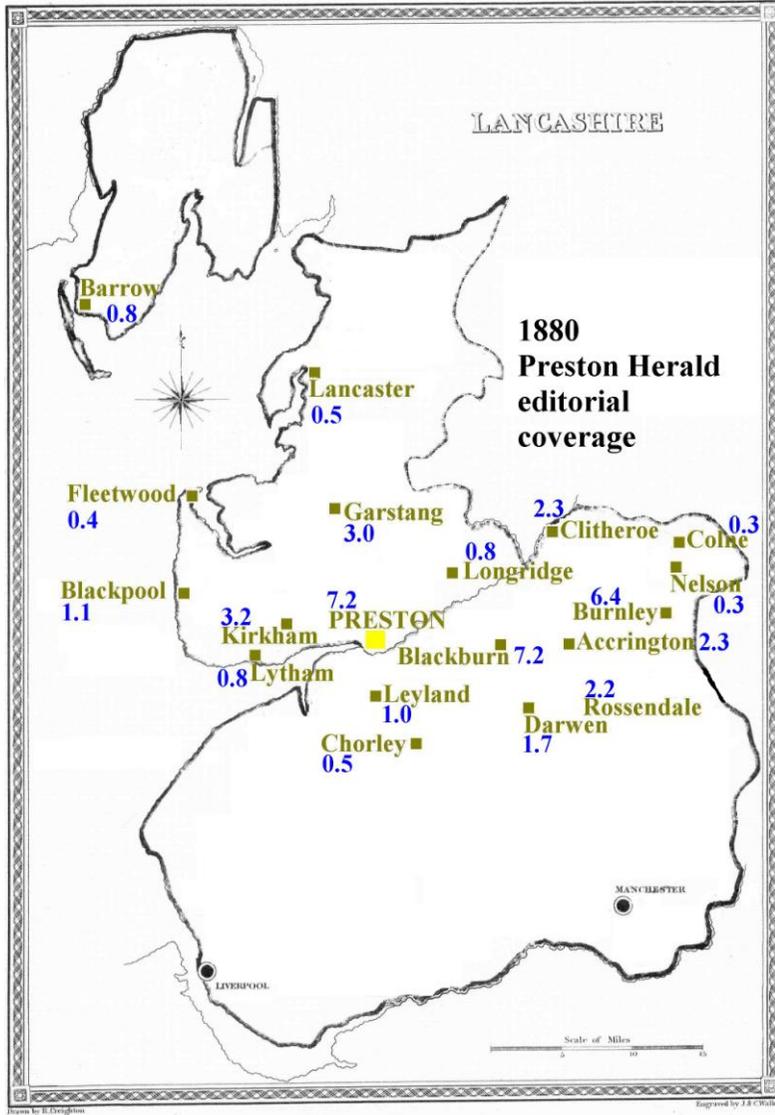
Sampled issues: 1 & 8 September 1860 (eight pages of six columns); 3 & 7 September 1870 (Saturday: eight pages of seven columns; Wednesday: four pages of seven columns); 1 & 4 September 1880 (Saturday: eight pages of seven columns plus four pages of six columns, Wednesday: eight pages of six columns); 3 & 6 September 1890 (Saturday: 12 pages of seven columns, Wednesday: eight pages of six columns); 1 & 5 September 1900 (Saturday: eight pages of eight columns plus four pages of seven columns, Wednesday: eight pages of seven columns).

Figs. A1-A5. Maps of *Preston Herald* editorial coverage, 1860-1900

Figures are column totals of editorial for each area, for first two September issues in each sampled year

10





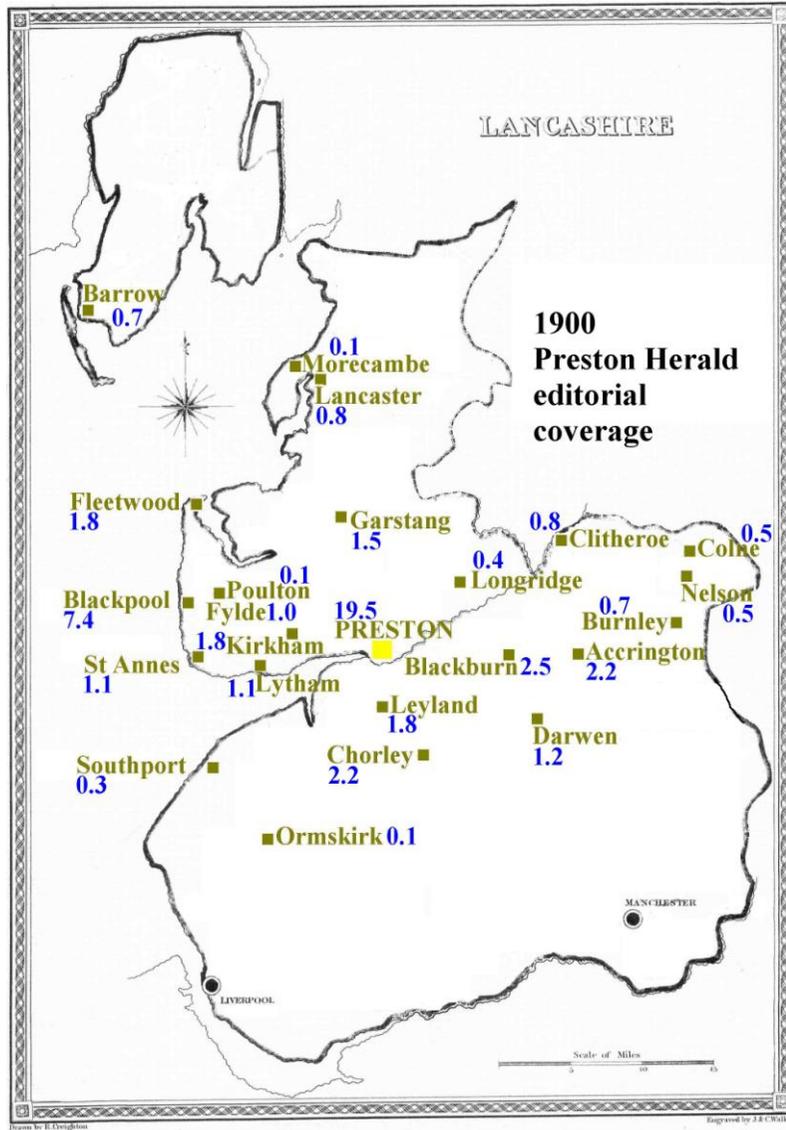


Table A10. Lancashire evening newspapers, 1855-1900

Founded	Closed	Place of publication	Title
1855	1857?	Liverpool	<i>The Events</i> (Musson) ¹
1855?	?	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Telegraph</i> evening edition (Musson)
1861	1863	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Evening Mercury</i>
1861	1863	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Evening News</i>
1867	Current	Bolton	<i>Bolton Evening News</i>
1868	Current	Manchester	<i>Manchester Evening News</i>
1869	1889	Oldham	<i>Oldham Evening Express</i>
1870	1917	Bolton	<i>Bolton Daily Chronicle</i>
1870	1958	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Evening Express</i>
1870	1870	Preston	<i>Preston Evening Express</i>
1870	1871	Preston	<i>Preston Evening News</i>
1870	1870	Rochdale	<i>Rochdale Evening Mail</i>
1873	1884	Bolton	<i>Bolton Evening Guardian</i>
1874	1878	Ashton under Lyne	<i>Evening Star</i>
1874	1915	Manchester	<i>Manchester Evening Mail</i>
1875	1879	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Evening Albion</i>
1875	1875	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Evening Record</i>
1876	1914	Ashton under Lyne	<i>Ashton Reporter</i>
1877	1880	Warrington	<i>Warrington Evening Post</i>
1877	1928	Oldham	<i>Oldham Evening Standard</i>
1879	Current	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Echo</i>
1879	?	Liverpool	<i>Liverpool Evening Post</i>
1879	1898	Barrow	<i>Barrow Evening Echo</i>
1882	Current	Oldham	<i>Oldham Evening Chronicle</i>
1882	1882	Manchester	<i>North Times</i> (Leary)
1883	1884	Bootle	<i>Evening Times</i>
1886	Current	Blackburn	<i>Northern Daily Telegraph</i>
1886	Current	Preston	<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>
1887	1899	Blackburn	<i>Blackburn Evening Express</i>
1888	1888	Manchester	<i>City Racing Record</i> (Leary)
1891	1891	Manchester	<i>Manchester Evening Times</i>
1894	1894	Bolton	<i>Bolton Evening Echo</i>
1897	1963	Manchester	<i>Manchester Evening Chronicle</i>
1898	Current	Barrow	<i>North-Western Evening Mail</i>

Sources: *Waterloo Directory* unless stated otherwise

¹ Musson says *The Events* 'failed within months' in 1855, but a personal copy is dated 1857: A.E.Musson, 'The First Daily Newspapers in Lancashire', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 65, 1955.

Table A11. Lancashire Evening Post content per week, 1886-1900

<i>6 issues per week</i>	1886		1890		1900	
	Cols	%	cols	%	cols	%
Advertising						
Preston adverts	26.7	16.3	31.3	18.8	60.8	25.0
Other Lancashire adverts	4.2	2.5	3.5	2.1	10.2	4.2
National adverts	5.3	3.2	8.5	5.1	11.8	4.9
Editorial						
Preston	17.1	10.5	5.2	3.1	3.5	1.5
Lancs not Preston	28.6	17.4	31.4	18.8	17.6	7.2
Lancs county	1.5	0.9	0.3	0.2	1.7	0.7
Rest of UK	20.8	12.7	15.8	9.5	13.1	5.4
Parliament & national politics, economy, finance	20.1	12.3	17.3	10.3	11.2	4.6
Foreign	9.2	5.6	5.6	3.4	33.9	13.9
Features (no Preston angle)	12.5	7.6	22.8	13.7	21.8	9.0
Sport						
Preston	2.6	1.6	3.4	2.0	5.0	2.1
Lancs not Preston	3.4	2.1	8.4	5.1	22.2	9.1
Lancs county	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	3.3	1.4
Rest of UK	8.0	4.9	11.4	6.8	26.3	10.8
International fixtures	0.2	0.1	1.5	0.9	0.5	0.2
<i>Totals</i>	164	100	168	100	242	100

Sampled issues: 1, 3, 5 and 6 November 1886, 1, 3, 5 and 6 September 1890 and 1, 3, 5 and 7 September 1900. Four issues were sampled for each week, and multiplied by 1.5 to produce total weekly output. The paper comprised four pages of six columns on one day and four pages of seven columns on the other five days in 1886; four pages of seven columns in 1890, and six pages of seven columns for five days, four pages of eight columns for one day in 1900. **N.B.** All content analysis tables present figures per week. Measurement of content by eye means that total numbers of columns published differs from total numbers counted, but this error is 5% or less.

Details of selected Preston publications

1831:

THE PRESTON
And Lancashire



CHRONICLE,
Advertiser.

1880:

THE PRESTON
AND LANCASHIRE



CHRONICLE
ADVERTISER.

Preston Chronicle	1812-93
Previously	<i>Preston Journal S</i>
Subsequently	Incorporated into <i>Preston Guardian</i> , 1894
Proprietors	Isaac Wilcockson (1812-45) <i>S</i> Isaac Wilcockson and Lawrence Dobson (1834-45) Lawrence and William Dobson (1845-58) <i>N</i> William & James Dobson (1858-68) <i>N</i> Anthony Hewitson (1868-90) <i>P</i> Mr C Cooper and Mr F Coupe (1890-93) <i>J PG</i> April 29, 1893
Editors	Isaac Wilcockson (1812-32) <i>S</i> James Scott Walker (1832-?)) <i>P</i> August 5, 1876 William Melville Lomas (?-1841) <i>P</i> August 5, 1876 George Moir Bussey (1844?-1845) <i>P</i> 30 August 1845 William Dobson Anthony Hewitson (1868-90)
Contributors	Wilkinson, Thomas Turner (1815–1875), mathematician and local historian <i>D</i> Charles Hardwick (1817-1889) apprenticed to <i>Preston Chronicle</i> from age of 14 <i>MH</i> GTM Bussey, reporter, 1846 <i>P</i> 30 May, 1846 Harry Findlater Bussey, reporter, 1844 <i>B</i> William Hewitson, 'reporter &c' <i>HD</i> 18 April 1868 Mr Barker <i>HD</i> 25 September 1867 Robert Peake, apprentice, reporter -1874 <i>He</i> 1 June 1874 Kenney, reporter (June 1881-) <i>HD</i> 30 June 1881 Morgan, reporter (-June 1881) <i>HD</i> 29 June 1881 Neill, reporter (Dec 1874-) <i>HD</i> 14 December 1874 Beattie, reporter (October 1881-) <i>HD</i> 3 October 1881 George White, apprentice reporter (Jan 1884-Feb 1885) <i>HD</i> 14 January 1884 G Ward, apprentice reporter (-June 1884) <i>HD</i> 5 June 1884 T Love, reporter (June 1884-March 1885; April 1885-) <i>HD</i> 30 June 1884, 7 March, 6 April 1885 Booth, apprentice reporter (October 1885-) <i>HD</i> 26 October 1885
Size	Sat: 1862-90: 8pp Wed, 1858-61: 2pp; 1861-62: 4pp

Price	6½d (1812) 7d (1831) 4½d (1837) 3½d (1855) 2d (1880) 1d (1890)
Circulation area	1837: As far as Ulverston <i>JB</i> 1868-93: Concentrated on Preston 1890: 'The Proprietors will confine their efforts, so far as the collection of local news is concerned, to an area embracing the borough of Preston, and a radius of which it is the natural centre. The columns of the <i>Chronicle</i> will not be overweighted with a mass of district news from far away parts of East Lancashire, in which Preston people can have no concern.' <i>PC</i> 6 September 1890
Sales	1837: 1251 1840: 1923 1845: 1133 1850: 1211 1854: 1769 <i>G</i>
Frequency	Weekly (Sat), 1812-58; 1862-93 Bi-weekly (Wed and Sat), July 21, 1858-Sept 6, 1862
Orientation	Independent Liberal, 1812-90 Independent Conservative, 1890-93 <i>P</i> Sept 6, 1890, p4
Departments	27 October 1855 Advertisements; Foreign; War Miscellany; Miscellaneous News; Ireland; [Leader columns]; Metropolitan Memoranda (from our own correspondent); Local Intelligence; Perston County Court; Police Intelligence; Chorley; Blackpool; Accrington, Haslingden & Rossendale; Lancaster; Burnley; Ormskirk; Marriages & Deaths; Latest Intelligence; Second Edition; Third Edition; Latest Markets; Correspondence; Miscellaneous News; Gems of Thought; Poetry; Shipping News; Markets; Pickings from "Punch"; Borrowed Trifles; Gazette Announcements [from London Gazette]; Blackburn; Railway departures for October 25 October 1890 Advertisements; Our Ladies' Column, by one of themselves; A Romance of North Devon (from the <i>Bideford Gazette</i>); Literary Notices; Timetable for October [trains]; Markets; General news; [Leader columns]; Stray Notes; Local Gossip; Preston Parish Church; Local News; Football &c; Garstang; Fylde; Longridge; Walton le Dale and Bamber Bridge; Births, Marriages & Deaths; Evening Edition; Second Edition; Correspondence; Ethel Grey, a novel by W Stephens Hayward; Poetry; Cuttings from the Comics; Society Gossip (from the <i>World</i>); Hints to Housewives; General Foreign News; Tour and Travel: An adventure on Dartmoor; Farming in Norway; Port Intelligence; Agriculture.
Address	1855: 23 Fishergate (publishing); Cannon St (printing) 1890: Office: 18a Fishergate, works: 21 Cannon St <i>P</i> Sept 6, 1890, p4

Sources:

D Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

G Government Newspaper Stamp returns

H Hewitson, *Preston*

J *The Journalist*, Sept 20, 1890, p10

JB *John Bull*, 5 February 1837

N *Newspaper Press Directory*

P *Preston Chronicle*

Sh Shuttleworth

Sm Smith, 'Let Justice be done'

Sp JH Spencer, 'History of Preston newspapers: The Preston Chronicle: A long career of public service', *Preston Herald* 22 January 1943, p3.

Histories:

E.M. White, *Investigation into How the Preston Chronicle Influenced Its Readers Through Its Treatment of the Issues of the Day* (unpublished manuscript, LRO M622, 1969)

JH Spencer, 'History of Preston newspapers: The Preston Chronicle: A long career of public service', *Preston Herald* 22 January 1943, p3.

'Preston's Newspapers: The "Preston Chronicle" and some of its editors', *Preston Herald* 26 February 1943, p3

Preston Guardian, 6 Jan 1894, p4



Preston Herald	7 July 1855-1964
Proprietors	Henry Campbell Barton (1855-57) Anthony James Barrow (1857-60) <i>H</i> Preston Herald Newspaper Co Ltd (1860-74); late 1860s: 1861: Miles Myres chairman of directors, HP Watson, secretary (<i>PC</i> June 29 1861) James Thompson chairman of directors <i>Sha</i> ; 1873: Miles Myres chairman of directors, Thomas Aspden secretary & manager <i>N</i> 1873; Alderman John Rawcliffe, chairman of directors <i>He</i> 15 April 1874 Henry Davies & Co (Henry Davies, J Forshaw and J Smirk, 1874-90); Joseph Smirk and George Boyden named as proprietors, <i>BS</i> September 20, 1879; joint proprietor: J Lovelace, early 1880s <i>H</i> William Paine of Maidstone (1890-1902) In the Edwardian era the paper was probably subsidised by the Derby family <i>B</i>
Editors	Sidney Laman Blanchard (1861) <i>N</i> Literary and general manager: Anthony Hewitson, 1863? <i>He</i> Mr A Read, assistant editor, <i>Blackburn Standard</i> , editor, <i>Preston Herald</i> (<i>Blackburn Standard</i> December 24, 1875) Tom Aspden (-1874) <i>He</i> 1 June 1874 George Boyden until 1880 – <i>Tate</i> 217 Mr Mackie; Mr Mackay [Mckay?] <i>HD</i> 15 August 1885, 29 January, 11 April 1887; <i>PG</i> 11 February 1888 E S Lewis (??-1890) <i>PH</i> 27 September, 1890 G Williams (1893) <i>PC</i> Aug 12, 1893, p4 William Charles Augustus Mate, son of owner of <i>Poole Herald?</i> (1902-12)
Contributors	Edward Marks (Amicus), local historian, 1875-80 <i>S</i> Journalist: T Longworth, 1850s <i>P Gdn</i> Nov 12, 1892, p2 Reporter: Mr Aspden <i>HD</i> 4 Oct, 1865 Blackburn paragraphist: William Henry Jowett <i>Sha</i> Reporter(?): Thomas Walker, 1874, spiritualist, secularist, became Australian politician <i>ADB</i> Reporter: James Catton, 1875-83 <i>T</i> Reporter: George Fish, 1875 <i>Times</i> 22 March 1875 FB Toplis, reporter (-1898) <i>B</i> July 1898, p.100 Darwen correspondent: James Cook, <i>PH</i> Sept 1880 Ben Brierley, 1880-90 W.G. Grace, April-Sept 1890 (later published in book form) Reporter: Mr F Coupe (1890s) <i>J</i>

Mr JA Taylor, reporter, sub-editor *Bo* Jan, April 1899, p.11
 Hibbert Ware (1899-) *Bo* April 1899, p.11
 F Smith, reporter (1899-1900) *Bo* September 1899, p.157;
 November 1900, p.50
 Mr Williamson (-July 1899) *Bo* July 1899
 Mr Joynson, reporter (July –Sept 1899) *Bo* July, September
 1899, p.157
 Mr Penrose (-1900) *Bo* November 1900, p.50
 J Hughes (-1900) *Bo* November 1900, p.50

Size	8pp x 6 cols (1860) 8pp x 7 cols Sat; 4pp x 7 cols Wed (1870) 12pp Sat; 8pp Wed (1880-1900)
Price	1d (1855) 2d (1860) 2d Sat, 1d Wed (1870-?) 1d Sat and Wed (1890)
Circulation area	Judging by editorial coverage, the <i>Herald</i> began as a Preston paper, but then decreased its coverage of the town and increased its coverage of North and East Lancashire to a high-point in 1880, before slightly reducing county coverage and increasing Preston coverage again, probably due to the launch of the <i>Lancashire Evening Post</i> in 1886, although from 1885 to the end of the century it was taken at Barrow Library. <i>Sp, BaL</i> From 1865 to 1870, stamp duty returns suggest that the number of postal subscribers was of the same order as the <i>Preston Guardian</i> , suggesting that its sales area was similarly wide. In 1893 one issue's 18 letters from children came from Preston (8), the Fylde (5) and from the Walton-le-Dale area (5), suggested a more concentrated sales area.
Sales	1870: 20,000 – 'circulation has more than trebled during the past twelve months' <i>N</i>
Frequency	Weekly (Sat), 1855-60 Bi-weekly (Wed and Sat), 1860-29 March 1916 Five editions in 1860
Orientation	Pro-reform at launch From 1860, 'conducted under the auspices of the Conservative Association of Preston' <i>PH</i> 29 Sept 1860 Conservative under subsequent owners
Departments	27 October 1855 Advertisements; Foreign; War Miscellany; Miscellaneous News; Ireland; [Leader columns]; Metropolitan Memoranda (from our own correspondent); Local Intelligence; Perston County Court; Police Intelligence; Chorley; Blackpool; Accrington, Haslingden & Rossendale; Lancaster; Burnley; Ormskirk; Marriages & Deaths; Latest Intelligence; Second Edition; Third Edition; Latest Markets; Correspondence; Miscellaneous News; Gems of Thought; Poetry; Shipping News; Markets; Pickings from "Punch"; Borrowed Trifles; Gazette Announcements [from London Gazette]; Blackburn; Railway departures for October

25 October 1890

Advertisements; Our Ladies' Column, by one of themselves; A Romance of North Devon (from the *Bideford Gazette*); Literary Notices; Timetable for October [trains]; Markets; General news; [Leader columns]; Stray Notes; Local Gossip; Preston Parish Church; Local News; Football &c; Garstang; Fylde; Longridge; Walton le Dale and Bamber Bridge; Births, Marriages & Deaths; Evening Edition; Second Edition; Correspondence; Ethel Grey, a novel by W Stephens Hayward; Poetry; Cuttings from the Comics; Society Gossip (from the *World*); Hints to Housewives; General Foreign News; Tour and Travel: An adventure on Dartmoor; Farming in Norway; Port Intelligence; Agriculture.

Sources:

- ADB** *Australian Dictionary of Biography* online edition, [<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060367b.htm>], accessed 28 June 2010
- B** C.Buckley, 'The Search for "a Really Smart Sheet": The Conservative Evening Newspaper Project in Edwardian Manchester', *Manchester Region History Review*, 8, 1994
- BaL** Barrow Library annual reports
- Bo** *The Bookman*
- D** *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- H** Hewitson, *Preston*
- HD** Hewitson diaries
- He** 'Anthony Hewitson (1836-1912)', Harris Library A111
- J** *The Journalist*, Sept 20, 1890, p10
- JB** *John Bull*, 5 February 1837
- N** *Newspaper Press Directory*
- P** *Preston Chronicle*
- PH** *Preston Herald*
- R** Roberts (n.d.), 'Read All About It! – from the local press of yester-year,' typescript, box 3, folder 2, Roberts collection, University of Central Lancashire
- Sh** Shuttleworth
- Sha** Shaw, *Life of William Gregson* (1891), p246
- Sm** Smith, 'Let Justice be done'
- Sp** JH Spencer, 'Preston newspapers: The chequered history of "Preston Herald"', *Preston Herald* 19 November 1943, p3.
- St** A.F.Stephenson, *Albert Frederick Stephenson, Knight Bachelor. A Lancashire Newspaper Man. A Brief Biography by His Son. [With Portraits.]* (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1937)
- T** Tate, PhD

Histories:

- JH Spencer, 'Preston Newspapers: The chequered history of the "Preston Herald"', *Preston Herald* 19 November 1943
- JH Spencer, 'Preston Newspapers: Concluding history of the "Preston Herald"', *Preston Herald* 10 December 1943



Preston Pilot	Jan 1 1825- March 7, 1888
Subsequently	Incorporated into <i>Lytham Times</i> , 1888: 'After this issue the <i>Preston Pilot</i> will be temporarily incorporated with the <i>Lytham Times</i> , which appears next week in a greatly improved form and a reduced price.' <i>PP</i> 16 May 1888
Proprietors	Lawrence Clarke(1825-50) Robert Clarke (1850-88) John Mills (1888)
Editor	Charles Edward Quarme (-1834) <i>C</i> TW Clarke (during Chartist disturbances) <i>PC</i> 13 Oct 1877 Mr Browne (1851) <i>PC</i> 15 March 1851
Contributors	Richard Parkinson (1797–1858), Church of England clergyman, master of Lea School, near Preston, former editor of Clarke's previous paper, the <i>Preston Sentinel D</i> David Longworth, reporter <i>PC</i> 13 Oct 1877
Size	1842: 28 ½ in x 21 ½ in, 7 columns Jan-Mar 1867: one sheet 1869: 26 ¼ in x 19 ¾ in <i>Sp</i> 1888: 8pp x 5 cols
Price	3 ½ d (1860) <i>NPD</i> 'Gratis on Saturday, after Saturdays, one penny' (Jan-Mar 1867) 1 ½ d (1871) <i>NPD</i> 2d (1885)
Circulation area	Its 1860 entry in the <i>NPD</i> claimed circulation across most of Lancashire north of Southport, but this seems unlikely.
Sales	1832: 404 1840: 635 1850: 921 1854: 933
Frequency	Weekly: Saturdays (1825-?); Wednesdays (1883); Fridays (1885);
Orientation	Conservative
Departments	May 16, 1888: Advertisements; The Week; Passing Events (from a London correspondent); Business abroad; Literary Jottings; Markets; Review of the Corn Trade; Ladies' Column; Cuttings from the "Comics"; The Society Papers; Something for Young Folks; Wise and Otherwise; Announcements, notices; Local News; Lytham Estate Rent Dinner; Cricket; St Annes's on the Sea; Kirkham; A Girl In a Thousand by Jean Middlemass, chapter XII; The Royal Academy; The New Gallery; Italy in London; Glasgow exhibition; General news
Address	143 Church St (1825-?) Bolton's Court (1842) 37 Fishergate (1850-) 1A Winckley St (1888)

Sources:

- C Catt JC, 'Newspapers in 19th-century Lancaster and Morecambe', *Lancashire Local Historian* 1984
D *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
H Hewitson, *Preston*
R Anon, *Rendezvous with the Past*
Sh Shuttleworth

Histories:

- Sp J.H. Spencer, 'Preston's Newspapers: "Preston Pilot" – Sixty-one Years of Service', *Preston He*

Preston Guardian	Feb 10 1844-1964
Proprietors	Joseph Livesey (1844-59) George Toulmin snr (1859-84) George Toulmin & Sons (1884-) John and George Toulmin jr
Editors	John Livesey (1844-56) <i>PG</i> 3 March 1900 Josiah John Merriman (1857-59) George Toulmin (1859-?) John Baxter Langley (1861?-63) <i>PC</i> Aug 4, 1861; Jan 31 1863 Thomas Wemyss Reid (1864-66) <i>R</i> William Abram (1869-87), simultaneously editor of <i>Blackburn Times</i> ; wrote a <i>Notes and Queries</i> column <i>G</i> ; <i>Sp</i> William Brimelow (1869-71), later editor of <i>Bolton Evening News</i> <i>G</i> AW Marchmont BA (1894) Mr WCB Cowen (July 1900-) <i>Bo</i> Jun 1900, p90
Contributors	William Livesey, sub-editor and occasional leader writer: <i>Pe</i> p.46 Joseph Deardon Ernest King (1846-56) <i>PG</i> 3 March 1900 John Hamilton, reporter; later, leader writer <i>PG supp w/e</i> Oct 20 1860 Harry Findlater Bussey, chief reporter (1856) Adam Clarke Spencer, chief of the staff <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 Benj. Barton[?] <i>HD</i> 5 January 1866 Mr Lawrence, sub-editor <i>HD</i> 16 April 1866 Hartley Aspden, Clitheroe correspondent <i>A</i> Mr JJ Lever, reporter (1870), then sub-editor <i>J</i> 20 September 1890, p.10; <i>PC</i> 1 November 1890 John Boyle O'Reilly, reporter (1859-63), later became Fenian spy in British army, escaped from Australian prison camp, became editor of <i>Boston Pilot</i> in USA <i>Sch</i> George M Carruthers, reporter (pre 1868) <i>L</i> pp10-11 William Pollard (1846) <i>PC</i> 30 May 1846 Henry Hunt Barker, reporter, c.1878 <i>A</i> Washington Wilkes, radical journalist, contributed leaders until his death in 1864 <i>R</i> Rev W Francis, 'Uncle William' of PG Animals Friend Society, (1884 -?) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 Rev B Nightingale (descriptive and historical articles on Lancashire Nonconformity) <i>PG</i> 11 July 1888, p4 Alex H Boyd, reporter (pre-1894) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 J Bernard Atkinson, member of literary staff (pre 1894) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 Joseph Roebuck, Blackburn reporter (-1853) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 John Thompson, Blackburn reporter (1853-) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 Edwin Holmen, Blackburn representative (1859-) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 William Durham, Blackburn paragraphist (c.1862-3) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894

	RJ Peake, chief reporter (1894) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 Mr Cowen, sub-editor (1894) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 Mr Francis, sub-editor (1894) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 J Busby, football writer (1894) <i>PG</i> 17 Feb 1894 EE Campion, sub-editor (-July 1899) <i>Bo</i> July 1899 Mr AHE Taylor BA Oxon, member of literary staff (March 1900-) <i>Bo</i> March 1900, p180 Mr Armit, sub-editor, ex- <i>Bolton Evening Chronicle</i> (July 1899-) <i>Bo</i> July 1899 WH Toulmin, ex- <i>Sheffield Independent</i> , member of literary staff, (Sept 1900-) <i>Bo</i> Sept 1900, p.180
Size	1844: 4pp x 8 cols, 22in x 29in April 11 1846: 8pp x 6 cols 1870: Sat edition 10pp 1888: 16pp
Price	4 ½ d (1844) 3 ½ d (1855) Sat; Wed supplement free From Jan 18, 1860: Wed Supplement 1d 2d (1861-1884) Sat, 1d Wed 1 ½ d (1884-93) Sat, 1d Wed 1d (1893)
Circulation area	Sold particularly well in East Lancashire, as well as Preston area. Sold across Lancashire north of Chorley, as far as Barrow. 'Continual enlargements [to the paper] were made necessary by the constantly increasing demand upon our space arising from the extended area of the circulation of <i>The Guardian</i> ' <i>PG</i> 22 Dec 1888, p4
Sales	1,846 (1844) 5,019 (1850) 7,288 (1854) 15,500 (1870) <i>Sp b</i> 20,000 (1887) <i>PG</i> 9 Feb, 1887 In 1854, it had the tenth highest sales among all provincial newspapers
Frequency	Weekly (Sat), 1844-55; 1889-1964 Bi-weekly (Wed and Sat) July 4 1855-june 5, 1889
Orientation	Anti-Corn Law, Liberal, Gladstonian

Sources:

- A H.Aspden, *Fifty Years a Journalist. Reflections and Recollections of an Old Clitheronian* (Clitheroe: Advertiser & Times, 1930)
- G D.Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press: 1422-1992* (London : Macmillan, 1992)
- HD Hewitson Diaries
- J *Journalist*
- L Lucas, MLitt
- MH M.Hewitt, 'Charles Hardwick' [<http://www.leedstrinity.ac.uk/depart/history/mh/Resources/biographies/H/HardwickChas/HardwickChas.htm>], accessed 17 Dec 2007
- Pe J.Pearce (ed) *The Life and Teachings of Joseph Livesey comprising his Autobiography* (London: National Temperance League, 1887)
- R S.J.Reid, *Memoirs of Sir Wemyss Reid, 1842-1885* (London: Cassell, 1905)
- Sch W.G.Schofield, *Seek for a Hero: the Story of John Boyle O'Reilly* (New York: Kenedy, 1956)

- Sp a) JH Spencer, 'Preston's Newspapers: "The Preston Guardian", A paper founded on cold water', *Preston Herald* 21 May 1943, p3
- Sp b) JH Spencer, 'Preston's Newspapers: The Preston Guardian (continued)', *Preston Herald* 18 June 1943

Lancashire Evening Post	1886-present
Subsequently	<i>Lancashire Daily Post</i> (Jan 3, 1893)
Proprietors	George Toulmin & Sons (John and George Toulmin jr)
Editors	Henry Rose 'the poet and mystic' (1890) <i>PC</i> 1 November 1890; <i>Bo</i> Feb 1898; <i>LDP</i> jubilee supplement, 21 October 1936, p9. AW Marchmont BA, 'the novelist' (1894); <i>LDP</i> jubilee supplement, 21 October 1936, p9 JB Frith BA (-1897) <i>Bo</i> Dec 1897 Thomas Meech, ex <i>Sheffield Independent</i> (Jan 1898-April 1899) <i>Bo</i> Jan 1898, April 1899 A Brodie Fraser (-July 1900) <i>Bo</i> July 1900 WCB Cowan, ex- <i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> (July 1900-) <i>Bo</i> July 1900
Contributors	RJ Peake, 'chief reporter and "special commissioner"' of <i>Preston Guardian</i> and <i>LDP</i> (1900) <i>Bo</i> July 1900 Mr JJ Lever, reporter, then chief sub-editor <i>J</i> 20 September 1890, p.10 A Francis (1899) <i>Bo</i> September 1899, p.157 F Horne, Burnley reporter (1900-) <i>Bo</i> November 1900, p.50 Mr Jones, Burnley reporter (-1900) <i>Bo</i> November 1900, p.50 B Fuller (-1899) <i>Bo</i> November 1899 Mr Noax, artist (June 1898-) <i>Bo</i> June 1898 EE Campion, sub-editor (-July 1899) <i>Bo</i> July 1899 Mr Armitt, sub-editor, ex- <i>Bolton Evening Chronicle</i> (July 1899-) <i>Bo</i> July 1899 WH Toulmin, ex- <i>Sheffield Independent</i> , member of literary staff, (Sept 1900-) <i>Bo</i> Sept 1900, p.180
Price	½d
Circulation area	As far as Barrow in early 20 th century, where it was taken at the free library from 1891 onwards (Mrs M8B, Elizabeth Roberts material, <i>BaL</i>)
Frequency	Daily
Orientation	Gladstonian Liberal; 'Liberal' (NPD, 1890)

Sources

BaL Barrow Library annual reports

Bo Bookman

J Journalist

PC Preston Chronicle

Histories

Koss, *Rise and Fall*, vol.1

<i>Onward</i>	Est Jan 1888, extant Dec 1892
Subsequently	<i>Upward</i> (extant 1895, closed 1900)
Proprietor	Preston and District Band of Hope Union
Editors	Rev CH Murray (-July 1892) FJ Askew (July 1892-)
Contributors	W Hoyle FJ Orrell George Toulmin jr
Size	A5, 8pp
Price	1d
Circulation area	Preston and district
Sales	2,000 (circulation figures by local branch given in most 1892 issues)
Frequency	Monthly
Orientation	Nonconformist, Temperance
Address	Union offices, Corporation St, Preston

Catholic News	16 February 1889-1934
Proprietors	The Catholic Printing and Publishing Co Ltd (1890): Chairman (1888): Edward Pyke JP NA 1 Company secretary: John Lovelace NA 3 Charles Diamond (Jan 6 1894) British Catholic Printing & Publishing Co (Ltd) (1894-)
Editor	JM Denvir (1899-?) CN2 March 1889
Contributors	Fr Philip Fletcher
Size	1890: 8pp x 6 cols
Circulation area	Editorial and advertising focuses on Preston and Lancashire, although 'Diocesan News' covers Middlesbrough to Plymouth
Frequency	Weekly (Sat)
Orientation	Catholic
Departments	4 January 1890: Advertisements; Diocesan News; Letter of the Holy Father to the Cardinal Vicar; Coleges, Schools etc.; Mr Gladstone's article in "Merry England"; Catholic Controversy; The Catholic Association, Maryport; Births, Marriages and Deaths; Notices and Answers to Correspondents; Leader article; Notes on News; Liverpool Notes; Our London Letter; Our Roman Letter; Sale of work at St Mary's, Wigan: Mr Weld-Blundell on Education; Letters; Catholic News of the World; Poetry; Silent and True, by MA Fleming [serial fiction]; Short stories; Humorous Bits; The French Government and the Priests: A Scandalous Measure; Household Notes [women's column]; Reviews [of music, books, magazines]; Papal Consistory; Christmas in Liverpool; A Day in Timaru; A Tribute to Cardinal Manning; The Housing of the Working Classes; Football; Obituary; Christmas in Rome
Address	123 Fishergate (1889) 123 Fishergate and 269 Strand, London (1892)

Sources:

CN Catholic News

NA 1 Catholic Printing and Publishing Co Ltd, registration certificate, 20 December 1888 (National Archives 27901/1)

NA 3 Catholic Printing and Publishing Co Ltd, office registration (National Archives 27901/3)

Lancashire Catholic	Jan 1895 - 1902
Proprietor	Mrs H Thomson
Editor	
Contributors	Mgr Gradwell ('Historical Sketches of Lancashire Catholics')
Size	16pp quarto
Price	1d
Circulation area	Mainly Preston
Frequency	Monthly
Orientation	Catholic
Departments	Oct 1895: Editor's Chat; Catholic Notes; Chats with our lads; Cycling Notes; Notes and Jottings; Historical sketches of Lancashire Catholics; drawing competition; complete story; answers to correspondents; chit-chat over the tea cups; the Ladies' Corner; Competitions; Our Obituary Corner; Cookery; Prize Jokes; Advertisements
Address	Catholic Repository, 16 Friargate

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 4

Table A12. Anthony Hewitson's diaries and other papers

Date	Description	Shelf No.
1836-57 (written 1862)	3,000-word account of his childhood in Ingleton and apprenticeship years in Lancaster. Includes expense accounts as employee of <i>Preston Herald</i> , Sept-Dec 1861	DP512/2
1865	Reporter on <i>Preston Guardian</i> .	DP512/1/1
1866		DP512/1/2
1867		DP512/1/3
1868	Reporter on <i>Preston Chronicle</i> purchases paper in March. No entries August-December.	DP512/1/4
1872		DP512/1/5
1873	Includes 2 pages of family and personal history inside back cover.	DP512/1/6
1874		DP512/1/7
1875	No entries June-September	DP512/1/8
1881	Ends 5 November.	DP512/1/17
1884		DP512/1/9
1887		DP512/1/11
1891	Sold <i>Chronicle</i> in previous year; now retired.	DP512/1/12
1896	Part-owner, then (from April) sole owner of <i>Wakefield Herald</i>	DP512/1/13
1898	Fragment, 26 October to 1 November	
1900	Fragments, 16-22 August, 13-19 December	
1906		DP512/1/14
1911		DP512/1/15
1912		DP512/1/16

Source: LRO catalogue

Table A13. Some outlets for Hewitson's freelance reporting, 1857-87

Publication	Date (diary entry in brackets)
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	1857-87 (23 August 1887)
<i>The Tablet</i> 'and other Roman Catholic papers'	(14 June 1865)
Liverpool and Manchester papers	(1 August 1865, 26 December 1872, 1 January 1874)
'distant papers', '20 newspapers', 'many newspapers'	(2 August 1865, 28 September 1865, 17 April 1873)
<i>Times</i>	(22 September 1865, 11 January and 8 October 1873, 18 May 1881, January and 9 August 1884)
<i>Scotsman</i>	(29-30 November 1865)
<i>Universe</i>	(29 January 1866)
<i>Lancaster Guardian</i>	(16 May 1867)
<i>Sheffield Telegraph</i>	(24 September 1867)
<i>The Field</i>	(26 June 1872)
<i>Agricultural Gazette</i>	(26 June 1872)
<i>Manchester Examiner</i>	(20 January 1873)
<i>Bolton Guardian</i>	(June 1873)
<i>Carlisle Journal</i>	(7 August 1873)
<i>Standard</i>	(27 Oct 1873, 9 April 1881, 9 August 1884)
<i>Daily News</i>	(14 June 1881, 14 July 1885)
<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	(19 November 1884)
<i>Irish Times</i>	(30 June 1885)
<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	(14 July 1885)

Source: HD.

Table A14. Owner-editors as a proportion of Provincial Newspaper Society presidents, 1836-86

	%
1836-39	75
1840-49	20
1850-59	60
1860-69	30
1870-79	20
1880-86	28.6

n = 43 presidents of the Provincial Newspaper Society between 1836 and 1886 for whom information is available.

Source: Whorlow, *Provincial Newspaper Society*

Table A15. Advertising content per week in main Preston papers, 1860-1900

	1860		1870		1880		1890		1900	
	Cols	%	Cols	%	Cols	%	Cols	%	Cols	%
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>										
Preston	11.1	18.6	11.9	24.4	12.6	23.0	9.0	16.1		
Lancs, other	0.9	2.1	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.8				
National	3.6	10.3	5.7	11.7	7.2	13.1	3.3	6.0		
Total	15.5	31.0	17.8	36.7	20.3	36.9	12.3	22.1		
<i>Preston Herald</i>										
Preston	10.3	21.5	12.1	12.8	17.6	12.7	10.9	8.3	15.7	11.0
Lancs, other	1.3	2.6	9.8	11.5	11.3	8.7	7.6	5.8	13.0	9.1
National	2.0	4.2	1.7	1.5	13.4	10.4	12.2	9.3	11.8	8.3
Total	13.6	28.3	23.6	25.8	42.2	31.8	30.8	23.4	40.4	28.3
<i>Preston Guardian</i>										
Preston	11.5	20	16.5	19.4	24.9	17.8	10.5	10.1	6.5	8
Lancs, other	6.0	12	6.0	7.0	7.5	5.4	3.1	3.0	8.0	9
National	2.7	6	3.4	4.0	7.6	5.4	4.4	4.2	7.3	8
Total	20.2	38.0	25.9	30.4	40.0	28.6	18.0	17.4	21.8	25.0
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>										
					(1886)					
Preston					26.7	16.3	31.3	18.7	60.8	24.4
Lancs, other					4.2	2.3	3.5	2.1	10.2	3.1
National					5.3	3.6	8.5	5.4	11.8	4.7
Total					36.1	22.2	43.4	26.2	82.9	32.2
<i>Preston Pilot</i>										
							(1888)			
Preston	6.5	14.1	7.4	18.3			0.0	0.0		
Lancs, other	4.9	10.6	1.3	3.1			9.0	22.4		
National	6.5	14.2	5.7	14.3			5.5	13.7		
Total	17.9	38.9	14.3	35.7			14.5	36.1		

The *Preston Guardian* was bi-weekly 1855-1888, weekly from then on; the *Herald* was bi-weekly from 1870 onwards; the *Chronicle* was bi-weekly in 1860 but weekly thereafter, the *Pilot* was weekly throughout; the *Lancashire Evening Post* was published six days a week.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

Table A16. Meaning of 'we'/'our'/'us' in leading articles about Preston and in 'Atticus' columns (% of all uses of each word), compared with pre-Hewitson *Chronicle* and *Guardian*

	Pre-Hewitson <i>Chronicle</i> , Sept-Nov 1867	Hewitson era <i>Chronicle</i> , April 1868	'Atticus' columns, April 1868	<i>Guardian</i> , April 1868
'We'	n=35	n=219	n=121	n=33
Editorial voice	58	79	69	51
Prestonians	24	9	9	37
England	6	8	2	6
Everyone	6	3	7	3
One		1	7	3
Pointing (deictic)			3	
<i>Gardeners Chronicle</i> editorial voice	3			
Tory rump of Preston corporation	3			
Our generation			2	
'Our'	n=38	n=55	n=67	n=10
Preston's	61	56	56	50
English	34	18	3	20
Editorial voice	3	18	17	30
Our generation's		2	11	
Yours and mine			8	
Everyone's		4	2	
One's		2	2	
Lancastrian	3			
Protestant			2	
'Us'	n=9	n=23	n=16	n=6
Prestonians	67	39		50
Editorial voice		17	44	
English	22	17		17
Everyone		17	13	17
Visitors to church bazaar				17
Anyone		4	13	
You and me (reader)			13	
Our generation	11			
Human race			6	
Churchgoers			6	
Protestants			6	
Library committee		4		

Table A17. Winckley Club auction values (% of cover price), *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Herald*, 1860-75

	<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	<i>Preston Herald</i>
1860	6.6	
1861	36.3	31.3
1862	34.6	23.1
1863	26.0	23.1
1864	28.8	23.1
1865	49.0	28.8
1866	49.0	30.8
1867	40.4	23.1
1868	63.5	42.3
1869	63.5	40.4
1870	46.2	51.9
1871	28.8	30.8
1872	46.2	38.5
1873	57.7	23.1
1874	37.5	30.8
1875	26.0	25.0

Table A18. Popular topics of correspondence, *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian*, Sept-Oct 1867 and Sept-Oct 1868

	1867		1868	
	<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	<i>Preston Guardian</i>	<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	<i>Preston Guardian</i>
Opening of new town hall and parks	10	16		
Docks redevelopment	11	8		
Direct payment of rates	4	10		
Town hall clock	1	3	3	
Preston election			23	12
No Popery/Irish disestablishment			13	15
North Lancashire election			7	18
Leyland election meeting fracas			2	8
Great Eccleston tailors walk out of church			4	

Table A19. Orientation of letter, *Preston Chronicle* and *Preston Guardian*, September/October 1867 and 1868

	1867		1868	
	<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	<i>Preston Guardian</i>	<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	<i>Preston Guardian</i>
Proactive	21	28	29	37
Response to leader, same pubn	5	1	5	0
Response to news report, same pubn	17	23	14	14
Response to news report, other pubn	0	1	5	1
Response to letter, same pubn	1	17	11	15
Response to letter, other pubn	0	0	5	9
Response to advertisement, same pubn	1	0	1	2
	45	70	70	78

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 6

Table A20. Poetry in the *Preston Chronicle*, 1855 and 1885

1855			
Date	Title	Author	Comments
6 January	Lines on leaving our old dwelling	A.R.	'for the <i>Preston Chronicle</i> '
3 February	Tributary stanzas to the Lord John Russell, occasioned by the virulent and splenetic attacks by a portion of the newspaper press	T Breakell	'for the <i>Preston Chronicle</i> '
3 March	Birth-day Reflections	John Bolton Rogerson	
7 April	An Invocation		'(<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>)'
7 April	Oh! How fancy loves to linger	Richard Parker, Westby	'for the <i>Preston Chronicle</i> '
5 May	May		
June	No poetry		
7 July	Stanzas	Eliza Cook	
4 August	The Peace Orator, from Tennyson's 'Maud'	Tennyson	
1 September	The Brook, An Idyl	Alfred Tennyson	
6 October	The Sunday School, written for Sunday School scholars	John Critchley Prince	'for the <i>Preston Chronicle</i> '
3 November	Omniscience	Rev John Baker, Chorley	
1 December	Forgiveness	John Critchley Prince, Ashton-under-Lyne	
1885			
3 January	The New Year	Christina Rossetti	
3 January	New Year's Day, 1885	James Kenyon, Appleton, Widnes	
7 February	Practical Philosophy	Rowland Brown	'(from "Songs and Poems", by Rowland Brown)'
7 March	Strength For To-Day		
7 March	Live To Do Good	EJ Hack, Clifton	
4 April	April Showers	Benjamin Gough	From <i>The Welcome</i>
2 May	Make The Most of This Life	Freeman E Miller	
6 June	The Three Planets	Coulson Kernahan	From <i>Home Chimes</i>
4 July	Midsummer	Ralph Waldo Emerson	
1 August	The Prospect	Elizabeth Barrett Browning	
1 August	Youth	W.F.B	From <i>English Illustrated Magazine</i>
5 September	Till Death Us Part	Dean Stanley	
3 October	The Two Paths	M.T.H, Cambridge	
3 October	My Hero	JT Baron, Blackburn	'(An Original Serio-Comic)'
7 November	Goodbye		
7 November	Shadows	JT Baron	
5 December	If I Do!	"Jo Hotbrann"	

Sample: first issue of each month for both years.

**Advertisement for Richard Myerscough, 126 Church St, Preston and the North of England
Steam Pork Factory, Shepherd St, Preston, in *Catholic News* 4 January 1890, p8.**

PP
Proud Preston
Prize Pigs. Prime Pork

In hist'ry we're told
Proud Preston of old
Was famous for Tories and Whigs;
Time changes; we see,
At present PP
Is noted for Pork and for Pigs.

PP stands, 'tis said,
For Prize Pigs instead,
Of what was the meaning of yore;
Prestonians know
That R Myerscough
Has, yearly, a great treat in store.

'Tis needless to state
His establishment great,
Is one of the sights of the town;
For Pigs, such as he
Lets visitors see,
Are certainly Pigs of renown.

PP means Prime Pork,
Says Sir Patric, of Cork;
And Myerscough's customers know
The town of PP
A dull place would be
Deprived of his annual show.
PP Proud Preston; PP Prize Pigs; PP Prime Pork; PP Pleasing Prospects.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 8

Table A21. Numbers of 'newspaper agents and news room keepers' recorded in the Census, 1851-1901, selected Lancashire towns

	Lancashire (county + county boroughs)	Preston	Barrow	Bolton	Lancaster
1851	399	5		7	1
1861	488	17		19	2
1871	603	11	4	20	3
1881	894	26		43	
1891	1598	63	8	85	
1901	2911	199	51	277	

Sources:

1852-53 [1691-II] Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population tables. II. Ages, civil condition, occupations, and birth-place of the people: with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums, and hospitals. Vol. II, pp.63-643.

1863 [3221] Accounts and papers: forty-eight volumes.--(25.--Part II.)--Population (England and Wales), tables 11, 12, 15, 16, pp.628, 632, 649, 653.

1873 [C.872] Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population abstracts. Ages, civil condition, occupations, and birth-places of the people. Vol. III, tables 14 & 15, pp.422, 425, 430, 435

1883 [C.3722] Census of England and Wales. (43 & 44 Vict. c. 37.) 1881. Volume III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, and birth-places of the people, Table 11, p363.

1893-94 [C.7058] Census of England and Wales. 1891. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birth-places, and infirmities. Vol. III., Table 7, p.378

1902 [Cd. 1002] Census of England and Wales. 1901. (63 Vict. c. 4.) County of Lancaster. Area, houses and population; also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces, and infirmities, table 35

Notes:

These figures are reliable only for broad trends, being based on changing classifications, and in some years, classification which included a small number of 'other' publishing trades.

1851: Included under 'Others engaged about Publications' (for men, this category excludes publisher, bookseller, bookbinder, printer; for women, it excludes only booksellers)

1861: For males, included under 'Newspaper agent' and 'Others in Publications' (no separate category of news room keeper); for females, included under 'Others in Publications' (no separate category of newspaper agent or news room keeper)

1871: Figures for those aged 20 years and upwards only

1881: Figures only for Urban Sanitary Districts over 50,000 population (thereby excluding Barrow and Lancaster)

1901: Included in 'Other', under 'paper, prints, books and stationery' a category which excludes paper manufacturers/stainers, paper box and bag makers, stationery manufacturers, printers, lithographers or bookbinders.

Table A22. Libraries, newsrooms and reading rooms in Preston, 1851-1900

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
Dr Shepherd's Library	Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge (to 1868) Literary & Philosophical Institute (1868-94) Harris Free Library (1894-)	Est 1761	Free		Library	PG 27 September 1957
Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge	Avenham Lane	Est 1828 Newsroom opened 1850 Closed 1881	1859: 2s quarterly for use of newsroom, plus membership subs 1866: access included in general subs (2s 6d quarterly)	Closed Sundays To 1872: opens 9am 1872: opens 8.30am	Newsroom Reading room Library of 7,000 volumes (1865)	PC December 17, 1859 PC 9 September 1865
Winckley Club	Winckley Square	Est. 1846	1851: shareholders 2 guineas; country subscribers £1 6 6, all other subscribers £2 12 6	Every day (inc Sundays)	Newsroom	Minute books, LRO
Literary & Philosophical institution	Cross Street	Est. 1848 Newsroom extant 1862 Reorganised 1867 Dissolved 1878	£1 5s or £2 2s (extra lending rights) Newsroom (1862): members, 7s 6d; non-members, 12s 6d yearly	8.30am-9.30pm	Library Reading room Newsroom (1862) Circulating library (Mudie's from 1867) 'The more important Reviews and Periodicals' No mention of newspapers	PC April 12, 1862; PC January 19, 1867

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
General News Room	Market Place	Closed 1850				PC November 16, 1850
Trinity Church national Schools		Est 1850	1/2d weekly		reading room	PC March 2, 1850
Parish Church Sunday School reading room	Central National School				reading room	PC March 9, 1850
Young men's reading room	St Thomas's school	Est Dec 1849			Reading room	PC June 1, 1850
Oakey's Circulating Library	25 Fishergate	c. 1850-59	1 guinea yearly		Circulating library	PC 23 November 1850; PC 20 August 1859
Chartist reading room?	Mr Gardner's school room	Est 1851			Mutual improvement class and reading room	PC November 1, 1851
St Mary's CE Young Men's Mutual Improvement Class	St Mary's Schools	Est. 1852 Extant 1854		Week nights	Library Reading room with 'the best periodicals of the day'	PC Aug 19, 1854
St Paul's CE Mutual Improvement Society	Pole Street	Est. 1852			Reading room with 'daily, weekly and monthly first-class newspapers and periodicals' Library of 300 volumes	PC Oct 10, 1857
Catholic Institution	Fox St	Extant 1853			Reading room	PC 15 Oct 1853
Goodair's mill		Extant 1854			Library	Convey
Guild Hall news room	Coffee Room, town hall	Extant 1854				PC 11 March 1854
Cowper's Penny News and Reading Room	Old Mechanics' Institution, Cannon St	Extant 1854 Closed June 1855	2s 6d per quarter; non-subscribers, 1d	9am-10pm	23 London, provincial papers, magazines, 3 local papers	PC Sept 30, 1854
Exchange Commercial News Room	Corner of Fishergate and Cannon St	Est. May 1855	1 guinea yearly			PC 9 June 1855
St Peter's CE Mutual Improvement Society		Est. 1855			Reading room	PC Nov 3, 1855

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
Young Men's Club	18 Fishergate	Est. 1855 Extant 1857			News room	PC June 23, 1855
Christ Church CE Mutual Improvement Society	16 Bow Lane	Est. Feb 1855		'Constantly open'	Reading room	PC Dec 29, 1855
Commercial News Room	Town Hall Corner	Extant 1855-1858	1 guinea PA for news room 10s for telegraph only		News room and telegrams	PC 6 Oct 1855; 24 April 1858
Grimshaw St Independent Sunday School		Extant. 1857			Circulating library	PC 2 January 1858
St Thomas's CE church	Lancaster Rd North	Extant 1857			Reading room	PC December 19, 1857
Boar's Head Inn	Friargate	Extant 1857			Reading room	
Temperance Hall	?	Extant 1857	Free		Reading room	
Magnetic Telegraph Subscription News Room	1 Fishergate	Est 1857	5s per half-year		Telegraphed news	PC December 5, 1857
Henry Oakey (bookseller, stationer)	36 Fishergate	Extant 1859			Circulating library of 'new productions in light literature'	PC 22 October 1859
Young Men's Christian Association	98 Fishergate Guild Hall St (1883)	Est. 1859?	1s and 1s 6d per quarter	8am-10.30pm	Reading room 'well supplied with Papers and Periodicals'	PC Oct 1, 1859 September 29, 1883
John Proffitt, newsagent	86 North Road	Extant 1860		Closed 8pm, 'except Saturday' Closed Sunday	Circulating library Newsagent	PH 1 September 1860, p4
Parkinson's Penny Circulating Library	5 Lancaster Road	Extant 1861-65	1d per loan		Circulating library with 'upwards of 2,000 volumes'	PC 28 October 1865
Lambert's Circulating Library	20 Cannon Street	Extant 1861-65				PC 6 July 1861

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
Law Library	20 Chapel Walks(c1861-80) 4 Chapel Walks (1885-1901)	Extant 1861-1901			Law library	Directories
Preston Operative Power Loom Weavers' Association	45-46 Lancaster Rd Former Mormon Chapel, Lawson St (1865)	Est. 1861			Reading room	PC Dec 22, 1861 September 30, 1865
St Peter's CE Young Men's Club		Est. 1861	1d weekly		Reading room 'supplied with the leading papers' Library of 400 volumes	PC Oct 31, 1861
Temperance Hall free public reading room	North Rd	Opened 1861	Free		Reading room 'supplied with newspapers, periodicals &c'	
Co-operative News Room		Extant 1862				PC 25 Jan 1862
11th Lancashire Rifle Volunteers Depot	Fishergate	Extant 1863			Reading room	PC, Sept 5, 1863
Mechanics' and Engineers' Society of Preston	Lord's Walk	Est. 1863	1d weekly		Reading room with newspapers	PC November 28, 1863
St Saviour's CE Mutual Improvement Society	Shepherd St (to 1873) Leeming St (from 1873)	Est. 1863 Extant 1873			Reading room Library	PC, September 19, 1863; November 1, 1873
St Peter's CE Working Men's Club	Fylde Road	Extant 1863			Reading room London, provincial and local papers, pamphlets, reviews Library of 500 volumes	PC 19 December 1863, pp6-7; April 2, 1864

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
Central Working Men's Club	Lord St (1863) 18 Friargate (1871)	Est 1863	1871: Club subs (inc newsroom): Tradesmen, 2s 6d quarterly Working men, 1s 6d	1871: 7am-10pm Mon-Fri 7am-11pm Sat Closed Sun	Reading room 'supplied with the London, Liverpool, Manchester and other daily and weekly papers' (1871)	PC 19 December 1863, pp6-7, July 1, 1871 Detailed description PC 20 Feb 1864
Spinners' and Minders' Institute	Church Street	Extant 1864			News room Library	PC 9 Jan 1864 Mannex directory 1865
Mary Armistead	35 Cannon Street	Extant 1865			Circulating library	Mannex directory
St Ignatius (RC) Temperance Society and Newsroom	St Ignatius school 1879: Walker St School	Extant 1865			1865: Newsroom 1879: Reading room	PC 19 April 1879
St Augustine's (RC) church	St Austin's Road	Extant 1865 Extant 1878-80 (St Augustine's Men's Institute)			Circulating library Reading room Library	Mannex directory
St Walburge's (RC) church	Maudlands	Extant 1865			Circulating library	Mannex directory
National Reform Union reading room	Church St	Opened 1867			Reading room with London, Manchester and local papers	PC, March 9, 1867
Exchange & news room	New town hall	1867-78	1867: Persons residing within the Borough or having a place of business within 3 miles of the Exchange: £1.10.0; Other persons: £1 30s (to 1871) 20s (from 1872)	8am-9.30pm weekdays	Newsroom Telegrams	PC Jan 13, 1872; minute books, LRO

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
J Johnson jr	13 Orchard Street	Extant 1869			Circulating library	Slater's directory
Preston General Liberal Committee Reading Room	Over the Magnetic Telegraph Office, Fishergate	Extant 1869		1-9.30pm	Reading room	PC November 13, 1869
Preston Central Conservative Club	Lord St	Est 1869			Reading room with 'daily and local newspapers, books &c'	PC Nov 20, 1869
St Luke's Conservative Association	?	Extant 1870			Daily and weekly newspapers 2,000 volumes of ancient and modern literature	PH supplement week ending Sept 17, 1870, p3
Liberal Club	15 Market Place	Extant 1871	Club subs (inc newsroom) Tradesmen and others, 2s 6d quarterly Working men, 1s 6d		Newsroom 'supplied with the best papers'	PC July 1, 1871
Conservative reading room	Queen St, behind Weaver's Arms	Extant 1871			Reading room	
WH Smith	Railway station	Extant 1873-			Circulating library Bookstall Newsagent	Mannex directory 1873
John Sumner	102 Park Road	Extant 1873			Circulating library	Mannex directory 1873
Free library and news room, Fishwick Ward Conservative Association	Corner of Adelaide St and New hall Lane	Est 1873	Free?		Reading room with 'papers of various descriptions' Library of 300 volumes	PC March 22, 1873
Co-operative reading room	Above shop, Ashton St	Est 1875 Extant 1884	Free to members			PC 18 April 1874; PC 2 Feb 1884
Middleforth Green news room	Penwortham	Extant 1876				

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
Reform Club	1877: Fishergate Chapel St	Est 1877 Extant 1895-1901	1877: Professional men & tradesmen: 1 guinea; clerks, assistants and minors (sons of tradesmen): 15/-; working men 10/-	8.30am-11pm	1877: Reading room 'supplied with the principal London, Provincial, and Local Papers and Magazines' + separate room with newspapers, market reports, telegrams and reference books	PC 13 Oct 1877
St Paul's British Workman club	Pole St	Extant 1877			Reading room	PC April 21, 1877
Mill Hill Ragged School vestry	Mill Hill	Extant 1878	Free?	Sat, 3-10pm	'various papers and periodicals are laid on the table'	PC February 2, 1878
Conservative Working Men's Club	Church St	Est 1878			News room	PC May 11, 1878
Fulwood Park Club	Fulwood	Extant 1878			News room Bowling	PC November 9, 1878
Alexandra coffee tavern	81 Church St	Opened 1878			Daily papers in upstairs dining room	
Free library and newsroom	Town hall	1879-93	Free		Library Newsroom	
Croft St Wesleyan Sunday School	Croft St	Extant 1881			Reading Room	PC October 15, 1881
North End Reform Club	Havelock St	1881			Reading room and small library	PC January 27, 1883
St Mark's school		Extant 1883			News room	PC December 22, 1883
Conservative Club	Guildhall St	Extant 1883				
J&A Slark	41 Fishergate	Extant 1885-89			Circulating library	Barrett's directories

Name	Address	Dates	Subscription rates	Opening hours	Reading facilities	Source
Dockers' reading room	A house facing the Marsh'	Opened 1886			Reading rooms with newspapers, books and periodicals	PG, 4 Sept 1886, p6
Preston Industrial Co-operative Society	Six addresses in 1890 1899: possibly at: North Rd Skeffington Rd Adelphi St Ashton St Brackenbury St London Rd Marsh Lane Fletcher Rd Syke Hill Wellington Rd St George's rd Trafford St Bence Road New Hall Lane	Extant 1890	Free to members?		Reading rooms	1890: Hodge, History of Preston, p48 1899: Committee minutes 1899-1900, LRO DDX 1738 1899-1900
St Mary's St Wesleyan school	St Mary's St	Extant 1890				
Preston Industrial Co-operative Society	North Road	Extant 1891	Free to members?		Reading room	PC 18 April 1891
Preston Industrial Co-operative Society central reading room	Lancaster Road	Extant 1891-92	Free to members?		Reading room	PC 19 Dec 1891 PC 16 Jan 1892
Harris library	Market Square	1893 onwards	Free	9am-10pm, Monday to Saturday. I	Reference library Lending library Reading room Newsroom	Convey, <i>Harris Free Public Library</i>

Sources: Trade directories, *Preston Chronicle*

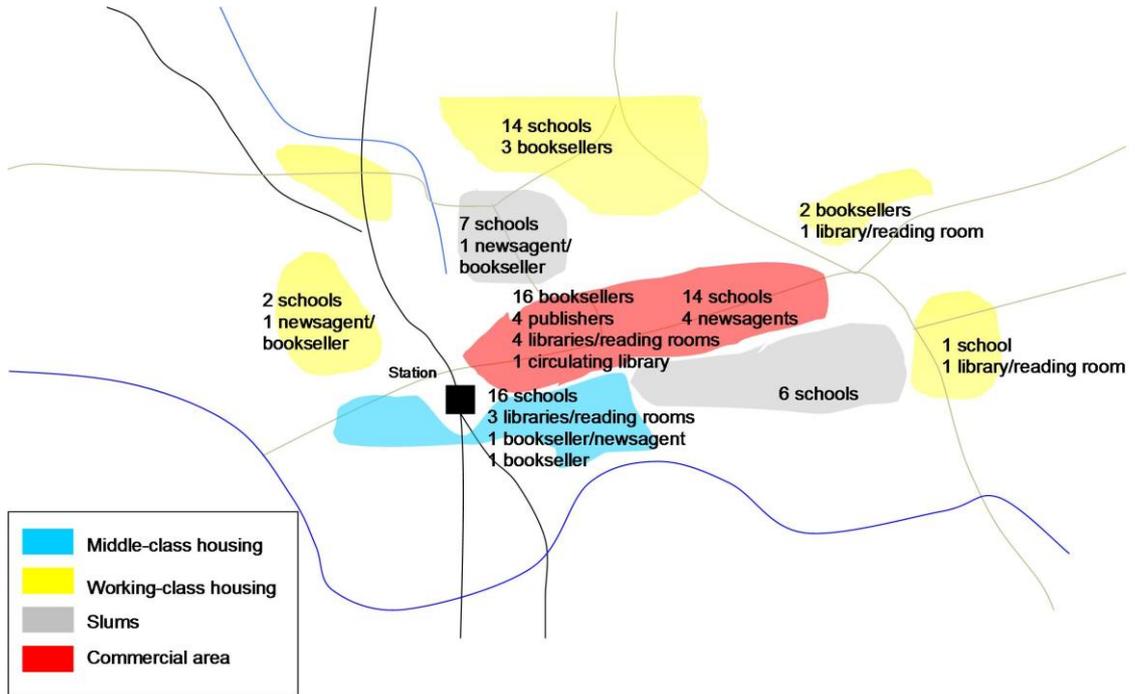


Fig. A6. Reading map of Preston, 1853

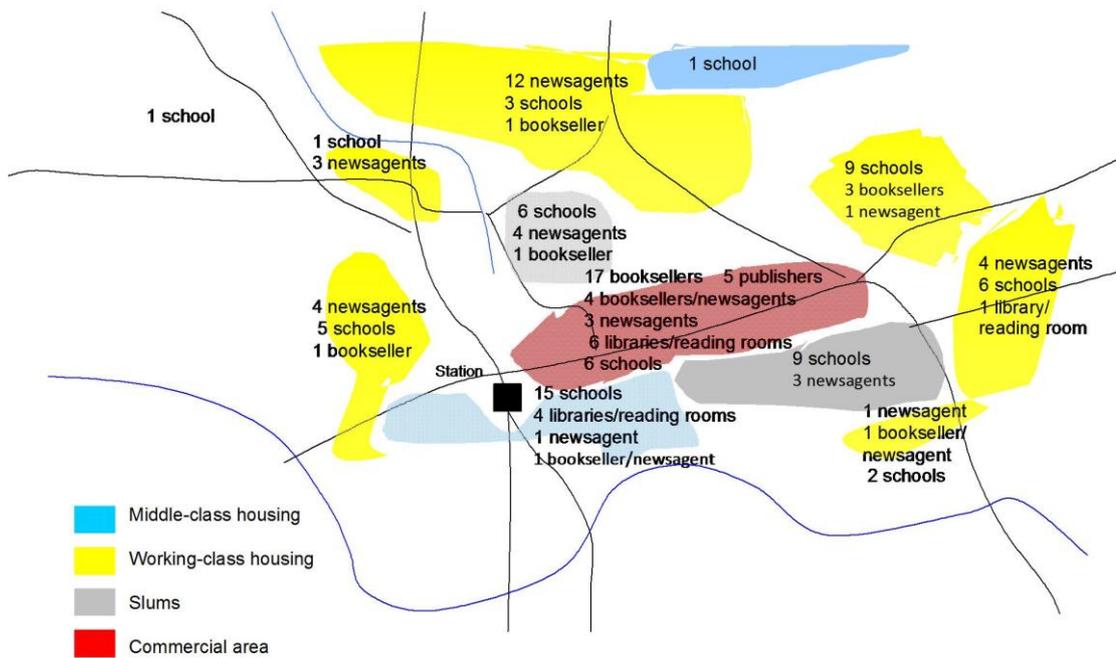


Fig. A7. Reading map of Preston, 1873

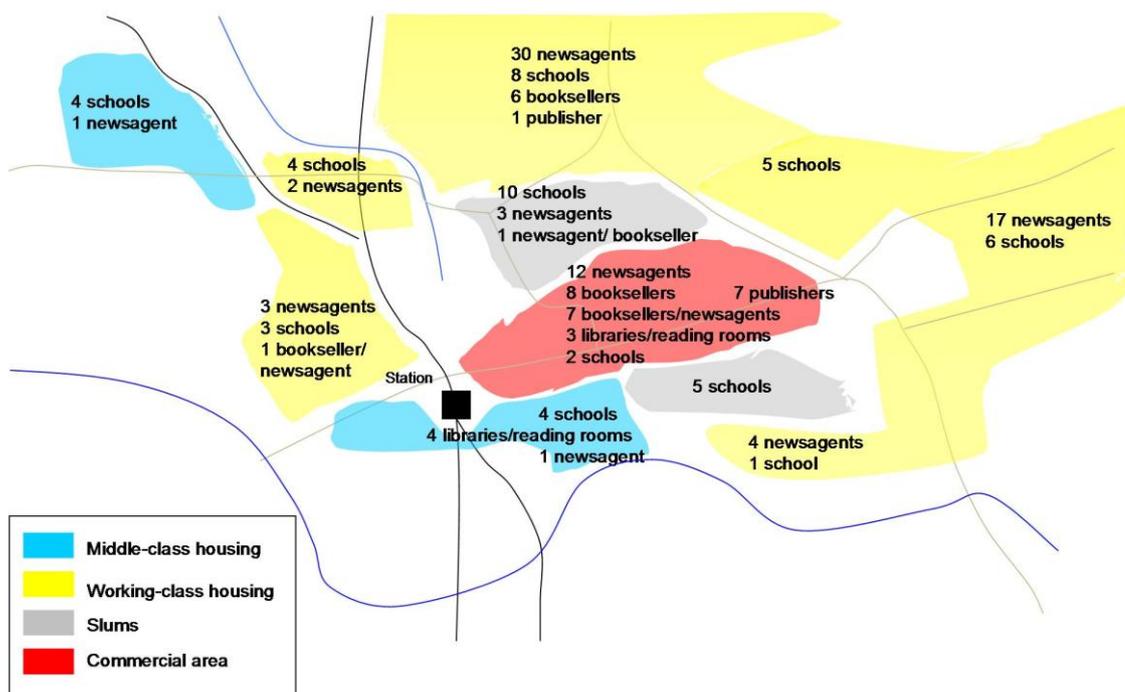


Fig. A8. Reading map of Preston, 1900

Table A23. Press Association telegraphic news service to be supplied to Preston Exchange and News Room, 1870

	£ s d per year
Reuters telegrams class 3 (very short summary)	22
Morning supply of news class 3 to be received by 8am	7
London Stock Exchange class 3	9.5.0
London produce market class 2, one report daily at 1pm	4.15.0
London corn class 2, 1 report, 3 days a week, closing prices	2.7.6
Liverpool cotton, 1 st & 2 nd reports daily	9
Imports once a week	0.17.0
Liverpool shares, one report daily	10
Liverpool corn, closing prices twice a week	1.10.0
Manchester shares, one report daily, midday	10
Manchester trade report, twice a week	1.13.6
Weekly markets, corn: Dublin	0.17.6
Leeds	0.17.6
Manchester	0.17.6
Wakefield	0.17.6

Source: Exchange Newsroom minutes, 12 January 1870, LRO CBP 53/4

Table A24. Newspapers mentioned in postcard correspondence of Rev John Thomas Wilson, vicar of Wrightington, 1877-82

Title	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
<i>[Manchester] Evening News</i>	1					
<i>[Manchester] Evening Mail</i>	1					
<i>Manchester Courier Standard</i>	1					
<i>Graphic</i>		1	1	2	1	2
<i>[Liverpool] Mercury</i>		1				
The various papers' [local]		1				
A Wigan paper'		1				
The neighbouring newspapers'			1			
<i>Daily News</i>			1			
<i>Chorley Guardian</i>						1

Source: A.R.Bradford, *Drawn by Friendship: the Art and Wit of the Revd. John Thomas Wilson* (New Barnet: Anne R. Bradford, 1997)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 9

Table A25. Reading matter by gender and place, Preston, Barrow and Lancaster

	Preston		Barrow		Lancaster	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Lancashire Daily/Evening Post</i>	13	6	1		3	
<i>North Western Daily/Evening Mail</i>			5	3		
<i>Barrow Herald</i>			1	1		
<i>Lancaster Observer</i>						2
<i>Lancaster Guardian</i>					2	
<i>Local paper'</i>					1	1
<i>Liverpool Weekly Post</i>			3	1	1	
<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	1				1	1
<i>Daily Sketch</i>			1	1		
<i>Umpire/Empire News</i>	2		1	1	1	
<i>Sunday Chronicle</i>	2					
<i>News of the World</i>	3		5	1		1
<i>Reynolds's</i>	1					
<i>People</i>	1					
<i>Observer</i>	1	1				
<i>Sunday paper</i>			1		1	1
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>			1			
<i>Thomson's Weekly News</i>			1	1		
<i>Daily Herald</i>	2				2	1
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1		3	1		
<i>Daily Mirror</i>		1		1		
<i>John Bull</i>	1	2	2	1		
<i>Tit Bits</i>			1			
<i>Red Letter</i>						1
<i>Strand</i>	1					
<i>Work</i>					1	
<i>Lots O Fun</i>	1					
<i>Chips</i>	1				1	
<i>Comic Cuts</i>	1				1	
<i>The Gem</i>	1					
<i>Boys Own</i>	1				1	
<i>Marvel</i>	1					
<i>Schoolgirl's Friend</i>		1				
<i>'Comics'</i>					2	
<i>Chums</i>			1		1	
<i>Boy's Friend</i>			1		1	
<i>Boy's Realm</i>			1			
<i>Catholic Fireside</i>		1				1
<i>Christian Herald</i>				1		
<i>Parish magazine</i>				1		

	Preston		Barrow		Lancaster	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Sunday Companion</i>		2				
<i>Universe</i>						1
<i>Westminster Gazette</i>					1	1
<i>News Chronicle</i>			1		1	
<i>Woman's Own</i>						1
Totals	29	13	27	14	15	12

Note: Instances where reader's gender is ambiguous have been omitted.

Table A26. Newspapers and periodicals taken at Preston Free Library, 1880-1900, by category

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Garden</i>				1	1		Agricultural and horticultural
<i>Gardener</i>	1					1	Agricultural and horticultural
<i>Gardener's Chronicle</i>				1	1	1	Agricultural and horticultural
<i>Horticulture</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Agricultural and horticultural
<i>Rural World</i>						1	Agricultural and horticultural
<i>Agriculture</i>			1				Agricultural or horticultural
<i>Royal Agricultural Society</i>					1	1	Agriculture/horticulture
<i>Anti-Vivisectionist</i>	1						Animal rights
<i>Army and Navy Gazette</i>					1	1	Armed forces
<i>Army List</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	armed forces
<i>Navy and Army</i>						1	Armed forces
<i>Art Journal</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Art and design
<i>Artist</i>						1	Art and design
<i>Classical Picture Gallery</i>				1	1	1	Art and design
<i>Decoration</i>			1				Art and design
<i>Decorative Art</i>			1	1	1	1	Art and design
<i>Magazine of Art</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Art and design
<i>Portfolio</i>			1	1	1		Art and design
<i>South Kensington Museum Examples</i>	1						Art and design
<i>Studio</i>						1	Art and design
<i>British Trades Journal</i>			1	1	1		Business
<i>Contract Journal</i>				1	1	1	Business
<i>Economist</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Business
<i>Estates Gazette</i>					1	1	Business
<i>Financial Reformer</i>				1		1	Business
<i>Fish Trade Journal</i>			1				Business
<i>Insurance and Banking</i>			1	1	1	1	Business
<i>Merchant Service Review</i>						1	Business
<i>Sale and Exchange</i>			1				Business

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Woollen Trade Journal</i>			1	1	1	1	Business
<i>Boy's Own Paper</i>				1	1	1	Children's
<i>Every Boy's Magazine</i>	1	1					Children's
<i>Girls' Own Paper</i>				1	1	1	Children's
<i>University Correspondence</i>				1	1	1	Educational
<i>Labour News</i>						1	Employment
<i>Labour Gazette</i>					1	1	Employment issues
<i>Argosy</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction
<i>Belgravia Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction
<i>Cornhill Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction
<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction
<i>Household Words</i>						1	Fiction
<i>Strand magazine</i>				1	1	1	Fiction
<i>Temple Bar Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction
<i>Tinsley's Magazine</i>	1	1					Fiction
<i>All The Year Round</i>	1	1	1	1	1		Fiction and general interest
<i>Atlantic Monthly</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	fiction and general interest
<i>Cassell's Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction and general interest
<i>Century Magazine</i>		1	1	1	1	1	fiction and general interest
<i>Chambers's Journal</i>	1	1	1			1	Fiction and general interest
<i>Harmsworth's magazine</i>						1	fiction and general interest
<i>Harper's Monthly</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	fiction and general interest
<i>Lippincott's Magazine</i>				1	1		Fiction and general interest
<i>London Society</i>				1	1		Fiction and general interest
<i>Scribner's Magazine</i>	1			1	1	1	fiction and general interest
<i>Time</i>	1	1	1				fiction and general interest
<i>Leisure Hour</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction and general interest
<i>Family Herald</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Fiction and general interest
<i>Le Voleur</i>				1			French newspaper
<i>Soleil du Dimanche</i>					1		French newspaper
<i>Freemasons</i>	1		1				Friendly soc
<i>Good Templar</i>				1	1	1	Friendly soc/temperance

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Rechabite magazine</i>			1	1	1	1	Friendly soc; abstainers
<i>Black and White</i>						1	General
<i>English Illustrated magazine</i>				1	1	1	General
<i>Notes and Queries</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	General
<i>Oracle, The</i>		1					General
<i>Universal Instructor</i>	1		1				General
<i>Windsor magazine</i>					1	1	General
<i>herald of Health</i>	1	1	1				Health
<i>Sanitary Record</i>		1	1		1	1	Health
<i>Sanitary World</i>			1	1			Health
<i>Historical Review</i>			1	1	1	1	history
<i>Colonies and India</i>	1						Imperialist
<i>Imperial Federation</i>				1	1	1	Imperialist
<i>Indian Statesman</i>		1					Imperialist
<i>Library Journal</i>	1	1	1	1	1		Librarianship
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	1	1	1	3			Local bi/weekly newspaper
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2	2	3	3	6	5	Local bi/weekly newspaper
<i>Preston Herald</i>	1	2	3	3	5	5	Local bi/weekly newspaper
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	1	1					Local bi/weekly newspaper
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>					4	1	Local evening newspaper
<i>Metropolitan</i>	1	1		1	1	1	Local government
<i>Poor Laws Officer's Journal</i>						1	Local government
<i>Cross Fleury's Journal</i>						1	Local magazine
<i>Daily Graphic</i>						1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Standard</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Daily News</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Daily Telegraph</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Times</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Daily Chronicle</i>					1	1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Daily Mail</i>						1	London daily newspaper
<i>London Morning Post</i>					1	1	London daily newspaper
<i>Graphic</i>	1	1	2	2	2	2	London illustrated newspaper

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2	London illustrated newspaper
<i>Citizen, The</i>	1		1				London weekly newspaper
<i>European Mail</i>		1	1	1	1	1	London weekly newspaper
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>		1	1	1	1	1	London weekly newspaper
<i>St James's Gazette</i>		1	1	1	1	1	London weekly newspaper
<i>Truth</i>						1	London weekly newspaper
<i>Weekly Dispatch</i>						1	London weekly newspaper
<i>Weekly Times</i>	1	1					London weekly newspaper
<i>Musical Budget</i>			1	1			Music
<i>Musical Herald</i>					1	1	Music
<i>Musical Standard</i>			1	1		1	Music
<i>Musical Times</i>			1				Music
<i>Musician's Journal</i>					1	1	Music
<i>Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter</i>		1	1	1			Music
<i>Manchester Chamber of Commerce</i>					1	1	North West business
<i>Co-operative News</i>			1	1	1	1	North West co-operative
<i>Liverpool Daily Courier</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	North West daily newspaper
<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i>		1	1	1	2	2	North West daily newspaper
<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	North West daily newspaper
<i>Liverpool and Southport Daily News</i>	1						North West daily newspaper
<i>Manchester Courier</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	North West daily newspaper
<i>Manchester Examiner and Times</i>		1	1	1			North West daily newspaper
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	1	1	1	1	2	2	North West daily newspaper
<i>Manchester Evening Mail</i>					2	1	North West evening newspaper
<i>Oddfellows Magazine</i>			1	1	1	1	North West friendly soc
<i>Ben Brierley's Journal</i>	1	1	1				North West general
<i>Manchester Faces and Places</i>				1	1	1	North West general
<i>Manchester Geographical Society</i>			1	1	1	1	North West geography
<i>Catholic Times</i>		1		1	1	1	North West religious/RC
<i>Manchester Quarterly</i>		1	1	1	1	1	North West review
<i>J'nal of the Liverpool Astronomical Soc</i>			1				North West scientific & technical
<i>Textile manufacturer</i>				1	1	1	North West scientific & technical

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Textile Recorder</i>				1	1	1	North West scientific & technical
<i>Blackpool Times</i>						1	North West weekly newspaper
<i>Lancaster Observer</i>							North West weekly newspaper
<i>Southport News</i>		1					North West weekly newspaper
<i>Names of Deceased Seamen</i>			1	1	1	1	Other
<i>Herald of Peace</i>	1		1				Pacifist
<i>Mind</i>		1	1	1	1	1	Philosophy
<i>Photogram</i>					1	1	Photography
<i>Personal Rights Journal</i>			1	1	1	1	Political
<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>					1	1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>					1	1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Irish Times</i>						1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Leeds Mercury</i>			1	1	1	1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Newcastle Daily Chronicle</i>						1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Scotsman</i>					1	1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Yorkshire Post</i>						1	Provincial daily newspaper
<i>Derbyshire Courier</i>	1	1					Provincial weekly newspaper
<i>Llandudno Advertiser</i>			1	1	1	1	Provincial weekly newspaper
<i>Midland Counties Herald</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Provincial weekly newspaper
<i>Worcester Herald</i>		1	1	1	1	1	Provincial weekly newspaper
<i>Bradshaw's Railway Guid</i>	1	1		1	1		Railway timetable
<i>Leeds Weekly Times</i>			1				Regional news miscellany
<i>Newcastle Weekly Chronicle</i>	1						Regional news miscellany
<i>Christian Commonwealth</i>		1					Religious
<i>Ecclesiastical Observer</i>			1	1	1	1	Religious
<i>Family Churchman</i>				1	1	1	Religious
<i>Good Words</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Religious review
<i>Greater Britain</i>				1	1	1	Religious/CE
<i>National Church</i>		1	1	1	1	1	Religious/CE
<i>Rock, The</i>	1	1					Religious/evangelical CE/anti-RC
<i>Church Times</i>						1	Religious/high church CE
<i>Quiver</i>			1	1	1	1	Religious/literary

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Liberator, The</i>		1				1	Religious/Nonconformist
<i>Catholic Fireside Tablet</i>						1	Religious/RC
<i>Social Gazette</i>						1	Religious/RC
<i>New Church Magazine</i>			1	1	1	1	Religious/Salvation Army
<i>National Review</i>		1	1	1	1	1	Religious/Swedenborgian
<i>Academy</i>	1		1	1	1	1	Religious/Unitarian
<i>Athenaeum</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Blackwood's Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Contemporary Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	review
<i>Edinburgh Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	review
<i>Fortnightly Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Fraser's magazine</i>	1						Review
<i>Longman's Magazine</i>		1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Macmillan's Magazine</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>National Observer</i>				1	1	1	Review
<i>New Review</i>				1	1		Review
<i>Nineteenth Century</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>North American Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Pall Mall magazine</i>						1	review
<i>Quarterly Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Review Of Reviews</i>				1	1	1	review
<i>Saturday Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Speaker</i>				1	1	1	Review
<i>Spectator</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	review
<i>Westminster Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Review
<i>Punch</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2	Review
<i>Analyst</i>						1	Satirical/humorous
<i>Architects' Society Proceedings</i>				1	1		Scientific and technical
<i>Builder</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Building News</i>			1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Electrical Review</i>		1	1	1	1		Scientific and technical

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Engineer</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Engineering</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>English Mechanic</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Fielden's magazine</i>						1	Scientific and technical
<i>Fire and Water</i>					1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Invention</i>			1	1			Scientific and technical
<i>Knowledge</i>		1	1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Machinery Market</i>			1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Mechanical World</i>			1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Nature</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Observatory</i>				1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Phonetic Journal</i>				1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Printer's Register</i>						1	Scientific and technical
<i>Scientific American</i>			1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Scientific American supplement</i>			1	1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Surveyor's Institution Transactions</i>				1	1	1	Scientific and technical
<i>Debenham's Sale List</i>					1	1	Shopping
<i>Badminton magazine</i>						1	sport
<i>Country Sport</i>						1	Sport
<i>Field</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Sport
<i>Registrar General's Report</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Statistics
<i>Alliance News</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	Temperance
<i>British Workman</i>						1	Temperance
<i>British Workwoman</i>						1	Temperance
<i>Temperance Record</i>					1	1	Temperance
<i>Cook's Excursionist</i>		1					Travel
<i>Dietetic Reformer</i>	1	1	1	1	1		Vegetarian
<i>Civil Service Review</i>						1	Vocational
<i>Civil Service Times</i>			1				Vocational
<i>Grocer's Review</i>				1			Vocational
<i>Englishwoman's Magazine</i>						1	Women's
<i>Gentlewoman</i>						1	Women's

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	
<i>Lady's Pictorial</i>				1	2	2	Women's
<i>Lady's Realm</i>						1	Women's
<i>Madame</i>						1	Women's
<i>Myra's Journal</i>				1	1	1	Women's
<i>Our Homes</i>			1			1	Women's
<i>Queen</i>	1	1	1	1	2	2	Women's
<i>Weldon Ladies' Journal</i>					1	1	Women's
<i>Woman's Signal</i>					1	1	Women's
<i>Englishwoman's Review</i>	1	1	1	1	1		Women's/feminist
<i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i>	1	1	1	1			Women's/feminist

Sources: Preston Free Library annual reports, A.Ellegard, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain II. Directory', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 13, 1971'; *WD* online.

Table A27. Publications with multiple copies, Barrow-in-Furness Free Library, 1890-1900

	1890-91	1892-93	1894-5	1896-97	1898-99	1900-01
<i>Barrow Herald</i>	3	4	1	4	4	4
<i>Barrow News</i>	3	3	1	4	4	4
<i>Barrow Journal</i>				2	2	
<i>North Western Daily Mail</i>					3	3
<i>Manchester Courier</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Liverpool Echo</i>	2	1	1	1		
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>		1	2	2	1	1
<i>Manchester Examiner</i>	2	2				
<i>Fun</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Graphic</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Punch</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	2	2	1	2	2	2
<i>Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic News</i>	2	2	2	2		
<i>Judy</i>	2		2	2	2	2
<i>All The World</i>	2	1	1	1		1
<i>Awake</i>		3	1	1	1	1
<i>Young Soldier</i>	3	3	3	3	2	2
<i>War Cry</i>	3	3	3	2	2	2
<i>Liberal Unionist</i>	3					
<i>Son of Temperance</i>	1	1	1			

Source: Corporation of Barrow-in-Furness, Library Committee's Report and Statistics, Barrow Record Office and Local Studies Library

Note: The last six titles in the table are religious or political titles, presented free to the library by the publishers.

Table A28. Working-class reading material, Preston, Barrow, Lancaster, 1880s to 1920s

Publications mentioned	Preston	Barrow	Lancaster	Category	Category total	Editions per week
<i>Lancashire Daily/Evening Post</i>	19	1	6	Local evening	38	228
<i>North Western Daily/Evening Mail</i>		12				
<i>Barrow Herald</i>		2		Local weekly	17	17
<i>Barrow Guardian</i>		2				
<i>Barrow News</i>		4				
<i>Lancaster Observer</i>			4			
<i>Lancaster Guardian</i>			2			
<i>Preston Guardian</i>	2					
<i>Penrith paper</i>			1			
<i>Funny Times [local]</i>		1		Local other	5	5
'Local paper'	2	1	1			
<i>Liverpool Weekly Post</i>	1	3	1	Regional weekly	5	5
<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	1	3	2	Manchester daily	9	54
<i>Daily Sketch</i>		2	1			
<i>Umpire/Empire News</i>	2	3	5	Manchester Sunday	13	13
<i>Sunday Chronicle</i>	2		1			
<i>News of the World</i>	3	4	2	London Sunday	11	11
<i>Reynolds's</i>	1					
<i>People</i>	1					
<i>Observer</i>	1					
<i>Sunday paper</i>	1	1	5	Sunday, unknown	7	7
				All Sundays	31	
<i>Glasgow Forward</i>	1	1		Scottish papers	4	4
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>		1				
<i>People's Friend</i>		1				
<i>Thomson's Weekly News</i>		1				
<i>Daily Herald</i>	1		2	London daily	17	102
<i>Daily Mail</i>	2	4				
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	1	1				
<i>Daily News</i>		1	1			
'Morning newspaper'		1				
'A national paper'		1				
<i>Answers</i>	1	1		London weekly	14	14
<i>Illustrated London News</i>		1				
<i>John Bull</i>	1	2				
<i>Tit Bits</i>	1		1			
<i>Police Gazette</i>		1				
<i>Punch</i>			1			
<i>Red Letter</i>			1			
<i>Strand</i>	1	1				
<i>Woman's Weekly</i>	1					
<i>Work</i>			1			

Publications mentioned	Preston	Barrow	Lancaster	Category	Category total	Editions per week	
'American comics'	1			Comics/children's publications	17	17	
<i>Boys Friend</i>		1	1				
<i>Boys Own</i>	1		1				
<i>Boys Realm</i>		1					
<i>Chips</i>	1		1				
<i>Chum</i>		1	1				
<i>Comic Cuts</i>	1		1				
<i>The Gem</i>	1						
<i>Lots-o-Fun</i>	1						
<i>Marvel</i>	1						
<i>Magnet</i>	1						
<i>Schoolgirl's Friend</i>	1						
<i>Comics</i>			2				
<i>Catholic Fireside</i> ²	1	1	1	Religious	8	8	
<i>Catholic Times</i> ³		1					
<i>Christian Herald</i>		1					
<i>Church magazine'</i>	1						
Parish magazine		1					
<i>Sunday Companion</i>	1						
<i>Universe</i>			1				
'The socialist papers'		1		Other	5		
'Weekly newspaper'		1					
'The paper'			1				
'Daily paper'			2				
<i>Children's Newspaper</i>			1	Outside period	est 1919		
<i>Westminster Gazette</i>			1				est 1928
<i>News Chronicle</i>	1	1	2				est 1930
<i>Daily Worker</i>			1				est 1930
<i>Woman's Own</i>			1				est 1932
<i>Dalesman</i>			1				est 1939
<i>Woman's Companion</i>	1						est 1940s?
	60	67	56				

Source: ER.

² Launched in Liverpool, and published from there 1879-83.

³ Published from Liverpool.

Table A29. Cover prices and auction prices, selected publications, Winckley Club, Preston, 1851-1900

	1851			1856			1860			1870			1880			1895			1900		
	C	A	%	C	A	%	C	A	%	C	A	%	C	A	%	C	A	%	C	A	%
<i>Illustrated London News</i>				6	3	50	5.00	4.13	82.60	260.00	150.00	57.69	312.00	192.00	61.54	312.00	228.00	73.08	312.00	126.00	40.38
<i>Liverpool Albion</i>	5	2	40	4	1 ¼	31	4.00	1.75	43.75												
<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>				2	¾	37	1.00	0.25	25.00	312.00	96.00	30.77	312.00	39.00	12.50						
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>				2	7/8	44	6*	1.50	25.00	312.00	84.00	26.92	312.00	30.00	9.62	312.00	15.00	4.81	312.00	12.00	3.85
<i>Preston Chronicle</i>	4 ½	1 7/8	42	3 ½	1 1/8	32	3.50	1.00	28.57	104.00	48.00	46.15	104.00	18.00	17.31						
<i>Preston Guardian</i>							4.50	1.00	22.22							104.00	21.00	20.19	52.00	60.00	115.38
<i>Herald</i>										156.00	81.00	51.92	156.00	21.00	13.46	104.00	15.00	14.42	104.00	6.00	5.77
<i>Preston Pilot</i>	4 ½	1 ¼	25	3 ½	¼	7	3.50	0.25	7.14												
<i>Punch Quarterly Review</i>	3	1 3/8	46	3	1 1/8	37	3.00	2.00	66.67	156.00	78.00	50.00	156.00	105.00	67.31	156.00	108.00	69.23	156.00	105.00	67.31
<i>Temple Bar</i>	72	17	24	72	24	33	72.00	38.00	52.78	288.00	180.00	62.50	288	120.00	41.67	144.00	51.00	35.42	144.00	54.00	37.50
<i>Times</i>			50	4	1 ¾	44	4.00	2.00	50.00	3.00	1.50	50.00	3.00	1.50	50.00	3.00	0.50	16.67	3.00	1.00	33.33

Key: C= cover price (pence); A= auction price (pence); % = auction price as percentage of cover price.

* Price per week.

1870-1900: Price per year.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 10

Table A30. Popular letters topics, *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Herald*, 1860

	<i>Guardian</i>	<i>Herald</i>
Nuisances, complaints	18	5
Council elections	4	5
Free Library	2	4
New town hall, market	3	2
Bolton strike	5	0
Rifle Corps	1	3
Volunteer review	2	1
Electoral registration	1	2
Cruel boys	3	0

Table A31. Popular letters topics, *Lancashire Evening Post* and *Preston Herald*, 1890 and 1900

	1890		1900	
	<i>LEP</i>	<i>Herald</i>	<i>LEP</i>	<i>Herald</i>
Half-day holiday	40			
Criticisms of councils	11	4	3	
General election			15	
Ribble improvements	10	2	2	1
Preston death rates	14			
Municipal elections			6	2
Fulwood fire brigade				6
Rowdy election meeting	6			
Trade unions	6			
Nuisances, complaints	4	1		
Corrections	2			2

Table A32. Pseudonyms, *Preston Guardian* and *Preston Chronicle*, September/October 1867

<i>Preston Guardian</i> 1867	<i>Preston Chronicle</i> 1867
A Constant Reader Since 1844	A Burgess (x3)
A Friend of the Shopkeepers	A Lancashire Conservator
A Housekeeper	A Merchant
A Large Ratepayer	A Native of Preston
A Large Ratepayer for 31 Years Past	A Poor Man
A Lover of Bells	A Prestonian (x2)
A Lover of Justice	A Ratepayer
A Poor Member	A Tenant
A Prestonian	An Injured Party
A Property Owner	An Observer (x2)
A Ratepayer (x4)	An Old Townsman
A Sergeant	Another Lover of the Beautiful
A Sunday School Teacher	Another Ratepayer (x3)
A Tradesman	Argus
A Twenty Six Years' member	Bucephalus
A Twenty-Years Ratepayer Without a Town Hall Ticket	Clapper
A Young Merchant	Clericus
ABC	D.W.
An Assistant (x2)	Economist
An Invalid	Gallantry
An On-Looker (x2)	Quaver
Another Lover of the Beautiful	R.M.
Another Ratepayer (x2)	The New Town Hall
Burnley	Waterside
Cottage Owner	
Cottager	
Fishergate Hill	
JFC	
JP	
Microscope	
Night Light	
One For A Many	
One Of The Parishioners	
One Who Wishes to See the Sabbath Day Kept Holy	
Opifex	
Orangemen	
P.P.	
Paterfamilias	
Pro Bono Publico	
Reason	
RM	
The New Town-Hall	
Think Of Others As Well As Myself	
Tobey	
UC	
Y	

Table A33. Pseudonyms, *Preston Guardian* and *Chronicle*, September/October 1868

<i>Preston Guardian</i> 1868	<i>Preston Chronicle</i> 1868
A Conservative Liberal	A Burgess (x2)
A Freeholder (x3)	A Catholic
A Fylde Farmer	A Churchman
A Fylde Liberal	A Father
A Liberal	A Fylde Man
A Liberal Churchman	A Liberal
A Newly-Enfranchised Elector	A Looker-On (x2)
A Passenger	A Lover of Truth
A Resident of Club St	A Protestant
A Watcher	A Subscriber
A Wesleyan (x3)	A Townsman
A Wesleyan Layman (x2)	A Wesleyan
A Wesleyan local preacher	A Wesleyan Layman (x4)
An Elector	A Wesleyan Methodist
An Eye Witness	Amicus
An Old Inhabitant	An Independent Protestant
An Old Political Pioneer (x2)	An Old Liberal
An Old Reformer	An Old Political Pioneer (x2)
Another Mentor	An Operative
Another Vicar in the Fylde	Anti-Barkerite
Another Wesleyan Layman	Archimedian Screw
Anti-Barkerite	Bell Metal
Decency	Blue Gown
Experientia Docet	Elector
JP	Enquirer
Justice	Equality
Justitia (x3)	F.R.-W.P.
Light	Home Fed
Looker-On	Honesty and Decency
Mentor	Inquirer
Nimrod	Johannem (x2)
One Behind The Counter	John
One in the Secret	Keep To The Point
One Of Yourselves	Listener
One Who Hates Lying	Mary Ann
One Who Knows All About It	Mentor
One Who Looked On At The Meeting	Nimrod
One Who Won't Be Stuffed	Not For Joe
Polly	Number One
Punctuality	Old Style
TF (x3)	One Who Knows All About It
TH	One Who Knows Him
Tummus Treddle	On-Looker
Under The Screw	Purity
Viator	Reason
WW (x2)	Sensible Pleasure
	Storm In A Teapot
	T.
	T.B.
	T.H.
	Tea-Total
	Tempus
	This World
	Voter

Table A34. Topics provoking correspondence, by orientation of letter, *Preston Chronicle*

	Proactive	Reactive					
		Leader, same pubn	News report, same pubn	News report, other pubn	Letter, same pubn		Letter, other pubn
1878 strike	17		11	3	4	4	39
Complaints: local organisations & institutions/responses	23	1	10		3		37
1868 general election	9	5	4	1	3	3	25
Religion, local	6	1	7	2	6		22
Nuisances	7	5	1	2	2		17
Other	8		1	4	3		16
Development of Preston	3		9		2		14
Defending reputation, denials			4		9		13
Religion, general	4		1		7		12
National politics	1		5		2	2	10
International politics	2		1		6	1	10
Good causes	6		3	1			10
Personal teasing/mockery/attack					6		6
Attacking another paper				4		1	5
Other local politics	4						4
Suggestions	3						3
Defence of Preston				1		1	2
Announcements	2						2
Questions	2						2
Thanks	1						1

Table A35. Types of publication referred to by *The Antidote*, 1890

Local paper, not Lancs	22
Foreign newspaper	12
Anglican publication	10
Local paper, Lancs	9
Review	7
London daily paper	6
Catholic publication (inc 1 foreign)	5
London weekly paper	5
Nonconformist	4
British Medical Journal	1
Edinburgh daily paper	1
Notes & Queries	1
Organ of Welsh Nationalist Party	1
Religious children's magazine	1
YWCA (protestant)	1

Table A36. Numbers of magazines purchased by category, Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, Preston, 1861-69

	1861	1866	1869
Review	13	13	11
Scientific & technical	11	10	8
Fiction and general	7	6	4
Fiction	2	4	5
Satire & humour	1	4	5
Religious	4	2	2
Women's	2	3	3
Boys'	1	3	3
General	2	2	3
Literary	2	2	2
Temperance		2	3
Business		2	2
Sport		2	2
Agricultural & horticultural	1	1	1
Art & design	1	1	1
Music	1	1	1
Political	1	1	1
Imperialist			1
Other	3	3	4
Totals	52	62	62

Table A37. Numbers of newspapers available by category, Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, Preston, 1851-69

	1851	1853	1855	1866	1869
Provincial weekly newspapers	2	4	3		
Provincial daily newspapers				6	5
London daily newspapers	3	3	3	4	4
Preston weekly newspapers	3	3	3	4	4
London weekly newspapers	2	2	1	3	3
Scottish weekly paper				1	1
Scottish daily paper				1	
Totals	10	12	10	19	17

Table A38. Numbers of new publications purchased by category, Exchange Newsroom, Preston, 1868 and 1874

	1868	1874
Provincial daily newspaper	7	9
London daily newspaper	5	7
Fiction and general interest	3	4
Preston newspaper	3	3
Business	2	2
London weekly newspaper	1	3
Review	3	1
Scientific and technical	2	2
Humour & satire	1	2
Commercial	2	
Political	2	
Scots daily newspaper	1	1
Sport	1	1
Irish daily newspaper		1
	33	36

Numbers of titles by category, Preston Free Library/Harris Library, 1880-1900

	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900
Review	14	13	14	18	18	18
Scientific and technical	5	7	13	17	17	18
Fiction and general interest	9	9	9	10	10	9
Religious	2	6	6	8	8	13
Fiction	6	6	5	6	6	7
Other	5	5	6	6	8	6
North West daily newspaper	5	6	6	6	5	5
North West magazine	1	3	5	7	8	8
Women's	3	3	4	5	6	10
London daily newspaper	4	4	4	4	6	8
Business	1	1	6	6	6	7
Art and design	3	2	5	5	5	6
London weekly newspaper	2	4	4	3	3	5
Agricultural and horticultural	3	1	2	3	4	5
Local bi/weekly newspaper	4	4	3	3	2	2
Provincial weekly newspaper	2	3	3	3	3	3
General	2	2	2	2	3	4
Music		1	4	3	2	3
Provincial daily newspaper			1	1	4	7
London illustrated newspaper	2	2	2	2	2	2
Temperance	1	1	1	1	2	4
Armed forces	1	1	1	1	2	3
Friendly soc	1		2	2	2	2
Health	1	2	3	1	1	1
Children's	1	1		2	2	2
sport	1	1	1	1	1	3
Local government	1	1		1	1	2
Satirical/humorous	1	1	1	1	1	1
Imperialist	1	1		1	1	1
Librarianship	1	1	1	1	1	
Local evening newspaper					4	1
North West co-operative			1	1	1	1
Political			1	1	1	1
Educational				1	1	1
Employment					1	2
North West evening newspaper					2	1
Vocational			1	1		1
French newspaper				1	1	
North West weekly newspaper		1				1
Regional news miscellany	1		1			
Local magazine						1

Source: Annual Reports of the Committee of the Free Public Library and Museum of the Borough of Preston, 1880-88

Note: Figures do not include multiple copies.

Table A40. Numbers of titles, Barrow Free Library

	1890-91	1892-93	1894-5	1896-97	1898-99	1900-01
Religious	23	17	18	18	17	18
Scientific & technical	16	14	15	17	16	19
North West weekly paper	13	15	12	12	12	12
Review	14	14	12	12	10	10
Women's	8	9	11	11	10	10
Provincial daily paper	9	8	8	9	9	9
Fiction and general interest	8	9	9	8	7	7
Other	8	7	7	8	8	8
Business	7	6	5	8	6	7
North West daily paper	7	7	6	6	5	5
London daily paper	6	5	5	5	6	6
Fiction	5	5	4	5	4	3
Political	4	2	5	6	3	4
Provincial weekly paper	4	4	4	3	4	3
Education	2	2	3	3	4	4
Children's	4	3	2	2	3	3
Satirical/humorous	3	2	3	3	3	3
Literary	2	2	3	4	3	3
North West evening paper	2	3	3	3	3	3
Friendly society	3	3	3	2	2	3
Vocational	3	2	3	2	3	3
General interest	2	4	3	3	2	2
Temperance	3	3	2	3	2	2
Animals	2	2	4	4	1	1
Local bi/weekly paper	2	2	2	3	3	2
armed forces	2	2	2	2	2	2
Illustrated newspaper	2	2	2	2	2	2
Irish daily newspaper	2	2	2	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2	2	2
Vegetarian	1	1	1	2	3	2
Sport	2	2	2	2	1	
Imperialist	3	2	1	1		
Spiritualist	3	3				
Local government			1	1	2	2
Local magazine			1	1	1	1
Migration	2			1		
Agricultural/horticultural			1		2	
Travel				1	1	1
Health			1	1		
Local evening paper					1	1
	179	166	168	178	165	165

Figures do not include multiple copies.