

TITLE

**POPULAR WORKING-CLASS SONG IN INDUSTRIAL LANCASHIRE, c.
1832-1862 : AN INVESTIGATION OF LOCAL, POLITICAL AND
GENDER IDENTITIES**

Michael Rowland BA Hons., MA

**Thesis Submitted for Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the
University of Central Lancashire for the Degree of Master of Philosophy,
September, 2007**

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Abstract

The thesis presented here is intended to demonstrate the value of popular working-class song toward the understanding of ordinary labouring people in 19th century Lancashire, particularly in the cotton trade. The chronology represents three decades of the century spanning a period of growing class awareness, beginning in 1832 when the first Reform Act was passed and ending in 1862 during the Cotton Famine, which created widespread distress throughout the cotton districts of Lancashire. In order to put this chronology into perspective, it will be necessary to address the years preceding it. Following a General Introduction, the main body of the work will be divided into six Chapters. Chapter 1 will be a review of relevant secondary material. This is a necessary exercise in order to examine the work carried out before this thesis and the material available as a basis for its construction. Chapter 2 is an historiographical overview of class-consciousness, involving recent debates in social history concerning the relevance of language within historical inquiry. The four Chapters following on from this addresses popular song culture itself. Chapter 3 is concerned with the broadside trade and the Preston printer, John Harkness (whose printed sheets form the principal primary material). It transpires from this study that his business interests were wide and varied. All songs and observations/reports from the time are quoted verbatim throughout the text. Chapter 4 focuses on the subject of locality, namely Preston and the surrounding area. Locality was a popular theme in broadside culture. Chapter 5 focuses on the representation of politics in ballad texts and reveals a recurrent ideal of patriotism present in popular radicalism, as well as a developing political awareness amongst working people. Chapter 6 is an examination of gender issues portrayed in popular song culture, both in the home and the

workplace. The relative lack of study in this area is emphasised. The thesis ends with an Overall Conclusion, which recapitulates and appraises the main points raised in this piece. One of the major findings throughout the work is that this unique material still requires further in-depth exploration and that the piece itself serves as an addition towards this process.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. David Russell and Prof. John K. Walton for their excellent supervision of this project. I would also like to thank the staff of the University Library, the staff of the Harris Library Reference Section and the staff of the Lancashire Records Office for their co-operation and patience during the course of my research. I should also mention Gregg Butler for providing vital information on the life of the Preston broadside printer, John Harkness. The help and consultation I received from Brian Frisbee, Dawn Wells, Dr. David Farley (Stirling University), Elizabeth Johnston, Trevor Marshall-Maye and Joe Houseman regarding the baffling world of computers were invaluable. My postgraduate colleague, Esther O'Neill, helped me with technicalities in the stages of write-up and submission of the work. I must also thank the library staff at Blackpool and the Fylde College (Palatine Road) for their printing facilities. Finally, I must express my warmest heartfelt thanks for the support and encouragement from those very special people, my family and friends, particularly my father ("Rockfist") and my American ally, Michelle D. Rowe.

**A Dedication
For my late mother, Pat Rowland**

Contents

General Introduction, Page 1

Chapter 1. Literature Review, Page 10

Chapter 2. Class and Class-Consciousness, An Overview, Page 47

Chapter 3. John Harkness, Preston Broadside Printer, Page 68

Chapter 4. The Local Dimension, Page 103

Chapter 5. The Political Dimension, Page 141

Chapter 6. The Gender Dimension, Page 212

Overall Conclusion, Page 258

Bibliography, Page 265

Appendices, Page 273

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The principal aim of this project is to examine the way in which popular song can be used to interpret and understand the ways in which working people in the cotton manufacturing districts of Central Lancashire, particularly Preston (during the early to mid-19th century), perceived the world around them. Thus, it is argued here, ballad texts were an essential component in the process of constructing a feeling of agency amongst the cotton operatives. In other words, the ballad texts may help to provide an insight into "...the way in which social discourse is constructed as a story in which events (both real and imaginary) are endowed with a significance and coherence they would otherwise lack, that enables subjects to make moral sense of the world and imagine themselves as agents within it...a history of how we narrativise ourselves as unified acting agents" (1). W.W. Wilkins observed in 1860 that, "In the absence of these artless effusions, our social history would be incomplete" (2). Moreover, the use of ballads as historical source material also involves a scrutiny of socio-economic factors that influenced the culture of labouring people and the ways in which they came to realise their "moral sense of the world". Working-class, or labouring-class, defines the people who exchanged their time and their labour for a living wage. Popular working-class ballads can be seen as one of the various cultural vehicles by which identity is constructed, perceived, received, maintained, shared or even not shared. This last point is a salient factor in the construction of identity and what Peter Sahlin has described as "the other" (3). Academic examination of popular ballads raises a number of contradictions and theoretical complexities when referring to working-class culture, in this case within the textile trade of 19th century Preston and the surrounding district. With this in mind, the

potential pitfalls presented by text content, performance, style and context will be constantly addressed throughout the course of this work. It may be useful at this point to make some comments on the sources, chronology, structure and overall methodology of the work itself. This will be comparative in nature using other sources such as newspapers, journals, trade directories, census and contemporary observations (such as those made by Charles Dickens reporting on the Preston Lock-Out of 1853/54).

The mainstay of primary source material for the thesis will be the broadside ballad sheets printed by John Harkness of Preston (there will be more detail concerning Harkness and the ballad trade in Chapter 3, below) (4). A broadside was a song sheet containing one, two or three (usually two) ballad texts, printed on thin paper and sold mainly in streets, inns, marketplaces and other such public locations (see Appendix 1). Most sheets were headed by a woodcut illustration, but the subject matter sometimes bore no relation to the text (5). For example, "St Helens Colliery Explosion" has an idyllic scene depicting a contented elderly couple outside their country cottage (6). The purchasers of these sheets were varied and included sailors, soldiers, labourers and female workers (7). Palmer describes the ballad trade as, "...part of the very fibre of English life..." (8). The categorisation of such song material is a difficult but necessary exercise, if any sense is to be made out of the range of themes and styles presented therein (9). Song texts may convey more than one message. For instance, the lyrics for "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842" (printed by Harkness at the time of the festivities) expresses a sense of genial pastime, an assertion of local identity and also a strong hint of socio-economic discontent (10). For the purpose of this thesis, three major categories of songs have been

selected as organising themes, which will hopefully reflect the essence of the period in question (1832 - 1862) from a working-class perspective. As the title of the project indicates these are local, political and gender related in character and represent an attempt to evaluate the impact of broader national issues in conjunction with more localised concerns (the cotton town of Preston). Russell maintains that in the study of popular song, "...a complex of related issues concerning local, regional and national identity (also) demand attention" (11). Notions of "patriotism" as a site of cultural conflict and possession will be a recurring theme throughout the work. Commenting on 19th century popular song culture, Wilkins remarked (1860) that, "...our modern Political Songs and Ballads (are) the best popular illustrations of history... It laughs in derision at despotic power, lightens the social burdens of life, and inspires the patriot with hope" (12). The ballads suggest, on many occasions that patriotism need not be the sole preserve of reactionary elements in society, but could be used to stress the image of the "freeborn Englishman" who strives for justice and equality. This will be a particularly significant subject in Chapter 5.

The thesis will be organised in the following way. Chapter 1 will be a comprehensive review of relevant literature on the study of popular song to date and will also include comments on the various theoretical angles on the pursuit of understanding social history. Chapter 2 will expand on this by addressing class and class-consciousness, in an historiographical overview, set within the context of popular political movements in late 18th and early to mid-19th century Lancashire. The four Chapters that follow will concentrate on song culture itself. Chapter 3 will be an appraisal of the life and broadside

output of the Preston printer, John Harkness. The broadside trade as a commercial enterprise in general will also form the focus of attention for this chapter. The local dimension will be examined in Chapter 4, with particular reference to events in and around the area of Preston, such as the Guild of 1842 as well as the Cotton Famine of the 1860's (see also below, regarding chronology). Politics as represented in the popular songs of the period, will be the subject of Chapter 5. This will emphasise the emerging class-awareness amongst labouring people as a community with shared values and aspirations, as portrayed through the medium of their street ballads. Chapter 6 will be a foray into comparatively uncharted territory in the field of popular music, regarding the social and working experience of women in 19th century Lancashire.

The chronology of the period stated in the title is also of significance and requires an explanation. E.P. Thompson maintains that by 1832 the English working-class had become a cogent and important factor in the political culture of the nation (this appears to suggest a perception of socio-economic and cultural identity or shared experience) (13). The following three decades bore witness to a series of developments and events that are of particular historical interest. The thesis will address this, with reference as to how the ballads of the time portrayed the affect of these events on the lives of labouring people in the cotton producing town of Preston. There was the passing of the 1832 Reform Act (which extended the franchise to middle-class voters and ignored the working-class), the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (a much despised, oppressive piece of legislation) and the rise of a substantive working-class political force in the shape of the Chartist movement (14). The Reform Act did little to empower the working-class who formed a

small proportion of urban electorates, on a householder franchise (15). Consequently, "It soon became apparent that the reformed parliament had little to offer to the working-class radicals; and its attitude to the popular issues of the 1830's confirmed this impression, as the hopes of the working-class were dashed and their worst fears confirmed" (16). The Poor Law Amendment Act, or the New Poor Law, threatened workers and their families with imprisonment within central workhouses, or "Bastilles" (as they were referred to in popular parlance) during recurring wage slumps, thus deterring the able-bodied labourer from applying for relief (17). This legislation was bitterly opposed in Lancashire and its implementation was delayed (18). These issues and their representation in ballad culture will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

With regard to the local political milieu, Morgan has suggested that Preston retained a distinctive culture based upon recognition within the community as a "...necessary qualification for political behavior...", up until the 1832 Reform Act, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act and municipal reform (19). Prior to these legislative measures, working -class people in Preston and their Radical leaders, "...even when preaching class struggle, appear as an integral element in the whole society" (20). Morgan goes on to assert that structural changes between 1830 and 1850 resulted in a sharper institutional schism between middle-class and working-class in Preston (21). The proportion of the electorate declined, whilst the population increased after 1832, when the eligibility to vote was constrained by the "10 pounds" franchise which replaced the "old franchise" (22). On a wider political level, Preston acquired a prominent Radical M.P. in 1830,

when the outspoken and uncompromising Henry "Orator" Hunt (a prominent figure at the "Peterloo" tragedy-see Chapter 5) won a "sensational electoral victory" (23).

Preston bore witness to various prominent episodes and events that were the focus of attention within and without the locality. There was a major incident in the town when striking cotton operatives were fired upon by the military during the 1842 "Plug Plot" (four weeks before the Guild of that year), as well as the "Great Preston Lock-Out" of 1853/54 and the Cotton Famine of the early 1860's (24). Quite clearly, this was a period of great upheaval both nationally and locally, which often formed the subject material for the popular ballad medium. For instance, Harkness printed broadsides on the Guild of 1842 and strike songs for the locked-out cotton workers of Preston during the industrial dispute of 1853/54 (25). The Cotton Famine has been documented in song texts, such as "All Wish the War Was Over", which appeared on a contemporary broadside as well as orally collected material such as "The Cotton Famine" (26).

As Eva maintains, the broadside ballads merit academic attention as they represent, "...a widely varied genre related to particular cultural practices and a particular historical moment" (27). The popular song culture of this time demonstrates the historical concept of "continuity and change" This can be defined as the process whereby socio-economic and cultural change is apparent, whilst a residue of the past can be discerned (albeit rather idealistically). The broadsides refer back to an imagined past, "Good Queen Bess", "the freeborn Englishman" and so on, as a response to growing industrialisation. Yet, at the same time there is a nascent sense of class awareness. Eva also asserts that broadside

ballads have not received due acknowledgment and academic scrutiny compared to other popular song forms such as music hall (28). Furthermore, Russell has suggested that the exercise of "gap-filling" in popular song study need not be regarded in a negative sense, but as a task that simply has to be carried out (29).

Nevertheless, this project is intended to go beyond this task in the sense that it will also engage with recent theoretical debates regarding "materialist", as opposed to "post-modernist" approaches in history, utilising 19th century popular songs in industrial Lancashire (with particular references to Preston) as the primary vehicle. The former of these theories (largely based on Marxian thinking) maintains that social history is defined in terms of socio-economic conditions determining ideas in working-class culture. On the other hand, the latter approach is an attempt to understand the history of labouring people by concentrating on language, rather than socio-economic factors and emphasises the importance of "populism". Notions of class and class-consciousness are key issues in this debate. Hopefully, what will emerge is that both of these seemingly conflicting approaches to social history have their own particular merits. One may be seen to complement the other, rather than descend into reductionism on both sides. The social conditions of working people in Preston that were instrumental in the creation of their songs, form an important part of their experience and cannot be disregarded. Arguably, social realities do beget cultural responses, including ballads. Having said that, the ballads are a linguistic product and therefore require some examination of popular forms of language and style, in this case, set within a local, political and gender context.

Ultimately, this thesis will be a unique contribution towards the understanding of popular working-class life in a 19th century Lancashire town, through the popular song culture of the time. To quote Wilkins once more, "The popular song is easy, simple and born of the incidents of the day. It is the intellectual personification of the feelings and opinions of the people" (31). This somewhat "common sense" definition does require further examination in order to test out its validity. Alongside and in conjunction with the appraisal of working-class ballads, there is also a contribution toward theoretical debate, as outlined above. In this sense the work offers a heuristic presentation for further discourse on the study of popular culture within social history. The very fact that popular songs have formed an integral part of this discussion displays their importance to social history. As Russell states, "...if we genuinely want studies of past societies which demonstrate the activities that really mattered to the people and not just what academics *think* mattered to them, then popular music must be firmly on the agenda" (31). What follows is an answer to this call.

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CHAPTER 1-LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

A considerable amount of work has already been produced in the field of popular music and song within an increasingly inter-disciplinary framework (musicology, literature, anthropology, sociology, social and cultural history being the main sites of inquiry). The question arises, does the academic world really require another study in this area? Are we now merely reduced to filling up lacunas in the cultural landscape of social history? It has been stated that carrying out the task of filling in gaps need not necessarily be a "sin", or even, "...some second best, intellectually arid activity" (1). To this end, Russell proposes further methodology grounded on locally based studies (1993) (2). This review is intended to be more than just a historiographical "shopping list". An examination of some of the "overcrowded and shifting" ground on which this project stands, will assist in demonstrating its own unique value and contribution towards existing debates (3). Particularly, the recent debates concerning the "turn to language", post-modernism and class-consciousness will receive due consideration.

Fundamentally, the following review will concentrate on two major historiographical themes; the relevant literature on popular song itself and the subsequent discussions attendant to it arising from language and class. Therefore, there will be little attempt to discuss works on 19th century labour history in Lancashire at this stage, as this will be a recurrent theme throughout the main body of the entire work.

SECTION 1

To begin with, it would be useful to examine some of the seminal works on popular song. Until fairly recently the principal thrust of attention has been directed towards what is commonly referred to as "folksong" (4). Richard Middleton, in an important theoretical work on the study of popular music (1990), asserts that no analysis on the history of song in the 19th century can be undertaken without an awareness and understanding of this concept (5). A notion central to the concept of folksong is that of "the folk", or variously "the people", "the common man" and so forth. The first major "modern" exponent of the idea was the *fin de siecle* folksong collector, Cecil Sharp (1907) (6). He attempted to define his songs of "the folk" in terms of orally transmitted material, which was a "spontaneous" and "anonymous" product of rural-dwelling, labouring people (7). Anything bearing the stamp of industrial, urban modernity (namely printed broadsides and music hall songs) was deemed to be "debased", "vulgar", "vastly inferior" and "coarse" (8). Sharp was attempting to rescue what he perceived to be a dwindling embodiment of English national culture, in order to restore some integrity to English music in general and to negate the influence of the "deplorable deterioration" of modern urban culture (9). In the process, according to Harker, he managed to construct a definitive form of song "consensus", thus creating his own personal orthodoxy regarding the study of folksong (10). The significant point is that his consensus was based on songs from a certain type or "class" of people; what he described as "the common people", "the unlettered" (11). Associations between class (albeit a rather fanciful definition in Sharp's case) and certain modes of musical production is at the heart of the matter here. As it will

emerge, ideas concerning class and popular song is a theme that is interwoven throughout this project.

Sharp's folksong orthodoxy was no doubt a product of his Victorian/Edwardian environment, which he largely shared with his middle-class, folksong-collecting contemporaries such as Ralph Vaughan Williams and Percy Grainger (12). This putative "first phase" of the English folksong "revival" is said to have fallen into "amiable irrelevance" during the inter-war years (13). Following this abeyance, the post-war period gave rise to a second "new wave" of revisionist activity, ascending from the leftist milieu of the time, with the Communist Party of Great Britain allegedly at the forefront (14). One of the primary personalities involved with this movement was A.L. Lloyd (1967), who professed to approach the renewed interest in folksong, "...by putting a little fat in the fire", in order to address a demand that was, "...coming from below now, not imposed from above, affecting a broader section of society, employing a wider repertory, and involving a greater variety of uses and usage's than were ever imagined in Sharp's time" (15). This "wider repertory" was to include urban industrial song material, to which Lloyd was to devote a whole chapter of his book (Chapter 5)) (16). The basic tone of Lloyd's proposition was that, contrary to Sharp, urbanisation and industrialisation did not suffocate the song of the "folk", but rather added a new dimension to it, suggesting a continuity with past, rural, pre-industrial forms (17). Thus, "as the old lyric of the countryside crumbled away, a new lyric of the industrial town arose...reflecting the life and aspirations of a raw class of men ...standing in new relationship to each other and their masters" (18). Lloyd's "folk" were not the arcadian vision of Sharp's "folk", yet the

idea of "the people" still persists. Once more, an orthodoxy or consensus concerning the relationship between popular song and a certain class of people is being proposed, this time from a notion of nascent, urban class-consciousness. No doubt Lloyd, much like Sharp, was influenced by his contemporary social climate and it is probably as well to consider that Lloyd's formulations appeared four years after E.P. Thompson produced his tremendously influential work on the development of an urban, industrialised working-class in England (1963) (19). It is hardly surprising that Lloyd cites Thompson's own definition of class, "...class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs" (20).

Lloyd claims that he uses Thompson's definition on the grounds that it is "handier than most" (no doubt it was at this time; Thompson cast a remarkably long shadow) (21). Despite the ideological differences on the surface, Sharp and Lloyd were the spokesmen for revival movements that shared similar traits (22). They were both responsible for creating orthodoxies in the study of popular song.

What seems evident so far, is a history of popular song that places considerable emphasis upon the relationship between popular song and notions of "the common people", "the unlettered", "a raw class in the making", or other variations along similar lines. In effect both Sharp and Lloyd were "mediators" of popular song culture. The concept of

mediation is important and it will be worthwhile to review some the work carried out on the subject.

The theory of mediation first received serious appraisal by Peter Burke (1978) (23). He maintains that the cultural forms produced by "craftsmen and peasants", were documented exclusively by the elite's in early modern Europe (24). Harker elaborates on this further, "A more or less fully conscious ideology is imposed on to cultural activity, and, by systematic omission and selection, plus some judicious over-emphasis or under-emphasis, a wholly inaccurate analysis can be produced" (25). However, he emphasises that an unmediated account is objectively impossible (26). Awareness of mediation is the critical factor here, in order to allow the process of, "...demystifying and decoding what we do have left to us of mediated working-class culture" (27). Harker has produced a major work concerning the role of mediators of popular song from the mid-18th century onwards (1985), which, significantly, includes the activities of 19th century song collectors such as Thomas Wright, William Chappell and John Harland (28). His work, however, has received some critical commentary, particularly from Gammon and more recently, Bearman (see below). Another observer on mediation is Georgina Boyes who has concentrated her efforts on the folksong revival alluded to earlier, with particular reference to the English Folk Song and Dance Society (1993) (29). She discusses the socio-economic background of the revival (comparing the first Victorian/Edwardian phase with the post-war phase), demonstrating how the interpretation of popular song has been adopted as a vehicle serving different ideological purposes (30). The overriding presence of mediation in the examination of any popular cultural forms, as described by

the above commentators, is a factor that can never be overlooked. This thesis is in itself a form of mediation and the author is aware of this factor. One of the intentions of the work is to highlight this particular feature of popular song study by emphasising that differing approaches (such as the post-structuralist conflict with materialist standpoints) have their merits as well as their shortcomings and one should not necessarily negate the other. However, before directing attention towards this and other theoretical issues, it will prove useful to document the various general studies on popular music and song that are currently available.

The work of Roy Palmer has been prolific over the last three decades and his anthologies serve as useful reference material. Three particular examples will amply illustrate the nature of his output. In 1974 he produced a collection of eighty-eight items; "...folk songs from the oral tradition (seventeen), songs written by entertainers and writers (nineteen) and broadside ballads (fifty-two)" (31). He describes this collected song material as representing, "...the real voice of the people who lived in the past" (32). However, Palmer neglects any attempt to define who or what "the people" actually are in any critical way, the implication being that "the people" is short-hand for working-class. As the breakdown of song sources clearly demonstrates, most of the collection is derived from broadsides, an emphasis that is fairly consistent with most of his published works. The song texts themselves are grouped in order of themes rather than chronology and are accompanied by relevant notes (33). For example, amongst the notes for "The Tradesman's Complaint", he observes that, "Often the ballads do not demand or even call for a solution, but confine themselves to expressing pious hopes that 'the times will mend'

(34). This was a recurring theme in the ballad texts during the early years of the shift towards an industrial economy and will receive attention later in the thesis.

The presentation of song texts followed by comment is a feature of most of Palmer's anthologies, another example of which was published in 1978 (35). In this case the songs are arranged from the 16th century onwards (36). There is the usual emphasis on broadsides, reinforced by his comments on a quote from the eminent 19th century song antiquarian Francis Child; "Time and time again one finds at the back of an apparently oral idyll the 'dunhill' of street balladry (This is Professor Child's word, but where he uses it derogatively I use it literally, to imply fertilisation)" (37). The importance of printed song texts cannot be overstated.

Palmer's most ambitious project to date (1988) is not only an anthology, but is also an attempt to locate song texts within their socio-economic and cultural context (38). Each Chapter is devoted to a specific social setting; for example, Chapter 3 is "Industry", whereas Chapter 5 is "Pastime" (39). There is also a socio-geographical element, Chapter 1 being "The Country", whilst Chapter 2 is "The Town" (40). The broadside trade as a commercial entity is dealt with to some degree and his comments represent a reasonably good starting point for more detailed research in this area (41). Palmer does admit that his work is aimed at "the non-specialist", yet the sheer volume of his output cannot be disregarded (42).

The output of Martha Vicinus, although not quite as prolific as Palmer, has a more definite academic agenda. Her work (1974) was an attempt to redress, "The overwhelming condescension of scholars towards the literature written by working people..." an area largely previously overlooked (43). In her own words this work was an "initial foray" and even "ground-breaking" (44). It represents an important contribution and her assertion that the approach to her material was by means of, "...detailed studies of specific areas...", rather than an overall survey, resonates with Russell's appeal for locally based studies (see above) (45). Vicinus derives the bulk of her evidence from the regions she identifies as being the most affected by the Industrial revolution, namely Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire and the coal fields of the North-East (46). She organised her study around the principal forms of working-class literature in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, including broadsides which, she maintains, were a cultural barometer of change during a time of economic and social upheaval (47). She goes on to assert that these cultural products provided certain functions in the lives of working-class people, one of which was to help them, "...shape individual and class consciousness by clarifying working men's relationships with those who held political power. It also imbued a sense of class solidarity that encouraged people to fight for social and political equality... Their literature was an assertion of new class values" (48). The inference is that such popular cultural material, including street broadside ballads, are an important indicator of a socio-economic class in the making. Furthermore, this homogenous grouping perceived itself to be in a position of conflict with the interests of "others" ("those who held political power"). Although this is not a wholly unreasonable observation, it does tend to contain rather generalised assumptions and Vicinus arrives at

her conclusions without making any detailed analysis of class itself (see the following Chapter). The work seems to lack any discussion beyond the contention that the material she is dealing with was a product of a developing working class (49). Nevertheless, her study was an early attempt to understand 19th century popular culture and warrants attention, along with Lloyd, for providing a starting point for later investigations.

Writing a year later (1975) J.S. Bratton set out to demonstrate how there was an upsurge in various strands of popular music in the first half of the 19th century which culminated with the Victorian music hall (50). She traces this development from the dwindling oral rural tradition on to broadsides, the influence of which became absorbed into the more organised, commercial forms of musical entertainment in urban centres, such as Glee Clubs, Harmonics meetings, musical shows, melodramas and so on (51). She maintains that there was a parallel process taking place which involves a movement towards "social unification" which, "...embraced members of several social groups, who enjoyed the same songs, though often in quite different surroundings and without consciousness of sharing an experience with anyone outside their own immediate circle...", whilst at the same time there was a degree of stratification resulting in a "series of specialised markets" (52). She argues that different audiences received and evolved similar material in distinct ways. For example, a ballad by/for the "common man" may differ in intention from a jingoistic, "heroic ballad", but both are, "... united by an overriding uniformity of emotional tone" (53). Furthermore, the distinctions between social groups and the material preferred is sometimes quite nebulous. Audiences comprising labouring people may adopt more "courtly" forms of entertainment (one example being the Welsh miner's

passion for opera) and reject cruder forms due to increasing levels of education, whilst conversely there was a marked fascination within polite circles for "circumstantial accounts" from the bottom of the socio-economic spectrum (54). This seems to contradict Vicinus' "new class values" theory and a great deal of Bratton's contentions are difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, as it will transpire later in the thesis, it was not impossible for "higher" forms of literature to appear on broadside sheets.

One particular form of literature that frequently appeared on broadside sheets was the writings of what Brian Maidment (1987) has variously described as the work of "... 'poets of humble birth', 'uneducated poets', 'auto-didacts', 'artisan writers'...", or more specifically (to quote his own definition), "...*self-taught* artisan poets" (55). These included writers such as Edwin Waugh and Samuel Laycock., who employed a form of local dialect 'poetry' (56). His work is a "heavily annotated anthology" of this material, in which he stresses the "...literariness, the linguistic and formal self-consciousness, which is a characteristic of writing by self-taught working men" (57). He acknowledges that these writings are, "...never innocent of political and social meaning", although, "No literature as self-conscious as this offers a direct or unmediated account of class attitudes" (58). Once more, the concept of mediation enters the debate. Also, he emphasises a salient point which runs concurrent with a major theme of this thesis. Namely, "...most historians until the last few years have been notably insensitive to the complex nature of literature as historical evidence" (59). Several years later (1993), Paul Salveson critically assessed the subject of dialect verse in a paper for Salford University in which he

proposed that the form had no solid basis in purely working-class origins, but was rather a genre that was encouraged and financed by middle-class patronage (60).

Returning to Bratton, her work illustrates the difficulties and limitations encountered when viewing popular song culture in terms of class. She has since produced work on the music hall, with particular regard to artists and performance, having edited a collection of essays on the subject (1987) (61). Another complementary volume was edited by Peter Bailey in the same year, dealing with the growth and commercial infra-structure of the music hall trade, from its origins of the spontaneous singing in tavern back-room singing saloons or "free and easies", to a more formalised type of entertainment (62). Any discussion on 19th century popular music will require some reference to music hall, given its immense cultural impact along with its relationship to the broadside trade.

Regarding the observations made by Lloyd, Vicinus and Bratton., on the subject of cultural transition, Roger Elbourne has reached some similar conclusions. In a locally based study (1980), he documents the effects of social change on popular culture in the late 18th, early 19th centuries, exploring the relationships between industrialisation, urbanisation and "traditional" music in Lancashire (63). Like Lloyd and Bratton, he acknowledges the continuity and change (defined in the Introduction) occurring between pre-industrial and industrial life, comparing the music and song culture of hand-loom weavers with that of responses to industrialisation (64). He asserts that the changes evident during the shift to industrialisation were not as drastic as hitherto supposed, but rather more of a gradual process (65). His study was intended to be a contribution

towards, "...an historical sociology of traditional music...", in order to address the lack of geographically specific studies over an extended time (1780-1840, in this case) (66). However, the emphasis of his work is focused more on community and he does not discuss the relationship between popular song and class identity in any great analytical detail, which is a major component of this thesis.

Nevertheless, it may be argued that there is no singular "correct" angle from which to approach the subject of popular song in history, which explains why an inter-disciplinary angle has emerged over the years. Working on the assertion that, "There is no one model and no one method which can be followed in the exercise of this discipline...", Michael Pickering and Tony Green have edited and contributed to a collection of ethnographic case studies, drawn from a wide range of academic areas (1987) (67). Both authors/editors address popular song from different backgrounds themselves, the former from communication studies and the latter from drama (68). Both maintain (as it has been suggested above), that over the previous century, "The invention of 'folk' song as a category and tradition has over this stretch of time generated its own tradition of study" (69). They go on to point out that this "old paradigm" has now been rendered incoherent, due to its inability to correspond with "actual cultural life" and that performance within a social context is the key to understanding popular song as an adjunct to gaining an appreciation of "non-elite" cultures as a whole (70). In studying the relationships between songs and particular socio-economic groups it cannot automatically be assumed that song content necessarily reflects fixed aspirations, values and attitudes of such groups for all time (a point made by Bratton, see above) (71). For example, Pickering's own

contribution to the anthology is an essay concerning the way in which the text of a 17th century ballad, "The Husbandman and the Servantman", may appear to be consistent over time if viewed outside historical context, whereas its meaning underwent a change as a response to socio-economic dynamics as experienced by Oxfordshire farm labourers in the 19th century (72). Thus, the song text within the community nexus presents a set of complexities with continuity and change an overriding factor. Pickering explains this ballad's popularity not in terms of "absolute truths", but, "...in a sense of the discrepancies between the song's moral value and the denial of that moral value in the present" (73). Popular songs may and often do represent the codes and values of particular groups and communities, but only "in any given present" (74).

Although this work is based on rural song culture, Pickering's observations do have implications for urban, industrial song culture, especially if it is to be regarded in terms of a developing working-class awareness during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. To what extent does song culture in this historical context reflect the identities of labouring people during this widely acknowledged era of socio-economic transition? Questions also arise concerning how such an upheaval affected popular song culture itself and this thesis will endeavour to address some of these questions.

Regarding continuity and change, Richard Middleton refers to Gramsci's theory regarding "rhythms of change", incorporating the "dialectically interlinking" concepts of "the situation" and "the conjuncture" (75). The former is often the result of crisis, thus, "...movement there is fundamental and relatively permanent...", whereas the latter

appears in between the situational periods, is less turbulent and exhibits "ephemeral characteristics" (76). Basically, once the cultural changes arising from a major upheaval (the shift to industrialisation for example) became established, they then start to develop an ephemeral path towards the next changing point on the historical graph. Middleton appears to be attempting to explain the dynamics of continuity and change, employing a theoretical model. Certain periods display "radical situational change" and he identifies three of these between the 18th and 20th centuries; "the bourgeois revolution", "the mass culture of the 1890's" and "post World War II" (77). He locates the first of these between the end of the 18th century and the 1840's, a time denoting, "...complex and overt class struggle within cultural fields..." (78). The dating runs fairly concurrent with that of E.P.Thompson who situates the formation of working-class identity somewhere between 1780 and 1832, whence they (the working-class) represented, "...the most significant factor in British political life" (79). This influential contention has recently been subjected to critical scrutiny. In a challenging piece of work (1991), Patrick Joyce asserts that although class is perceived to be a "child of the 19th century", there are in fact other "visions of the social order", which the fixation with class has obscured and that "class" as Thompson understands it did not arise until c.1918 (80). He argues that the labour process did not involve a linear development, but resulted in a "multiplicity of outcomes"(81). However, this is a subject area that will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Philomena Eva has also alluded to some of these ideas in a stimulating work on broadsides in 19th century Manchester (1996) (82). Eva, mindful of recent developments in the

methods and practise of history, attempts to analyse the relationship between class and popular song. He divides his thesis into two sections, the first covering the contexts of production, performance, reception and so on, whilst the following section deals with the broadside texts themselves (83). He maintains that broadsides were not a "discrete, self-contained cultural form", rather they were eclectic and discursive, absorbing material from a variety of forms from across the social strata (see Bratton and Pickering and Green above) (84). Once again, this is a point that arises during the course of this thesis. Eva argues that such hybrid characteristics are one criterion for truly "popular" as opposed to "official" culture and therefore can be assumed to represent "authenticity" (85). Broadside, he stresses, have rated scant historical attention and those studies presented thus far have merely served to establish or reinforce the overall consensus that they were, "...a cultural form articulated to and responsive to the experience and tastes of working people" (86). The inference here is that hitherto academic investigation has been an exercise in "fixing" songs with certain salient historical developments that they allegedly reflect (industrialisation, urbanisation, the "making" of class and so forth), thus, "In depicting the broadsides as a culture of and for working people, previous accounts have selected for critical attention those songs which obviously fit the bill-those evidently written in the first instance for the street trade, or for specific events such as strikes and lock-outs. The assumption is that these are the authentic expression of attitudes and feelings, which can be simply be read off from their content (informed by the proper historical perspective)" (87).

Eva attempts to confront this premise from a thoroughly "populist" agenda (more on this point below) by highlighting the eclectic nature of the material (88). He refers to Stuart Hall's contention that popular culture is not the preserve of any specific social group, but is the landscape of a "constant battlefield" on which the possession of cultural forms and their symbolic meaning, are perpetually being redefined (see above, Bratton and Pickering) (89). Transposing this view to broadsides, the implication is that they do not necessarily reflect or represent the cultural essence of any one particular constituency, rather they are a multitude of discursive appeals to identities, class formation being but one aspect of this (ethnicity and gender being amongst other considerations) (90).

Although Eva argues that the form and content of broadsides was indeed a response in certain cases to the alienation associated with industrialisation and urbanisation, this response was not uniform or consistent (91). For example, his imaginative article on the "culture of exile" found in mid-Victorian parlour song (1997), attempts to demonstrate how popular songs concerning exile may well have served as a consoling agent to offset the dislocation felt in time in addition to geographic location, due to the upheavals of the early 19th century (92). A seemingly vacuous piece of middle-class sentimentality, "Home Sweet Home", could also touch a nerve with sections of working people who felt "rootless and displaced" and would gain ready access to the song through the medium of Bebington's broadsides (93). This does, in fact, illustrate the potentially ambiguous nature of the source material in question. Eva is no doubt trying to approach the field of popular song study from a novel and refreshing perspective, namely that overtly political and confrontational material has been centre stage for long enough. This

is a fair observation , but in a study that proclaims to be focused on identities in the working-class popular culture of the 19th century, the songs of strife and conflict are still too significant to be overlooked. As it will transpire in Chapter 5, the Lock-Out ballads printed during the bitter industrial dispute in Preston (1853/54) by John Harkness, formed a major part in working-class identity, as well as supplementing the operative's subsistence.

SECTION 2

Eva's work applies some of the methods derived from recent attempts to deconstruct earlier historical theories, particularly regarding class. Commenting in an article (1993), Barbara Bradby and Richard Middleton suggest that there is, "...a need to encourage people to make links between popular music and new theories of the subject, of society and of signification, whether to endorse them or to challenge them" (94). Some of the "new theories" have inevitably conflicted with earlier (usually Marxian based) frameworks. Certainly, the post-modernist/ post-structuralist shift towards language and the attendant redefining of identities in relation to notions of class, has generated a tremendous amount of debate in academic circles. Song is a form of language and consequently no inquiry on its form and content can disregard these recent developments and the implications they have for class, in conjunction with popular politics from 1800 onwards (95).

One of the first proponents of the linguistic paradigm was Gareth Stedman Jones, whose work on the Chartist movement began the revision of widely accepted interpretations of class- consciousness (1983) (96). In his view, commentators from Engels onwards have attempted to link evidence of popular discontent with the language of class antipathy employed by radical 19th century movements, in terms of "experience" and "consciousness" (97). As Marx observed in 1859, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness" (98). Stedman Jones regards this theory as problematic as it assumes that language is reduced to a "simple expression" of "experience" that begets "social being" and

ultimately (collective) "consciousness" (99). Furthermore, "What has not been sufficiently questioned is whether this language can simply be analysed in terms of its expression of, or correspondence to, the putative consciousness of a particular class or social occupational group" (100). Previous studies have abstracted experience from language and are, by this virtue, ultimately failing to comprehend, "...the materiality of language itself" (101). In order to redress this, he proposes an approach where the interpretation of the language and politics of Chartism is liberated from "social inferences" such as class, in order to understand more clearly the relationship between the ideology and activity of the movement (102).

In short, the post-modernist agenda regards class as an unhelpful obstacle to understanding past societies. This issue will be the principal focus of the following chapter. The post-modernist view has gained substantial endorsement from historians such as Patrick Joyce and James Vernon. Joyce's critical assessment of Thompson's work has been mentioned earlier, this being a fairly consistent feature of post-modernist historical rhetoric, emanating perhaps (although not necessarily) from Stedman Jones' "reservations" and "unease" concerning Thompson's formulations on the development of the working-class (103). Joyce reinforces the critique, declaring that whereas class may well have its place, "...it does from time to time need to be put in it" (104). The Marxian model of class (1848) is understood in terms of opposing socio-economic groups at variance with one another as the mode of production shifted (105). Joyce proposes an alternative vision of "populism" which is decidedly "extra-economic" in character, thus, "As well as, or instead of, conflict, chiefly evident are notions of combining social justice

and social reconciliation" (106). He goes on to offer reassurances that he does not wish to erect one "over-arching social category" over another (107). However, elsewhere (1991) he insists, "...that history is never present to us in anything but a discursive form...A recognition of the irreducibly discursive character of the social undermines the idea of social totality" (108). Although the discursive nature of history cannot be denied, Joyce seems to overlook the possibility that "the irreducibly discursive" may in itself be a totality.

To illustrate the alleged poverty of the class paradigm, Joyce selects certain forms of 19th century popular art forms of expression that were running concurrently (broadside, dialect literature and music hall), in order to produce a vista of cultural life (109). For the broadsides he mainly draws on the Pearson Collection held in Manchester Central Library for a localised perspective and the Madden Collection at Cambridge University in order to, "...explore the typicality of the local and regional collections..." (110). The potential representiveness of these sources is quite impressive, yet the pitfalls of selectivity are ever present (this is difficult to overcome, as it will become apparent in Chapter 4). Joyce maintains that the broadsides demonstrate a "populist" mentality in production, reception and performance, due in part to the identification that "populism" makes with "older ways", which are alluded to in some of the songs (111). The principal thrust of his contention is that ballads such as "Jone 'O Greenfield Junior" represent the use of an imagined past as a cultural vehicle of response to the nascent conditions of industrialisation and urbanisation; the loss of "Old England", the "libertarian constitution", "paternalism" and the demise of the "freeborn Englishman", with the

spectre of the New Poor Law (1834) looming large over the chaos (112). Any hint of class expression is "notable by its absence" and, "...there is little or no sense of labour and capital as the basic social dichotomy...Exploitation in turn is seen as extrinsic to production, being located in moral and not economic realms" (113).

Howkins and Dyck, in an article four years prior to Joyce's work (1987) offer a broadly similar appraisal, with an investigation into the "moral economy" of rural songs of complaint and their relation to William Cobbett's radicalism (114). They maintain that despite previous assumptions that songs of distress depict little in the way of solutions, they do articulate a diagnosis of socio-economic problems and a way of solving them; not class hegemony, but a return to non-egalitarian paternalism (115). This would appear to present a populist view of ballad culture (a major contention of Joyce), but further examination reveals a growing awareness of class identity along socio-economic as well as cultural perceptions of agency as time progressed. For example, the ballads produced during the Preston Lock-Out of 1853/54 by the striking cotton operatives, contain what can be considered as class based sentiments. One verse of "The Ten Per-Cent" runs,

"In Preston town I do believe
The Masters are our foes
But some of them, before it's long
Will wear some ragged clothes
But we'll unite both one and all
And never will lament

When this great war is ceased

About the ten per-cent" (116).

A line later in the text threatens that, "We'll stand out 'till their mills do fall" (117). Yet another worker's ballad (printed by John Harkness of Preston) from the same industrial dispute, "The Cotton Lords of Preston" is equally strident (four lines from verse three),

"The Cotton Lords are sure to fall

Both ugly, handsome, short and tall

For we intend to conquer all

The Cotton Lords of Preston" (118).

The content of the texts of the Preston Lock-Out ballads will receive more detailed scrutiny in Chapter 5. The messages in these lines appear to be fairly unambiguous and can hardly be said to represent a populist desire for a return to paternalism. Eva's argument against focusing attention exclusively on these types of ballads is duly taken, yet they are too important to ignore completely.

This critique for material that reflects a class orientated sense of agency (propounded by Joyce), has in turn received critical attention in an article by Dave Harker (1996) (119). He claims that Joyce's fixation with language and populism reflects a "strangely transhistorical theory", which was a proclivity of right-wing historians during the 1950's (120). Harker, whose work on mediation has been acknowledged above, accuses Joyce of

assessing his sources with preconceived ideas, whilst selecting the relevant material appropriate to his contentions and failing to adduce other sources in the process (121). Quoting examples from the North-East of England, Harker asserts, for instance that the songs of Tommy Armstrong (albeit composed at a much later period in the 19th century than those in this thesis) contain "unmistakable class language" such as, "May every Durham colliery owner that is in the fault/Receive nine lashes with the rod, then be rubbed with salt" ("Durham Strike"), whilst Ned Corvan formally dedicated his *Random Rhymes* publication (1850) to the "Skippers, Colliers, and Working Men in General, of Tyneside and Neighbourhood", who had been particularly active against the interests of several large employers (122). Moreover, Joyce refers to a song entitled "Remember the Poor" in an attempt to demonstrate the populism of such material (123). However, Harker points out that Joyce overlooks the fact that the text also exists on a double broadside sheet along with "The Pitman's Union", which, he believes, "...could be taken to articulate some elements of optimism, vigour, and even a will to act in order to change the world..." (124). The broadside dates from an industrial dispute of 1832 and represents a tactic employed by the strikers of appealing to a number of sympathies to support their action; in the case of the former text it is the predicament of the striker's dependants that are intended to be the subject, whilst the latter is seeking to engender solidarity for the principles of the strike itself, the general idea being that the broadside could be separated as the occasion demanded (125).

Harker's own work has received some critical academic analysis. For example, Vic Gammon in a critique of Harker's earlier work (1986), asserts that Harker's output is,

"...taking on the status of an orthodoxy..." (126). More recently, C.J. Bearman produced an article (2002) in which he cogently challenges Harker's methodology, stating that (in much the same manner as Gammon) his work has become an "...orthodoxy which later commentary has accepted without question..." and that, "...Harker's criticism is inaccurate, innumerate, flawed in its methods, and unjustified in its assumptions" (127).

Despite this, it is still possible to detect discrepancies in the populist interpretation of vernacular song culture that Harker bases his contentions on. For instance, James Vernon (1993) has suggested that one of the reasons why broadsides were such a favourite medium for political comment was the recognition of the "flexibility of their motifs", pointing out that, "...within the space of days or weeks, the same ballad was used in different ways as rival groups sought to appropriate its success for their own purposes" (128). He goes on to argue that this would render the character of these ballads as "authentic" expressions of working-class political aspiration as invalid, "...for they obstinately refused to fit into such neat sociological categories..." (129). He illustrates this in the appendices of his book, where several different texts are re-produced, using the tune "With Wellington We'll Go" or "With Henry Hunt We'll Go", that were printed as propaganda by opposing political parties during elections in Oldham, 1852, 1859 and 1868 ("Oldham Election, Or No Go Fox", "Fox is Sure To Go" and so on) (130). This would concur with Hall's "constant battlefield" trope alluded to by Eva. Vernon appears to be highlighting a rather widely perceived trait in popular song culture to support his standpoint that such material is devoid of class inferences. The appropriation of tunes or variations of tunes as a vehicle for differing ideological content, including class, is a

fundamental characteristic of popular song right up to the recent times. Palmer, for example, describes the use of the old English call and response song "Green Grow the Rushes, O" for the distinctly partisan "Red Fly the Banners, O" in the 1930's;

"I'll sing you one, O

Red fly the banners, O

What is your one, O?

One is worker's unity

And ever more shall be so

I'll sing you two, O

Red fly the banners, O

What is your two, O?

Two, two the hands of man

Toiling for his living, O..."

and so forth up to, "Twelve...twelve for the works of Lenin" (131). Then of course, there was the famous "Here We Go" chant to the tune of Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever", sung by striking miners in 1984 (possibly borrowed from football crowds?). Conversely (and in a somewhat more sinister vein), it was reported in a local news bulletin (1999) that a black child had been racially taunted by white youngsters who had re-contextualised the words of a song, originally intended to expose and condemn colour in school assemblies ("If you're black, you gotta get back") (132). Apparently, sections of

this racist version of the song have subsequently been appropriated by elements of the extreme politically right-wing British National Party (133). Song appropriation and re-contextualising of lyrics is as old as song culture itself and will no doubt continue to be so, although as the case above demonstrates, occasioned now and again with unfortunate consequences.

The "struggle" for the cultural landscape may not necessarily denote a denial of class-consciousness as Vernon would appear to posit, but could in fact provide evidence of class value (see particularly Chapter 5 on politics, below), if the ways in which such cultural forms are adapted or shaped can be understood more astutely, without too much preconception. One such preconception is authorship. Vernon observes that the authors of 19th century popular songs came from a diversity of backgrounds; for instance, the radical William Knot was a hat maker, whereas Joseph Lees to whom "Jone O' Grinfilts Ramble" is partly attributed (see Chapter 5, below), was a weaver from Glodwick who later became a teacher (134). The important point, however, is the question of popularity and acceptance of certain songs amongst labouring people as well as the author's intentions. This raises further issues concerning ideas of what defines "popular".

Despite his somewhat "populist" approach, Eva finds the term popular, "...a slippery and loaded concept when twinned with 'culture' " (135). He identifies two conflicting and widely held definitions. One (as proposed by Adorno) associated with mass commercialism which merely serves to distract from everyday life, thus implying, "...a distinctly passive notion of 'the people' as empty vessels to be filled with trivia...",

whereas the other notion is a product of "autonomous", "spontaneous" and above all "authentic" activity by, or for working people (136). As alluded to above, Eva tends to cleave toward Hall's model of a shifting cultural, discursive site. Middleton employs an empirical methodology in attempting to trace the development of the concept, remarking that all meanings of "popular" are well and truly, "...socially, historically grounded ; they come bearing the marks of particular usage and contexts and, are never disinterested" (137). He maintains the term that describes, "...a positive, class-orientated usage- something 'popular' as the type specifically produced by the lower classes...", has its origins in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (a "situational" epoch) and is largely the interpretation that is still common to "twentieth century senses" (138). Most of these comments, though not in any way conclusive do require attention, especially Middleton's caveat that the concept of "popular" is seldom or never neutral. As Harker has observed, the very use of the term imparts more about the user than it seeks to describe (139).

Ultimately, the whole debate concerning popular songs and the relationship to class-consciousness, the language of "populism" or whatever, revolves around notions of identity. The key concept to understanding this is the idea of human agency; the means by which people came to terms with their environment and their location within it. Writing in an article, Vernon describes this process as, "both real and imaginary" (1994) (140). He asserts that the attention to "narrative forms" is a crucial component in social history, particularly when applied to past political activities (141). Elsewhere, Ruth Finnegan, in her "empirically based ethnology" of amateur music performances in Milton Keynes during the 1980's (1989), noted how local musicians and singers retain an ability

to, "...realise themselves through the medium of musical action...", and possibly even, "transcend their social existence" (142). Russell suggests that Finnegan's ethnographic approach can be applied to social history, "...back across the twentieth century and beyond..." (143).

Finnegan's work is yet one more example of the inter-disciplinary nature of studies on the subject of popular song undertaken so far. As it has already been pointed out, a significant amount of this has adopted a post-modernist/post-structuralist agenda, with the emphasis on the role of language. This is no doubt a useful academic tool given the nature of the subject (ballad texts). However, there are pitfalls to be encountered in exclusively following the path of purely linguistic appraisals to a self-fulfilling conclusion, whereupon the benchmark of "social existence" may fade too far beyond the theoretical horizon, rendering the task of making historical sense out of anything problematical. Neville Kirk (1994) warns that confining historical enquiry to such a degree of linguistic determinism would result in a state of affairs where the only reality would be, "language and nothing more" (144). All that remains is the text, which may be interpreted in any way without any regard to what the author (whoever they were) originally tried to articulate. Therefore, as Lawrence Stone argues in an article, "Texts thus become a hall of mirrors reflecting nothing but each other, and throwing no light upon the 'truth', which does not exist" (1991) (145). Given such a vacuum, Stone declares in a following article a year later (1992), that he is "baffled" how anyone can practice history under the circumstances (146). Although this is a valid critique, Stone does

appear at times to be almost over-defensive to what he perceives to be a serious challenge to history as an academic practice by "rumblings from adjacent disciplines" (147).

Gabrielle Spiegel's response (1992), on the other hand, seems more measured, recognising the polarised nature of the debate and emphasising compromise which will open the way, "...for a mixed and potentially richer understanding of language and its mediatory possibilities in the interests of a more highly differentiated analysis of past texts and their social contexts" (148). Referring to Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Spiegel stresses the need for understanding language within given social and historical settings, where both form and substance endow each other with "structure" (149). This is one of the aims of this project. To paraphrase or adapt Joyce's statement concerning class (see above), "the linguistic turn" does have its place in historical enquiry, it just needs to be put in it occasionally.

CONCLUSION

What the above appraisal of the literature demonstrates is how far theoretical historical analysis has evolved in relation to the study of popular music and song so far. A central theme has been the assumption that popular forms have a close association with "the people", "the folk", "the working-class" and it is only relatively recently that the relationship has received any thorough scholarly attention. As it has been stated already, part of the rationale behind this piece is to provide a contribution toward the body of existing work, seeking to clarify the meaning of popular cultural song products and their historical significance as one of the many ways of understanding past societies. Finnegan maintains that leisure in conjunction with culture has all too frequently been marginalised and that human reality is not exclusively located within the confines of paid employment (150). An appreciation of recent trends in methodology and historiography is crucial in pursuit of realising the importance of this factor in history.

The principal subject matter here is the documentation of evidence from the song culture of early to mid-industrial Lancashire, a time that Middleton defines as "situational" (see above), within a geographical location (Preston) where the effects of change had an immense impact. Walton has emphasised the historical importance of Lancashire in general, "...because the county's history is of world historical importance in its own right" (151). This work, therefore, has an ethnographic flavour to it. Several of the studies considered in this review overlap with the one intended in this thesis. For example, Lloyd addresses industrial ballads in general but not specifically Lancashire, whereas Vicinus does use a comparative examination of Lancashire, Yorkshire and the North East, but not

necessarily song culture in any great detail. Palmer has selected songs of the industrial North - West for his various anthologies, however these tend to be collections that reflect a nationwide sweep. Joyce's efforts have been concentrated mainly upon Manchester and he restricts his investigation into broadside ballads to Chapter 10 of his book (see above). Vernon uses Oldham as one of his geographical case studies, the others being Tower Hamlets, Lewes, Boston and South Devon (152). His work is intended to demonstrate that the political process of the 19th century had a "disabling" rather than an "enabling" effect on democratic participation by not drawing on "the stuff of orthodox history", although ballads only receive a very cursory examination (153). Eva's work is a fascinating piece containing an exceptional amount of material from broadsides, but his geographical focus (like Joyce) is well and truly upon Manchester and he tends to concentrate more on the latter half of the 19th century. More locally, Tom Walsh and Gregg Butler have produced a publication concerning Preston and the city's song culture (1992) to coincide with the Guild celebrations (154).

To conclude this Chapter, it would appear that despite the amount of literature available on the history of popular song culture in England, there appears to be a lacuna regarding the area being proposed in this work. There is little of great substance relating to the ballad culture in the cotton districts of Lancashire (particularly the Preston area) during the period 1832-1862, after 1997. Beside the work carried out by Bearman in 2002 (which is mainly a critique of Harker), the only other recent publications to date on popular song are both anthologies. James Hepburn (2000) has produced a collection of broadside texts from 1790 to 1870 (a period that saw a "blizzard" of printed material

compared with the "flurries" of earlier centuries), that are largely concerned with poverty (155). Significantly, Hepburn maintains that this area of popular culture has "attracted little attention" and the ballads themselves have been "little studied" (156). Also, 97 titles in the collection have never been printed since the original sheets were sold, which renders this publication a valuable, recent contribution to the study of popular song (157). A year later, Hannah Barker and David Vincent (2001) edited an anthology of political texts from Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1790 to 1832, representing an important local study (158). Both publications contain extensive commentaries by the editors.

This thesis, given the scope of the material and the heuristic potential of the topic, should provide a timely addition to the unfolding historical enquiry into popular song culture from a local perspective.

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CHAPTER 2-CLASS AND CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS: AN OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Writing in 1859, Marx observed that, "The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness" (1). The "mode of production" underwent fundamental changes over the late 18th-19th centuries, with Lancashire as the pivotal location. The "Industrial Revolution" (a term that was probably first used in Britain by Robert Owen and later given popular currency by Arnold Toynbee) has been described by Thomis as "this incredible progeny of mankind" which heralded "far reaching" consequences (2). One of the multitude of developments associated with this period was the invention or modernisation of words which are now common in everyday language including, amongst others, "industry", "factory", "capitalism", "socialism", "liberal", "conservative", "proletariat", "middle-class" and "working-class" (3). The latter two phrases have become the subject of academic debate. Morris suggests that the language of class was the most important concept deriving from this era (4). Wright, in turn, asserts that, "No serious historian...denies that a working-class, as a descriptive category for people who existed by selling their labour power, came into existence during the late 18th, early 19th centuries" (5). This chapter is intended to present an overview of class-consciousness in 19th century Lancashire, in order to place the ballad culture of the time into perspective. Some theoretical background is necessary if the ballads are to be understood in their cultural, historical context. The thesis is not just about class itself but about the ways in which the ballad culture represented the experience of labouring people.

SECTION I

A central issue here is the notion that the changes evident during this period led to increasing tensions between certain interest groups. Thompson argues that class "happens" when the identity articulated by one group of people, "as between themselves", conflicts with another group whose interests are, "usually opposed" to the former group (6). This experience is determined (as Marx propounds) by the productive relations that people are engaged in and class-consciousness is the way in which the resultant conflict finds cultural expression with the emerging English working-class who, Thompson contends, came to realise an "identity of interests" between 1780 and 1832. (7). Although this process is fundamental in understanding the formation of class-based consciousness, class itself may not, as Kirk maintains, arise exclusively from economic determinants but also from political, ideological and cultural factors (8). The key variable throughout, however, is that of conflict and the ballads of the working people appear to reflect the growing awareness of this clash of socio-economic interests.

What is clearly evident is the upsurge of popular movements during this period of history. These include appeals for constitutional reform, Luddism, desire for an unstamped press, factory reform, opposition to the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), Chartism and trade unionism, reflecting, as Kirk remarks, "...a profound and widespread sense of unease and anger" (9). This discontent has provided the subject matter for popular ballad culture. The "unease and anger" was particularly evident in the cotton districts of Lancashire (including Preston), which has been described as the most predominant of the manufacturing counties (10). Certainly, Lancashire has become

associated with the popular unrest and movements that Kirk alludes to. Thompson has highlighted the importance of Lancashire Jacobinism, early trade unionism, the "United Englishmen", anti-war agitation, reform and the Luddites (11). The county was also a prominent heartland of the Chartist movement (12). It is the degree to which class-consciousness was a contributing factor towards these popular movements in Lancashire during the period of industrialisation, that presents an important aspect of this discussion. Although some of the following contains references to the period prior to the chronology of the project (1832-1862), it should be appreciated that this is a necessary precursor to understanding the context of the popular regional, political and social culture of the time and the ballad culture which emanated from it.

A significant element of 18th century socio-economic conflict has been identified by Thompson, in what he describes as "the moral economy", which was basically a legitimising agent for plebeian protest and discontent (13). Popular unrest at this time had previously been largely dismissed by scholarly opinion, such as Beloff and Wearmouth, as directionless "riots" by the "mob" in terms of "distress" (14). In response, Thompson argues that, "...these grievances operated within a popular consensus as to what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling, baking etc. This in its turn was grounded upon a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligation, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor. An outrage to these moral assumptions, quite as much as actual deprivation, was the usual occasion for direct action" (15). This putative "moral economy" may be difficult to appreciate in modern political thinking, yet

it should be assessed in context with the time in question (16). Thompson maintains that the appeal to the "traditional" paternalist obligations of those in positions of authority was generally present throughout 18th century plebeian culture and not an overt cause of social, political disturbance (17). This appeal to moral obligations is reflected in song texts such as "When This Old Hat Was New" and "The Roast Beef of Old England". In this sense, popular unrest is a vehicle for maintaining a set of values when they were perceived to have been transgressed, rather than any premeditated, collective attempt at challenging the *status quo* along lines of class, which was still in the process of evolving.

A major influence on popular opinion regarding political reform was Thomas Paine's work, *The Rights of Man*, particularly Part II published in 1792 (Part I had appeared the previous year) which was produced in cheap 6d editions, selling 200,000 copies within a year (18). Degrees of literacy amongst labouring people, although not widespread, were still sufficient enough for this polemic to have had a significant impact on popular sensibilities, with references to Paine and "the rights of man" appearing in broadsides for several years to come (19).

The received historical perspective on this period presents a picture of the looming edifice of industrialised working practices, along with the attendant effect on work discipline, craft status, wages and "traditional" rights, posing a daunting threat to labouring people. This may well have been the case, yet the rapidity of such a change is now a matter of debate. Recent findings infer that this transition was not quite as sudden in a technological and economic sense, as earlier scholars such as Rostow, Ashton and

Toynbee have argued (20). Crafts proposes that regarding the economy overall productivity advanced at a gradual rate, achieving a growth of around 0.2% between 1760-1800, 0.3% between 1800-1830 and 0.8% between 1830-1860, with the cotton trade representing around half the total of industrial sectors (21). Whereas these national figures may be an important indicator on a broader level, the latter point concerning cotton is worth commenting on further. Between 1800-1841, the production of cotton rose from 41.8 million pounds to 452 million, an expansion which Walton describes as "clearly dramatic" and having implications for production as well as location of industry, which in turn induced "*far reaching social consequences*" (author's italics) (22). Despite this upsurge in productivity, Timmins contends that Lancashire hand-loom weavers did not decline in any significant numbers until the 1830's, which is more than a decade after historians had previously believed (23). The implementation of steam-powered mechanisation was limited by the mid-19th century, whilst hand-loom weavers still comprised a considerable number of the labouring population in Lancashire up until that time (24). Cotton entrepreneurs in Britain had a choice between hand techniques or mechanisation and many preferred to retain the outwork system of hand-loom weaving on the grounds of convenience and flexibility in employing workers (25). Power-looms were not actually proving to be cost-effective over manual methods of production due to "mechanical imperfections" (26). Thus, a picture of continuity and change becomes apparent. The cultural tensions of the time are represented in popular working-class songs such as "The Weaver and the Factory Maid" (quoted in Chapter 6) (27).

SECTION 2

As well as changes in production technology, there were other attendant developments. Migration from rural communities to urban centres and the increase in population are factors that feature prominently in historical investigation on this period, generating debate as to their significance or the degree to which they were related (28). For instance, Chambers' contention that enclosure improved agricultural efficiency, thus increasing the population between 1760 and 1780 (resulting in migration from farm to factory), clashes with Rogers' claim that enclosure caused destitution and therefore migration to the manufacturing districts; enclosure being part of a conspiracy by those with vested interests (29). What has been established is the fact that the population of Lancashire almost trebled in the first 50 years of the 19th century, the rise being concurrent with the pattern of economic development (30).

However, it is the transition to the values of economic production that is the salient point here, although this is not intended to devalue the importance of demographic factors. It is not merely the transition to "industrialism" that is the main issue as such, but the transition to industrial capitalism (31). To return to Marx, under such circumstances people enter into relations "independent of their will", which are determined by the material nature of their production; "The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness" (32). Thus, material conditions beget social consciousness, but the material conditions had to come from somewhere. At the beginning of the 19th century

there was an increasing shift towards an economic emphasis on moral and social values amongst the new industrial elites. Hobsbawm indicates that the conditions for this emerging ideology were already present in Britain, the process having derived its stimulus from the 17th century constitutional crises, from whence the acquisition of private profit and economic growth were increasingly becoming "...accepted as the supreme objects of government policy" (33).

The social ideals embodied in notions of "liberalism" and "individualism" were influenced by the work of Adam Smith and his acolytes, such as Ricardo, who sought to articulate (or justify, however one looks at it) the "laws" governing economic life (34). The principals of capital were apparently gaining the stature of an orthodoxy that was deemed to be inseparable from human nature. Kirk defines the capitalist structure as, "...a system of full blown commodity production geared up to profit maximisation", necessitating the sale of labour by "a permanent wage-earning class" (35). The system as a whole was characterised by certain "norms" and "values" reflecting free market forces; acquisitiveness, individualism, competition and so on (36). From Westminster politicians to the provincial press in manufacturing districts, to Lancashire industrialists, the doctrines of *laissez-faire*, minimal government intervention and untrammelled economic individualism were rigorously expressed (37). Engels bitterly rebuked such sentiments, declaring in 1844 (from a study based largely in Manchester), that the English bourgeoisie were "demoralised", "incurably debased" and "corroded within" by the relentless pursuit of profit (38). He continues by drawing a distinction between the manufacturer ("Capital") and the factory operatives ("Labour"), which is a relationship

determined by economic rather than human variables, with the employee representing a mere commodity; "And if the operative will not be forced into this abstraction, if he insists that he is not Labour, but a man...if he takes it into his head that he not allow himself to be bought and sold in the market, as the commodity 'Labour', the bourgeois reason comes to a standstill...he insists, as Carlyle says, that, 'Cash payment is the only nexus between man and man' " (39). This represents the classic social feature that both Marx and Engels were to attend to at a later date (1848) (40). Fundamentally, the transition to a capitalist economy "simplified the class antagonisms" into the antithetical "Bourgeoisie" and "Proletariat" (41).

Despite this theory, the embryonic trade union movement could be exclusive in nature, demarcating skilled from semiskilled, unskilled and quite often, female workers. Schisms can also be detected within radical political movements. The Chartists employed elements of earlier "mass-platform agitation", fused with "mass petitioning" to effect a constitutional agenda that had its origins in the latter half of the 18th century (42). Parts of Lancashire were to gain national notoriety in the late 1830's and early 1840's as Chartist "hotbeds" (43). However, the movement was allegedly (in perhaps a somewhat oversimplistic historical analysis) divided into two ideological camps, as proposed by R.G. Gammage; namely "moral force" Chartism which was more popular amongst "the aristocracy of labour", who were content to apply middle-class rational principals of persuasion, whereas "physical force" Chartism sought to provoke direct confrontation with the apparatus of authority (44). This division apparently caused constant tension between both leaders and followers of the movement (45).

Before addressing this subject any further, a brief outline of the years preceding the rise of Chartism will establish the ground upon which the movement was built. Popular radicalism, despite gaining some mass support in the industrial North during the five years succeeding the Napoleonic wars, had fallen into abeyance by 1820 (46). Although there had been widespread post-war destitution, the economy had generally started to recover in the 1820s, accompanied with a series of good harvests (47). Meanwhile, Luddism had been crushed (according to Thompson) by the combined results of the repeal of the Orders in Council, an improvement in trade and growing state repression (48). There were other setbacks including the collapse of the Blanketeer protest before it could even commence, the Pentridge rising led by Jeremiah Brandreth which degenerated into a fiasco (both in 1817), the tragedy of Peterloo, the Cato Street conspiracy (both 1819), culminating in the Six Acts which attempted to subdue the right of assembly, armed drilling and access to cheap periodical publications (49). Nevertheless, throughout the 1820s there developed a growing intellectual response to capitalist ideology through the medium of the unstamped "pauper press", along with works such as William Thompson's *Inquiry Into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Happiness* (1824), Thomas Hodgkinson's *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital* (1825) and John Gray's *Lecture on Human Happiness* (n.d.) (50). Even so, it remains difficult to appraise the extent to which the working-class readership of such literature approved of, or fully comprehended the content of much of the available polemic; as Wright maintains, editors and writers were eager to educate and influence working-class opinion, which does not necessarily mean that they intended to reflect it in any way (51). However, the literary or cognitive ability of working-class people cannot be demeaned

and as it will transpire below, their ballad culture formed an important part in their understanding of their world.

The opinions of labouring people were actually beginning to be articulated across a broad front during the early 1830s (52). By 1829 the economic boom of the preceding decade had come to an end (53). Evans comments that both radical leaders as well as opponents of political reform were well aware of the potential consequences; "...only high prices and unemployment could translate an intellectual case for constitutional change into a mass movement of incalculably threatening aspect "(54). Cobbett remarked in 1830 how cotton was being produced in conditions of near slavery in Lancashire by operatives who were un-emancipated and therefore had no democratic control over their lives (55). The rejection of the Reform Bill in 1831 along with the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, which merely served to enfranchise large sections of the middle-classes, were parliamentary events that were met with derision and civil discontent throughout the nation (56). In Lancashire, the value of parliamentary reform sustained considerable interest in the wake of the 1832 Act, one example of this being a meeting held at Padiham in 1833 which itemised four constitutional points that bore some resemblance to four of the Six Points of the Charter (for more detail on the Six Points, see Chapter 5 below) (57). The Charter was actually, in many ways, the product of a revival of artisan radicalism, embodied by the London's Working Man's Association and the Birmingham Political Union, the original draft being drawn up by the cabinet maker William Lovett and the master tailor Francis Place in 1838 (58). Significantly, the movement produced its own ballad culture. The Chartists were evident in Lancashire in the same year and the

county became one its most solid bases (59). Moreover, it was in the spring of 1838 that the Anti-Poor Law Movement became subsumed within the struggle for parliamentary reform (60). This may have been a contributing factor (in addition to the hardship already experienced due to economic *laissez-faire*) to the support that Chartism attained in certain regions of Lancashire. Briggs asserts that the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act was not intended as a solution to social deprivation, but rather as a means of extending the free labour market in poorer districts (61). Thus, its implementation in the North of England was sure to provoke vehement outrage at a time when economic depression was causing the unemployment of factory workers, in addition to starvation amongst hand-loom weavers (62). Chartism was no doubt perceived by the labouring people, living in poverty, to be the vehicle by which they could achieve the franchise and therefore rid themselves of this loathsome legislation. This discontent with the Act is depicted in ballad form, such as "The Life of an Honest Ploughman or Ninety Years Ago" and "A Dialogue and Song on the Starvation Poor Law Bill between Tom and Ben" (63).

Lancashire Chartism was most conspicuous between the collapse of the 1839 petition and the strike of 1842 (when it reached its pinnacle), thereafter falling into decline, despite the efforts of a few diehards (see below) to keep the spirit alive during the depression of 1847/48 and the consequent re-emergence of agitation (64). One notorious episode of the aforementioned industrial dispute of 1842 (also known as the "Plug Strike") was the death of four striking operatives at the hands of the military on Lune Street in Preston, followed by a further (less fatal) confrontation at Walton Bridge four days later (65). Among the 36 arrested on this occasion (and later released) was Richard Marsden, who, it

has been suggested was near to Lune Street on the day of the shootings (66). Marsden, a hand-loom weaver, devoted himself to the Chartist struggle for a decade from 1838 to 1848 (67). According to Westall he, "...came from obscurity to play a crucial role in a period of great working-class awareness" (68). This raises the question, just how cogent was this awareness? Marsden's contribution to Chartism provides a fascinating account of the ideological thinking that provided the political motivation for a labouring man involved with organising the movement. Marsden's original support for the Chartists was derived from the assertion of what he perceived to be ancient constitutional rights based on Magna Carta, which in turn had been articulated by the Jacobin associations of the 1790's and thereafter (69). Although this political thinking represents a continuity throughout early 19th century radical thought, there was a growing trend to see the fundamental social conflict in terms of economic and cultural tensions between labour and capital, as popularised by the writings of "the schoolmaster of Chartism", Bronterre O' Brien (70). Marsden's theories contain both elements of the earlier concern with "Old Corruption" along with the emerging realisation that the conflict was now shifting to that between capital and labour (71). Consequently, although Marsden recognised one of the basic criticisms of capitalist industrialisation to be the uneven distribution of wealth, he failed to raise any objection that it may be the very production (in terms of capital and labour) that represented the principal cause of injustice (72). This does not detract from the fact that his main concern was that the working-class should assert their independence from other classes and attain political equality "in their own right" (73). For example, he condemned the inadequacy of the Reform Bill of 1832, opposed the Anti-Corn Law League and played an important role in marshalling resistance to middle-class infiltration

of Preston radicalism (74). This outspoken stance placed him at odds with the "moral force" camp, that had come together under the Complete Suffrage Union of Joseph Sturge (75).

The Chartist movement provided a political umbrella for a variety of (often contradictory) viewpoints and the participants were not of a uniform social character. For example, despite divisions of opinion on free trade, there was nonetheless a generally united front on the rejection of the Anti-Corn Law League (76). Regarding the social standing of those involved in the movement, it would appear to be rather incongruous that gentlemen leaders such as O'Connor and his ilk could represent the interests of working-class independence with any degree of credibility (77). Yet, as Belcham and Epstein have suggested, "disgruntled gentlemen" were often displaced mavericks rather than middling "men of business" and therefore represented, "...a mythic unity of sentiment between high and low: gentlemen and people" (78). Robert Gray observes, "Who speaks can sometimes be as significant as what is said" (79). The Chartist leaders seem to represent a restructured appeal to an earlier "moral economy", but now placed within the context of developing 19th century radicalism. Middle-class politicians (such as Joseph Sturge and Richard Cobden) who sought to engender the support of working-class people, largely failed in their attempts due to the fact that they lacked the ability to accept the cultural style of shop-floor popular radicalism and its modes of mobilisation (80). Perhaps they should have paid more attention to popular song culture to gain a better understanding?

Whatever the divisions may have been and whoever may have commanded the most attention (whether it was weavers like Marsden or gentlemen of O'Connor's mark), it has been contended that Chartism represents the "world's first independent labour movement", which, despite the presence of leaders from "superior" social backgrounds, still possessed the hallmarks of a working-class political organisation (81). Briggs maintains that it gave vent for worker's spleen during unstable periods, whilst trade unions provided an outlet for grievances at times of relative calm; "The pendulum swung between economic action through the trade unions and political action through Chartism" (82). In Lancashire, Chartism never regained the cogency of a mass movement after 1848, having become virtually "extinguished" as an "independent political force" of the working-class (83). For example, the last reported Chartist meeting held in Preston was in October 1849 (84).

The transformation of political culture in the mid-19th century has become the site of extensive historical debate. To summarise the main points, the argument centres around the distinction between the first half of the century, characterised by "distress and discontent" and the post-1850 period of putative "equipoise", or the "boom decades" (85). A salient theory in this interpretation is the role played by "New Model" unionism in shaping a consensual, conciliatory approach to the values of the capitalist system, seeking to act within its parameters in order to secure working-class standards of life, rather than to provide the means to overthrow the fundamental nexus of labour/capital relations (86). This particular view owes much to the work of the Webb's whose mid-Victorian "watershed" model of 19th century labour history presupposes an acceptance of

"discontinuities" in the labour movement of the time (87). This would appear to resonate with Brigg's "pendulum" metaphor, the inference being that as conditions improved, working people relied less on the mass movement tactics of Chartism and turned to the more restrained approach of "New Model" trade unionism. However, Kirk comments that there were elements of both continuity and discontinuity evident during this period (88). For instance, Chartism as a nationwide movement did not suddenly vanish one mid-Victorian morning, the last National Convention being held in February 1858 (89). Despite receding interest, the movement retained support in parts of Lancashire (for example, Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale, Manchester, Bacup and Stalybridge) throughout the 1850's (90). Furthermore, the Manhood Suffrage associations and the Reform League kept independent radicalism afloat to a certain degree, whilst there were class-based issues evident such as hours of labour and safety conditions (91).

Middle-class norms and values were not blindly or wantonly internalised by working people; as Kirk asserts, the idea of "respectability" could suggest a variety of interpretations, for example self-respect, a safe-guard against poverty, collective self-help, class-pride and so forth, rather than a submission to *embourgeoisement* (92). Joyce maintains that Blackburn mill owners adopted a policy of paternalism in order to acquire acquiescence from their operatives, thus ensuring their hegemony in the town by 1868 (93). Dutton and King counter this view as being too much of a sweeping generalisation, even as a characteristic of the final third of the century, remarking that, "Schools, libraries, and allotments were never more than peripheral questions to a working-class for whom wages and hours of labour were far more important" (94).

Thus, "Class conflict did not suddenly disappear with the demise of Chartism...", rather class-consciousness had to adapt and evolve within industrial capitalism in the mid-19th century (95). As Hobsbawm has observed, it was status as a wage earner that counted now and this represented the identity of "a solidarity and class-consciousness" that fostered a "valuable part of the British labour tradition" (96).

CONCLUSION

What transpires from this historiographical debate is the complex nature of ascertaining the pertinence of class-consciousness to 19th century political radicalism within the context of region. With regard to the latter, it has been suggested that if working-class consciousness does have its origins in the North of England, it was the keels and mines of mid-18th century Tyneside that represented its birthplace, rather than the cotton mills of Lancashire (97). However, the ballad texts that form the basis of this piece suggest that Lancashire was an important locality for the formation of growing working-class awareness. Herein lies another debate. The popular movements, as it has been shown particularly in the case of Chartism, did not necessarily have to contain a preponderance of any specific ideological homogeneity in order to sustain themselves. In a sense this was both their strength and ultimately, perhaps, their final weakness. Class, as a socio-economic and cultural concept, is always centre-stage within social history and therefore a subject of considerable academic debate. Steadman Jones, in a critique of the Marxian model of class as suggested by Thompson, asserts that, "Consciousness cannot be related to experience except through the interposition of language..." (98). This would be a gargantuan academic task, if Morris' contention that class is, "... the summary of countless day-to-day experiences..." (as represented in ballads), has any substance (99). Furthermore, what "particular language" is to be employed for this purpose? Certainly, the example of persisting Jacobin traditions in early 19th century radical politics demonstrates that there are cultural factors involved. Nevertheless, this does not negate the relationship between class-consciousness and the socio-economic experience of labouring people, which in turn, leads to the emergence of radical movements. The Anti-

Poor Law Movement and the fearsome, nightmarish image of the "Union Bastille" (a phrase frequently used in popular song of the time) stands as a poignant illustration of the situation of working people. From a post-structuralist perspective, Joyce attempts to question the concept of class as "tenuous" and declares his intention to "discipline" or "put it in its place" (see previous Chapter) (100). Yet he does concede that, "I pull back from the verge of denying class..." (101).

Perhaps this graphically emphasises the fact that any enquiry into late 18th and early 19th century popular political movements (in this case within Lancashire), the concept of class simply cannot be avoided, whatever the ambiguities, contradictions, continuities and changes it may present to history. An important aspect to this debate is the appeal to loyalism and patriotism within labouring culture, which Linda Colley has drawn attention to (102). This can be seen in the ballad culture of the time and will be attended to in Chapter 5. As it will be contended, popular song is a means of understanding the way in which working people perceived their situation. A vital component of this song culture was the broadside trade, which will form the subject of the following Chapter, particularly the printing and commercial activities carried out by John Harkness of Preston.

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CHAPTER 3-JOHN HARKNESS AND THE BALLAD TRADE

INTRODUCTION

The broadside ballad trade as well as other forms of street literature provided a window onto the world for labouring people who, for the most part, did not possess the means to gain access to more "formal" media of information and expression. Broadside ballads were cheap and affordable to working-class people living on a limited income, selling at a penny or halfpenny a sheet (1). Hepburn describes the broadside ballads as representing, "the voice of the dispossessed" (2). Vicinus comments, "Broadside along with the unstamped press were the poor man's newspaper until the rise of the popular press in the 1850's. The unstamped contained more news, political analysis and factual information, but did not reach as wide an audience as broadsides, which printed headline news without too much concern for factual accuracy. They covered every conceivable event from the supposed rows between members of the royal family, peccadilloes of M.P.'s, fashions and various battles fought by the British overseas"(3). She elaborates further, suggesting that the approach to these subjects in the ballad texts was of a dramatic nature, involving, "...grandiose gestures of patriotism, moral indignation or comic dismay..." all of which found popular approval amongst the buying public (4). Although the content of the songs may not have been strictly factual, they nevertheless represented a form of "symbolic truth", or an idealised vision of the world to those who purchased the sheets in the street. As this thesis demonstrates, "grandiose patriotism" does not necessarily pertain to overt, nationalistic jingoism. Rather, there are more complex, subtle factors to be considered (see particularly Chapter 5).

Whatever the underlying implications the song texts may reveal, the popularity of this form of readily available street literature formed (and represented) an important part of life in early-mid 19th century working-class culture. This could actually manifest itself not only in the streets, the taverns and homes but also in the workplace. The practice of pinning up broadside sheets in the workshops (in the case of the textile industry, actually to the looms themselves) was noted in the mid-18th century and was recalled by a Derbyshire woman as late as 1906 (5). As Palmer observes, "One is reminded by such things that ballads were deeply ingrained in the habits of and affections of ordinary people" (6). The ubiquity and durability of printed broadside ballads can be illustrated by the fact that Ralph Vaughan Williams heard a version of the ballad "William and Phyllis" from his house in Westminster, being sung by three men outside selling song sheets in 1904 (7). This is reinforced further by the fact that one of the last known ballad printers in Britain, Charles Sanderson of Edinburgh, was reported to be publishing as late as 1944 (8). Given that the earliest recorded example of a printed ballad sheet was in 1540, the longevity of this particular form of song culture seems remarkable and further testifies to its enduring popularity (9). Another important consideration in understanding the influence of popular song culture on every day life, is the interchange between the printed medium and the older, oral method of transmission. For example, the seafaring ballad, "Admiral Benbow" circulated orally for about a century prior to 1800 whereupon it appeared in broadside form for the next 50 years, after which it regained its original oral currency (10). A version of this song was collected as recently as 1951 (11). The point here is that the song would probably never have survived at all if it had not been printed in broadside form in the early to mid-19th century, thus further emphasising the

importance of the printed song medium. To return to Vicinus once more, she asserts that the most influential medium in street literature was the broadside ballad (12).

The following Chapter will seek to examine the broadside trade, commencing with a general overview from a commercial and cultural perspective. In order to place this subject in a local setting, there will be an investigation into the life and times of the Preston ballad printer, John Harkness and his relationship with the trade. This will serve to portray a more intimate and human aspect of broadside production. It ought to be emphasised at this point that information regarding Harkness has hitherto been somewhat nebulous. However, since this thesis commenced new material has recently come to light. Therefore, the intention here is to break some new ground on the broadside ballad trade in a local context, particularly Preston and the output of John Harkness. To begin with, an overall picture of the trade will serve as a necessary precursor.

SECTION 1

At the beginning of the Victorian period, there were printers of broadsides in every major town or city in the country (13). Robert Thompson suggests that there were over 50 printers in 19th century Lancashire and Cheshire, both in large urban centres such as Manchester and Liverpool, as well as smaller ones including Prescott, Chorley and Knutsford (14). Of course, Preston had John Harkness, amongst other lesser-known broadside printers (who will receive some attention later). Dobson suggests that Preston, "...was a major centre for the writing, printing and publishing of these ephemeral sheets" (15).

What exactly was a broadside? A brief description has already been made in the Introduction. To recapitulate, they were basically song texts printed on very flimsy paper about A4 size (which does not help with preservation and survival), containing between one and three titles, addressing a wide range of contemporary topics (see Appendix 1) (16). J.H. Spencer (who was responsible for compiling the present Harkness collection held in Harris Library, Preston), observed that, "The subjects of these broadsides...were of a sensational nature, comprising ballads, abbreviated histories, comic tales, political litanies, dialogues, murders, elopements, love tragedies, robberies, shipwrecks, pirates, dying speeches and confessions, in fact any mortal thing of a gruesome and exciting nature" (17). In other words, they covered a wide range of human experience (the process of categorisation will receive more attention later in this section). According to Spencer, they were often sold in long lengths of sheets draped over a T-shaped pole (a practice he witnessed himself as a child on the streets of late 19th century Preston, see Appendix 12)

and were sung to popular tunes of the period (18). He goes on to state that the sheets were, "... sold by men in the public streets of our cities and towns" (19). The street ballad singers, though, were not always male. According to Palmer, contemporary woodcuts depict a female presence; "Women, usually alone and care-worn, frequently appear. One, grievously crippled, tries to sell a ballad in the street. Others find a pitch at executions, one encumbered with a baby as well as a sheaf of ballads " (20). Ballad singers and sellers were frequently people living on the periphery of mainstream society (21). The publishing house of James Catnach of 7 Dials, London, for instance, was said to be a meeting place for, "...vagrants, miscreants and the vilest outcasts of society" (22). Likewise, W.E. Adams describes the printing office of the Cheltenham printer, Thomas Willey during the mid-19th century in a similar vein; "The passage leading to Willey's printing office was crowded on the morning of an execution with an astonishing collection of ragamuffins and tatterdemalions, greasy, grimy, and verminous. Soon they were bawling their doleful wares all over town" (23). Quite often, printers would produce sheets describing an execution before the event itself (no doubt to pre-empt the newspapers and therefore secure an "exclusive", thereby gaining a more profitable sale of their wares) (24). However, there were occasions when this commercial trick backfired. For example, the broadside, "Execution of J. Rutherford" had the following note appended to it, "This man was to have been hung; but they let him off because they thought it would hurt him" (25).

The descriptions of ballad sellers mentioned above are taken from accounts outside the locality in question (the Preston area), but they do provide some insight into this aspect of

the trade. The only substantive evidence for the street ballad hawkers can be found in the survey carried out on the streets of London by Henry Mayhew in the 1840s and 50s (26). With regard to Lancashire, particularly Preston, the only first hand evidence appears to be the observations of Charles Dickens during the Great Lock-Out of 1853/54, who noted the striking operatives (on this occasion, "young girls") singing from and selling song sheets on the streets of the town to supplement their meagre income (27). This would appear to contrast with the depiction of street ballad sellers and singers belonging to an urban under-class of "ragamuffins and tatterdemallions" that W.E. Adams witnessed in Cheltenham. In the case of the Preston "turn-outs", they were genuinely seeking to further their case as well as generating funds to augment their limited means. This was not an uncommon practice in working-class communities at times of industrial conflict; for example Harker relates to similar strategy employed by striking colliers in the North-East of England, during a mining strike in 1832 (28). In the case of the Preston Lock-Out ballads, the texts were, as Dickens maintained at the time, the product of the workers themselves (29).

This latter comment raises another aspect of the broadside trade; that of authorship. Palmer addresses this issue, commenting, "Of course all songs have writers, authors, composers, what you will. Even if Homer were not written by Homer it must have been written by someone" (30). There was a body of professional or semi-professional "hacks" or "scribblers" engaged in producing material for the broadside printing trade. A.L. Lloyd describes them; "The broadside ballad-maker as a rule was no artist, no poet, but a craftsman of sorts, a humble journalist in verse who, for a shilling, would turn out a

ballad on a subject as readily as his cobbler cousin would sole a pair of shoes. He might provide a song based on news of actual events, small or large, local or international. Or he might invent a romantic story of love, crime, battle or trickery, and make his ballad out of that, like a present-day author of pulp magazine fiction" (31). The ballad writers were in a position to set their rate of payment from the printers in some cases, as Charles Dickens recorded in the late 1850's, ("Street Minstrelsy", *Household Words*, 25th May, 1859) (32). He mentions one occasion when, "... a printer and publisher of halfpenny ballads complained to a friend of mine that his principal poet-on whom he depended for the versification of battles, murders and sudden deaths reported in the newspapers- 'wouldn't put pen to paper under five shillings' " (33). It seems, therefore, that the "humble journalist in verse" could command a certain degree of financial control over their livelihood and their creative output. But who exactly were these composers of street ballad texts? Dickens was intrigued to know who these authors of "the people's ballads" actually were, their status in society and what their relationship with their audience entailed (34). There is no straightforward answer to this, although one contemporary commentator may shed some light on the issue. An anonymous contributor to the *National Review* in 1861 (in an article entitled "Street Ballads") stated that, "They are always written by persons of the class to which they are addressed... they are adapted to and meet the wants and views of that class...Ballads still form an important, perhaps the chief part of the reading of a large class of our population" (35). The use of the term "class" is significant here, as the concept of class by this time had become established in the mid-19th century mind. Of course, the authors of the Preston Lock-Out songs were the cotton operatives, yet they cannot be described as "professional" ballad-mongers.

Nevertheless, they obviously realised the potential of the local broadside trade to help support themselves and their cause.

Although the identities of *bona fide* broadside songwriters remain largely lost to history, there are others that do emerge. For instance, the Lancashire balladeers Joseph Coupe of Oldham and Joseph Lees of Glodwick who were responsible for the first "Jone o' Grinfilt" ballad, "Jone o'Grinfilt's Ramble" (many more episodes charting the exploits of the fictional character were produced, although not by the same authors; see Chapter 5 for more detail on this saga) (36). Both men were from a working-class background within the cotton industry (37).

More notably, the works of the "remarkable" Wilson family of Manchester, whose songs were printed on broadsides, have been duly acknowledged (father Michael as well as sons, Thomas and Alexander, were writing in the early to mid-19th century) (38). Michael was the son of a hand-loom weaver who moved to Manchester from Edinburgh and he himself (Michael) worked as a calico printer (39). His compositions include a bitter condemnation of the events on St. Peter's field, Manchester in 1819 (entitled "The Peterloo Massacre"), when the military charged into a large gathering of peaceful demonstrators who had gathered to listen to the reformer Henry Hunt (M.P. for Preston, 1830-31) speak, resulting in several fatalities and injuries (40). Among Alexander's songs are a number of titles recounting the exploits of a fictional character named "Johnny Green", one of which is entitled, "Johnny Green's Trip fro' Owdem to see the Liverpool Railway" (composed c. 1831/32) (41). This not only portrays a fascination with the new

novelty of rail travel, but also contains a popular political sentiment when John and his wife are shown a carriage used by the Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the seminal Liverpool and Manchester run, when the Duke was pelted with mud *en route* by disgruntled onlookers (42). Johnny is moved to comment,

"Eawr Nan said tey'd ha' sarv't him reet
To ha' dragg'd him on through dry and weat
For hoo'd a ridden him day an' neight
If he'd naw teyn off some taxes" (43).

The political content of ballads will be addressed in Chapter 5. There is actually a link between the escapades of "Johnny Green" and "Jone o'Grinfilt", as the Wilson's were said to have composed some of the latter ballads (see above) (44). The most prolific of the Wilson ballad writers was Thomas who penned at least thirty-five titles (45). These include ballads concerning war such as "Young Edward Slain at Waterloo" as well as songs of a more light-hearted, local nature, including, "Rough Joe in Search of a Wife", "The Meddling Parson" and so on (46). However, Thomas put his personal experience with hand-loom weavers to literary use, which can be seen in the song "The Weaver", written in 1822 but still extant twenty years later (47). The text depicts the lot of the hand-loom weaver who accepts his fate with tired resignation, as the first verse indicates;

"In dirty streets, 'mid filth and smoke,
Hark! I hear the weaver's stroke;

Who dreams not, as he bears his yoke,
What usefulness he brews:
How art may shape his cloth to please,
In aid of luxury or ease;
He weighs not matters such as these,
But sings, and work pursues" (48).

Despite this, by the end of the text a sense of cynical insubordination becomes evident in the final verse;

"But justice let us still afford
The clothes now worn by all the horde,
Besides the rest in closet stored,
Confess the Weaver's lathe,
To every clime his labours stalk,
The turban cap worn by the Turk;
From pole to pole they hawk the work
Made by this English slave" (49).

It seems that Thomas had an affinity with his potential audience. This may also be said of other popular Lancashire writers whose work appeared on broadsides, such as John Grimshaw (a.k.a. "Common John") and John Beswick (a.k.a. "Parish Jack"), both from the parish of Gorton (50). Their nicknames suggest that they were held with affection

within the local community. So far, no substantive evidence has come to light that Preston produced any writers of great notoriety, although John Harkness the printer tried his hand on at least one occasion, with the title "To M. Moore" (1841, printed the following year) (51). There are examples of certain obscure writers of ballads that appear in the imprints of some Harkness sheets, such as "Mr. C. Page" who wrote "Billy Jenkins or the Two Houses of Parliament" (1842) and Mr. Townson, responsible for "France and the Republicans" (1848), also author of "The Flying Clogger" and "General Sale" (52). To date, it is not known if the latter two titles exist on broadsides or whether Harkness printed them. Also the locality of both writers is unknown, although it is possible they were associated with Harkness, which would place them in the Preston area.

Perhaps the most renowned authors of popular song and poetry were the writers of Lancashire dialect, many of whom had their work printed on broadsides (53). Individuals such as Edwin Waugh, Ben Brierley, "the radical weaver of Failsworth" and Samuel Laycock of Stalybridge (a weaver who became a librarian), all produced local dialect material (54). According to Lloyd, "These writers, self-educated for the most part, tended to overstrain their talents and run to cliché when trying to emulate the classy literary forms, but when they kept their feet on the ground by using dialect, they were capable of producing work of touching humour and real pathos, saying what they had to freshly and astutely and in terms entirely appropriate with their audience" (55).

Certainly, Edwin Waugh did feel some empathy with the plight of the labouring poor as his account on the calamity of the Cotton Famine in Preston, testifies (*Among the Preston*

Operatives) (56). However, his poems and songs seem to lack the "social realism" of his first-hand observations and tend to enter the realms of morality and sentimentality, with titles such as "Come Whoam to Thy Childer an' Me", "Toddlin' Whoam" "The Little Doffer" and so on (57). They would no doubt have been familiar to a working-class audience as his output was often printed on penny broadsides (58). A measure of their durability can be illustrated by the fact that the latter two titles mentioned were being performed and recorded in the late 20th century (59). Despite this, Joyce has criticised Waugh, commenting that he had apparently, "...deserted the world of the workers for the 'finer' life of literature..." (60). Maidment maintains that both Waugh and Laycock (the latter was thrown out of work as a result of the Cotton Famine) became "de-classed" in the pursuit of a literary career, "...losing contact with the sources of the poetry in later life..." (61). Having said that, working-class people in Lancashire did appreciate 'formal' literature, a proclivity that has been alluded to elsewhere in this thesis.

In the case of Brierley, his verse also erred toward the fanciful (he was also described by Lloyd as a "radical weaver") (62). For example, "The Weaver of Wellbrook" describes the modest life of a weaver who is content with his humble circumstances;

"Wi mi pickers an' pins

An' me wellers to th' shins

Mi linderins, shuttle and yeadhook

Mi treedles an' sticks

Mi weight-ropes an' bricks

What a life!-said the wayver of Wellbrook" (63).

In contrast to this idyllic scene, Samuel Laycock presents a comparatively stark (although somewhat stylised) image of working-class poverty. Laycock gained a high reputation throughout the North-West of England as a dialect writer of poetry and songs which were printed on "ha'penny sheets" (64). He described the hardship suffered by the Lancashire textile workers during the Cotton Famine (which earned him the unofficial title of "Laureate of the Cotton Panic") in the song "The Shurat Weaver", which was still being sung in folk clubs in the late 1960s (65).

Salveson has argued that the work of such dialect writers does not necessarily reflect a "pure voice of the people", but was welcomed by the middle-class who were keen to improve or rationalise working-class culture (66). He maintains that the dialect literature of Waugh, for example, had received scant attention until he gained middle-class patronage (although Salveson does not say exactly where this was from) after he had toned down the more political content of his writing (67). Salveson also contends that dialect literature, "...was never a natural or spontaneous written expression of working-class speech. To both read and to write dialect it was necessary to be comfortable with standard English" (68). It may be said, however, that this does not altogether exclude the working-class from appreciating literary forms of expression. Vicinus points out that even in decline, broadsides were an important introduction to literature for the very poor, which in turn heightened awareness and engendered literary creativity (69). An example

of this can be illustrated in the ballad printed by Harkness entitled, "Oh Rest Thee Babe" (1843), the first verse of which runs,

"Oh, slumber my darling
Thy sire is a knight
Thy mother's a lady
So Lovely and Bright
The hills and the dale
From the tower which we see
They all shall belong
My dear infant to thee" (70).

An investigation of the works of Sir Walter Scott reveals the following first verse from "Lullaby of an Infant Chief" (1815),

"Oh hush thee, my babie, thy sire was a knight
Thy mother a lady, both lovely and bright
The woods and the glens, from the towers which we see
They are all belonging, dear babie to thee" (71).

The comparison between the broadside version (the last verse of which is also a modified version of Scott's closing verse) is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the re-written broadside text probably derives from the pen of a paid writer, although whether Harkness

paid him himself is not known at present. The change of landscape imagery from "The woods and the glens" in the original to "The hills and the dale" in the broadside, suggests a transposition from the Highlands of Scotland to a more familiar setting of Lancashire, an image that would suite local tastes. Although this would seem to meet a local, cultural (somewhat escapist) desire for its audience, the text also in this regard, serves a commercial end. Harkness seems to have known what his audience wanted (his talent for this aspect of the ballad trade is discussed in the following section and again later in Chapter 4).

Eva has drawn attention to the way in which "bourgeois" sources of song material were readily "plundered" by broadside printers, apparently without any problems relating to copyright (72). Examples include pieces written for operas ("Home Sweet Home"), songs for the drawing room market, national anthems such as "God Save the King" and even an English translation of "La Marseillaise" found their way onto broadside sheets (in this case produced by the Manchester printers Swindells and Pearson, respectively; both of whom have sheets held in the *Harkness Collection* (73). As more commercial forms of song texts became available during the 1860's, particularly the music hall, the broadsides gradually decreased in popularity, yet they continued to survive and adapt accordingly with changing circumstances. For instance, Thomas Pearson of Manchester relied increasingly on music hall "hits" during the 1860's to sell his broadside sheets, although it is not clear whether the texts were simply "pirated" or a formal agreement had been arranged (74). What does transpire from this is that the broadside printers could adapt their output to accommodate changing popular tastes whilst also maintaining a

commercial market for themselves. As Palmer suggests, "The printing of ballad sheets was usually a commercial enterprise, and those involved set out to appeal to popular taste in order to sell as many copies as possible" (75). Therefore, the broadside trade fulfilled an economic and a cultural function.

With regard to the printers themselves, Eva suggests that very little is known historically about their lives and work, apart from two biographies concerning the London printers, James Catnach and John Pitts (C. Hindley, *The Life and Times of James Catnach*, London, 1970 and L. Shepard, *John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials*, London, London, 1969) (76). The trade could often be quite lucrative, as in the case of Catnach, who apparently acquired a fortune of 10,000 pounds in twenty-five years, although this was not altogether typical of the trade (77). According to one anonymous observer, his income mainly took the form of "coppers" (pennies and halfpennies) which he decontaminated by boiling them in, "...a strong concoction of potash and vinegar before exchanging them, which used to make them look as bright as when they were first coined" (78). Broadside were not always the main activity of the printers who produced sheets as an adjunct to a more regular source of income (79). This was also true of the Preston printer, John Harkness, who will be the focus of the following section, providing an insight into the life and trade of a provincial broadside producer, working within a cotton producing community in Lancashire.

SECTION 2

John Harkness and his broadside trade have been acknowledged in previous academic works, but only in passing and not in any great detail (80). For example, Eva has described his output as being one of the most significant for provincial printers, second only to that of Pearson in Manchester (81). The *Harkness Ballad Collection* held in the Harris Library, Preston, contains 689 song titles mounted in six volumes including an index and is also available on C.D. Rom format (82). The collection was compiled by J.H. Spencer c.1920 and consists of sheets produced by 36 printers throughout England, the total amount of titles produced by Harkness numbering 277 (83) (see Appendix 4). There are also Harkness sheets held in the *Madden Collection* at Cambridge University, preserved by the 19th century scholar and archaeologist, Sir Frederick Madden (84). There appears to be some dispute over the number of Harkness sheets in this extensive archive (30,000 titles in total), with Walsh and Butler stating 350, whereas R.S. Thompson in the Index to the collection, quotes 820 (85). Whatever the figures may be, the very fact that Harkness ballad sheets are included in this large collection testifies to the national as well as local significance of his output (86). Eva suggests that the sheer number and diversity of broadside collections is a "reasonable guarantee of their representativeness" as primary source material (87). This does, however, raise certain important considerations when undertaking any historical analysis of such sources, in particular the process of categorisation. In order to appreciate qualitative mediums, such as popular song, it is important to attempt to quantify them.

The size and variety of broadside collections makes it necessary to adopt a form of categorisation or classification in order to study their range of themes and styles, whilst also being aware that this is an "artificial and provisional" construct; no distinctions were used by printers, singers and/or purchasers (88). It should always be acknowledged that categorisation can be selective and discretionary. This is an approach that has been applied before, such as the categorisation by subject matter used by Madden (see Appendix 3) (89). A similar process has been employed for the purpose of this project, with the main categories being sub-divided (see Appendix 2). The difficulty here is that songs do not fit neatly into convenient categories and often incorporate more than one subject or theme, as already alluded to in the Introduction. For example, the Harkness ballads "Banks of the Sweet Dundee" and its sequel, "Answer to Undaunted Mary: or the Banks of the Sweet Dundee" (1842), can be read in several different ways (90). The text of these songs would fit into several categories; Crime, Romantic, Morality, Romantic/Fanciful, Rural, Scots, Domestic and the Sexes being the principal themes (see Appendix 2). It relates the tale of a farmer's daughter (Mary) who is orphaned and despite being left a small fortune, remains under the guardianship of her uncle; "the cause of all her woe" (91). She falls in love with the plough-boy William even though she is betrothed to the rich squire; verses four-six run,

"A fig for all the squires, your lords and dukes likewise
 My William's hand appears to me like diamonds in my eyes
 Begone, unruly female, you ne'er shall happy be
 For I mean to banish William from the banks of sweet Dundee

Her uncle and the squire rode out one summer's day
Young William is in favour-her uncle he did say
Indeed 'tis my intention to tie him to a tree
Or else to bribe the press gang on the banks of the sweet dundee

The press gang came to William when he was all alone
He boldly fought for liberty, but they were six to one
The blood did flow in torrents-pray kill me now, said he
I would rather die for Mary, on the banks of the sweet dundee" (92).

Eventually, Mary slays both the squire and her uncle, who, realising the depth of feeling his niece has for her William, bequeaths his gold to her in his dying moments (93). Mary and William are finally re-united in the sequel, printed eleven sheets later (the numbering system Harkness employed is particularly significant and will be discussed in more detail below) (94). The reference to the press gang also adds a nautical element to the texts, although this would not place the ballad as a seafaring yarn. This particular specimen is one of many that illustrates the fact that broadside ballads do not always fit into one, but several categories. Other examples could include "The Convict Maid" (Crime, Domestic and the Sexes Morality), "The Blackburn Poachers" (1847-Crime, Morality, Region/Locality-the ballad describes an actual event that occurred, 21st Dec. 1839), "The Life of an Honest Ploughman; Or Ninety Years Ago" (1845-Politics, Work, Living Standards, Rural) and so on (95).

The fact that the story in "Banks of Sweet Dundee" is continued on another sheet suggests that it was popular with the buyers, which in turn implies that Harkness had his own writer working on the saga, although it is not known whether the text refers to real events or is merely a form of mid-19th century melodrama. The somewhat fanciful nature of the song would suggest the latter. Also, the text shares the same sheet as "Preston Guild of 1842" (see Appendix 6), which could account for its popularity, as it would have been available to a wider audience, gathering in the town for the festivities (96). This may explain why a sequel was produced in order to entertain the visiting potential market and therefore maximise sales. Thus, Harkness was well attuned to local (and national) cultural sensibilities, which also ran parallel to his commercial interests.

John Harkness was certainly familiar with local events and developments, as the subject matter of some of the songs on his broadside sheets testify. For instance, "Preston's Alterations" (1846) concerning the changing character of the town (no doubt due to increasing industrialisation), also expresses a celebration of local identity; "O, is it not a curios town in every nook and corner/There is dandy shops, and steam looms, too, and all has such an honour" (97). "The Blackburn Poachers" (1847-mentioned above) relates to an affray between poachers and gamekeepers that occurred near Billington on Dec.21st 1839, which resulted in the death of one of the keepers, Thomas Isherwood; "The murder'd keeper is no more, and now he's run his race/He's gone beyond the grave to meet his Maker face to face" (98). Other examples include "Boiler Explosion at the Royal Sovereign" (1848), describing an industrial accident in Preston when seven workers perished and "Accident in the River Lune" (1848), which reports a tragedy that claimed

the lives of eight men from the village of Halton, near Lancaster (99). These ballads demonstrate the function of the broadside medium to inform, as well as to entertain, to be the "people's newspaper" so to speak. There are also of course, the Guild ballads and the Lock-Out songs he produced, described elsewhere in the thesis.

Despite the local topicality of the aforementioned, Harkness was not actually from Preston. He is listed in the Preston Census of 1851 as being born in Carlisle and his age is noted as being 37 at this time, which would place his year of birth at c.1814 (100). His parents, Thomas (a weaver) and Ann were married in St. Cuthberts, Carlisle on 15th February, 1813 (101). Although it is not clear what their background was, it does seem likely that Thomas came from a trading family, as his father, John, was a grocer (102). John Harkness was married to a local Carlisle woman, Sarah Robinson in 1834, who died soon afterwards (103). He later married Mary Round, an illiterate spinster also from Carlisle, in 1838, by which time he was a tailor, living on Newton Street in Preston (104). By this marriage he had five children, Rozena, Thomas, Mark, John and William (105). The 1851 Census mentions a daughter, Susanna, aged 12, although this is more than likely to be a transcription error as Rozena is the name given on her birth certificate for 1838 and this would fit with her age (106). She is also called Rozena on her marriage certificate for 1863 (she was married to a timber merchant by the name of Enoch Forshaw) and once more on her father's death certificate in 1898 (Rozena Forshaw) (107). This illustrates one particular limitation when using official documents as primary sources, as there is yet another mistake on her birth certificate, which lists John's occupation as "Sailor" rather than "Tailor" (108). Also, Mary's name on the 1851 *Census*

is rather badly copied and could be read as "Nancy", although John's death certificate refers to his surviving wife as Mary Margaret (109). There was also a bereavement in the family as a son, John Carlyle Harkness (not the same John already mentioned above in the Census), registered born 1844, is recorded as deceased in 1846, aged two years old (although it is not known what the cause was) (110). Another son, Alfred was registered in 1855, whilst Edgar Carlyle Harkness b. 1857 died aged 13 in 1870 (once again, the circumstances are unknown) (111) Evidently John Harkness was no stranger to death and tragedy. He was certainly prolific in producing offspring, having fathered eight children altogether, six of whom survived. This no doubt would have given him added incentive to make his printing enterprise successful in order to support his family, especially considering that two of his children perished. In fact two of his sons followed in their father's footsteps to become local businessmen in the book and printing trade (Thomas and John Jnr., see below) whereas another (Alfred) became an accountant (112). As it will transpire, John Harkness Snr. maintained his printing trade throughout a large portion of the 19th century.

Harkness set up a printing shop sometime between 1838 and 1840 in Manchester Road, Preston, publishing his first broadside sheets in 1841 (113). Most of his broadside output during the mid-19th century came from 121/122 Church Street, although he later moved his operation to North Road (114) He also briefly printed sheets for the 1842 Guild celebrations from 93 Park Road (see following Chapter) (115). This was by no means his only source of money. As Eva asserts, "For many printers, broadsides were an occasional sideline rather than a source of staple, regular income, let alone a means of making a

fortune" (116). The 1851 Census describes John Harkness as a "Bookseller and Printer" residing at 121 Church Street (117). He also was involved in with a "circulating library" around the same time, although the *Trade Directories* that mention this do not specify in what capacity (118). Perhaps he allowed his premises to be used as reading rooms or he lent books out for a small deposit? What this does suggest is that he had an interest in disseminating knowledge as well as making money from his business. A later *Trade Directory* for 1865 lists him as a "Bookseller and Stationer" as well as a "Printer by steam power, lithographic and copperplate printer, bookseller, wholesale and retail stationer, 121 Church Street and 2/3 North Road" (119). This suggests that he was willing to embrace technological developments. He was trading from both addresses at the time, which shows that his business was expanding. He actually printed this particular *Directory* himself, which also lists his son Thomas as a "Bookseller and Stationer" at 89 Fishergate (120). John Harkness is still listed as a "Bookseller and Stationer" in the *Directories* for 1873 and 1877 operating from 31 Church Street (121). His long association with Church Street would have enhanced his profile in the locality. He may well have even known the total abstinence campaigner and reformer, Joseph Livesey who had business premises on Church Street himself and there is evidence in the Madden archive to suggest that he may have produced broadsides as well (there is a J. Livesey of Church Street, Preston listed as a ballad printer, three items are extant, see Appendix 13) (122). John Harkness was not averse to printing teetotal ballads such as "In the Days I Went Out Drinking a Long Time Ago" and "Wholesome Advice to Drunkards" (123).

The nature of Harkness' output was certainly diverse and not just limited to broadsides, as further examples demonstrate. He produced various items including a volume of poetry, pamphlets, short plays and a philosophical/religious debate concerning the doctrine of the trinity (124). He also printed and published a short-lived newspaper, *The Preston Illustrated Times* for six months in 1874 (125). It is not known why this publication failed to survive. It can only be speculated that perhaps his other activities took precedence and that this particular one was either too demanding, or was simply not economically viable enough in the long run? It may also be the case that he was not sufficiently motivated by this particular printed medium. It does stand out as his only attempt to break into the newspaper market. Another minor sideline he tried was as the purveyor of "Violin Strings and Bridges of the Best Quality", which implies that he possessed some musical sensibility (126). This would no doubt have aided him in choosing the most appropriate popular tunes to accompany the song texts on the broadsides he printed. For example, the Lock-Out ballad, "The Cotton Lords of Preston" is set to the popular tune of "The King of the Cannibal Isles" (127). The use of instruments in the printing shops was not an uncommon practice and would have made good business sense if the sheets were going to appeal to the buying public. The London printer, James Catnach employed a fiddler to play along with a proposed ballad text to well-known tunes in order to judge whether it would be acceptable (128).

In the case of John Harkness, he may or may not have been competent musically, but he certainly was a prolific printer of broadsides. He produced over 1000 sheets (including re-prints of Catnach), mainly in the 1840's and 50's, peaking in production between 1842

and 1845 with 90-plus sheets per annum (see Appendix 5) (129). Over a six year period between 1842 and 1848 he averaged around 80 sheets per annum according to the numbering system he employed (see following chapter). One particular un-numbered sheet, no doubt a rare print, is of particular interest regarding this medium as it is unusually large, being 73x58 MM. and contains 13 titles in all, many of which are "negro songs" (130). For example, "Clar De Kitchen", "I'm Going Ober De Mountains" and "Oh Bless Dat Lubly Yellar Gal" (131). This does appear to have been a popular theme, as there are many other specimens of this nature that he produced in the usual broadside form, such as "Ole Tan Tucker", which he printed in 1844 and re-printed in 1847 (132). The fact that he printed the song twice suggests, once more, that Harkness knew his market well. Such material was made popular in Britain by troupes of "nigger minstrels" who were often white Americans or Englishmen, blacked-up (133). It is difficult to ascertain exactly why this theme was so popular on the streets of Preston at the time. It may be the case that working people could identify with the notion of slavery and perceive a sense of injustice in the concept of tyranny for the motive of profit (despite the representation being somewhat patronising). The cotton workers of Lancashire sympathised with the Northern States throughout the American Civil War (134).

The large sheet also reveals more information about Harkness and his business. The imprint has his name and business address (which was the usual practice) but also includes a list of sellers throughout the North of England (135). For example, "A. Heywood, Livesey and Willis, Manchester", Midgley, M. Arthur and Jagers, Halifax", "Myers, Dale Street, Liverpool", "Nixon, Lancaster, Stewart, Butchergate, Carlisle",

"France, 8 Side, Newcastle-on-Tyne", "Winterburn, Deansgate, Bolton", "T.Huntley, Sunderland", to name just a few (136). This demonstrates that Harkness had business interests not only outside Preston but also beyond the county of Lancashire and that his broadsides travelled. He therefore would have been familiar with a buying public far beyond his adopted home-town, which further testifies to his national significance at this time. The locations mentioned may also provide some insight of interest into Harkness and the trade itself. He obviously retained a connection with his place of birth, Carlisle. In fact, Madden purchased a set of sheets with no imprint in Carlisle, but states that they were probably printed in Lancashire at Preston (137). It is tempting to consider whether these were Lock-Out ballads, as Harkness never imprinted the sheets that he produced for striking cotton workers during the dispute of 1853/54, for fear of persecution from the authorities (138).

The Liverpool connection is particularly noteworthy. His publications would have been available in a major industrial seaport full of sailors from all over the world, so it is quite likely that they may have travelled beyond the shores of England, thus giving him international exposure. Furthermore, it has been suggested by Dr. Eddie Cass that he had business premises in the city, as one particular sheet containing the songs, "The Butcher Turned Devil" and "The Garland of Love" (a rather odd combination) bears the imprint, "J. Harkness, printer, 18 Paradise St., Liverpool" and is numbered 324 (139). Yet another example contains the titles, "The Stark Naked Robbery", "Meet Me in the Willow Glen" and "I Saw Her at the Poultry Stand" which is numbered 18 (140). Palmer notes that the gap between the sheet numbers would indicate that if Harkness did actually have a shop

in the city, he would have been located there for several years (141). Cass states that the possibility of this latter outlet was, "...not previously known to Harkness scholars" (142). The local Trade Directories for Liverpool between 1843 and 1851 do not list a printer under the name of Harkness, but there are other traders of the same surname; for example, "James, Grocer, 56, Park Street, Toxteth Park", "William, Joiner, 23 Neptune St., North Birkenhead", "John, Hairdresser, 21 Vauxhall Road", "Ann, Lodging House, 32 Camus Street" (143). The only John Harkness mentioned was a hairdresser. It is not impossible that some of the above could have been related to John Harkness the printer, but no evidence for this has come to light. Significantly, the Liverpool Census of 1851 lists a "stationer, engraver and printer" named William Bovis as living at 18 Paradise Street, which is the address that Cass quotes as being on the imprints of at least two Harkness sheets (144). It would seem that Harkness, rather than actually trading from these premises, was using his business connections to widen his broadside output.

There are other links with Liverpool that are apparent in his ballad trade. He produced an adaptation of a Manchester ballad, "Manchester's an Altered Town" which was entitled, "Liverpool is an Altered Town", c.1844 (145). He also printed a ballad with a similar theme concerning Preston, "Preston's Alterations" in 1846 (see above) (146). These ballads are very nostalgic in nature and also reflect an affinity with both locations at a time of socio-economic change.

Whether or not he had a printing shop in Liverpool is still debatable, but Preston was the principal base of his activities, as the Preston imprints demonstrate (147). Spencer

describes him as, "...a well-known Preston printer..." (148). However, he was not without competition in the town, with at least nine other printers at work at the time (see Appendix 13) (149). For example, there was J. Robinson, 17 Cannon Street who produced a rather sentimental piece about the death of 14 year old Jane Smalley, who died in an accident at the Corporation Arms during the 1853/54 Lock-Out, when an upper-floor collapsed under the weight of people who had gathered there to collect strike pay (see Chapter 5) (150). There was also P. and H. Whittle, 23 Fishergate, Preston, who produced a version of "Preston Guild of 1842" (151). Peter Whittle was a Lancashire antiquarian who set up as a bookseller and printer in Preston in 1810 and appears to have been somewhat lacking in integrity, as he described himself as being a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, although he was never actually a member (152). He wrote and printed several works on the history of Lancashire and was awarded a pension by the Prime Minister in 1858 for "literary services" (153). He printed a chap-book in 1846 (which has never been located) and given his "antiquarian pretensions", it is difficult to surmise who he intended to sell this to his fellow "scholars", or the general public (154)? Chap-books consisted of a small pamphlet containing sensational stories, wood-cut illustrations and verse, which were often sold by travelling pedlars or "chap-men". Whittle stands out as an exception amongst broadside printers, regarding his academic self-definition, which would have done very little to enhance his reputation amongst the broadside buying public of Preston. His output, as well as the other Preston printers, evidently does not match that of Harkness.

John Harkness continued with his business up until at least 1885, the last listing in the local *Trade Directory* being in that year as a stationer in the nearby village of Longton (155). One of his last publications was, "New and Original Song on the Celebration of the Preston Guild, September, 1882" which is imprinted "J. Harkness, Printer, Howick and Longton" (156). He clearly still had an attachment with the locality, as well as retaining the commercial acumen to tap into the potential of the Guild market. The fact that he had moved to the village of Longton also suggests that he may have gone into semi-retirement. He died on 14th January 1898, aged 83 of bronchial pneumonia and his death certificate states that he was, "Not possessed of real estate - Gross value of estate, 201 pounds" (157). He was survived by his wife, Mary and also bequeathed an oil painting to his daughter, Rozena, although it is not known what the subject of the artwork was (158). He did not die a rich man but he certainly was not a pauper and his longevity suggests that he did live quite comfortably from the earnings of his various business interests, including broadsides. After he died most of his stock and printing material was transported to Blackburn where it was "sold for an old song" and many of his old printed publications were disposed of for waste paper (159). Spencer commented, "Such is the inglorious end of a man and his printing press which made history by the production of broadsides" (160). It remains a matter of speculation as to what historians of popular culture might have gained, if more of the ballads printed by John Harkness had survived.

CONCLUSION

John Harkness was a prolific printer of broadside ballads and his output is an important archive representing the changing socio-economic face of England from the perspective of a popular 19th century medium. Spencer commented that, "...Harkness is remembered throughout the bibliographical world as an important printer of this class of ephemeral literature. He certainly put Preston on the map..." (161) His activities provide an insight into the trade and it has been said that broadside printers followed, rather than led popular public opinion and trends (162). In this sense they were a commercial as well as a cultural product., serving to entertain as well as to inform, whilst also providing the printers and sellers with an income. As we have seen, although the sheets printed by Harkness were essentially a commercial venture, he was also well aware of what was popular on the streets at the time and was sensitive to working class sensibilities, which he no doubt had sympathies with. The Lock-Out ballads testify to this: However, the question does arise, was he attuned to working-class sensibilities as a whole or was he merely responding to local events?

What does appear to be evident is the fact that his broadside sheets were available, not only locally, but nationally (and perhaps even internationally, considering the Liverpool connection), just as the more formalised medium of music hall was beginning to take shape. As Eva has suggested, the broadsides have received little recent academic attention, compared to studies of music hall material (163). Hopefully, the case study in this Chapter will redress the lack of research in this particular area.

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CHAPTER 4-THE LOCAL DIMENSION

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will address the local context of working-class ballad culture in Lancashire, particularly in Preston, using the Preston Guild of 1842 as the principal study. Also, in order to place the event into an historical and local perspective, the Guild of 1862 which was held during the Cotton Famine (at the time of the American Civil War, a conflict that was perceived by cotton operatives to be the principal cause of distress), will be assessed. This will also serve as a useful comparison. The former Guild was held at a time of political conflict and there is some evidence to suggest that the local sense of pride that people felt at this time, could also be used as a vehicle for expressing discontent through their ballad culture. The latter Guild did not appear to have produced any ballads locally, perhaps a reflection of the subdued feeling of resignation due to the famine. The ballads that did appear in the cotton districts were more preoccupied with local poverty and events abroad. Despite these setbacks the Preston Guild, held every 20 years, has remained an enduring local fixture.

The earliest documentary reference to the town (now a city) can be traced to the Domesday Survey of 1086 (1). However, it has been suggested that the town's origins were Saxon, as early as 670 (2). The Guild carnival itself, which is held every twenty years (in September), can be traced back to 1179, when the Guild merchant was granted to the town (3). The Guild effectively controlled and regulated commercial activity in Preston; a function which had dwindled by the 18th century and the ancient privileges had all but vanished by the Guild celebrations of 1842 (4). Although the Guild had originally

been a fairly exclusive institution, the period between 1762 and 1822 saw a growing element of popular participation, with an increasing number of fringe events emerging (5). Needless to say, popular song culture has played a part in depicting what William Dobson and John Harland once described as "Our great periodical carnival" (6). Three different songs were produced for the Preston Guild of 1842 by the Preston printer John Harkness, before, during and after the event; "Preston Guild of 1842", "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842" and "Preston Guild of 1842" (not to be confused with the first song of the same title-see Appendices (6,7 and 8) (7).

What follows is an evaluation of the contribution that this song material makes towards a greater understanding of this unique event, which, despite its local character, still attracted visitors from "all points of the compass" (8). By the mid-19th century, Preston had become an "important industrial" location rather than merely an average Lancashire mill-town and was connected to the arterial rail network which had developed considerably during the 1840's (9).

The first spinning mill in Preston was constructed by William Collison c.1777 and the factory was initially powered a windmill and then by horse-power, eventually becoming, "...perhaps the first steam powered mill in Preston. Pre-dating the development of the spinning mule it seems likely that this was a 'factory' or shed containing spinning jennies, or perhaps machinery for the pre-spinning process such as carding" (10). Hewitson commented that the mill was actually "fitted up" with Arkwright's spinning machinery (11). Richard Arkwright was a Prestonian who acquired considerable fame and notoriety

(along with wealth) for developing the Water Frame, a device for spinning cotton, from an address in Stonygate, Preston in 1768 (12). Two elderly neighbours residing nearby described the noises emanating from the property as "the devils bagpipes" and that Arkwright and his business partner, John Kay, were dancing a reel to this strange music (13). Arkwright is also credited with developing the factory system, although he apparently treated his workers well (14). Walsh and Butler have stated that, "...so accustomed are we to the changes that he wrought within society that we now can scarcely recognise how fundamental they were in their day. Nor can we fail to be impressed by the man himself, no matter what view we take of his legacy"(15). Richard Arkwright was a principal character in the development of industrialisation and he was a Preston man. At this time of socio-economic change there were others seeking to capitalise on the growing cotton trade, for example, John Watson (a linen draper) who built two factories just outside the town at Roach Bridge and Walton-le-Dale in the 1790's (16). His treatment of his workforce was not very humane, using orphans from the Foundling Hospital in London as apprentices, whom Joseph Livesey described as, "Poor, squalid, deformed beings, the most pitiful objects I think I ever beheld...apprenticed to a system which nothing but West Indian slavery can bear analogy [and living] in a wretched physical condition, with crooked legs from standing 12 hours at a time" (17). Watson had competition from the Horrocks brothers, John and Samuel, who were originally from Bolton, the former having built the "Yellow Factory" c. 1791/92 in Preston, which, "Although small by later standards it seemed a radical departure to the Prestonians of the day" (18). John Horrocks was an associate of William Pitt and was M.P. for Preston between 1802 and 1804 (19). Clearly, his business interests

were influential in high political places. There was bitter rivalry between the Horrocks brothers and Watson, yet, to the surprise of the local inhabitants, John Horrocks and John Watson walked arm-in-arm through the streets of Preston during the Guild celebrations of 1802 which was a "subject of genuine amazement" (20). This serves to emphasise the significance of this local event. Two business rivals were willing to put aside their differences for the sake of civic pride.

In general, Preston was a central location in the transitional process of industrialisation, or as Hunt has observed, "...the textile industry had reached a critical stage of development which did not exist twenty years earlier..." (21). However, the transition was not so immediate, but rather, a gradual process. In 1834 Robert Crawford estimated that the Preston area contained at least 13,000 hand-loom weavers (22). Even though the 1840s saw a decline in the trade, hand-loom weaving was still extant in the location into the 1860s (23). But as the transition to industrialisation advanced, there were unfortunate consequences regarding the dwellings of working people. The population of Preston had risen from 11,887 in 1801 to 69,381 in 1851 (24). The Rev. John Clay noted in a report (1843) that there had been "a lethal deterioration" in the condition of the town since the late 18th century (25). The slums that workers were living in were semi-rural and had been constructed to rural standards at a time when hand-loom weaving was prosperous (26). However, by the time of Clay's report they had been taken over by an urban environment and the living conditions were squalid (27). Preston was undergoing changes and this is depicted in the broadside ballads printed by Harkness, for example, "Preston's Alterations" (1846);

"Good People all both great and small, come listen with attention
To the funny rigs and curious ways of Preston town I'll mention
It is just three hundred years ago that Cromwell came through this town
And after him came good Queen Bess to England's Royal crown, sir

CHORUS

O, is it not a curious town in every nook and corner
There is dandy shops, and steam looms, too, and all has such an honour" (28).

As well as representing a changing society, the song also conveys a sense of local pride and identity (although the author of this piece seems to have confused his historical chronology concerning Cromwell and "Queen Bess").

Morgan suggests that Preston can be seen to possess a national as well as a local significance at this time of transformation to an industrial society (29). The main thrust of this chapter, however, will focus on the ways in which working people in the cotton industry, within the context of the Guild celebrations of 1842, expressed a sense of local identity through their song culture. There will also be an appraisal of the relationship between the 1842 Guild and the broadside trade in the town as a commercial entity. To begin with it will be appropriate to address the general backdrop against which the 1842

Guild took place and the event itself. As it will transpire, the circumstances were hardly favourable.

SECTION I

The Preston Guild of 1842 occurred during a period of considerable turmoil on a local and national level. Firstly, there was an economic crisis that created severe distress amongst working people (30). In Preston 400 houses lay derelict, poor relief was up by one half and wages had been cut by ten-per cent in the case of the spinners and twenty-five per cent for the weavers (31). Joseph Livesey (the founder of the Temperance Movement and reformer) was moved to comment that, "Weavers are wandering about and willing to take on work at any price. Everybody's spirits are down; the shopkeepers are complaining bitterly, and the small farms in the neighbourhood, owing to bad seasons and heavy taxes, are fast sinking into ruin" (32). Such deprivation created discontent and anger which eventually ended in tragedy on the streets of Preston.

There was already a residue of cynicism present in the wake of 1832 Reform Act, which excluded the working-class franchise. Morgan asserts that the franchise in Preston actually declined despite an increase in population, in the wake of the Act, with the number of voters under the "old franchise" being halved (see Introduction) (33). Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that there were growing calls for working-class suffrage. By the late 30's and early 40's, parts of Lancashire had acquired great significance as an area for Chartist activity (34). In July of 1842, the "Plug Plot" erupted in Staffordshire, when disgruntled miners (for a number of motives including wages but also involving a Chartist sentiment) had carried out a tour of the coal-pits, drawing out the plugs from the boilers (35). By early August the strike had spread to the cotton regions of the North West, where there had been further threats of wage reductions (36).

The dispute became evident in Preston on or around the 12th-13th August, whereupon events became somewhat hostile (37). Following a gathering at Chadwick's Orchard the "turn-outs" proceeded to march from factory to factory, collecting more striking operatives and closing down the mill's (38). As the crowd grew in number, the Mayor, Magistrates and Town Clerk assembled at the Bull Inn, where it was decided that they would meet the strikers to dissuade them from any further action (39). They set off escorted by the police and a detachment of the 72nd regiment, eventually confronting the crowd on Lune Street outside the Corn Exchange (40). After being pelted with stones and being blocked off at both ends of the street, the military opened fire (not in a controlled volleys, but random shots), resulting in four fatalities amongst the strikers, with several more wounded (there appears to have been no attempt made to fire over the heads of the strikers) (41).

It is highly debatable as to how strongly the operatives were motivated by a wider political agenda beyond that of local economic industrial considerations (42). Whatever the deeper intentions of the strikers may have been, the incident on Lune Street did not augur well for the forthcoming Guild, which was now only weeks away. In fact, the internal organisation of the Guild for this year had already encountered a major setback, which almost brought about the demise of the event altogether.

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 abolished all the old traditional privileges of the Corporation relating to the burgess rights, trade restrictions and powers, replacing them with a directly elected body which took office in 1826 (43). The rising prominence of

capitalism was superseding many older established municipal practices (44). The new Corporation showed little concern over the holding of a Guild for 1842, the councillors being divided and the Town Clerk having, "...no personal enthusiasm for the idea" (45). Nevertheless, after intense pressure from leading commercial interests and from the townspeople themselves, the councillors accepted on the 23rd June, that the Guild would go ahead, although the final decision was by no means unanimous (46). The fact that the Corporation was swayed by a certain degree of popular opinion is significant in that it illustrates the regard with ordinary people held this local celebration in their sentiments. As already mentioned above, participation in the Guild was widening. An investigation of the Guild songs printed by Harkness may help to shed some light on popular perceptions of the event. The texts themselves contain an ambiguous concoction of local civic pride and a hint of popular dissension.

SECTION 2

Despite the combined obstacles of bitter industrial conflict and municipal reform, the Preston Guild of 1842 went on regardless. This in itself perhaps, demonstrates the unique durability of this ancient festival. According to the minutes of the June 23rd meeting, the celebrations were scheduled to commence thus, "That the Guild Merchant of this borough be held to ancient custom on Monday, the 5th day of September next, being the first Monday after the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist" (47). It seems remarkable that nobody in the Corporation lost their own particular head given the short time remaining in which to organise the event. In anticipation of the impending Guild, John Harkness printed the balled, "Preston Guild of 1842" (48). This particular example is an interesting demonstration of the continuity of popular forms. Crosby maintains that it was composed specifically, "in advance" of the 1842 Guild (49). The song actually dates back as far as the Guild of 1802 and was recorded orally from a hand-loom weaver of "Nankeen" (a cotton fibre originating from China) aged 76 in 1862 (see Appendix 9) (50). According to Dobson and Harland, "he recited it at his hand-loom from memory and stated that his father visited Preston Guild in 1802, whence he took home with him this then newly composed balled" (51). This is a good example of the tenacity of popular forms in a rapidly changing society. Actually, recent works suggest that changes brought about by growing industrialisation may not have been as rapid as previously thought (52). The text that Dobson and Harland collected, "...is printed pretty neatly as he recited, except that he gave it in the Lancashire dialect which rendered it all the more racy, and no doubt a close resemblance to the way in which it would be sung in the streets of Preston 60 years ago" (53).

This latter observation emphasises the essential (and somewhat frustrating) dilemma of analysing such material in the absence of performance and therefore, context. It is also interesting to note that none of the 1842 Guild ballads which form the basis of this chapter, were printed in dialect (a popular form at the time). Perhaps they were intended to appeal to a wider audience; the visitors to the Guild from other areas (given Harkness' commercial aptitude, this would come as no surprise). What this song does illustrate is the continuity of a popular ballad culture and form, depicting a vastly important local event that was a defining experience in the lives of the citizens of Preston. The popularity of this song is further emphasised by the fact that it was also printed by a rival of Harkness, P. and H. Whittle of 25 Fishergate, Preston (54). The local demand for the song must have been quite substantial, along with that of the visiting revellers flocking into the town for the event. Also, the specimen that Dobson and Harland collected contains two verses (five and eight) that the Harkness and Whittle variants have omitted (see Appendix 9) (55). Perhaps the truncated version fitted more easily onto a broadside sheet and was therefore more economically viable as opposed to the orally transmitted rendition?

The survival of this particular song over a 60 year period, covering three Guilds, would indicate that this medium represented and resonated with the essence of the festival over the decades of the early to mid-19th century. Dobson and Harland commented that, "In days of yore, songs and ballads were a common means of recording the incidents of festivals and pageants, and doubtless, many a humble laureate exercised his muse on our

great periodical carnival" (56). The ballad printers would have been all too well aware of the appeal of their printed medium.

The actual text of the song provides a few tantalising insights. There are several references to the predatory mentality of the local traders and landlords. For example,

"All you that come this Guild to see
With money well provided be
For wanting this, your case is bad
You'll both victuals and a bed!

A bed of straw or chaff is very high
And in the streets all night some lie
For barn or stable, charge they will
One shilling a night at Preston Guild" (57).

As a brief point of interest, Dobson and Harland's oral variant refers to the fact that, "In paver's shops all night some lie", accompanied with the footnote, "A figure of speech for 'the street' (58).

The sentiments expressed in this song has actually been a subject of complaint for many years prior to the Guild of 1842 and persist to this day; namely that the cost of travel, accommodation and "victuals" during the festivities are extortionate (59). For instance, it

was reported in 1802 (when the original ballad was produced) that, "As much interest is made to procure a lodging as if it were to obtain a permanent position in life.

Applications have been made to the great men of Preston, in the humblest style, to procure beds, although enormous sums are demanded: fifteen guineas a week having been asked for three rooms; houses having been built upon speculation to let during the novel festival" (60). This theme crops up throughout the text;

"Badgers, by pinching the poor
And farmers who've got gold in store
And as fine as the rest, resolved they will
Travel by railway to Preston Guild" (61).

The term "Badgers" refers to corn and provision dealers, the middle-men who purchase in one location and sell in another (62).

The message is quite clear; to enjoy the Guild one must possess "brass" and one must be prepared to part with it. If not a "Badger" or a farmer or whatever, one at least has to be in regular employment to afford attending the Guild. This also becomes apparent in the second Guild ballad (see below). However, to suggest that such sentiments expressed in the above text indicates the presence of some form of anti-capitalist, radical sensibility, would be far too simplistic. Rather, it may be said that the song resonates with a regional sense of "knowingness"; basically a dig at the worst culprits of profiteering during the Guild. Thus, the ongoing popularity of this ballad lies in the fact that it describes a

phenomenon (the avarice of local traders) that was a familiar characteristic of successive Guilds and therefore a locally shared experience, well known to the town's inhabitants. The underlying sentiment seems to be that the local population were too wise to be fooled out of parting with their money as easily as the visitors to the event from outside of Preston. This is not to infer a completely "populist" vision of the text. It actually refers to a sense of common experience based on a perceived local socio-economic reality of the Guild, shared by Preston people. It may be argued that this crosses class, yet the ordinary people would have been more aware of life at street level.

Although this ballad was not specifically produced for the 1842 Guild, the words of the following example, "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842", were most definitely intended for this year (63). The events of the carnival are described and there are clear references to the pervading socio-economic climate of the time. There is a distinctly outspoken tone to some of the content in this text;

"The times are hard wage is low

Some thousands to the Guild can't go" (64)

A more cogent state of discontent arises in the final verse (almost as if to punctuate and conclude the song);

"So young and old I'll tell you true

Its different now since twenty-two

The men did labour with good will
It's not so now this Preston Guild
But let us hope the times will mend
When the poor man can the poor befriend
We want our rights and then we will
Have plenty of sport next Preston Guild" (65).

Several observations can be made about this verse. The reference to "twenty-two" clearly locates the composition to 1842. There is also the assertion that conditions were better at the time of the preceding Guild, when the men went about their work with "good will". They most certainly did not "this Preston Guild" (1842) as the events of the "Plug Plot" testifies. But there is hope and an apparent suggestion that salvation is at hand in the form of working-class solidarity. Thus, "the times will mend" only when "the poor man" embraces his fellow poverty-stricken worker and declare "our rights".

It would be tempting to interpret this sentiment as a comment on Reform and the Charter. However, the final line on enjoying "plenty of sport" (a rather ambiguous term) at the next Preston Guild, if "our rights' are bestowed, raises the question of whether the said "rights" relate merely to local employment conditions? After all, the economic situation for some workers were so bad in 1842 (according to the ballad text) that , "Some thousands to the Guild can't go". A particular source of discontent appears to be that not only do wages and injustice cause poverty, they also deny the people of something they readily identify with, in the process. Destitution effectively serves to exclude people from

the Guild celebrations, just at a time when they were gaining greater participation in the events. There is a certain degree of ambiguity in all this. The times may be hard, but the people still had their Guild and they were proud of it;

"The grandest show in England still
Is the jubilee at Preston Guild" (66).

It would seem that a sense of distress and discontent sits side by side with a perception of local pride.

Another portion of the song is worthy of comment and appears in verse five;

"There's swinging boxes, likewise shows
And soldiers 'listing drunken fools" (67).

The popular idea that a man had to be a "drunken fool" to qualify for service in the ranks at this time, is a matter of speculation. Yet, the inclusion of this line in the song would have no doubt stuck a chord with local sensibilities after the Lune Street episode in August. The regiment involved in the incident was the 72nd who were a Highland unit and for several years henceforth, Scottish soldiers were shunned by the townspeople (68). The local authorities were sufficiently concerned to deploy a sizable military presence in the town during the Guild (although, understandably, not the 72nd regiment), fearing that large gatherings of people would result in further displays of "physical force" agitation

(69). *The Illustrated London News* on 17th September reported that several "persons of rank" had withdrawn their attendance at the Guild for this reason; "It had indeed been rumoured that the Chartists would endeavour to get up a meeting or counter-demonstration, but, by the excellent arrangements of the Mayor and Magistrates, any such attempt would have been immediately frustrated" (70). There appears to have been no serious disturbances during the Guild week. What also seems remarkable is there appears to be no ballad evidence depicting the events on Lune Street. Given the gravity of the occasion it does seem strange that this infamous local tragedy was not recorded in popular song form. It may be that the people of Preston were so distressed by what had happened that they just preferred to forget the whole affair and enjoy the Guild? It may also be the case that any song material pertaining to the event simply did not stand the test of time, but this would seem highly unlikely, in light of the durability of the Lock-Out ballads produced over a decade later (see following Chapter)? It may also be the case that any song material on the Lune Street killings was rigorously suppressed (nonetheless, popular song has a habit of overcoming officialdom)?

The local authorities may well have had good reason for feeling nervous, beyond the more immediate aftermath of the Lune Street shootings. Preston now possessed an increasing population of working-class operatives, for which the Guild provided the potential for participation in an important local civic landmark (71).

The text of "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842", sets down the proceedings of the festival, albeit in an embellished style. Particular attention is paid to the trades parade on

Tuesday, September 6th but the running order is somewhat muddled (72). The ballad text does conflict with the order of procession as noted by Abram (73). For instance, the ballad has it that the tailors "lead up the van" (74). Actually, it was the joiners of the town, including a stage drawn by three horses, "...on which men and boys were working at carpentry..." (75). No doubt the song's (anonymous) composer was employing a degree of poetic licence here. Significantly, the cotton workers of Preston are mentioned in the song text, appearing in verse four;

"The factory folks are next in view
Spinners, weavers and carders too
The piecers do not lag behind..." (76).

Once again, however, there are inaccuracies that would infer that the song may have been written prior to the event, which subsequently turned out to be different to what had previously been arranged. No doubt the ballad was eventually printed in its original form as it was too late to amend the text. According to Crosby, there was some dispute regarding the weavers' position on this day due to their own perceived status in the town, so they organised their own separate parade on the Friday (77). Apparently, they had been allocated a place on the Tuesday parade, "...which they regarded as inferior and unworthy of their importance" (78). This is interesting, as they had been due to march behind the Freemasons; Abram's account contains the terse observation, "The weavers did not assemble" (79). It is difficult to say that the weavers objected to walking behind the Masons or whether they thought they deserved a place nearer the front of the parade.

Whatever the reasons, it seems apparent that the cotton workers were developing a strong sense of identity and standing within the local community. This sense of pride is intriguing given the poverty of cotton workers at this time of industrial dispute, as well as political unrest.

Despite the inaccuracies in the ballad text concerning the events at the Guild, "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842", would no doubt have been popular, as it was re-printed (see below and Appendix 10). The third ballad under scrutiny here, "Preston Guild of 1842" (not to be confused with the first ballad of the same title), also relates to events at the carnival, but this time there is more consistency with the actual goings-on (80). The events commenced on Monday with the claiming of the freemen (verse two), after which there was a regatta on the marshes and a cricket match (verse three) (81). In the evening there was a spectacular display of fireworks organised by Mr. Bywater; "With wheels and bombshells he made me stare" (verse five; this text is actually written in the first person) (82). On the Tuesday the weather proved fine and the trades held their parade (verse six), where as the Thursday was a complete washout (verse eight) (83). All of this is, unlike the preceding song, corroborated by Abram's account (84). It is likely that the events depicted in this text are more accurate, due to the fact that they were recounted with hindsight, rather than before the festivities unfolded.

There is also mention of another Guild phenomenon, in addition to mean-spirited local traders and landlords, already alluded to above. In verse nine the fictitious narrator bemoans how, "...a light fingered gentleman eas'd my till" (85). The problem of street

crime during the Guild had also been highlighted in a song written for the previous carnival ("A New Song on Preston Guild") (86). Indeed, in 1842, "There was a desperate rush into the town of the London swell-mob", the result of which, at least one lady was relieved of around 1,900 pounds (87). Clearly, a strong military presence was not a sufficient deterrent to the activities of a criminal element.

Perhaps the most interesting comment in this ballad is provided in the final two lines which run,

"And God spare the mayors of this town's will
That preserves the just of Preston Guild" (88).

At first glance, the lines would appear to carry a message of deference. Read another way, however, it can be taken to be an assertion of the people's will. That is to say "the mayors" were ultimately acting at the behest of "this town's will" and it is this will of the working people of the town that preserves "the just of Preston Guild". As it has been already asserted, the labouring population of the town was increasing along with the growing desire for extended participation by the masses. It will be quite apparent by now that the texts of these ballads throw up a number of ambiguities in the course of historical interpretation. There does remain one overriding characteristic. They present a view of events from street level, from the perspective of a popular medium which represented the everyday lives of ordinary working people. Broadside ballads basically provided a vehicle for people to realise a sense of agency within their world. Effectively, these songs

were a means by which working people could gain access to current events and cultural local life (such as the Preston Guild), in a way they could understand (89). Selling for a penny or halfpenny, they were the most readily available printed material to the impoverished urban-dweller (90). It is on the trade and broadside literature in relation to the 1842 Preston Guild that attention will now focus. As Eva maintains, the relationship between the economic and the cultural roles of the broadside trade was inseparable (91).

SECTION 3

The collection of Harkness ballads in Harris Library, Preston is deemed to be one of the most representative of the provincial printers (see above) (92). Spencer described John Harkness as, "...a well-known Preston printer", who produced an enormous amount of "ephemeral publications", over the best part of the 19th century (93). He is said to have, "...certainly put Preston on the map in the bibliographical world" (94). As we have seen, Harkness was not a native of the town having been born in Carlisle c.1814 (95).

However, by the time of the 1842 Guild he had been trading for at least four years, setting up his business in Manchester Road in 1838 and then later moving to premises in Church Street (see Chapter 3, above) (96). The significance of this later location will be discussed shortly.

The popularity and durability of the first ballad, "Preston Guild of 1842" has been addressed in the previous section. The second specimen under examination, "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842" would also appear to have acquired some notoriety as Harkness had two additions printed. One was the standard print with the Guild song sharing the sheet with another title, "Kathleen Mavoureen", where as the "special edition" covers a full sheet in larger print (see Appendix 10) (97). Presumably, the original must have sold well enough for Harkness to issue the larger re-printed version. As it was pointed out earlier, the text of this song contains observations of the Guild which were largely inaccurate. It is perhaps due to the allusions to discontent which the ballad contains, that imbued it with local popular purchase in the minds of working-class Prestonians, with the experience of Lune Street still fresh in their sensibilities. It must be

emphasised that this is possibly a reflection on local industrial grievances rather than wider political aspirations. Of course this is a matter of conjecture. The question does arise though, did Harkness have any radical political leanings (be they local or otherwise?). Certainly, ballad printing was regarded with disdain by respectable elements, being considered a "trashy", "low" pursuit and some Lancashire printers did hold radical views; for example, John Livesey, Abel Heywood and James Wheeler of Manchester were all engaged in radical activities (98). Just after a decade after the 1842 Guild, Harkness printed ballads for the striking operatives during the Great Preston Lock-Out of 1853/54 (99). On this occasion he prudently omitted his imprint on the sheets, which had been a legal requirement since 1797 (100).

Whatever his political proclivities may have been, Harkness appears to have possessed a keen commercial acumen, as the re-printed Guild ballad suggests. There is other evidence to support this from the imprints on the Guild ballads. At the time of the 1842 Guild, Harkness was printing from his Church Street premises. The Guild ballad sheets (with the exception of the standard edition of "A New Song on the Preston Guild", which simply states, "Harkness, Printer, Preston") are imprinted with the address, "93 Park Road, Preston" (101). The quality and texture of the sheet paper is also different to that of the sheets coming out of Church Street (102). A very likely explanation for this is that Harkness may not have possessed adequate facilities at Church Street, necessary to meet the demand expected at the Guild (it must be re-emphasised here that broadsides were a very popular medium). This being the case, Harkness either franchised work out to another business or rented floor space and equipment to produce the Guild ballads. Given

his overall output over the Guild period (including titles un-related to the event), his need for extra facilities would come as no surprise. The numbering system Harkness used allows for an estimate of the amount of sheets he was producing over a given time scale. For example, the second Guild ballad is on sheet 85, whereas a much later sheet containing the song "France and the Republicans", which relates to events on the continent in 1848 is numbered 585 (103). Thus, over a six year period he produced 480 sheets, which in turn breaks down to about 80 sheets on average a year (Butler's figures state approximately 90 per annum between 1842-45; see Chapter 3 and Appendix 5). This suggests that Harkness was printing one or two sheets a week, at least. The numbers for the Guild ballads shows that he printed 15 separate sheets (not all of the titles were concerned with the event itself) over the period immediately before, during and after the celebrations of 1842 (104). It would be of further interest to know how many copies of each sheet Harkness printed over the festivities, in order to gain a better picture of the broadside trade, but no doubt the three Guild ballads themselves would have been given priority.

This burst of activity strongly implies that Harkness was well aware of the potential market the Guild presented, which in turn demonstrates the popularity of the broadside medium. Significantly he was not without some rivalry. As already stated, there was also Whittle of Fishergate amongst others (see preceding chapter) (105). If any of these rivals produced Guild ballads for 1842 none, apart from one Whittle specimen (see above), appear to be extant, which either testifies to the success of Harkness or perhaps indicates a fluke of survival. Also it must be stressed that the appeal of the Preston Guild in the

broadside trade was not confined to the Preston printers. Thus, Kiernon of Liverpool produced "A New Song on Preston Guild" for 1822 (106). There is also a specimen entitled, "Song. Preston Guild" printed by Ogle of Bolton, although it is difficult to arrive at a date for this as there is no numbering system and the text imparts little information, being of a somewhat florid nature throughout, for example;

"Our ancient charter, we'll never barter
But annual visits we'll gladly pay
To the spreading oak and leap of Coly's Hole
From whence we trace our illustrious sway
Our bright artisans, and gallant freemen
Our grand procession arrange with skill
The Gods exalted for sake Olympus
This day to honour the Preston Guild" (107).

It is difficult to imagine that such doggerel was the product of anything other than a full time ballad monger (as opposed to a cotton operative, as the content is so far removed from his or her everyday experience).

Whatever competition there may have been at the time, within or without the Preston district, it is the ballads produced by John Harkness that provide a local street-level insight into the Preston Guild of 1842, as reported by broadsides. The Guild was (and still

is) an important regional self-defining moment for Prestonians and Harkness leaves to us one vital element in the process that helped to shape this perception.

His printing trade does appear to have dwindled somewhat by the following guild of 1862, which was held during a time of great economic destitution, owing to the Cotton Famine, the American Civil War being a contributing factor. It may be said that the crisis was set in motion by a "straightforward cyclical depression" which was then "masked" by the war in America (108). However, whatever domestic, economic factors may have been at play, the popular perception of the poverty at this time (in the minds of working people) was that the American Civil war mainly caused the distress and the ballads reflect this. For example, "All Wish the War Was Over" bewails,

"There's Indian Wars and Crimean Wars

Not soon to be forgotten

But none before like Yankee wars

Has stopped supplies of cotton

For this cotton panic is the worst

That there's ever been before

Both rich and poor sincerely wish

The Yankee war was o'er" (109).

The Northern blockades of the Southern cotton ports resulted in terrible hardship in Lancashire, although a majority of the cotton weavers sympathised with the Northern cause, as they retained a strong radical background, "...extending back before the factory system" (110). A vastly inferior cotton was imported from Surat in India, but was difficult to work with as Samuel Laycock recounted in his dialect ballad, "The Shurat Weaver's Song"; "Aw've bin starin' an' rootin' amung this Shurat/Till aw'm very near gotten as bloint as a bat" (111). The text also contains references to the Federal American blockade, for example, "But we'n suffered so lung thro' this 'Merica war" (112). The text continues with an appeal for hostilities to cease, thereby alleviating poverty,

"Oh dear, iv yon Yankees could only just see
Heaw they're clemmin' an' starvin' poor weavers loike me
Aw think they'd soon settle their bother an' strive
To send us some cotton to keep us alive" (113).

Another Lancashire poet, William Billington from Salmesbury wrote a similar title, "Th' Surat Weyver's Song" at the same time, which was printed as a broadside and was so popular that it sold 14,000 copies (114). The ballads circulating during the Cotton Famine represented a local sentiment; basically the war in America was the cause of hardship in the cotton districts of Lancashire.

There were attempts to break the blockade, as the local press who were keenly following events in America, reported. One incident was described in a supplement to the *Preston*

Guardian during the first stages of the war; "Four vessels had run into the Hatteras inlet with English colours flying, under the supposition that the place still belonged to the rebels, the Federal flag having been temporarily hauled down. Pilots were offered the vessels and every facility for getting in. They did not discover their mistake until too late" (115).

The events in America were also been followed with interest by the cotton operatives, such as John O'Neil (a factory weaver) of Low Moor, Clitheroe 10 miles from Preston, who refers repeatedly to the war in his diary between 1861 and 1864 (116). His entries support the sentiments expressed in the ballads. For instance, on the 24th of January, 1861, he writes, "...we have got a notice put up in our mill today giving us notice of a reduction in wages. It is upon account of the disturbances in America. The cotton market has risen on speculation that there will be no crop next year if civil war should happen in the United States" (117). He mentions the inferior cotton that the operatives had to work with (as described in the Laycock ballad above), complaining on the 8th of January, 1862 that, "... we are working with such rubbish as I never saw in my life. We cannot do the half that we used to do" (118). O'Neil was obviously a literate man who possessed an inquiring mind, although it is not known whether he received his knowledge formally or informally (119).

Preston was particularly badly affected by the crisis, as Edwin Waugh described, "I hear on all hands that there is hardly any town in Lancashire suffering so much as Preston. The reason why the stroke has fallen so heavily here lies in the nature of the trade. In the

first place, Preston is almost purely a cotton town ...there is hardly any variety of employment there to lighten the disaster which has befallen its one absorbing occupation" (120). Statistics published by the Guardians of the Local Committees in Lancashire in 1866, show that for 1862, 50,000 persons in Preston received relief, second only to Ashton Under Lyne which received 56,000 payments (see Appendix 11) (121). The predicament of the Preston cotton operatives is described in a ballad ("The Cotton Famine", which refers to the American Civil War) that was actually collected orally in the 1920's and which is quoted below in its entirety,

"I came to town the other day
And up to the orchard I chanced to stray;
What crowds of people there met my view,
I wondered what there was to view

There was one old woman, her hair quite grey,
And to her neighbour chanced to say;
I'm sure these times will break my heart
I wonder when those mills will start

There's my old man turned eighty-one
An' there's me and my son John
My daughters Alice and Mary Jane
Live on relief from Crooked Lane

There's not a pound of cotton left
There is no warp, an' there is no weft;
There's nowt to weyve, so there's nowt to eat
An' those yankee foo's, they do nowt but feyt

They're goin' to build a new town ha',
What use is that to me or yo'?
A cattle market an' a' they say
Wheer the men as works gets a bob a day

There's one long queue from Crooked Lane
They stand for hours I' th' cowl an't rain
An' them that's late for Derby bun
"Ll soon be tow'd that soup is done,

We've sowl o' goods fer next ta nowt,
Wur Sunday cloas are up the spout
They've had to go for a bit o' meyl
Fer we cannot beg, and we derna steyl

There were wi' tickets green, white a, red
An' some receiving a loaf o' bread;

An' them as 'ad neither brad nor cash

Wer waitin fer soup, or potato'ash" (122).

The term "those yankee foo's" probably relates to Americans in general and not just Northern Americans. The term Yankee derives from a nickname for Dutchmen, the name Janke being a common forename amongst Dutch settlers in New England in the mid-18th century and was used to describe inhabitants of the Northern States, which gradually became applied to the whole of the U.S.A. (123). The sentiments expressed in verse five suggest a degree of shared experience and the final line in verse seven imparts a sense of moral dignity amongst working people. Watts commented on how the poverty-stricken operatives of Lancashire took to street ballads to help relieve their distress (see also Chapter 5 below, regarding Lock-Out ballads) (124). A special correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner and Times* noted, "Now, when fortune has laid such a load of sorrow upon the working people of Lancashire, it is a touching thing to see so many workless minstrels of humble life 'chaunting their artless notes in simple guise' upon the streets of great towns...They come singing in twos and threes, and sometimes in more numerous bands, as if to keep one another in countenance" (125). This suggests a sense of shared cultural and socio-economic experience. The example of the ballad "The Cotton Famine" demonstrates that Preston had its own street singers during the crisis, although there appear to be no printed sheets produced by John Harkness that have survived to this day.

Contemporary observers of the time noticed the contrast between poverty and wealth that the Guild of 1862 seemed to illustrate (126). Arnold, writing in his *History of the Cotton Famine* (1864), stated that Preston, "...presented the strange contrast of carnival and a famine..." and that, "...the gaunt grim spectre of famine which had stalked about the streets was laid by the appearance of gay processions, of famous singers, and of the prince of tight-rope performers" (127). He was of the opinion that the "wealthy classes" of the town were to be blamed, not for allowing the event itself to go ahead in the face of such terrible destitution, but rather for their parsimonious contribution to the relief efforts throughout the Famine (128). The fact that the poverty caused by the crisis was borne with fortitude and endurance rather than protest in the town may be explained by the fact that the situation was due to "an outside agency" in the minds of working-people, although there were outbreaks of violence in other parts of the county, such as Ashton and Stalybridge (129). Despite all the hardship the Guild went ahead and may have provided something of a welcome distraction for the suffering inhabitants of the town.

The Preston Guild, as an assertion of local identity appears to transcend any form of internal, or external adversity and remains "...an exceptional example of resilience and adaptability... Venice may have its Water Carnival, New Orleans its *Mardi Gras*, but Preston has its GUILD" (130).

CONCLUSION

The Preston Guild of 1842 and the following event in 1862, went ahead despite considerable difficulties both socio-economic and municipal. The ballads produced by John Harkness for the occasion resonate with a sense of belonging, albeit in a somewhat ambiguous manner; there are tensions between a local radical sentiment and a notion of civic, possibly even national pride. The Preston Guild possesses a wider appeal beyond the immediate district, as Pollard observed in 1842, "...it is no matter of astonishment that, not amongst ourselves but in also in more distant parts of the country, it should be regarded with feelings of attachment, and that each succeeding celebration should be honored with the prescience of the fairest of England's daughters and the highest ornaments of her sons" (131). Whether by choice or by fate, Pollard failed to acknowledge the attendance of the "London swell-mob". The salient point, though, is that the ordinary people of Preston identified themselves with this grand local event, which in turn can also be seen in a national context. Basically, the message is, "we are Prestonians first and English second"; that is to say, national identity is perceived through a realisation of local identity. Despite the strife and upheaval of 1842, the people of Preston wanted *their* Guild to go on and it was considered increasingly *their* or, *our* Guild. This sense of local civic pride also goes some way to explaining why the Guild of 1862 went ahead in the face of poverty and hardship.

The ballads produced by Harkness seem to reverberate with the tensions and contradictions at play during the time of the carnival, the feelings of material distress, intermingling with a notion of civic pride. Yet, this apparently "populist" characteristic

present in the ballads does not necessarily degrade the presence of a class identity. The texts do reverberate with a feeling of shared experience in conflict with other interests, as "A New Song on the Preston Guild" suggests. However, the songs also illustrates the complexities that arise when historians attempt to formulate solid conclusions regarding class and class-consciousness

The Guild ballads of John Harkness go some way to gaining an understanding of the broadside trade as a local commercial phenomenon in the 19th century, whilst also emphasising the popularity of this particular medium with local working-class people at the time. It serves as a fitting postscript to this chapter that the last known broadside that Harkness printed (from an address in nearby Longton; he was probably in semi-retirement by this time) was entitled "New and Original Song on the Celebration of the Preston Guild September 1882" (see previous Chapter) (132). Here the text adopts a distinctly late 19th century imperial dimension, with just a hint of music hall whimsy,

"Old Cetewayo would have been here
He's crying his eyes out today
He's been told Preston girls are such pretty dears
He's afraid they might lead him astray" (133).

Cetewayo was a Zulu chief. It would appear that John Harkness and his broadsides continued to resonate with the times right up until the latter part of the century.

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CHAPTER 5-THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

INTRODUCTION

Amongst the considerable variety of topics comprising the subject matter of popular song in industrial Lancashire during this period, ballads of a political nature represent a particularly interesting insight into the way in which people perceived their own position within the broader scheme of 19th century life (as it has been suggested already, Preston possessed its own unique political culture). Indeed, Vicinus has commented on the reputation of the broadside medium for topicality, which, retailing for a penny or half-penny a sheet and performed aloud, provided people access to, "...current events, trade customs, local legends and the cultural life around them" (1). But what exactly defines a "political" ballad? Problems arising from categorisation become apparent here, although such categorisation is, of course, a fundamental necessity if we are to make sense of the material (2). Furthermore the sheer size and diversity of the broadside collections renders a categorisation programme an essential exercise, providing that it is firmly acknowledged that a great many texts contain more than one subject or theme (3). For example, the Preston Guild ballad, "A New Song on the Preston Guild 1842", discussed in the previous chapter, also contains references of a distinctly political nature; "When the poor man can the poor befriend/We want our rights and then we will/Have plenty of sport next Preston Guild" (4). In fact the present Harkness collection holds about 13 or 14 titles (out of a total of 277), which may be said to possess some "political" content in one way or another (5). The collection is almost all from the period 1841-1853 and there is no particular chronological "clustering" of the sheets for any particular part of this decade (6). This indicates the limitations presented by gaps which invariably occur in the

broadside collections, a factor that should always be taken into account. There are also several sheets printed by Harkness for the "Great Preston Lock-Out" of 1853/54. These are held in the extensive Madden collection at Cambridge University (7).

Returning to definitions, Lloyd proposed the "fresh lyric" known as "workers' song", incorporating elements of an earlier rustic culture whilst also expressing the experiences, thoughts and aspirations of a nascent "raw class in the making" (8). Palmer refers to, "A powerful body of political protest in the form of song and ballad..." (9). Although, perhaps, these notions would represent a basic starting point (and perceptions of "class" will be the subject of a later debate), some further detailed elaboration is required. Thus, for the purpose of this particular enquiry, a "political" ballad can be identified as any text which contains references or observations on the socio-political climate of the time. The growing industrialisation and urbanisation of society, along with a developing class-awareness can be detected in the song culture of the period. This growing class-awareness can be sub-divided into three styles evident within the texts. That is to say, earlier songs (up to 1832) which express a grievance but do not appear to offer any immediate remedial solution other than appeals to a past age, or what Howkins and Dyck refer to as "songs of complaint" (10). Secondly, later songs which do seem to suggest a more "pragmatic" course of action, particularly those connected with the Chartist movement from 1838 onwards, which continued to express longings for the restoration of a perceived past constitution. Finally (forming the basis of a localised study), ballads depicting the Preston "Lock-Out" of 1853/54 that contain evidence of a distinctly socio-economic, class based conflict. The former of these will be the subject of section 1,

whereas section 2 will address the Chartist agenda. In section 3, the industrial dispute in Preston and the surrounding districts will be the focus of attention, in order to examine local, political sensibilities in context with wider political perceptions. The various strands related to in the previous three sections will be drawn together in the conclusion, to form the basis of a brief outline of the relevance of song material to popular political sensibilities in 19th century Lancashire.

Before continuing, it cannot be emphasised enough how important the element of context is to the understanding of popular song texts and culture. Difficulties in interpreting content, motive, reception, performance and style, can present the historian of popular song with a considerable obstacle-course during the process of evaluating texts. This is the fundamental challenge. Ballads are a constant source of shifting affirmations and contradictions. One apparently contradictory theme that continually emerges over the course of this study is the re-occurring symbolism of "patriotism", or the sense of a collective socio-political awareness of ordinary people expressed through a perception of "nation". The key word here is identity. Colley asserts that, "Patriotism in the sense of identification with Britain served...as a bandwagon on which different groups and interests leaped so as to steer it in a direction that would benefit them. Being a patriot was a way of claiming the right to participate in British political life, and ultimately a means of demanding a much broader access to citizenship" (11). This was frequently articulated in terms of an idealised past. Throughout the first half of the 19th century radicals often employed the "vocabulary of patriotism", invoking fanciful images of "good King Alfred", the "Norman Yoke", the "Anglo-Saxon Constitution" and so forth (12). The

complexities inherent within the study of 19th century popular culture and the ways in which working people constructed or interpreted their reality can be amply illustrated by examining popular song texts, provided that the inherent limitations are acknowledged.

SECTION I

In order to gain a better understanding of the period in question here (1832-62) and the song material in relation to contemporary political dynamics (both local and national), it will be necessary to briefly attend to notions of popular political sensibility in the preceding years, which will serve to illustrate the mechanics of continuity and change.

Thompson proposed that the English working-class had developed an "identity of interests" between 1780 and 1832, due largely to the conflicts arising from the productive relations resulting from nascent industrialisation (13). This was particularly evident in the cotton districts of Lancashire, which has been described as the most significant of the manufacturing counties of England (14). Indeed, Walton suggests that the region has world importance due to it being the, "...cradle of the first industrial revolution" (15). Kirk further elaborates on Thompson's theory, maintaining that although the process described by Thompson is fundamental to the emergence of class-consciousness, socio-economic variants were not necessarily the exclusive influence, but may also have included ideological and cultural factors (16). All of these factors will receive due attention in order to demonstrate that a process of continuity and change in the awareness of political "agency" throughout the early to mid -19th century can be detected through the medium of popular song.

Radical ballad culture in the late 18th and early 19th century contains a strong element of complaint, without actually providing any solutions while also appearing to identify the grievances in a loss of paternalistic obligations of the gentry, located in a romanticised past. This nostalgic longing for the past is evident in "When This Old Hat Was New",

from a text written by Martin Parker ("Time's Alteration") sometime in the early to mid-17th century and later updated at the close of the 18th century to reflect the hardships inflicted by enclosure (17). This song was printed on broadsides and was still very popular in the 1900's (18). Quite clearly, the longevity of the song and its modification to suit popular contemporary sentiments felt by labouring people at the end of the 18th century, serves as an illustration of continuity and change within ballad culture. As is the case with most ballads of complaint, the text takes the form of a moral statement (19). For example,

"The master of the board would sit, the table for to grace
The servants as they all came in, they took their proper place
The good old dame with cheerful heart, gave to each man his due
Where plenty then it did abound, when this old hat was new

But now the times are altered much, and the poor are quite done o'er
The men do get their wages paid like beggars at the door
Inside the house they must not come, if they be e'er so few
Which cruelty did ne'er abound, when this old hat was new" (20).

The "moral economy" represented in the text of this ballad has been defined by Thompson as being, "...grounded upon a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor. An

outrage of these moral assumptions, quite as much as actual deprivation, was the usual occasion for direct action. While this moral economy cannot be described as 'political' in any advanced sense, nevertheless it cannot be described as un-political either, since it supposed definite, and passionately held, notions of the common weal..." (21). Basically, the ballad text is only political in terms of reneged obligations that the labouring classes assumed the rich ought to possess. What does seem to be present is an element of deference; "The servants as they all came in, they took their proper place" (22).

Significantly, some versions of the ballad contain the lines, "It was not so when Bess did reign when this old hat was new", which is obviously a reference to Elizabeth I (23). This sentiment represents a longing for a past "golden age", where a crucial feature of "the old order" was a perceived sense of "social harmony" (24).

Mythical characters and symbolic icons were frequently employed in the ballads in order to make sense of the world, as can be illustrated in the specimen, "The Roast Beef of Old England", written by Henry Fielding and published in 1733 (25). This song was originally intended to convey a sense of jovial patriotism, celebrating the virtues of the Englishman and his food, yet the structure and the tune of this well known song was later used with a broadside text (n.d.) that altered the meaning of the first version, a practice common in popular song culture (26). The latter two verses run;

"Now, instead of roast beef a red herring you see
And a most wretched hovel, entirely free
Of every comfort which used to be

The boast and the pride of Old England

Alas! what a change, and how altered the case!

The telling remains, but all else has given place

To that which to mention bespeaks the disgrace

Of those that have ruled Old England

Of those who old England have ruled" (27).

Once again the, figure of Elizabeth I is invoked in the first verse; "In Queen Bess's days, and at much later date/ How happy indeed, was an Englishman's state" (28). Commenting on this text, Howkins and Dyck note that, "The tone of the song, partly and deliberately because of the tune association, is one in which tradition and traditional ideals control and determine its rhetoric and its moral stance" (29). Significantly, the rather long -winded title, "London Adulterations, or, Rogues in Grain, Tea, Coffee, Milk, Beer, Bread, Mutton, Pork, Gin, Butter, etc", dating from c. 1825 employs the same tune as "The Roast Beef of Old England", thus further demonstrating the continuity and mutability of ballad forms (30). Indeed, Dorothy George in her 1931 work, *England in Transition*, quotes from "The Roast Beef of Old England" (31).

Certainly, England was in a state of "transition", due to the progressive onset of industrialisation and urbanisation and this was particularly the case in "Cotton Lancashire" (32). Preston's population alone, for example, almost doubled in the space of two decades, from 17,000 in 1811 to 33,000 in 1830 (33). The two song texts quoted

from above (and the various themes that they were used for to articulate differing sentiments) obviously held a great deal of popular purchase in the hearts and minds of ordinary people on a national level, as their durability testifies. The texts, therefore, would have been familiar to the burgeoning labouring population of Lancashire, who, at the same time were also capable of creating their own regional, mythical figures set within the context of the nascent industrialisation that was changing their experiences so drastically. The "Jone 'o Greenfield" (variously "Grinfilt" or "Greenfeelt", a village near Oldham) ballads chronicle the escapades of the fictional "Jone" character from the late 18th to the mid-19th century (34). This set of texts provides a fascinating insight into popular regional, political sensibilities and demonstrates how a song theme can become the site of conflict and cultural possession. John Harland published six of these episodic specimens, the first of which was collected by Samuel Bamford orally from one of the co-authors, Joseph Coupe (35).

The seminal "Jone" ballad, "Jone 'o Grinfilts Ramble", appears to date from the early 1790's, or at the very least, was popular around this time (36). Harland cited Bamford's observation that, "The song took amazingly...and he remembers standing at the bottom of Miller Street, in Manchester... viewing with surprise the almost rage with which the very indifferent verses were purchased by a crowd that stood around a little old-fashioned fellow, with a withered leg, who, leaning on a crutch, with a countenance full of quaint humour, and a speech of the perfect dialect of the county, sang the song and collected the halfpence as quickly as he could distribute it" (37). The "old-fashioned fellow" turned out to be none other than Coupe himself (38). The encounter described by Bamford was no

doubt sometime in the early to mid-19th century, as he would have been too young when the song was composed, having been born in 1788 (39). Coupe has been described variously as, "...a barber, tooth-drawer, blood-letter, warper, spinner, carder, twiner, stubber, and rhymster, residing at Oldham", whilst his co-author, Joseph Lees of Glodwick, was a weaver (40). Quite clearly these were individuals who were familiar with labouring life in the cotton districts of Lancashire during the upheavals of industrialisation.

The text of "Jone 'o Grinfilt's Ramble" contains patriotic imagery, both on a national and regional level, as "Jone" decides to enlist in the army;

"So fare thee weel Grinfilt, a sodger aw'm made
Aw gotten new shoon, an' a rare cockade
Aw'll feight for Owd Englond os hard os aw con
Oather French, Dutch, or Spanish, to me it's o' one
Aw'll mak' 'em to stare, like a new started hare
Un' aw'll tell 'em fro' Owdham aw coom" (41).

Despite the rather "populist" jingoism that would no doubt have appealed to the current patriotic fervour of the time, there is also a sense of dry irony behind the practical reasons for "Jone" deciding to join up, namely poverty, thus, "Booath clemmin' un' starvin', un' never a fardin'/ It 'ud welly drive ony mon mad", and later in the text, "Aw'st ne'er clem to deeoath, both sumbry shall know" (42). What is interesting is that "Jone", rather than

seeking alleviation to his distress by addressing the causes of it, elects instead to go to war with revolutionary France. Nonetheless, what appears at first glance to be a patriotic song also contains elements of complaint. The following "sequel" ballad, "Jone 'o Grinfilt's Return" (not written by Coupe and Lees) was more overtly patriotic;

“Wi me kit on me back, aw fro’ Owdham did go;
Aw thowt if aw fun’ “em aw’d soon ler ‘em know
That Jone eawt o’ Grinfilt no quater would give,
Boh would feight for Owd Englund as long as he lived,
Oather French, Dutch or Spanish, aw think aw con manage,
Aw think aw’m the lad ‘ot can crack” (43).

A far more militant stance becomes evident in, "Jone "o Grinfilt Junior" which was a bitter indictment on post-war depression and the treatment of poverty-stricken handloom weavers at the mercy of tyrannical landlords;

"Wey tooart on six week, thinkin' aich day wur th' last
Wey tarried un' shifted, till neaw wey're quite fast
Wey liv't upo' nettles, whoile nettles were good
Un' Wayterloo porritch wur th' best o, us food
Aw'm tellin' yo' true, aw con foind foak enoo
Thot're livin' no better nur me

Neaw, owd Bill o' Dan's sent bailies one day
 Fur t' shop scoar aw'd ow'd him, 'ot aw couldn't pay
 Bur he're just to lat, fur owd Bill o' Bent
 Had sent tit un' cart, un' ta'en t' goods fur t' rent
 They left nowt bur a stoo' 'ot're seeots for two
 Un' on it keawt Margret un' me" (44).

The ballad concludes with Margret (not "Jone", significantly) declaring that she would go down to "Lunnon to see the great mon", in order to put the situation right, stating, "Un, if things did no' awter, when there hoo had been/ Hoo says hoo'd begin, un' feight blood up th' e'en" (45). This may come across as particularly rebellious until one considers the last two lines; "Hoo's nowt agen th' king, bur hoo likes a fair thing / Un' hoo says hoo con tell when hoo's hurt" (46). Once again, despite the cruelty and injustice depicted in the ballad, there is an appeal to patriarchal obligations, a sense that somehow the aristocracy ought to make things "fair" again. It seems likely (although not substantiated) that this song was from the hand of Michael Wilson (a member of a family of renowned Lancashire ballad writers), as it is known that the Wilsons were responsible for several "Jone" texts (47). Michael Wilson (1763-1840) was born in Edinburgh, the son of a handloom-weaver who had moved to Manchester; Michael himself had worked as a calico printer, then a furniture broker, whilst developing a flair for ballad composition including, "Jone's Ramble Fro' Owdam to Karsy - Moor Races" (Kersal Moor) (48). Michael, "...was at heart a Jacobin; and he occasionally avowed his political opinions so strongly, that his family were for some time in great fear of his being apprehended...Passing the shop door

one day, the parson saw Michael sitting at the door, reading; and called out, - 'Well, Michael, reading Tom Paine again, I suppose.' The ready reply was, - 'Well, I might read a worse book, Mr. Brookes' " (49). He was present at the infamous Peterloo Massacre of 1819 and felt compelled to pen a ballad condemning the disgraceful scenes he had witnessed;

"Boh let's ta'e a peep at these Peterloo chaps
As ma'es sich a neyse abeawt cullers an' caps
See what they'n composed on, an' then we may judge
For it runs in me moind 'ot ther loyalty's fudge (50).

The appeal to loyalty is interesting as, once again there is the inference that troops supposedly loyal to the Crown should be the protectors of the ordinary people rather than their butchers. It comes as no surprise to note that Michael Wilson, despite his professed Jacobin leanings, also wrote ballads of a decidedly patriotic nature, such as "The Chapter of Foes", thus;

"The foes of old England-France, Holland, and Spain
The Rushes, the Prushes, the Austrians, and Dane
Together combined in an infamous band
To invade and to conquer us right out of hand" (51).

This indeed is a somewhat fanciful piece considering the rather strange alliance of "foes" the text describes. Wilson's work clearly demonstrates the ambiguities present within the radical milieu of the early 19th century.

The part in "Jone 'o Grinfilt Junior" concerning Margret's visit to "Lunnon" has parallels with a later Harkness print (1849) entitled, "The Oldham Chap's Visit To Th' Queen", a dialect piece describing the aforementioned "chap" travelling to the capital to see "Vic and Albert", in order to compare the lot of the working-man to that of the royal family (52). There are conflicting sentiments of grievance and deference combined alongside a sense of regional pride, with the main protagonist suggesting that the Prince of Wales might learn something by working down a mine (53).

"Jone" certainly imprinted himself onto popular local mentalities, being a prolific traveler, both geographically and between political cultures. He appears to have done a lot of "rambling". He represents a relationship between regional and broader currents of popular sensibilities (54). The ballad, "Jone o' Greenfeelt's Ramble in Search of th' Green Bag" was a parody of the Queen Caroline affair, which depicts him running down to the capital, "...like a foo' ", to assess what is taking place. (55). A decade later he encounters discontent again in, "Dialogue and Song, Between Captain Swing and Jone o' Greenfield", where the former speaks in standard English and the latter in dialect, thus, "...the cultural identity of the region on the large stage thereby being asserted". (56). He later finds himself at odds with the New Poor Law in, "Jone o' Grinfilt's Visit to Mr. Fielden" (a campaigner against the New Poor Law, M.P. for Oldham and "Radical

Reformer"; see below), which once again contains references to distress along with deference and the obligatory trip to "Lunnun";

"Says Nan o' meh Gronny's, 'This is meh belief
Aw think Mester Fielden con banish this grief
To Lunnun aw'll walk, wi me clogs on meh feet
To ax Bob and Nosey if they cawn it reet (Robert Peel and The Duke of Wellington)
Aw'll tell eawr young queen, aw'm asheamt to be seen
Fur aw've hardly a smock to meh back" (57).

As it will become clear later, Anti-Poor Law sentiments were a largely working-class phenomenon and became closely allied to Chartism (58). Having had his fling with radical politics, "Jones" then decides to return to his jingoistic military roots reflected in the first ballad, only this time his destination is the Crimea, in the printed ballad sheet, "Jones o' Grinfilt Going to th' Rooshan War";

"Aw're at Wayterloo, wheere aw fowt loike a mon
But me age ot that toime it wur scarce twenty - one
So aw geet me discharge when th' peace it wur made
Un' aw went back to Grinfilt to start i' th' owd trade
Bur weyving un me shan never agree
So aw'll goo for a sodger again (59).

The line about weaving does infer a discontent about working conditions which was the principal reason for "Jone" enlisting in the first ballad (see above). Yet the tone of both songs does generally come across as being of a patriotic nature. Also, although there is a clear linkage with "Jone's" past, the continuity appears to be rather fanciful as he would have had to be in his 60's to have served in the Crimea (he was 21 when he was at "Wayterloo"). However, he was after all, a fictional character and would have represented the "symbolic truth" in the hearts and minds of ordinary Lancashire people. The regional dimension is connected to the broader national outlook. The opening line runs, "Yo Lankyshire lads, coom listen awoile" and later "Jone" declares, "So aw'll goo to Rushar beawt ony fear/Un' help my brave countrymen in the Crimear" (60). The element of "symbolic truth" is important here as, whether he was an ignorant jingoist or a mouthpiece of working-class poverty and discontent, his episodes remained popular for well over half a century throughout the region. One version of "Jone o' Grinfilt Junior" was produced by the Manchester broadside printer Bebbington in 1860, Harkness released a print and the song even turned up in Cheshire, collected by Frank Kidson many years later (61). The character of "Jone", as demonstrated above, could be utilised as a vehicle for often conflicting interests by different (sometimes anonymous) authors. Interestingly, Harland stated that the Jacobins produced their own "polite parody" of the seminal Coupe composition, "...which never became popular, and is supposed to be wholly forgotten" (62). However, he does quote one small surviving portion of the text in which "Jone" is portrayed as a reactionary (no doubt a response to the patriotic imagery present in the original), whereupon a group of paviours mock him at the roadside to

which he ripostes, "They'me akin to th'owd makker o' stays" (Thomas Paine had been a staymaker) (63).

Thomas Paine certainly had a profound influence on working-class political culture at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, as the encounter between Wilson and the parson described above illustrates. Farther afield in a Tyneside keelman's dispute during 1792, a striking worker was heard to shout to a General Lampton who had been assigned to quell rioting, "Have you read this little work of Tom Paine's?...Then read it. We like it much. You have a great estate, General. We shall soon divide it amongst us" (64). Thompson describes the *Rights of Man* (1792) as, "...a foundation-text of the English working-class movement..." (65). Significantly, literacy levels were rising and the output of book titles was rapidly increasing (66). This volume supporting the actions of both American and French revolutionary republicanism caused a commotion at the time. Deference to the paternalism of aristocracy and monarchy was being challenged, thus, "... Mr. Burke (Edmund Burke, M.P.) is contending for the authority of the dead over the rights and freedom the living. There was a time when Kings disposed of their crowns by will upon their death-beds, and consigned the people, like beasts of the field, to whatever successor they appointed. This is now so exploded as scarcely to be remembered, and so monstrous as hardly to be believed..." (67). Paine's legacy and that of the Jacobins carried through to future generations of radical movements, which will be the subject of the following section, set within the context of contemporary ballad culture. His vision of a "Nation" embodied in a notion of the people and Government (which he refers to throughout *Rights of Man*) can be viewed as particularly significant to later radical sensibilities (68).

As Cunningham states, "...those constitutional demands which were at the core of radical politics from Cartwright to the Chartists can hardly be dismissed as 'trivia' "(69).

SECTION 2

Despite Paine's polemic and his influence on radical thinking, he never actually challenged the property rights of the wealthy nor the principles of *laissez faire* (70). He positively promoted the virtues of commerce: "In all my publications, where the matter would admit, I have been an advocate for commerce, because I am a friend to its effects. It is a pacific system, operating to *cordialise* mankind, by rendering Nations, as well as individuals, useful to each other" (71). Thompson suggests that his writings may not even have been specifically directed at working people, rather, "His own affiliations were most obviously with men of the un-represented manufacturing and trading classes..." (72). Yet the workers, particularly the weavers, were gradually becoming aware of the developing socio-economic situation as Richard Oastler observed in the 1830's; "...capital and property are protected and their labour is left to chance", and the capitalist class, "...seem as if they were a privileged order of being, but I never knew why they were so" (73). An early 19th century ballad ("The Hand-Loom Weaver's Lament", collected by Mr. John Higson from the singing of John Grimshaw) dating from the Napoleonic wars hints at growing class tensions;

"You gentlemen and tradesmen, that ride about at will
Look down on these poor people; it's enough to make you crill
Look down on these poor people, as you ride up and down
I think there is a God above will bring your pride quite down

You tyrants of England, your race may soon be run

You may be brought unto account for what you've sorely done" (74).

Note the appeal to a sense of morality in the text, invoking the wrath of God upon the "gentlemen and tradesmen" who will be "brought unto account".

Oastler's testimony regarding the protection of capital at the expense of labour is an important consideration here. The first half of the 19th century witnessed successive trade depressions which in turn engendered growing popular political reaction, with Lancashire becoming a national centre of cogent appeals for political and economic reform (75).

Particularly, post-1832 popular radical activity became intensive in the cotton districts of Lancashire, with issues such as factory reform, trade union protection, a minimum wage, resistance to the New Poor Law and the Corn Law, being the diverse focus of parliamentary intervention, thus representing a distinct political dimension which later manifested in the Chartist movement (76). This comes as no surprise when one considers that the 1832 Reform Act merely extended the franchise to the middle-classes (thus appending recognition of credibility with the aristocracy), whilst denying working people a voice (77). In despair, Bronterre O' Brien, the Irish radical, felt compelled to declare, "Of all governments, a government of the middle-classes is the most grinding and remorseless" (78). The frustration experienced by working people is quite graphically communicated in the poignant ballad "Forced To Be Contented" (possibly dating from c.1832, or a little time after),

"The poor man he holds down his head

His children they are wanting bread
There's thousands starving still with dread
And are forced to be contented
It is no use to talk at all
The weakest will go to the wall
And every day we lower fall
But we must be contented

They said Reform would do us good
It has not yet, I wish it would
For thousands that are wanting food
Must starve and be contented
The children to their fathers cry
As they for work are passing by
My belly's neither full nor nigh
So wander on contented" (79).

What is interesting is the repetition in the text (and the use in the title) of the word "contented". By now the labouring people were not willing merely to be "contented" any longer. This text stands in stark contrast to the lines composed by John Byrom, M.A., F.R.S. (and no doubt finding their way into the broadside medium, given his proclivity for dialect), in a piece entitled "Contentment ; The Happy Workman's Song", thus,

"Folk cry out, "Hard times", but I never regard
For I ne'er did, nor will, set my heart upo 'th' ward
So, 'tis all one to me, bin they easy or hard
Which nobody can deny" (80).

A later verse runs,

"With quarrels o' th' country, and matters of state
With Tories and Whigs I ne'er puzzle my pate
There are some that I love, but none that I hate
Which nobody can deny" (81).

However, the previous text ("Forced To Be Contented") makes matters quite plain. Some clearly were "denying". When the realisation dawned on working people that the 1832 Reform Act was exclusive rather than inclusive, a bitter resentment set in, which in turn fostered support for the Chartist cause that was looming (82). Two years later the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which threatened to imprison workers and their families during every trade slump, engendered bitter resentment, particularly in the cotton districts of Lancashire (83). The hated central workhouses or "Bastilles" (a term which crops up time and again in popular ballad culture) were intended to deter the able-bodied worker from claiming relief (84). As one Assistant Commissioner put it, "Our intention is to make the workhouses as like prisons as possible...", whilst another declared that, "...our object...is to establish therein a discipline so severe and repulsive as to make them a terror

to the poor and prevent them from entering" (85). Charles Dickens described his visit to a workhouse in *Household Words* (1850) thus, "...it must be once more distinctly set before the reader, that we have come to this absurd, this dangerous, this monstrous pass, that the dishonest felon is, in respect of cleanliness, order, diet, and accommodation, better provided for, and taken care of, than the honest pauper" (86). Significantly, Thompson asserted that the 1834 Act represents, "...perhaps the most sustained attempt to impose an ideological dogma, in defiance of the evidence of human need, in English history" (87). During the Lancashire spinners strike in 1837 their leader, David M' Williams displayed a clear grasp of the relationship between politics and economics which may well have been shared when he observed that, "The whigs intended to bring the working-classes down to the level of the miserable pauper under the poor law amendment act" (88). A year later a survey of the workhouse population of England and Wales held over a three month period, revealed that there were at the time 443 institutions, excluding almost the whole of Lancashire (89). Indeed, there was strong working-class opposition to the Poor Law legislation and the Whig government within the county, which sometimes resulted in violent action; for instance in Oldham there was "successful intimidation", whilst in Todmorden there were riots aimed at Poor Law Guardians in 1838 (90). However, there was also a degree of passive resistance from middle-class employer and property owning interests who resented any form of government interference (91). Nevertheless, it was generally the labouring people whose lives were affected by the Poor Law Amendment Act and this is reflected in their song culture.

Two broadside ballad sheets printed by Harkness that refer to this subject date from 1845 and 1850 respectively ("The Life of an Honest Ploughman or Ninety Years Ago" and "Farmers Don't You Cry"), but the texts may well have originated from a few years immediately previous, given the popular longevity of certain titles along with the discontent that the Act generated (92). The text of "The Life of an Honest Ploughman or Ninety Years Ago" contrasts the plight of the ageing, impoverished labourer of the New Poor Law era, with that of a perceived past "golden age";

"We lived long contented, and banished pain and grief
We had not got occasion then to ask for parish relief
But now my hairs are grown quite grey, I cannot well engage
To work as well as I used to do-I am sixty years of age

But now that I am feeble grown and poverty do feel
If for relief I do apply they shove me in whig bastile
Where I may hang my hoary head and pine in grief and woe
My father did not see the like, just ninety years ago" (93).

The theme has a particular resonance with "When this Old Hat Was New" and its association with the Elizabethan age, quoted in the preceding section. The old system of poor relief dated from this time and was now being swept aside by a newer, harsher regime (94). The longing for an imaginary past, compared with the cruelties of a changing world and the attendant anomie are present, along with the absence of any

remedial agenda. This tends to date the ballad to the time of the Act, as mentioned above. There is still a lingering appeal toward paternalism, as another ballad, entitled, "A Dialogue and Song on the Starvation Poor Law Bill, Between Tom and Ben", suggests;

"And now to conclude these few lines which I have penned
May the rich to the poor man still yet prove a friend
The new Poor Law Bill, let it be cast away
Abolished from England for ever I say" (95).

However, the other Harkness ballad "Farmers Don't You Cry" displays sentiments that suggest a growing discontent with the socio-economic system and (as in the text just cited) takes the then popular form in broadside literature of a "dialogue and song", interspersing spoken conversation with song text (96). The spoken element is in a question and answer format;

"Q. Well, poor man, what is your name

A. They call me Pauper

Q. Who gave you that name

A. Old Pottle Belly, to whom I applied in the time of trouble
and distress when I first became a child of want, a Member of the
Workhouse, and an inheritor of all the insults that poverty is heir
to" (97).

After a verse of song, the dialogue continues thus;

"Q. What did the Board of Guardians do for you

A. They did promise and vow two things, firstly - that I should be treated like a convicted felon, being deprived of liberty, and fed on prison fare: and lastly, that I should be an object of oppression all the days of my life" (98).

The sentiment expressing oppression can be construed to reflect a feeling of class consciousness rather than mere physical constriction. Obviously questions arising from context and performance arise here. For example, the text to "Handloom v. Powerloom", a song depicting the shift towards increasing industrialisation contains the line, "So, come all you cotton weavers, you must rise up very soon" (99). Harker comments, "Does that 'rise up' mean, simply, get out of bed; or is it deliberately ambiguous, a call to unionise-or even to insurrection? Is the sense of Us and Them mature enough to signify *class* consciousness (Harker's italics), or is the song intended to function as a safety valve for frustrations and humiliation? Clearly, its significance and function amongst working weavers would depend entirely on who sang it, when and where, and on the response of other workers" (100). Further light may be shed on this by comparing two very similar texts that address the subject of poverty in two rather different ways, whilst also providing an interesting example of the mutability of ballad themes.

Popular song forms have a proclivity for adaptability, with texts shifting and fluctuating to suit a myriad of situations, be they local, political or social. Palmer has observed that , "...in some cases songs detach themselves from individual ownership and go travelling by themselves, multiplying into different versions, and becoming common property" (101). The title "Past, Present and Future" was widespread in the oral tradition, being recorded as late as 1982 from a Norfolk singer named Tom Brown (102). The opening verse and the chorus run,

"Good people give attention, who now around do stand
I'll unfold the treatment of the poor upon the land
For nowadays the gentlemen have brought the labourers low
And daily are contriving plans to prove their overthrow

So now my bold companions the world seems upside down
They scorn the poor man as a thief in country and in town" (103).

A radically amended version was published c. 1846/1847 after the repeal of the Corn Law, entitled "New Dialogue and Song on the Times" and the song text contains some interesting changes;

"You working men of England one moment now attend
While I unfold the treatment of the poor upon this land
For nowadays the factory lords have brought the labour low

And daily are contriving to prove our overthrow

So arouse you sons of freedom the world seems upside down

They scorn the poor man as a thief in country and in town" (104).

"Good people" have now become the "working men of England" (note the assertion of national identity), whilst the "gentlemen" have become the "factory lords". The use of the word "our" in exchange for the word "their" also suggests a collective awareness of shared aspirations. Also, "bold companions" (a term that in itself contains a semantic inference to collective agency) is replaced by "you sons of freedom". The spectre of the Poor Law Amendment Act is invoked once again later in the text with the line, "If starving, you should ask for relief, you're sent to a Whig bastille" (105). Quite clearly this text was produced at a later date to the former and reflects an emerging awakening of class - consciousness. There was also a desire for reform in the wake of the 1832 Act.

The great fire that destroyed the two Houses of Parliament in 1834 was an event which became the inspiration for a comical, albeit satirical piece entitled, "Billy Jenkins, or, the two Houses of Parliament", described on a Harkness ballad sheet as "A Parody on 'The Mistletoe Bough', by Mr. C. Page" (it is actually quite rare for the author of a song to be named on a broadside) (106). The text describes how the disgruntled Billy decides to create a "jolly flare - up tonight" and that his hat and matches are discovered the following morning in the same spot where Guy Fawkes was apprehended (107). The final verse makes his motives quite clear;

"Quoth Bill, 'I thought 'twas the best thing I could do
For to burn these old houses and make 'em build new
So I just sneak'd in with a match in my hand
To disperse all their acts in a rich smoke through the land
And I'm sure by you all 'twill be well understood
That I've done all this nation a wonderful good
For I know'd if these Houses in dust vere vonce lain
Vy, they must be reform'd 'ere they'll use 'em again!" (108).

There are several important observations one can deduce from this song. The link with past themes is maintained by the fact that it is based on the older, more fanciful classic romantic ballad, "The Mistletoe Bough". Significantly, both texts appear side by side on the same sheet (109). In the original, the skeleton of Lord Lovell's bride is found in an oak chest, in some dusty recess of the castle years after a hide-and-seek jape went tragically amiss (110). In the case of Billy, he is discovered "stuck down a hole" in a hovel near to the smouldering ruins, alive and still defiant (111). Is this working-class satire or a sub-conscious identification with a distant, perceived paternalistic aristocracy? There is also the reference to Guy Fawkes, which is another acknowledgement of the past. However, the most important aspect of the text (which places it firmly in its contemporary context) is the mention of reform. Furthermore, the event of the great fire itself took place in the same year of the Poor Law Amendment Act and the irony of this would surely not have gone un-noticed by the performers and audiences (or just readers)

of the ballad. What is also intriguing is that a ballad printed by Harkness of Preston should be interspersed throughout with the cockney dialect of the time ("...in dust vere vonce lain..." and so on), which would infer that the text was familiar on a national basis.

Harkness printed this ballad in 1842, several years after the event it depicts and obviously did so knowing it would still be popular (112). By this time the Chartist agenda was well and truly underway. John Fielden, "M.P. for Oldham and manufacturer at Todmorden in Lancashire" wrote in 1836 (three years before the first Charter), "I have, all my years of manhood, been a Radical Reformer, because I thought Reform would give the people the power in the House of Commons that would secure to them that better condition of which they are worthy...that we shall do ourselves no harm by granting to them; but always avowing, that I would cast manufactures to the winds, rather than see the workpeople enslaved, maimed, vitiated, and broken in constitution and in heart..." (113). It is important to note that Fielden was, in his own words, a "manufacturer", a capitalist with trade concerns. This serves to illustrate the diversity of the Chartist movement and the variety of (frequently conflicting) interests contained within its ranks. Gammage maintained that there was a distinction between "physical force Chartism" (an appeal for the use or the threat of violence) and "moral force Chartism" (the use of reason and persuasion), which has since been described as "a simple dichotomy" by Walton (114). Also, Belchem and Epstein draw attention to the role played by "gentlemen leaders" such as Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Henry Hunt (M.P. for Preston 1830-32), Feargus O' Connor and so on, which may seem to be a contradiction of , "...working-class independence and collective self - action" (115). Thompson suggests that the

involvement of such personalities fostered older, cultural "responses of deference" (116). Nevertheless, as Evans asserts, Chartism represents the most significant political movement of working - class organisation seen during the 19th century (117). Working-class figures such as the Preston handloom weaver, Richard Marsden emerged "from obscurity" to play an important role in the formation of political awareness amongst labouring people (118). However, it has been argued that the Chartist movement was not entirely a purely political body, but also represented an interwoven social aspect which gathered an impetus of its own (119). Briggs states that the Chartists were a "snowball movement of social protest", which attracted elements that often proved to be at odds, but were ultimately united in striving for the Six Points of the Charter (120).

The People's Charter was drawn up in 1838 by William Lovett (a cabinet maker) along with Francis Place (a master tailor) and contains the famous Six Points; Universal Suffrage, No Property Qualifications, Annual Parliaments, Equal Representation, Payment of Members and Vote by Ballot (121). The basic intentions were as follows; Universal Suffrage appealed for the franchise to be extended to all men above the age of 21, No Property Qualifications would remove the requirement for prospective candidates to the House of Commons to possess property, Annual Parliaments would secure a degree of accountability, Equal Representation was aimed at disproportionate "rotten boroughs", Payment of Members opened up the prospect of more working-class candidates standing for Parliament and Vote by Ballot would control the corruption of open voting (122). In fact not everything contained in this manifesto was particularly new to radical thought (123). Samuel Bamford, described (in 1844) the events at the "Peterloo" tragedy of 1819

how he witnessed one green banner that was emblazoned with the inscription, "PARLIAMENTS ANNUAL", "SUFFRAGE UNIVERSAL" (124). Also, in 1833 a meeting in Padiham in Lancashire resolved in favour of four of what were to become the Six Points (125). The Charter was petitioned to Parliament on three occasions, 1839, 1842 and 1848 (126). The movement had a particularly strong following in Lancashire, where parts of the county have been described between the 1830's and 40's as "hotbeds of Chartism" (127).

With regard to song culture, Palmer suggests that Chartist ballads were not very numerous as the Chartists preferred a more "respectable" and "conventional" form of expression; some texts, according to Walsh and Butler, often being adaptations of popular hymns (128). There was by this time an increasingly literate number of labouring people who had passed through Sunday Schools and "dame schools", or were self-taught by mutual improvement societies, public-house gatherings and so forth (129). There was also a parallel culture of oral melodrama and ballads which helped to engender a "florid rhetoric" (130). Supplementing this were the works of popular Chartist fiction such as *The Political Pilgrim's Progress*, by Thomas Doubleday, issued in pamphlet form in Newcastle (1839) which developed a national radical readership beyond the locality of the North-East (131). Furthermore, it should be appreciated that "respectable" and "conventional" forms frequently found their way into broadside publications (and therefore the oral tradition). For example, Sir Walter Scott's composition, "Lullaby of an Infant Chief" (1815) was reproduced in a truncated form on a Harkness sheet entitled, "Oh, Rest Thee Babe". (1843) (132). Also, the literary Lancashire dialect works of

writers such as Edwin Waugh (who published with the assistance of middle-class patronage; see Chapter 3) often appeared on broadside sheets, "at a penny each", between the 1850's and 1870's (133). Commenting on these dialect authors, Maidment suggests that they represented an aspirational and, "...intelligent response to prevailing literary and social constraints" (134). This particular form of popular literature, was by and large, non-confrontational, although "formal" styles were employed as a vehicle for overtly political messages. For example, one particular song, "The Chartist's Anthem", was an anonymous adaptation of Robert Burns' "A Man's a Man For All That" (to a tune probably composed to be used with his piece in *Merry Muses of Caledonia*, 1800) and clearly endorses the cause of the Land Scheme launched by O' Connor in 1845;

"Art thou poor but honest man, sorely oppressed and all that?
Attention give to Chartist plan, 'twill cheer they heart, for all that
For all that, for all that, though landlords gripe, and all that
I'll show thee friend, before we part, the rights of man and all that

The right of man then's in the soil, an equal share and all that
For landlord no-one ought to toil, 'tis imposition, all that
Yes all that and all that, their title, deeds and all that
How'er they got them matters not the land is ours for all that" (135).

The text conveys the message that there are solutions to alleviate the "oppressed" and banish "imposition", rather than merely complain about distress. It has not been

established whether this song found its way into the broadside medium, but there is some evidence to suggest that it was fairly well known amongst the working people of one Lancashire mill-town. Significantly, the striking operatives of Preston sang this song as they marched through the streets during the 1842 "Plug Plot" (136). What is interesting is that it demonstrates that the operatives were familiar with "respectable" and "conventional" cultural forms, which in turn would have co-existed with an oral tradition. Those unable to read would no doubt have absorbed the text by word of mouth. The links with past radical sentiments are illustrated by the reference to "the rights of man", thus demonstrating a process of political continuity and change over time within labouring communities.

Another example of "florid rhetoric" is evident in the text, "The People Shall Have Their Own Again" (penned by the anonymous "F" of Rochdale and printed in *The Northern Star*) which is a re-working of the Martin Parker piece, "The King Enjoys his Own Again" (137). The original theme set down in Parker's text (1643) is an appeal for the royalist cause during the civil wars of the 17th century (138). This is adapted by "F" to reflect Chartist aspirations, in this case a somewhat fanciful demand for the return of an imagined loss of ancient rights. The last verse in Parker's work runs,

"Full forty years the royal crown
Hath been his father's and his own
And is there any one but he
That in the same should sharer be?

For who better may the sceptre sway
Than he that hath such right to reign?
Then let's hope for a peace, for the wars will not cease
Till the King enjoys his own again" (139).

In contrast, the closing verse of "F's" Chartist version in *The Northern Star* declares,

"We'll have the franchise back, in spite of gaol and rack
Or our proud oppressors no rest shall gain
For own they must, they know it is but just
That the people should have their own again" (140).

The notion of a lost past is still evident as was the case with the earlier texts of complaint; the opening two lines state, "Time gone the Suffrage was possessed by every man/And Old England then was a happy land to see" (141). The patriotic element is present, although as Colley and Cunningham maintain, the use of such imagery was not averse to radical ends and formed a site of conflict for cultural possession. The use of an earlier, enduring text from 200 years before as the basis for contemporary 19th century issues, raises several relevant observations. Palmer asserts that ballad writers such as Parker held, "...a secure and lasting place in the affections of the people" (142). The Parker text was also used as a template for "The Queen Shall Enjoy Her Own Again" in 1820, which was a defence of Queen Caroline (143). The adaptation of older songs has already been addressed above using the example of "When This Old Hat Was New" (also a Parker

ballad). Working people possessed the faculty to retain a notion of history (however vague and stylised), whilst also being able to appreciate the formal structures of composition. The anonymous "F" would have been aware of this, otherwise the ironical re-working of the original Parker theme to support a Chartist agenda, would have been lost on the audience (the idea that political and social stability can be found in the franchise rather than a return to absolute monarchy). The principal message is that there is a definite call for a solution to distress, albeit couched in the rather romantic terms of the usurped constitutional rights once held by all "freeborn Englishmen". It cannot be ascertained with any certainty that "The People Shall Have Their Own Again", travelled into the printed broadside medium or the oral tradition. However, it would have gained considerable exposure to a labouring population who were growing increasingly impatient with their dis-empowered position. *The Northern Star* was a prominent influence on the Chartist movement during the 1840's, regularly outselling provincial newspapers, with a maximum circulation of around 30, 000 copies (144). In the industrial Pennine village of Sabden, between Clitheroe and Padiham in Lancashire, sales are said to have achieved "saturation point" (145). Thus, "F"'s reworking of Parker would have been disseminated amongst a large proportion of working people, who were becoming more literate.

As it has been demonstrated previously, "respectable" and "conventional" forms of literature were absorbed into the broadside medium and were therefore consumed by labouring people. A good example of a text endorsing the Chartist cause which adopted this formula is the title "The White Cliffs of Albion", printed by Harkness (1844) (146).

John Harkness was not shy of printing ballads of a radical nature, as the following section will illustrate. The text here is re-produced in its entirety in order to gain a greater understanding of the content;

"On the white cliffs of Albion, as musing I stood
Surveying the waves of the rough swelling flood
I saw from the surface a female arise
And with wings like an eagle she mounted the skies

Her figure was noble and comely her mein
I looked and knew it was Liberty's Queen
With sword in her hand she shouts as she flies
Ye Rulers of Britain, be prudent and wise

For this island I chose, long before you had birth
For the seat of my Empire, the freest on earth
And tho' you have them no chains will she wear
Nor e'er be enslav'd whilst a sword I can bear

So saying she brandish'd her sword in the skies
And aloud to the sons of Britannia she cries
O you will endeavour your freedom to gain
Or basely submit to your ignoble chain

We will not submit, was soon echoed around
By millions of people who were stood on the ground
When Burdett and Cartwright appear'd in the van
Saying, we'll live to be free, or die to a man

But deign gentle goddess, the way to impart
To *crush* the fell monster that preys on the heart
Of your noble structure now gone to decay
Which once was the glory and pride of the day

With looks all complaisance and smiling, said she
The charter I gave you was, Britons be free
And though that corruption its beauties hath torn
'Twill blossom again after timely reform

Reform it reform it they shouted aloud
And the breath from their voices soon formed a cloud
In which she departed, and gave them a nod
Saying, the wish of the people's the will of God (147).

A link with past radical sentiments is reflected in the mention of Burdett and Cartwright. Moreover, patriotism and national identity are constantly reinforced throughout the text,

albeit in a somewhat confused way. "Albion" is the ancient word to describe England, yet there are references to "Britain", "Britannia" and "Britons", which suggests that the Union of Great Britain is being collectively represented by an idealised image of Englishness. The lines "For this island I chose, long before you had birth/ For the seat of my Empire, the freest on earth" raises some interesting and contradictory points. The notion of the rights of "Freeborn Englishmen" which predate the contemporary rulers of "Britain" is invoked, thus ensuring that the working-people will not be "enslav'd", through attaining "The charter" held by "Liberty's Queen". On the other hand, it would be difficult to imagine an African plantation worker as viewing the Empire as "the freest on earth"? However there are signs of a more militant tone throughout the song. The romantic icon of "Liberty's Queen" takes on a distinctly martial guise, who brandishes a sword for "your freedom to gain" and there is the threat to "crush the fell monster". Also, there are hints at class-consciousness in the text. The line, "And tho' you have forged them, no chains will she wear", suggests that despite the fact that the workers have created the capital of the nation, they will not be cowed by the injustice of capital itself. Furthermore, the declaration that, "We will not submit, was soon echoed around/ By millions of people that stood on the ground", appears to call for a sense of solidarity. The song concludes with a cogent demand for reform which is "shouted aloud". Thus, the ballad text employs all the icons of a past radicalism embodied through patriotism in order to broadcast the Chartist cause.

The Chartist movement in Lancashire reached it's zenith in 1842 with the violent "Plug Plot" strikes during which four operatives in Preston perished at the hands of the military,

whereafter it began to lose its popular appeal, "...in the face of widespread pessimism, fear and disillusionment...", becoming particularly impotent after 1848 (148). The last national Chartist Convention was held in February, 1858 (149). The Chartist movement was the political outcome of preceding decades of working-class dissent (even though there was a strong element of *petit bourgeois* involvement) that set a clear constitutional agenda through the Six Points. The popular song culture over this period appears to resonate with the nascent developing sophistication of working-class political sensibilities (the patriotic element being always present as a site of possession and conflict), from Jacobinism to Chartism. The shift from mere feelings of "discontent" to an emerging awareness of class-consciousness can be discerned within the texts of these songs, be they broadside sheets, poems, or "sonnets" produced in the *Northern Star* and so forth. They ultimately reveal a sense of political agency.

The following section will attempt to demonstrate how this vital historical source can be utilised to gain an understanding of 19th century working-class consciousness in Lancashire, set within a political, local and national context. The Preston Lock-Out of 1853/54 will be the case study.

SECTION 3

The text of a piece published in the *Northern Star* (1846) entitled "A Chartist Chorus", serves as an appropriate link with the previous section. As it has been pointed out above, literature of this nature quite frequently passed into the popular broadside medium.

"Go! cotton lords and corn lords, go!

Go! Ye live on looms and acre

But let be seen-some law between

The giver and the taker

Go! treasure well your miser's store

With crown, and cross and sabre!

Despite you all-we'll break your thrall

And have our land and labour

You forge no more-you fold no more

Your cankering chains about us

We heed you not-we need you not

But you can't do without us

You've lagged too long, the tide has turned

Your helmsmen all were knavish

And now we'll be-as bold and free

As we've been tame and slavish

Our lives are not your sheaves to glean-

Our rights your bales to barter

Give all their own-from cot to throne

But ours shall be the CHARTER!" (150).

Once more there is the allusion to class tension, for example, "Despite you all-we'll break your thrall/And have our land and labour" and in a more sarcastic tone, "We heed you not-we need you not/But you can't do without us" (151). The use of the phrase "cotton lords" is interesting as it emerges often in ballad literature produced during the Preston Lock-Out of 1854/53. The term "The Preston Cotton Lords" was apparently coined by the masters' themselves (152). The word "Lords" implies an arrogant, aristocratic sense of self-importance and came to be used in a pejorative sense by the striking workers.

The Lock-Out itself had its origins in the trade slump of 1846-48, whereupon the cotton mill owners (the self-styled "Preston Cotton Lords") introduced a ten per cent reduction in wages, which came as a particularly bitter blow to an already impoverished work force who were on short time (153). The workers believed that the masters had promised to restore the wage cut once trade improved (154). However, as Charles Dickens was to observe, "Whatever such a promise was, or was not, actually given, we cannot presume to determine, for the masters emphatically deny it..." (155). By the close of 1852, trade

returned to a "general prosperity" and in the following spring of 1853 a nation-wide movement for increased wages began to emerge (156). Dickens describes the situation in Preston, referring to the successful restoration of the ten per cent in Stockport earlier that year; "They (the workers) acted upon Napoleon's principle of combining forces upon single points in succession, and so reducing the enemy in detail. Then it was that the Preston Masters, fearing that similar tactics would be turned against themselves, combined to oppose the attempt, and eventually 'locked out' their operatives" (157). The ensuing industrial dispute has been described as a "great set-piece confrontation" and was one of the "longest and angriest" of a series of disputes throughout Lancashire as the workers struggled to reinstate the wage reductions of the 1840's (158). Financial support for the strikers was forthcoming from most of Lancashire and even as far afield as London (159). Indeed, the conflict aroused national interest (160). By far the greatest financial assistance came from the neighbouring town of Blackburn where one third of the total for the second week of November 1853 was raised (161). As we shall see these contributions were supplemented by the sale of ballad sheets (162). At this point it must be emphasised that although the strike spread across the cotton districts of Lancashire (as well as neighbouring counties), the main focus of attention for this section will be the experience of Preston.

Significantly, the dispute had links with Chartism (see the above ballad text); the rhetoric of many of the strike leaders was "tinged with persisting Chartist aspirations" (163). Some of those involved with organising the operatives had a Chartist background, such as the Preston weaver George Cowell and Edward Swinglehurst (who had named one of his

sons Henry Hunt, after the radical campaigner and M.P. for Preston 1830-32) (164). The nature of this conflict differed in character to the more violent "Plug Plot" of 1842, when Chartism was at its height. The military were not involved, there were no fatalities, only two small riots and a comparatively restrained leadership which won the "grudging admiration" of middle-class commentators (165). Nevertheless, an angry, hostile sentiment still existed towards dictatorial cotton masters (166). The Marxian notion described by Thompson of friction between socio-economic groups with conflicting interests can be discerned during the Lock-Out. Speaking to an audience at the beginning of the strike, George Cowell railed against the regime at Horrockses and Miller, stating that, "He once worked for Mr. Miller and he had no hesitation in saying that he would not work for that firm again under the present rules, and under the system of tyranny which was there practiced" (167). For their part, the mill owners, preoccupied with an "attention to expediency" and the maximisation of short-term profits, could only express dismay in the *Manchester Guardian* (24th June, 1854) at, "...the alienation of those kind sentiments of mutual regard which ought always to exist between persons so closely connected as those of the employers and employed in the cotton trade" (168). Writing a decade earlier, Friedrich Engels had described such men thus, "I have never seen a class so deeply demoralised, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie...For it nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold...It is utterly indifferent to the English bourgeois whether his working-men starve or not, if only he makes money" (169). Commenting on the events in Lancashire during 1853/54, Karl Marx wrote in an article for the influential American

paper, *New York Daily* (8th January, 1854), "...the eyes of the working classes are now fully opened: they begin to cry, Our St. Petersburg is at Preston". (170). Eliza Cook echoed this sentiment, declaring that, "The eyes of the world are on Preston in Lancashire where a titanic struggle is taking place between Capital and Labour" (171). Clearly, the strike gained a significance and interest that spread beyond the narrow boundaries of a localised, economic dispute and was perceived by some to be a clash of conflicting ideological interests. It has been debated as to whether the cotton operatives themselves unanimously saw it this way and this point will be addressed later.

What is certain is that the Lock-Out provided the impetus for an output of broadside ballad literature which not only reflected the plight of the operatives but was also a means of sustaining the strike financially, albeit in a comparatively minor way. They were, in a sense, a cultural and material weapon of the working-class. As Palmer states, they were not only sold to raise money but also to publicise the cause, engender sympathy and bolster morale (172). The fact that the local magistrates attempted to prevent the singing of such ballads in the streets of Preston by means of the local constabulary, testifies to the measure of success they had in alarming the mill owners, whilst rallying support for the strike (173). One indignant speaker at a meeting in 1853 complained that, "Not content with prohibiting the convention of their open air meetings, in the face of or boasted freedom of utterance, the magistrates had given orders to the policemen to prevent the turn-outs from singing a harmless ballad in the street. While it be remembered, other parties were allowed to sing songs relating to all manner of things, some of the immoral and licentious character without interference or hindrance" (174). Perhaps the speaker

was missing the point, as the ballads cannot have been so harmless if the authorities saw fit to suppress their dissemination. Dickens, lodging in Preston to cover the strike for *Household Words*, described the ballads he encountered, both printed and performed, "The songs are not remarkable for much elegance and polish, but they possess some earnestness and fire, and are undoubtedly composed by the operatives themselves...Tyrtacus wakened not more enthusiasm in the breast of his auditors, than these simple doggerels do among the rude but earnest crowds which throng to hearken to them" (175). These ballads then were a genuine product of working-class expression. They were printed mainly by Harkness who produced them without an imprint (the printers name and business address), which at this time was an act of illegal subversion, since legislation had been passed in 1797 to this effect due to naval mutinies (176). Once more this serves as an indication of the impact of ballad culture on the sensibilities of ordinary people over the years, with the authorities seeking to curb the seditious influence they could have. Harkness was placing his business in considerable jeopardy and it may be argued that he omitted the imprints merely to protect his commercial interests. Conversely, it does seem likely that he had some sympathy with the strikers when one considers that his trade was closely linked with working-class culture and also, why would he risk his operation by printing the sheets at all?

The texts do provide a fascinating insight into the Lock-Out and, as Dickens observed, varied, "...to meet the exigencies of passing events" (177). Moreover, it can be argued that they convey a tone of class conflict albeit within a localised dispute (although, as

pointed out above, the events of the Lock-Out travelled far beyond the boundaries of its local setting).

One of the ballads noted by Dickens, "Ten Per Cent", certainly contains some "earnestness and fire" and there are at least three verses that display a sense of conflicting interests between the mill owners and their workers (178). The last three verses run,

"In Preston town I do believe
The masters are our foes
But some of them, before it's long
Will wear some ragged clothes
But we'll unite both one and all
And never will lament
When this great war has ceased
About the ten per cent

The winter it is coming on
It will be very cold
But we'll stand out for our demand
Like warriors so bold
But if the masters don't give way
And firmly give consent
We'll stand out till their mills do fall

All for the ten per cent

Now to conclude and make an end

Of this my simple song

I hope the masters will give in

And that before it's long

Before the master's tyranny

Shall rule our rights and laws

We'll have another strike my boys

If ever we have cause" (179).

The line "The masters are our foes" clearly defines who the culprits are for causing the hardship rather than just the fluctuations in "market forces" propounded by the mill owners. At a meeting of "Master Spinners and Manufacturers in Manchester" (3rd January 1854), it was stated that, "...the unerring principle of supply and demand is the only true and permanent regulator of wages, as it is of all articles of value" (180). Henry Ashworth followed the strike closely and had no sympathy with the strikers, endorsing the view that, "...the law of supply and demand is the only one which can be admitted to control wages" (181). The song text, however, suggests that the workers saw through this reasoning and identified their employers as the real source of their suffering (a theme that re-occurs in Lock-Out ballads time and again). The solution to this, according to the song text, was to "unite both one and all" and "Stand out till their mills do fall" (perhaps a metaphor for the "fall" of capitalism?). Although the last two lines may portray a

fatalistic likelihood that the capitalist system could remain intact, the militancy of the text is still evident; "We'll stand out till their mills do fall". The cotton unions (both spinning and weaving) were indeed capable of sustaining bitter strikes, being capable of "federating" beyond their immediate local organisations (182). As for the mill owners, they emphatically opposed any attempt by the workers to combine whilst they themselves set their own combinations up to defend their interests against union "dictation" (183). Trade union leaders were often portrayed as professional outside agitators. At the Master's meeting mentioned above, it was concluded that, "...the present struggle in Preston is organised and kept up by paid agents, chiefly strangers in the town, whose interest is to foment a spirit of insubordination towards their employers..." (184). In the case of George Cowell this was clearly nonsense as he was a local Preston man (see above). Thus the worker's organisations and the combination of the masters' were locked in a socio-economic conflict, or "this great war" as the ballad declares, in which the workers perceive themselves as "Warriors so bold".

One of the most enthusiastic expressions of class solidarity, as well as being a "classic fund-raising song" is "The Cotton Lords of Preston", from a Harkness sheet which can be located in the Madden Collection (185). It is worth quoting in its entirety;

"Have you not heard the news of late
About some mighty men so great
I mean the swells of Fishergate
The Cotton Lords of Preston

They are a set of stingy blades
They've locked up all their mills and shades
So now we've nothing else to do
But come a-singing songs for you
So with our ballads we've come out
To tramp the country round about
And try if we can't live without
The Cotton Lords of Preston

CHORUS;

Everybody's crying shame
On these Gentlemen by name
Don't you think they're much to blame
The Cotton Lords of Preston

The working people such as we
Pass their time such as we
While they live in luxury
The Cotton Lords of Preston
They're making money every way
And building factories every day
Yet when we ask them for more pay

They had the impudence to say
'To your demands we'll not consent
You get enough so be content'
But we will have the Ten Per Cent
From t' Cotton Lords of Preston

CHORUS

Our masters say they're very sure
That a strike we can't endure
They all assert we're very poor
The Cotton Lords of Preston
But we're determined every one
With them we will not be done
For we'll not be content
Until we get the Ten Per Cent
The Cotton Lords are sure to fall
Both ugly, handsome, short and tall
For we intend to conquer all
The Cotton Lords of Preston

CHORUS

So men and women all of you
Come and buy a song or two
And assist us to subdue
The Cotton Lords of Preston
We'll conquer them and no mistake
Whatever laws they seem to make
And when we get the Ten Per Cent
Then we'll live happy and content
Then we'll dance and sing with glee
And thank you all right heartily
When we gain the victory
And beat the Lords of Preston" (186).

There are two references to the way in which such texts were an important means of assisting the strikers in their cause, both financially and as a means of sustaining morale, whilst engendering support. This can be seen in the first and last verses, thus, "So with our ballads we've come out/To tramp the country round about/And try if we can't live without/"The Cotton Lords of Preston" and later, "So men and women all of you/Come and buy a song or two/And assist us to subdue/The Cotton Lords of Preston". Note the term "our ballads", suggesting they were the product of the workers' own creative efforts. Also, an important point to consider here is the sheets are being sold as a means to "try if we can't live without" and to "subdue" the mill owners. It comes as no surprise that attempts were made to suppress such material as they possess a genuinely subversive

function, both in their sale and their content. To digress briefly, the call to "men and women all of you" is interesting as another Lock-Out ballad, "Preston Throstle Spinners' Strike", contains a clear reference to the role of women; "So now my lasses/Raise your voices/Be united heart and hand" (this will be discussed in the following chapter) (187). Returning to "The Cotton Lords of Preston", other recurrent themes include the parsimony of the mill owners and the call for solidarity amongst the workers who will gain the ultimate victory over their masters. Once again, as in "Ten Per Cent", the culprits for the destitution of the strikers are clearly identified in the chorus, "Don't you think they're much to blame/The Cotton Lords of Preston" and in the following verse, "The working people such as we/Pass their time in misery/While they live in luxury/The Cotton Lords of Preston". The use of the words "we" and "they" is quite telling (as in the phrase "us and them"). The strikers are "determined every one" to "conquer" the masters who have forced them to "be content" (echoes of any earlier ballad; see above). The line "When we get the victory", hints at a sense of confidence in their struggle with the mill - owners who are "sure to fall". Significantly, the song is from the early, optimistic days of the dispute (188). To lend more of a sense of militancy to the text, it was set to "the breezy" tune of "The King of the Cannibal Isles", which was popular in the locality at the time (189).

The sense of shared aspirations and confidence evident in this text can be found in other Lock-Out ballads. The closing line of "Preston Strike and the Ten Per Cent and No Surrender" runs, "And we will be victorious" (even the title conveys a strident attitude

with the declaration of "No Surrender") (190). Another song, "The Preston Operatives Home", even hints at an appeal for the collectivisation of mills, the last verse predicting,

"When mills re-open we'll unite
And save our peace in time
The only way to gain our rights
With one accord combine-
To build a mill-a mill so great
Where tyrants dare not come
We'll work for each with pleasure sweet
And then enjoy our home" (191).

This demonstrates that the strikers were sufficiently politicised to articulate concepts such as worker's co-operatives and indeed such a scheme was proposed by Mortimer Grimshaw, at a meeting in the Temperance Hall (19th September, 1853) (192). However, it has been argued that the strikers actually held a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the dispute and their masters (193). Even though they largely rejected middle-class norms and values, Dutton and King maintain that they were compelled by the "realities of the situation" to accept the dominant political economy that such norms and values upheld, thus, "...seeking only the palliative of higher wages" (194). The *Preston Guardian* noted how the operatives had little knowledge of trade or political economy and quoted from a factory worker of 40 years who wrote, "I believe that the laws that regulate labour and wages are as immutable and unalterable, by force or compulsion, as the laws which regulate the heavenly bodies" (195). The editorial of *The Preston Pilot* was quite

outspoken on the subject of labour relations, "We...must implore our fellow townsmen, whose welfare we heartily desire, to desist from this un-natural and disastrous struggle...Capital is the offspring of labour; the two are natural allies, are closely akin, and ought never to be at war. The labourer should become a small capitalist himself; many such are known to us to be among sober, industrious, and orderly of their class" (196). Writing earlier in 1835, Andrew Ure endorsed the virtues of the self-made factory operatives who become "opulent proprietors", whilst deriding the "invidious feeling" and ingratitude of striking workers (197).

Despite all of this, there were dissenting voices amongst the strike leaders that definitely question the legitimacy of the capitalist system (as we have seen the ballad texts echo this sentiment to some degree). In an address to a meeting in 1853 by Grimshaw, the *Preston Guardian* reported his words, "If ever there was a system that ought to be warred against it was this. If our trade could not prosper; if our commerce could not flourish, but at the expense of the comfort, happiness and well-being of the operatives of this country, he would say let trade perish, and a new order be established" (198). George Cowell was equally vehement, railing, "Political economy! What is it? The doctrine of buying cheap and selling dear...The sooner we can rout political economy, the better it will be for the working-classes of this country" (199). The *laissez-faire* principle comes directly under attack in the chorus of "Uncle Ned or the Preston Strike", the last two lines of which state, "And we'll never be content till we get the ten per cent? In spite of their 'let well alone' " (200).

The ballads criticised the inequities of capitalism and the factory system in a number of ways. Some titles treat the dispute during the early days as an opportunity for a holiday, to pursue popular pastimes away from the grind of the mill (201). For example, the chorus of "Song of the Preston Strike" runs,

"Hurrah! brave lads and lasses, our master's closed his gates
We're free from all big smashes now, long floats and heavy bates
So on the marsh we'll sport and play, and make ourselves content
Till they again withdraw their bolts, and give us the Ten per Cent" (202).

One verse in "Uncle Ned or the Preston Strike" describes an almost idyllic scene;

"The fields they are green and fragrant are the flowers
And the birds sweetly do warble their tunes
These things we'll enjoy while we hold our holiday
Twill be pleasanter than piecing up our ends" (203).

Dickens commented how clean the air in Preston seemed to be with the mills being shut down and his description of the operatives enjoying their free time, complements the texts of the ballads, "Play is going on upon the Marsh with a vengeance; 'kiss in the ring' is being briskly carried on; the sterner sort of lads are engaged in leap-frog or football. There are few symptoms of care and contention here..." (204). Rev. Clay (a prison chaplain) noted with alarm that this "unaccustomed idleness" was leading to sexual

promiscuity amongst the younger population of the town (205). The two ballads quoted from above, appear to convey a sense of freedom from the constraints of factory work-discipline, thus asserting that the operatives held a sense of agency beyond the mill gates. In their own hedonistic way, they were upholding their right to free association. Significantly, Dickens observed that the "Marsh" also served as an open-air venue for orators such as "John Gruntle" (Grimshaw?), "Cowler" (George Cowell?), "Swindle" (Swinglehurst?) and so on (206). Another more equally important location for open-air meetings was Chadwick's Orchard (now the site of the covered market) and it does seem surprising that there is no mention of this site in any of the ballad titles so far encountered (207). One particular tragic event in Preston at this time, described in ballad form, caught the attention of the local population. As Dickens relates, there was always an accompanying song to match the "exigencies" of the ongoing situation (see above).

Although there were no fatalities attributed to violence during the course of the Lock-Out, there was a particularly poignant and bizarre episode which resulted in the death of a young female operative. On 4th October 1853, a crush of cardroom hands collecting their strike pay in an upstairs room at the Corporation Arms caused the floor to collapse, resulting in the death of 14 year old Jane Smalley (208). A ballad was printed by J. Robinson of 17 Cannon Street, Preston, portraying the incident entitled, "The Mother's Lament for Her Child", which as the title suggests is rather lachrymose and sentimental but still manages to retain an element of defiance (209). Verses two and three depict the scene at the Corporation Arms,

"On that sad night she met her death
Her heart it was both light and gay
And hasten'd to the meeting place
With others for to receive her pay
And warm she spoke of better days
And hop'd the masters would relent
To give unto the 'Card Room hands'
Their just and lawful Ten per cent

The room for which they had agreed
To them unjustly was denied
And all because their poverty
Was irksome to the master's pride
They were forced in one so small
Which soon gave way-and sent
My only one to her end
A victim to the ten per cent" (210).

What is interesting are the lines which suggest that the strikers were somehow prevented from collecting their strike allowance from a more suitable collection point, thereby compelling them to find another place at short notice, hence the resulting disaster. It has not, so far, proved possible to obtain any evidence that this actually was the case. With regard to the last line quoted, the first verse concludes in a similar way, stating that the

unfortunate girl was, "A Martyr to the Ten per cent" (211). Another three lines in the last verse state, "But soon I'm sure we'll meet again/ In that bright world where no masters dare/ To cause us any grief or pain" (212). This appears at first glance to infer a sense of moral indignation, yet it is the material conditions (the "grief" and the "pain") imposed by the masters that are ultimately to blame for the loss of Jane Smalley; the "Martyr" or "victim" to the "Ten per cent".

Eventually, after almost a year of conflict the strike ended in April 1854 due to a combination of factors, namely dwindling financial support along with the incarceration of the workers' leaders including Cowell and Grimshaw (213). As stated above, the dispute produced comparatively little violence (considering the events of 1842), with the operatives gaining the respect of public opinion even amongst those who were opposed to it. In his account on the events written six months after the Lock-Out, Ashworth conceded that the tactics and management of the strikers was commendable, remarking that, "...strikes are less violent and conducted with less brutality, than in former times; there is more of an appeal to reason, to justice, and to public opinion, and less of reliance on brute force" (214). He also went as far as to praise Cowell's conduct, describing him as, "...a man who would do honour to a juster cause" (215). Dickens took an impartial stance and claimed that it was possible to be a "friend" to both workers and masters alike (216). The fact that the strikers retained the moral high-ground throughout the dispute is also demonstrated in the content of their ballads. For instance, the first four lines of verse six from "Preston Strike and the Ten Per Cent and No Surrender" declare,

"We will not use a gun or pike
For that's a thing we do dislike
But we shall fight and gain the fight
By moral agitation" (217).

Furthermore, there was an appeal for restraint towards the "nobsticks" (blacklegs) in verse two of "Song of the Preston Strike" thus,

"United we are, heart and Hand, and forever will remain
No nobsticks shall disgrace our ranks, or follow in our train
To injure them we don't intend, so safely they may sleep
But we will plainly tell the Nobs, what company to keep" (218).

Despite the call for tolerance and reason there is still an underlying appeal for class solidarity, including the wretched nobsticks; "United we are, heart and hand, and forever will remain" and later, "But we will plainly tell the Nobs, what company to keep". The nobsticks were recruited mainly from workhouses in England and Ireland and were noticeably inefficient in the work place (219). The *Preston Guardian* (18th March, 1854), described one particular intake arriving from Ireland with dismay; they were, "...miserable-looking specimens of humanity, and in a most disgusting and filthy condition. Their bedding, etc., swarmed with that species of loathsome vermin so obnoxious to cleanly housewives, and when the articles were removed from the truck on which they were packed, the lively insects dispersed themselves over the platform, much

to the alarm of persons present" (220). Frequently, the nobsticks were intercepted at Preston station by strikers' delegates who fed and watered them, before providing them with one way tickets back to their place of origin (221).

The Lock-Out of 1853/54 demonstrated that working people possessed the capacity to combine in an organised, rational and cogent manner (without resorting to physical violence), in order to state their case. It has been suggested that this was the first example of a nationally supported strike (222). The strike occurred at a time that historians have described (and debated over) as being transitional. That is to say, a distinction can be made between the first half of the 19th century, characterised by "distress" and "discontent" and the post-1850's period of "equipoise", or as Kirk maintains, "...stabilisation, as opposed to harmonisation, of overall class relations" (223). But what do the ballads produced during this dispute contribute towards our understanding of working-class feelings and aspirations? They certainly display some "fire and earnestness" (to use Dickens' phrase), whilst stopping short of advocating bloody insurrection. The ballads produced during the Cotton Famine a decade later were more subdued and reflect a changed atmosphere amongst the working people of Lancashire. To the astonishment of both the local propertied classes and Karl Marx this particular crisis was met with resignation and fortitude rather than anger, at a time of exceptional social distress, when almost half a million textile workers were in receipt of relief by December 1862 (224). The Lock-Out ballads by contrast, as we have seen, represent discontent along the lines of a conflict of class interests. Working people were developing a greater grasp of their situation and this is reflected in their popular literature. An indication of

this is the use of a phrase that became commonplace at the time; variously "the shoddyocracy of Preston" or "the miserable shoddyocracy" to describe the mill-owners (225). Dickens remarked that this was derived from uniting Pindaric and "Tim Bobbin" terminology; "shoddy" referring to the refuse of cotton material and "ocracy" being the classic Greek for govern (226). This displays a clear understanding of the use of language as well as political concepts.

Also, the ballads contain an element of continuity with the past. For example, "Preston Throstle Spinners' Strike" has the lines, "But shout Huzza! and don't give in/Until you get the rights of man" , which is a direct reference to Paine (227). Furthermore, the ubiquitous element of patriotism is in evidence once again, as it was in earlier ballad culture. "Preston Strike and the Ten Per Cent and No Surrender" describes the Stockport operatives thus, "Like true Britons of renown/They bravely put oppression down", whilst a longer version of "Preston Throstle Spinners' Strike" informs us, "And in a while, in true Britain's Isle/Poor people they will soon be free" (228). The true "Freeborn Englishman" was still holding the banner for the downtrodden.

These songs provide a fascinating and intimate means of gaining an understanding of this local industrial dispute and the way in which it was regarded by the workers, who were the principal author's of the texts. Used in conjunction with other primary material they serve as a unique documentation of the events of 1853/54 in Lancashire.

CONCLUSION

The emerging picture throughout this Chapter is one of a developing pattern of political awareness and class-consciousness amongst working people over a period of time, which is reflected in their popular song culture, namely through the medium of the printed broadsides. This involved elements of continuity and change. Thus, early 19th century ballads convey a link with the past in terms of a "moral economy", in so much that they offer little in the way of solutions to "distress", other than that of a return to an idealised and somewhat romanticised country. The songs of the Chartist era depict a more organised political agenda (despite the internecine frictions), whilst still retaining an element of "Golden Age" perceptions of "liberty" and notions of the "freeborn Englishman". Eventually, the Lock-Out ballads (although deriving from a localised industrial dispute) offer evidence of a distinctly cogent socio-economic awareness amongst working people, along with the means and ways to alter their predicament. It has been argued in certain quarters that the development of "class" did not run concurrent with economic development and that class-consciousness can be reduced to a notion of "populism" (229). Although these two developments may not have been strictly linear in character, the author of this thesis maintains that there is evidence of a relationship between the two, which can be discerned through studying the content of the contemporary political ballad culture of labouring people in early to mid-19th century Lancashire. Stedman Jones, commenting on Chartism noted that, "Consciousness cannot be related to experience except through the interposition of a particular language which organises the understanding of experience..." (230). Stedman Jones maintains that he was attempting to develop the groundwork built by Thompson a decade earlier a step further,

by asserting the importance of language (231). True, language is important to the understanding between experience and consciousness (and ballads are, after all, just one form of language), yet the "experience" of industrialisation surely comes before the "consciousness"?

One overriding continuity evident within popular political balladry appears to be the element of patriotism in the texts as a vehicle of radical sentiments, thus representing a site of cultural possession. This is still evident in more recent times within the "folk" or "roots" milieu of modern times, which demonstrates how durable this continuity is. For instance, Richard Thompson in "The New St. George" urges us to, "Leave the factory, leave the forge/And dance to the new St. George" (232). More recently, P.J. Wright evokes the same imagery in "Johnny England",

"After the ball, there's a blazing row
Up jumps oppressive Margaret, we're all in trouble now
The way she cut the cake created many a wealthy man
The family silver's all gone down the pan
God help us Johnny England, if you can" (233).

Ultimately, vernacular song culture imparts information about popular political sensibilities that goes beyond the purely mainstream arena of party politics. They are not just concerned with elections, candidates, political personalities or whatever. They provide a window on the hearts, as well as the minds of ordinary people and reflect one

way in which they made sense of the world around them. To this end they represent valuable historical source material for the scholar of popular politics in England.

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CHAPTER 6-THE GENDER DIMENSION

INTRODUCTION

The intention of this chapter is to focus on the social dimension of sex and gender as represented in the popular ballads of 19th century industrial Lancashire, with particular reference to the role of women. The aspirations, expectations and sense of agency experienced by women during this time will be explored. Palmer has drawn attention to the significance of this area of popular music; "Relationships between men and women, sexual and otherwise, are a major-perhaps the major-preoccupation in balladry, as no doubt, in literature in general" (1).

It should be appreciated that women, despite assisting in the Reform campaign of 1832, did not feature in the Bill and faced considerable hostility from both Parliament reactionaries and even at grass roots level (2). Colley maintains that although the Act of 1832 restricted the vote to "suitably qualified" men, the denial of the franchise to women had always been "taken tacitly for granted" (3). Empowerment will be a recurring theme of this chapter.

The chapter will consist of two major sections, the first of which will be an investigation into the experience of women in domestic life, as portrayed by popular ballads.

Contemporary social attitudes are an important factor here. Titles such as "What's a House Without a Woman", "The Pleasures of Scolding", "New Way to Make a Good Husband" and "Worth of a Woman" will provide useful insights (4). The subject of the following section will be the examination of women in the working environment and the

public sphere. For example, "Sam Shuttle and Betty Reedhook", "Bury New Loom" and "Preston Throstle Spinner's Strike", are of interest. The latter song is a depiction of the Preston Lock-Out of 1853/54 (5).

It is important to note that apart from comments made by Palmer and Vicinus, this area of popular song culture concerning the experience of women as depicted in ballads has received comparatively little academic scrutiny so far (6). What follows is an attempt to redress this imbalance.

SECTION 1

The predominant image of women in the 19th century has been based on the stereotypical concept of compliant domesticity within the household. Rendall maintains that by the 1830's the ideal vision of womanhood was to be found in the "material context of the home" (7). Lewis also comments that the notion of the "good wife" was, "widely understood and accepted" (8). It has been suggested that one significant source of this paradigm of domestic obligation and virtue filtered down from the "opinion-shaping" middle-class perspective, through domestic servants, who went on to marry labouring men, thus transporting such values with them into their own home lives (9). Servants and maids comprised almost 40 per cent of the entire female working population by 1851, twice the amount as those employed in any type of textile industry (10). Nevertheless, the contribution of women within the trade was still quite substantial, comprising two thirds of the labour force in 1833 (11).

However the main concern here is with women's domestic role. As stated above, marriage, family and home life formed the central sphere for what was deemed desirable for women by the middle-class, although of course, the reality was quite different. An important element of this image was the idealisation of motherhood throughout the late 18th and early 19th century. Significantly, working mothers were often blamed for infant mortality, despite the fact that poverty compelled many working-class women to take paid employment outside the home (12). The notion of the respectable mother was emphasised by contemporary writers such as Maria Edgeworth, Hannah More, Elizabeth Hamilton *et al* (13). Even the feminist Mary Wollstonecraft, who actually was at odds

with the above writers, espoused the importance of motherhood, describing it as the "peculiar destination" of women, which offered "dignified domestic happiness" (14). Ann Taylor Gilbert, the author of "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star" published a piece in 1812 entitled, "Remonstrance", the final verse of which runs,

"Of art intuitive possest
Her infant train;
To virtue by her smiles carest
Or chastened by her tears..." (15).

As it has been demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis, works published by known authors could find their way onto broadside sheets, so it may be possible that the above example did likewise. However, there is some broadside evidence that conflicts with the sentiments written by Gilbert, to suggest that maternal instincts were by no means universally felt by women. The "Confession of the Murderess" on the early 19th century Catnach broadside, "The Esher Tragedy: Six Children Murdered by their Mother" depicts a state of mind that many readers would have been familiar with; overcrowding, long working hours and the poor health of working mothers (16). The spoken section describes the incident, "I groped about in master's room for a razor-I went up to Georgy and cut her first; I did not look at her. I then came to Carry, and cut her. Then to Harry-he said 'don't mother'. I said 'I must', and I did cut him. Then I went to Bill. He was fast asleep. I turned him over. He never awoke, and I served him the same. I nearly tumbled into this room. The two children here, Harriet and George were awake. They made no resistance

at all. I then lay down myself" (17). This particularly gruesome episode was no doubt the exception rather than the rule, but it does illustrate the frustrations some working mothers must have encountered. In Preston there was tragic incident in 1858, when a woman named Jane Parker took her new born son to the Black-a-Moor Head in Lancaster Road to show to the local drinking fraternity (18). However, after consuming gin and water, one of the male clientele suggested that it was possible for a child to survive in a box for two days, whereupon she left the pub and made her way to a furniture brokers in Friargate to purchase a small travelling box and a direction tag (19). She proceeded to place her son in the box (having given the two-day old baby a dose of gin), sealed the container, attached the tag with an address in Liverpool and gave the parcel to a labourer in another pub with the instructions to take it to the railway station (20). The box arrived the next day to the shock and surprise of the addressee, Mrs. Melville (whose connection to Parker has never been established) who attempted to revive the ailing child by warming him by a fire (21). Unfortunately, the child was pronounced dead on arrival at the Northern Dispensary (22). Parker, when confronted by the police, attempted to take an overdose of laudanum but was thwarted and subsequently received a charge of manslaughter and was sentenced to six months with hard labour (23).

It could be argued that infanticide, in a way displays an extreme form of maternal love, in that the mother kills her children to end their life of misery. In Parker's case, it is not clear what her motives were, but her actions were probably the result of a combination ignorance, naiveté, desperation, depression and drink, as the leniency of her charge and sentence seems to suggest. The case also indicates that drunkenness was not the sole

preserve of men. The broadside medium reported the phenomenon of infanticide in street level terms (in London, at least), as the Catnach sheet demonstrates. The Parker case does not seem to have been represented in the local broadside output, but this may be a virtue of survivability (always assuming that a ballad was produced), due to the fact that the case was so upsetting to local sensibilities in Preston, that any song concerning the case would not have sold. After all, the printers were well aware of what was popular on the streets. Perhaps this suggests that the people of Preston were not as taken with sensationalism as their London counterparts. It is not known whether Parker was married or a single mother.

With regard to marriage, women were expected to effectively relinquish their identity. A wife's personal property passed into the hands of her husband on marriage and the law considered him to be his wife's guardian who had the right to control her actions, even being allowed to chastise her, "...with a stick no thicker than his thumb" (24). She had no legal *persona* in the eyes of the law and could not, by definition be a citizen (25).

Writing in 1771, Sir William Blackstone, a leading legal commentator stated, "By marriage the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband" (26). The implication here is that women were disempowered in the home and constrained by the terms and conditions of married life, but this may be an oversimplification of the situation. Lewis suggests that there is evidence (although she does not state what it is) that many working-class women took pride in the control they had in managing the family economy and, "...that they resented the

intrusions of state officials or indeed of husbands, in what they regarded as their domain" (27). She also maintains that working-class women fully expected to take the responsibility of caring for their families and hoped above all else to find a "good husband" (28). This notion of respectable working-class domesticity in the early to mid-19th century is evident within the broadside medium.

For example, "Contented Wife and Her Satisfied Husband" (1847) printed by Harkness is a good example of how women exerted their control over the family economy (29). In this case when the husband inquires where his wages are going, his wife presents him with an itemised audit (30). Another example of this theme is "Fifteen Shillings a Week" in which the wife explains to her husband how she has managed his earnings, "...down to a penny for poison for fleas, twopence for 'the chamber pot you broke', and a penny for him to read a newspaper at the local coffee house" (31). The rather sentimental "What's a House Without a Woman" (1842) urges single males to consider the benefits of a wife;

"What's a house without a woman!

Come tell me what, you all know that

It's a sunless, barren common

Whose prospects are both dull and flat

Each bachelor here this sure will own

His wifeless room is full of gloom

And ye whose wives are out of town

Will really own that home's not home

For what's a home without a woman
An empty space, a dismal place
The richest home has still a gloom on
Without a woman's smiling face" (32).

The final verse concludes with the reinforcement that a man is not wholly fulfilled without the domestic presence of feminine company;

'The married man at home is easy
Girls and boys become his joys
His home to him, without a spouse, is
Cold and comfortless, void of joys
Then gentlemen let me not say more
O, alter your plan, old Bachelor Clan
Repent that you've not married before
And young ones get married as soon as you can" (33).

The emphasis on the word "Bachelor" or Bachelor Clan" with a capital "B" is interesting as it seems to infer that the term is being applied in a pejorative sense. The implication being, single men are loose cannon who require the stabilising influence of women and children in their lives. Also, is the use of the word "alter" in the final verse intended to be a play on words? What does seem certain is that the text is appealing to an emotional

vision of marriage rather than one that is practical and economically prudent. Ellen Ross maintains that working-class marriage did not necessarily constitute romantic love or verbal and sexual intimacy but rather involved financial duties, services and activities that were specific to gender (34). Working-class women who did not enter into marriage often found it difficult to support themselves comfortably (35). Furthermore, The 1834 Poor Law put pressure on unmarried mothers, by placing the responsibility for the child on the mother (36). Nevertheless, Lewis asserts that motives for marriage did not necessarily mean an absence of affection and that, "...expectations of marriage and perhaps women's priorities may have been different from that of today, although it is particularly difficult to assess how realistic young single women were about married life" (37).

The above text emphasises and idealises the virtues of romantic marriage from a male perspective; the love of a "good wife". But what role should the "good husband" play in a married relationship? The ballad, "Worth of a Woman"(1845) provides some interesting insights (38). The obligations of both sexes are made abundantly clear, with the negative consequences of domestic violence featuring throughout. In order to make sense of the text, it is presented in its entirety here (note the rather fanciful maritime metaphor in verse three),

"Come listen both single and married, unto these lines I write

To show the worth of a woman, the maxim that leads me to write

For a woman's a jewel that's precious the comfort and joy of man's life

That man has a heaven on earth that's blest with a virtuous wife

CHORUS;

So always be true to a woman, then peace and contentment you'll find

For all the joys under the heaven's, O give me a lass to my mind

Some will strive to despise a good woman, strive to blast her good name

With hard words and blows, they will assail her, and thus they will injure her name

But if with such usage as this with a woman you mean to contend

You will forfeit your love and affection and you will lose your best friend

CHORUS

If you chance to lose a good woman, as good ye had lost your right arm

You're like a ship on the salt ocean that's tacking about by the storm

So take the advice of a friend and mark well the words that I say

For your pockets will soon be empty, and your rigging all fall to decay

CHORUS

If a man has abundance of riches, what comfort on earth can he find

Unless he is blest with a woman to soothe and to comfort his mind

Or if he is poor and dejected what comfort a woman can give
She'll help a man out of his troubles and teach him the way to live

CHORUS

If your wife is ill tempered or peevish or given to scold or to curse
Ne'er offer to beat or abuse her for fear you should make her the worse
So always take this as a caution you'll find it a truth without doubt
You can easy beat two devils in, but you can never beat the one out

CHORUS

If your wife should try to advise you, to her dictates I'd have you give hear
With words that are sweeter than honey you'll call her my love and my dear
She'll assist you in every trouble, and help you journey through life
That man is right happy indeed, that is blest with a virtuous wife

CHORUS

The man who can injure a woman he never can bear a good name
And he who despises or hates them, his face he may cover with shame
So always be true to a woman and mark well these words I have penn'd
For should you lose a good wife you are certain to lose your best friend"(39).

The ideal of the "virtuous wife", "good woman" or "good" wife" who will "soothe and "comfort" her husband and, more significantly "teach him the way to live" or "assist you in every trouble, and help you journey through life", is a constant theme throughout the text. The most revealing line is in verse six, "If your wife should try to advise you, to her dictates I'd have you give hear". There are strong hints here of feminine empowerment within the domestic domain of the household and in order to fulfil his role in this arrangement, the "good husband" should show respect to his spouse, even if she is inclined to be "ill tempered or peevish, or given to scold or to curse". He must quite clearly refrain from verbal and physical abuse; "With hard words and blows, they will assail her, and thus they will injure her fame", "Ne'er offer to beat or abuse her for fear you should make her the worse" and "You may easy beat two devils in, but you never can beat the one out". Several interesting points emerge from this. The text appears to imply that by abusing his wife, the husband will "make her the worse", thus injuring her "fame", that is to say the perceived "fame" or image of the "good woman". The man who does not conform to the role of a "good husband" and mistreats his wife is portrayed as a figure of shame; "The man who can injure a woman he never can bear a good name".

Domestic violence was certainly a reality in working-class households, where grinding poverty often found an outlet in drink. This was graphically described by the Chartist novelist, Ernest Jones in his work, *Woman's Wrongs*, published in penny issue form in 1855 (40). Although set in London the short story, *The Working Man's Wife* can be transferred to any part of the country (41). John and Margaret Haspen are struggling to

survive; he has lost his job and resorts to alcohol for solace with drastic consequences for his wife and family,

"The door flew rudely open-and Haspen entered, drunk, and pipe in mouth. He advanced, stumbling to the middle of the sombre room, his sight yet unaccustomed to the transition from the gassy glare without, and sought with outstretched arms the fire-place that showed no signs of warmth.

'Margaret!' he cried in a voice evidently indicative of irritation.

He called her thrice without receiving an answer.

At last a voice was heard as harsh as his 'Well?'

'Why you child of the devil! is there neither fire nor light?'

'Because I have none!'

'And why have you none?'

'Because John Haspen drinks and sings at the public-house, while his children die of cold and hunger'.

'That'll do Margaret!'-cried the labourer, dashing his foot against the floor - 'that'll do, unless you wish me to stave your skull like an empty barrel' " (42).

Despite the aggressive deportment of John, his wife still retains a sense of dignity and defends herself and her children by brandishing a hatchet;

"The woman tossed her head in scornful defiance.

'That's not what you promised me John, when you came of evenings to speak with me at master's gate (author's note, she was a servant maid). If I drew back from your hand then, it was to avoid a caress and not a blow. I thought I married one who had the arms of a workman, and the heart of a man. Why did you not tell me then, that you could not work well enough to keep two little children?' " (43).

Alcohol related conflict in the working-class household was a common subject in popular ballad culture, with the woman usually taking the moral high ground and acting as a stabilising influence on the domestic situation. In Jones' depiction, Margaret is compelled to defend herself with a hatchet, which can hardly be described as "moral" (although perfectly understandable under the circumstances). Perhaps Jones was using an extreme example as an emotional response to what he considered to be unacceptable male

behaviour toward women and the character of Margaret is a metaphor for women fighting back against injustice? On a more moderate level, in the broadside ballad, "New Way to Make a Good Husband" (1845) the role of the "good wife" as a reformer of wayward male proclivities is portrayed in the text;

"Attend, ye married women, while I tell you of a plan
To you may be of service in ruling of a man
A couple once got married, no man could be more civil
Until the honey-moon was o'er, and then he prov'd a devil

So if this my caution you neglect, you surely are to blame
For the measure that they gave you , give them the same again"(44).

The assertive role of the wife within the household is made clear in the line, "To you may be of service in ruling of a man". She achieves this aim by matching his outrageous drunken behaviour until he sees sense, hence the last line in the chorus, "For the measures that they give you, give them the same again". The final verse concludes,

"Now this short rhyme that I have penn'd, I hope offended no one
And if she did not serve me right, ask any honest woman
Now husbands all take my advice, and to your wives be kind
For if they do as she has done, you'll surely be behind" (45).

The tone of these ballads places the emphasis on the man to conduct himself in a sober and responsible manner. For instance the chorus to "Wholesome Advice to Drunkards" (1846) urges,

"So drunkards all take my advice, to shun disgrace and strife
It's to pass the public house, and give the money to your wife" (46).

There is also a warning in verse nine to women not to fall into the same trap as their husband,

"Now women one word of advice to give to you I will try
And do not go as many do and take it on the sly
But beef and bread go buy instead; and let the landlords see
That for the future you'll provide for your own families" (47).

As stated above, the theme of drink related domestic dysfunction was represented frequently in street ballad literature. Other titles printed by Harkness include, "In the Days I went Drinking a Long Time Ago" and "The Wife's Dream" (1842 and 1848 respectively) (48). The latter is a graphic example of feminine perseverance and fortitude, with the "good wife" carrying the burden of a neglectful, inebriated husband, thus, "To be, even to a drunkard's faults, a patient loving wife" (49). In a moment of despair she wishes her miscreant spouse dead and then dreams that her wish is fulfilled, only to wake

to find that he is alive, whist she is consumed with regret (50). The final two verses describe how she intends to stoically stand by him, despite his errant ways,

"And since that time, whene'er I feel disposed to be unkind
The warning of that fatal dream comes fresh before my mind
And though it cost me many a pang to know the life he leads
I try to greet him with a smile, when oft my poor heart bleeds

I'll humbly put my trust in God, and ask for strength to bear
The trials that he sends on earth for all of us to share
And if by patience I can change, my husband's wand'ring life
I'll bless the hour that dream was sent to his neglected wife" (51).

The recurring image throughout these "drunken husband" ballads is of the "good wife" representing the backbone of the domestic situation and one cannot help but speculate as to whether the authors' of some of the songs were women? However, there is no substantive evidence so far to confirm this.

The texts do contain a moral element and this can be viewed within the context of the period they were produced. The above examples can be dated to the 1840's (52). This decade was in the wake of the teetotal movement founded in 1834, by Joseph Livesey of Preston, a local cheese merchant and campaigner for the rights of the poor (53). He opposed the draconian Poor law of 1834, the Corn Laws and produced a weekly radical

newspaper entitled, *The Struggle* (54). Walton describes Preston as, "...the cradle of the teetotal movement" (55). The movement was formed on the back of the temperance societies, which had advocated abstinence from spirits but not the less potent beverages of beer and wine (56). The defining moment came at a temperance meeting at the old town cockpit in Preston, when a reformed drinker, Dick Turner declared in favour of "Tee-Total Abstinence" from all alcoholic drink (57). This term was a result of Turner's "...curious habit of pronouncing the capital letters that hand bills and ballad sheets of the day used for emphasis" (58). This clearly demonstrates the considerable influence that street song literature had upon popular sensibilities.

Livesey's principal aim was to persuade working men that abstinence from alcohol would improve their overall standard of living (59). He was also concerned about the conditions of working-class women. Writing in the *Moral Reformer* (1832) he made a somewhat patronising (although no doubt well intentioned) address, " To The Females Employed In Factories And all Our Large Manufacturing Establishments" (60). He stated that, "The following Address refers to an interesting portion of our population, respecting whose characters, and capabilities for good and for evil, much may be said. This work circulates extensively through the hands of persons connected with factories, and though the females there employed are not much habituated to reading, I hope every subscriber will endeavour to introduce either this number, or the contents of this article, to the notice of as many of this class of individuals as he possibly can" (61). Livesey appears to be directing this piece not only at working women (despite the fact that most were "not habituated to reading"), but also at factory owners. He goes on, "In Lancashire, you

constitute, as it were, a distinct class; and a stranger would be surprised to notice the vast number of girls, from fourteen to twenty upwards, who throng the streets at the dinner hour in towns such as Preston, Bolton, and Manchester" (62). This latter observation illustrates how women formed a large proportion of the manufacturing workforce. He emphasises the stabilising influence of women upon men, declaring that, "...why do I address *you* especially. Because, in the various circles of the labouring part of the people, you are capable, every step that you take in life, of exercising an extensive influence upon the well being of mankind. To whom do we look for the happiness of the poor man's house, but to his wife" (63). This sentiment is expressed in broadside texts such as "What's a House Without a Woman", "The Worth of a Woman" and "New Way to Make a Good Husband", printed by Harkness (discussed above). Livesey also hints at the political aspect of the domestic role of women, "...it is perfectly plain that your efforts will be a valuable auxiliary in our attempts at reform" (this will be discussed in the following section) (64).

Within the Temperance Movement itself, women could be quite outspoken. Writing in *The National Temperance Advocate* (1844-45), Jane Simpson, Mary Jackson, Flora Cave and Ann Thompson addressed an open letter to the Queen complaining of, "...the very mischievous and fearfully desolating practice of drunkenness, a vice that more than any other has contributed to pauperise and demoralise hundreds and thousands of your Majesty's subjects, and which has extended its ravages through the whole of the British dominions..." (65).

Significantly, Livesey's business premises were located on Church Street, which is where John Harkness' shop was also based (66). This strongly suggests that the two men at the very least would have had knowledge of each other and may even have been on talking terms. After all, both were part of the local business community, running their operations on the same street and perhaps sharing the same radical views. This possible association between the two men would go some way to account for the production of moral ballads in Preston, concerning the impact of drink on the domestic life of both men and women?

Most of the ballads addressed thus far have generally portrayed the role of women in the domestic family situation as being sturdy, supportive and positive. Within the working - class household there appears to be a representation of empowerment, with the image of the "good wife" apparent throughout. However there are examples that convey a negative image, but can these be taken literally? For example, "The Pleasure of Scolding" (1845) (first two verses);

"Some women take delight in dress
And some in cards take pleasure
While others pride their happiness
In heaping hoards of treasure
In private some delight to kiss
Their hidden charms unfolding
But all mistake the sovereign bliss
There's no such joy as scolding

The instant that I open my eyes
Adieu all day to silence
Before my neighbours they can rise
They can hear my tongue a mile hence
When at the board I take my seat
'Tis one continued riot
I eat and scold, and scold and eat
My clack is never quiet" (67).

Although on the surface this may come across as being misogynist, it should be viewed within the context of English comedy culture. Orwell maintains that the great age of English humorous writing was in the first three-quarters of the 19th century, with authors such as Dickens, Thackeray, Surtees, Carroll, Barham *et al* contributing comic works of literature (68). This was founded on an earlier culture of writers such as Chaucer, Shakespeare, Swift, Smollett Fielding and so on, who often employed particularly ribald, bawdy imagery in their work, thus, "All of these writers are remarkable for their brutality and coarseness. People are tossed in blankets, they fall through cucumber frames, they are hidden in washing baskets, they rob, lie, swindle, and are caught out in every conceivable humiliating situation. And all great humorous writers show a willingness to attack the beliefs and virtues on which society necessarily rests" (69). Even more significantly, "As for the sanctity of marriage, it was the principal subject of humour in Christian society for the better part of a thousand years" (70). As it has been alluded to

earlier, a great deal of "formal" literature found its way into the popular broadside medium.

There are other examples of popular ballads, which could be construed to represent a negative image of marriage and women. Yet, if scrutinised in more detail, it can be argued that the texts ridicule the incompetent husband. For example, "The Man Who Wished He'd Never Got Married" (1845) suggests that the man cannot cope with the domestic chores expected of his wife (71). Verses two, three and four run,

"Scarce a twelve month had I married been
When I was compelled to cry 'Quarter'
My wife tumbled down in the straw
With a bouncing great son and a daughter
When her cradle I nicely had made
And to her bedside I had carried
She sent me to wash down the stairs
Oh, I wish I had never got married

The children I had to nurse
Boil the kettle and clean out the papkin
Light the fire, make the toast and the tea
Go the errands, and wash out the napkin
My shirt I must iron myself

My life, it completely was flurried
I wish I'd been drown'd in the sea
Before I had ever got married

Whenever I come to my meals
Let either be breakfast or dinner
I am compelled to slave like a Turk
It is as true, now, as I am a sinner
At night when I go to my rest
And the children to bed I have carried
I am bothered all night I confess
Oh I wish I had never got married" (72).

The text of "Be careful in Choosing a Wife" (1843) also appears to mock the image of the long-suffering, put-upon husband in a comical manner (73). Once more the wife is portrayed as assertive; "The silliest of women will out wit a man", or, "And if I should offer the job to refuse/ With the tongs or the poker she will me abuse" (74). There is a strong hint of music hall humour in these broadside texts. By the 1860's the sale of twopenny and threepenny songbooks was superseding the sale of broadsides, but there does appear to have been a cross-over between the two song cultures (75). For instance, the George Leybourne music hall song, "Pretty Little Sarah" is based on an earlier broadside text (76). Broadside examples such as "I'm Too Big to Sleep With My Mother" (1845) are good indicators of this cross-over relationship (77). The dates for the last three

broad-sides are interesting as they were popular approximately a decade before music hall started to become established. According to Vicinus, a common subject of popular song, mid-century was that of the comic bachelor; "He is made to look foolish by aggressive mothers and daughters or is trapped into marriage. Often enough he deserves his fate" (78). The text of "I'm Too Big to Sleep With My Mother" has a distinctly music hall feel to it,

"Kind gents I hope you will excuse
And ladies pray on me don't frown now
This opportunity don't lose
I'm as nice a chap as any in town now
I want a sweetheart, that I do
Though to get one perhaps have a bother
The reason I don't mind telling you
It's because I still sleep with my mother

Jeminy criminy I don't care
Though about you may make a bother
I want a sweetheart now because
I'm getting too big to sleep with my mother" (79).

The text then goes on to chart the attempts of the unfortunate bachelor in wooing a "sweetheart",

"In our street there lives a divine
Next to a coal shed, in the cellar
She perfumes herself and togs so fine
That a score yards off I'm sure you'd smell her
T'other day I sent her a valentine
But she returned it with another
And this she wrote on the bottom line
'You're no use, cos you sleep with your mother' " (80).

It has been argued that the pursuit of love and sex was not always the prerogative of the man, with women taking the initiative in the ballads; "These women frequently did the wooing, aggressively volunteering their sexual charms" (81). The content of these texts often display a definite element of feminine promiscuity. "The Damsels' Adventures" (1842) describes the exploits of a seventeen year old girl and is full of sexual innuendo; "The next a young butcher as tender as veal/Wanted me to accept of his cleaver and steel" (82). Admittedly, she turns down the advances of her string of admirers, yet the tone of the song implies that she is enjoying all the attention (83). The text of "The Flare-Up Factory Girl" (1842-this time a sixteen year old) is somewhat more explicit; "One Chap is not enough for me/I've three or four, 'cause I can/Always pick a nice young man" (84). The subject matter of "An Old Man Will Never Do For Me" (1843) requires no elaboration, whilst the content of "9 Times a Night" is just blatantly bawdy;

"He said my bride you mistook the thing wrong

I said to that family I did belong
Nine times a night is too much for a man
I can't do it myself but my sister she can" (85).

Although these ballads appear to represent the emotional and sexual experiences of women from their point of view, Palmer states that (in the case of the more sexually orientated texts at least), "...one wonders whether the attitude expressed is truly feminine or whether it is what a male would like it to be..." (86). This raises issues concerning male or female authorship and. this subject will be addressed again later.

There were also less sexually motivated factors governing a woman's choice of a man (or not, as the case may be). For example, in "The Lancashire Witch" the young girl in question just wants to be left alone and single at first;

"An owd maid I shall be, for aw'm eighteen to morn
An' I m'yen to keep sengle and free
But the dules 'i the lads, for a plague they were born
An' thi never can let one a-be, a-be
They never can let one a-be" (87).

She does however, eventually begin to relent towards the end of the song and takes a fancy to "Ned", "a-dashin' young sodjur is he", although the text ends with no actual mention of marriage (88). The overall impression from this is that the woman will chose

her man when she is ready. It should also be appreciated that in certain communities, individuals who lived outside marriage, even with illegitimate offspring, were not necessarily stigmatised (89). For instance, the South Lancashire hand-loom weaving village of Culceth can be cited as an example of this cultural phenomenon (90). As Rendall observes, "In communities, sometimes remote ones, where there were common economic roots and a habit of dissent, not marrying was a challenge to authority which did not bring with it local condemnation of any irregularity" (91). "The Lancashire Witch" was written by John Scholes (d.1863) and contains a curious mixture of dialect and formal English (92). As noted elsewhere in the thesis, dialect literature was a popular form of expression in 19th century Lancashire. The title is interesting, as it denotes a sense of a pre-Christian (certainly pre-industrial) image of women as being independent agents in their own right; a representation that also appears in at least one other 19th century ballad, "The Lancashire Witches" (1846) (not to be confused with the above title), the chorus of which enthuses,

"Then hurrah for the Lancashire witches
Whose smile every bosom enriches
Oh, dearly I prize
The pretty blue eyes
Of the pride of the Lancashire witches" (93).

The author, quite clearly male, compares the women of Lancashire with the "dark eyes of Spain" and "the wealth of the Indies", but the comparison is ultimately "in vain" (94).

Thus, not only is an imagined past invoked, but also a sense of locality is asserted. The song's rather fanciful tone could well have been a compensatory response to industrialisation and urbanisation (the lyrics, "Mother Eve's Tribe" and "the village delight" suggest this). It was printed by Harkness in 1846 (95). It represents a particularly florid portrayal of local femininity, yet the Lancashire working-class woman could still be in control of her own destiny. For example, "I'll Have a Collier". Boardman describes the words to this song as "traditional", but this particular text derives from late 19th century Manchester; yet this example serves to illustrate the point being made (the use of the term "traditional" infers an earlier cultural precedent) (96). The text relates to the theme of a woman's choice of a man, on the grounds of financial expediency and social kudos. The song implies that pit men were preferable to factory men both economically and romantically (97). The daughter defies her mother's insistence that she should give up her "Collier sweetheart" (note, it is the mother rather than the father who is laying down the law, presuming of course that the father is still within the household) (98). The daughter will not give way, asserting in the final two verses,

"Collier lads get gold and silver

Ferranti's lads get nowt but brass

And who'd be married to a lad from Ferranti's

When there are plenty of collier lads

My mother said I could be a lady

If from my collier lad I'd part

But I'd sooner walk on the bottom of the ocean

Than I'd give up my collier lad" (99).

The image of a battle of wills between two strong-minded females in this text serves as an appropriate illustration as what this section has been attempting to address. Was the role and experience of women within the domestic sphere of Lancashire working-class life in the 19th century, pacific (as is the commonly perceived image) or more cogent? The ballad culture of the time, it can be argued, offers a view of the latter (this is not to deny the former vista), which has never really seriously been investigated before, Historically. The ballads of this period indicate that women could indeed possess a form of empowerment within the working-class household. The focus now will shift to female experiences without the household, particularly the workplace as well as involvement in local public/political affairs.

SECTION 2

Between 1830 and 1850 the power-loom displaced the hand-loom as the principal method of textile manufacturing (100). As Walton observes, "By 1850 the Lancashire cotton industry had reached maturity" (101). It has been contended that the majority of cotton workers during this period were women, notably adolescent girls between the age of 15 and 19, who comprised 40 per cent of the labour force, within the trade in Lancashire by 1851 (102). As Rose maintains, "Lancashire power-loom weaving was unique among the major industries in England in the 19th century in that men and women were not in competition for weaving jobs" (103).

This shift in the mode of production from the older hand-loom weaving to the factory floor and a sexually integrated workforce, was a subject of contemporary popular song culture. A certain degree of continuity and change is evident here (for a definition of this concept, see Introduction). In an broadside from Oldham entitled, "The Weaver and the Factory Maid", a proud handicraft tradesman is dismayed by his son's love for a factory girl (first two verses),

"I am a hand-weaver to my trade

I fell in love with a factory maid

And if I could but her favour win

I'd stand beside her and weave by steam

My father to me scornfully said

How could you fancy a factory maid
When you could have girls fine and gay
And dressed up to the Queen of May?" (104).

Lloyd maintains that although the situation being described is a new one, there is still the essence of a "rural folk song" present (105). According to Michael Anderson, migration patterns for Preston in 1851 show that the majority had moved into the town from rural areas of Lancashire (106). The line, "And dressed up like the Queen of May" does impart a sense of pre-industrial life. The final verse concludes with the realisation of the stark reality of factory work,

"Where are the girls? I'll tell you plain
The girls have gone to weave by steam
And if you'd find 'em, you must rise at dawn
And trudge to the factory in the early morn" (107).

Another interesting example that represents women in the textile industry in Lancashire is "New Bury Loom", which first appeared in broadside form in 1804, produced by Swindells of Manchester and was reproduced again several times by printers in the North-West (108). The song describes the technicalities of the Dobbie looms in a sexually suggestive manner, which would have appealed to the cotton workers of Lancashire, being familiar with the vocabulary of weaving (109). Here is the text in its entirety,

"As I walked between Bolton and Bury

It was on a moon shiny night

I met with a buxom young weaver

Whose company gave me delight

She says, my young fellow come tell me

If your level and rule are in tune

Come give me an answer correct

Can you get up and square my new loom

I said, dear lassie believe me

I am a good joiner by trade

And many a good loom and shuttle

Before in my time I have made

Your short lams and jacks and long lams

I quickly can put them in tune

My rule is now in good order

To get up and square a new loom

She took me and shewed me her new loom

The down on her warp did appear

The lamb jacks and healds put in motion

I leveled her loom to a hair

My shuttle run well in her lathe

My treadle it did up and down
My level stood next to her breast-beam
The time I was squaring her loom

The cords of my lamb jacks and treadles
At length they began to give way
The bobbin I had in my shuttle
The weft it no longer would stay
Her lathe it went bang to and fro
My main treadle still kept in tune
My pickers went nickety nack
All the time I was squaring her loom

My shuttle it still kept in motion
Her lams she worked well up and down
The weights in her rods they did tremble
She said she would have a new gown
My strength now began for to fail me
I said it's now right to a hair
She turned up her eyes and said Tommy
My loom you have got very square

But when the fore-loom post she let go
It flew out of order again
She cried, bring your rule and your level
And help me to square it again
I said my dear lassie I'm sorry
At Bolton I must be by noon
But when I back this way
I will square up your jerry hand loom (110).

The text contains all the "picaresque wit" of earlier itinerant weaving culture but the fascination with machinery and technicalities is a new phenomena (111). As Lloyd observes the text would require a glossary to understand its content; " 'Lams' are the foot-treadles that operate the jacks. The 'jacks' are levers on the Dobbie machines, that raise the harness controlling the warp thread. The 'heald' is a loop of cord or wire through which the warp threads pass; a number of these make up the harness. The 'pickers' are attachments to the upper end of the picking-stick which impels the shuttle through the 'shed' of the warp threads during weaving. The 'shed' of the warp is the V opening caused by raising or pulling down the threads" (112). Also, "nickety nack" was a regional slang term to describe the female sexual organs (113). The fact that this ballad was frequently reprinted demonstrates its popular durability in the minds of the working people of Lancashire. In a later version entitled "The Steam Loom Weaver", the joiner is transformed into an engine driver, whereas the woman now becomes a power-loom weaver (114).

Love and courtship in the work place was a popular theme for factory broadsides, particularly in the 1830's and 40's (115). In "Sam Shuttle and Betty Reedhook" (1847) an Oldham overlooker (Sam) falls for a steam-loom weaver but the girl spurns his advances, preferring instead the cut looker, Billy Crape who never "bates" (fines) her for faults in her cuts of cloth (116). The two men fight over her and Sam loses;

"When Betty yeard that Sam had lost
On him no notice took, sir
But went walkin' out on Sunday last
With that sly old Cut Looker
Sam swore he could not stand it
And on "em no more he'd look
He'd blow his brains out wi' his Shuttle
Or stab him wi' his Reedhook" (117).

In reality, the experience of women mill operatives with overlookers differed considerably to that of their male co-workers and they were excluded from being considered for the post (118). It would be interesting to discover whether there were any exceptions to this last point, although to date there has been no evidence to suggest that any female overlookers existed. Women were subjected to a higher level of supervision, as the mill owners believed that they were incapable of tuning their machines and discouraged them from doing so, or even learning the task (119). Generally speaking, the overlooker was a deeply unpopular figure in mill culture, in some cases being regarded as

"much worse than the masters" (120). There were other forms of victimisation that women were subjected to. For example, they were more likely to be "driven" by their overlookers who earned a percentage of the output of the workers under them (121). There were also the inevitable incidents of sexual harassment, with overlookers abusing their position of power. For instance, in one case in Nelson a local clergyman felt compelled to get involved, writing to the employers to, "...recognise their duty in this matter...to make the moral conduct of their work-people the subject of nearer concern and of greater importance" (122). Significantly, the case was settled in favour of the woman (123).

As if the attentions of salacious overlookers were not enough to contend with, there were also the hazards of the working environment itself. This is portrayed in the ballad, "Poverty Knock" (the song dates from a later period, originating from Yorkshire, but still expresses the experience of women in a factory environment and may well have found its way into Lancashire), one verse of which runs,

"Sometimes a shuttle flies out
Gives some poor woman a clout
Ther she lies bleedin', but nobody's 'eedin'
Who's goin' t' carry her out?" (124).

The fact that "nobody's 'eedin' ", may on the face of it seem callous but the weavers were on piecework and could not afford to stop to attend to an injured workmate (125). The

title of the song is an onomatopoeic description of the sound a Dobbie loom made when it was working (126). To keep their spirits up the weavers, mainly the women, would sing as they worked, "...lifting their voices above the clatter of the looms in exuberant Methodist hymns such as Perronet's 'All hail the Power', to the handsome hexatonic folk tune called 'Diadem' in the hymnbooks, though country people know it better as 'The Ploughboy's Dream' " (127). This could almost be construed as an act of empowerment and defiance in trying to compete with the noise of machinery with human voices. It is also interesting to note the two titles here. One is about "Power", suggesting that there is an overwhelming sublime presence that is greater than the factory, whereas "The Ploughboys Dream" infers continuity with the past.

Another danger facing women in the cotton industry involved difficulties with childbirth. A survey conducted in Manchester in 1833 found that forty per cent of babies born to married spinners died in early infancy, due to a combination of poor conditions and pelvic deformations occasioned by standing in the factory for long hour's (128). The Factory Act of 1847 put a limit of 10 hours on a woman's working day which would have gone some way to regulating conditions in the mills (129). There were still calls to lower this further as in the broadside ballad, "Stick Up for the Women and Nine Hours a Day" (final two verses),

"You factory girls of England now
Who get such little pay
The roses from your blooming cheeks

Hard work has driven away
Oft times to please your masters
You are working past your time
Bit if you are late they'll shut the gate
And make you pay a fine

Young women then take my advice
When courting your young man
Tell him when the knot is tied
That this will be your plan
Eight hours for work eight hours for sleep
And then eight hours for play
Sundays must be all your own
And night work double pay" (130).

The ballad was obviously printed sometime after the Act of 1847 (although there are no extant sheets from Harkness), which dates it approximately to the mid-19th century. There does appear to be an inconsistency about hours in the final verse ("eight hours" rather than "Nine in the title) which may due to a printing error, a common feature of broadsides. It was probably composed by a man, as the first two lines in the chorus announce, "Act on the square, boys, act on the square/Stick up for the women, for that's only fair" (131). The text seems to hint at a feeling of solidarity between male and female workers, albeit from a male perspective. Roberts has drawn attention to the women

operatives of Blackburn in 1853 who acted together with men, through The Blackburn Association of Cotton Weavers, to negotiate the first district price list for weaving (132). The women worked with the men, "...if not quite as equals at least with some degree of co-operation" (133). In nearby Preston during the Lock-Out in the same year, women took part in the dispute, although the mule spinners (it has been argued) were exclusively men who were demanding a wage rise to enable their wives to remain at home in comfort (134).

Roberts neglects to mention that this dispute was not actually concerned with a wage rise as such, but was a demand for the restoration of a wage cut imposed by the mill owners in the late 1840's (135). It was during this strike that Dickens noted an interesting local social phenomena. He observed that, "To marry a widow with five or six grown up daughters, instead of being regarded as a misfortune, is here looked upon as slice of good luck...it is no uncommon thing to ask a young girl what her father is doing, and to receive for a reply- 'Oh, he just stops at home. There's foive on us to keep un atween us'. This strange revolution in the natural order of things has been effected by the mighty power of steam" (136). This suggests that the proportion of females working in the mills of Preston was quite substantial. Indeed, Dutton and King have commented on the "numerical preponderance" of women among the strikers (137). Also, Gordon has noted that evidence from the Preston Savings Bank suggests that many independent female migrant workers in the town maintained a degree of control over their financial situation, mainly young women engaged in domestic employment, although at least 184 female cotton operatives had a bank account in 1845 (138). Admittedly, this would appear to be

a small proportion as there were around 8000 female cotton workers in the town at this time (139). However, it does demonstrate that some female cotton workers were prepared to have some control over their own wages and thus retain some measure of independence. As Mr. Moore (an official of the Penny Bank) noted in 1859, "... if a girl had 30 or 40 pounds in the bank she could look any young man in the face when he proposed, and say 'yes' or 'no' as suited her inclinations...Let her have 30 or 40 pounds in the bank and she could say 'no' because she would feel independent" (140). This implies that not all women were dependent on marriage for support and financial security.

Even though labour relations in the factories may have been dominated by men, the women would still have played their part in industrial disputes. This could account for the content in one of the many Lock-Out ballads, written by the operatives themselves and printed by Harkness. The tone of the song, "Preston Throstle Spinners Strike" (mentioned in the previous Chapter) has all the militancy of its contemporaries. The chorus lines run,

"So now my lasses

Raise your glasses

Be united heart and hand

You are sure to win, so don't give in

Until you get your just demand" (141).

The emphasis on "lasses" rather than lads raises the question, could this ballad have been composed by a woman? According to Maidment, female authorship of verse is an area of cultural history that requires further research (142)

Despite male dominance in organisation, the presence of women in the dispute was significantly substantial. Also, although it was a relatively rare occurrence, there were women who were willing to take the public platform. Apparently, the presence of a woman public speaker was, "...always sufficient to disconcert the gentlemen of the press" (143). Examples include, Mrs. Cooper and the sisters-in-law's Ann and Margaret Fletcher, all of who were talented orators of the time (144). At a meeting in Glossop, one of the Fletchers upstaged a male strike leader (Grimshaw) almost making him appear moderate by assailing, "...the grinding capitalists, men who had risen from the dunghill" (145). However, despite all the militant rhetoric, Hutton and King suggest that the female orators were trying to propose that women should secure the right not to work (146). Fletcher, addressing an audience in Chadwick's Orchard, Preston (1853) declared, "It is a disgrace to an Englishman to allow his wife to go out to work "(147). Given the harsh conditions of mill life the appeal of domesticity would be an understandable option, as long as their husbands' were paid a decent living wage (148). This suggests a form of female empowerment within and without the household.

Regarding the wider political context, there were females who were willing to stand up and speak on behalf of social reform, such as the Polish born orator, Ernestine Rose (nee Potowski) (149). She had left her home at the age of sixteen having rejected an arranged

marriage (her father was a rabbi) and made her way across Europe, eventually settling in England and marrying William Rose in 1836 (150). By this time she had gained a reputation for public speaking that earned her the nickname of "Queen of the Platform" (151). She moved to New York with her husband shortly after they were married and continued to campaign for civil liberties (152). Haywood has commented on the, "...minor but significant undercurrent of feminist sentiment in the Chartist movement" (153). For example, *The Northern Star* (1842) contains a review of Mary Wollstonecraft's, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, as well as an editorial entitled, "Slavery in Great Britain. Employment of Women and Children in Coal Mines" (154). Nevertheless, there was an element of sexism within the movement. *The Preston Pilot*, commenting on a Chartist meeting (1842) made the following observation, "After dancing for some time, a subscription was raised amongst the gentlemen, the ladies strongly protesting at being excluded" (155).

Despite the influence of the Chartist movement on working-class politics, there appears to be very little street ballad literature on the subject concerning the role of women in the movement. Perhaps there is some material that remains to be discovered; Cooper, the Fletchers and Rose do appear to be colourful enough characters to warrant the attention of ballad writers? The only imagery portrayed is that of a somewhat mystical view of womanhood, as in the song, "The White Cliffs of Albion" (mentioned in the previous chapter) (156). In this sense, women represented a patriotic and idealised, radical concept of the nation.

CONCLUSION

The experience of women in 19th century Lancashire, both within and without the household has been well documented. The ballads, however add a further dimension to the subject. The songs concerning the role of women both at home and outside the home reveal a sense of empowerment. Colley proposes the view that, "Proclaiming their reputed vulnerability and moral superiority-and men's duty to respect both-provided them with a means to legitimise their intervention in public affairs and a means, as well, of protecting themselves. Posing as the pure-minded Women of Britain was, in practice, a way of insisting on the right to public spirit" (157).

The street-song culture of Lancashire portrays the experience of women from an historical perspective in a unique manner, which ultimately demonstrates the value of the material as a primary source. However, there does seem to be a lack of such material that is extant, although this well may be a virtue of a neglect to seek out ballads that portray women. As it was suggested in the above section, it could be possible that there is more material, as yet undiscovered that would provide an insight into the experience of working-class women in 19th century Lancashire. The ballad material that has been unearthed has been overlooked by historians of popular song culture (another male orientated domain, perhaps?). What this chapter has sought to investigate and to emphasise, is the relevance of ballads representing women in industrial Lancashire at a time of significant socio-economic and political change, with the view that this will engender further historical research and debate on women's issues during the 19th century.

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OVERALL CONCLUSION

What follows is a recapitulation and evaluation of the material used in the project, along with the various approaches to popular song culture in industrial Lancashire. The summary will draw together all the various strands, theories and appraisals attended to throughout the course of the thesis, concerning the value of such material to history. This is an assessment of the contribution the above work will present to discourse and debate within the field of popular culture in history.

There has been growing interest in the study of popular song and music in history since the 1960's, as the Literature Review demonstrates. The conflicting theories of Marxian "materialist" ideas as opposed to the more recent developments of "populist", "post-structuralist" approaches and the putative "turn to language" to history were also discussed. This thesis builds on what has passed before, by placing the texts of popular songs into three main working-class experiences (local, political and gender) in order to address the debate. The principal argument put forward by the work is that both approaches can present a valid interpretation towards historical understanding, as Spiegel has asserted (see Chapter 1), with popular song providing a useful and much neglected vehicle for research (1).

In order to place the popular working-class song culture of industrial Lancashire at this period in English history in a wider context, a historiographical overview was necessary. This charted the transition from a largely rural society to that of an urban centered mechanised environment, along with the attendant shift in popular culture and the impact

this had on the sensibilities of ordinary working people who experienced it at first hand. The principal theme was the development of class-consciousness and thus notions of identity and agency. The following chapters demonstrate how the songs popular with labouring people reflect these upheavals.

The study has been carried out largely by researching the broadside ballads of the mid-19th century in industrial Lancashire, principally those printed by John Harkness of Preston whose most prolific output was in the 1840's (2). The chapter on Harkness is an examination of the broadside trade itself as a commercial and social entity, focusing on his printing business as a local example. Very little is known about broadside printers and the only work that has been done so far concentrates on the London trade (Catnach and Pitts). John Harkness has been briefly acknowledged in previous historical texts on popular song culture (Vicus, Palmer and Walsh and Butler), yet a more detailed study of him as a commercial ballad printer in a Lancashire cotton town would shed some more light on the trade (3). Hopefully, this chapter (and the thesis as a whole) will go some way to engendering more interest on John Harkness, his life and his ballad trade. .

One example of his local significance can be seen in the Guild ballads of 1842, which comprised the major part of Chapter 4. This sequence of three titles, "Preston Guild of 1842", "A New Song on the Preston Guild, 1842", and "Preston Guild, of 1842" (before, during and after the event), demonstrates how he had an understanding of local sensibilities, albeit within a commercial context (4). Yet there is still an element of underlying subversion, evident in the last two verses of the second ballad, which was

published at the height of the celebrations. The festival of the Preston Guild is a fine example of how the attendant ballad culture can represent notions of local identity and agency.

The Preston Guild of 1842 was held at a time of great political turmoil, both nationally and locally. Chartist agitation was on the increase and the events in Lune Street a month before cast a shadow over the event. Once again, the ballads referring to the political climate provide an indication as to the developing perceptions of working-class people during the early to mid 19th century, which was discussed in Chapter 5. The contention here is that the popular song culture over this period displays a developing class-awareness amongst labouring people in the cotton district of central Lancashire (specifically Preston), with texts moving from "songs of complaint" to a more cogent, pragmatic notion of agency. The patriotic image of the freeborn Englishman is a recurrent theme in political culture and the ballads reflect this aspect of 19th century life, including the Chartist cause. The political ballads, therefore, can provide a useful example of changing class-identity as society advanced towards an industrial economy. For example, the strike songs of the Preston Lock-Out represent a sense of solidarity or shared socio-economic injustice and point to a more militant, hostile (albeit none-violent) attitude towards *laissez faire* principals. As it has been emphasised above this bitter, local industrial dispute gained national and international attention; the events being avidly followed as they unfolded. It may be argued that the ballads (composed, sung and sold by the operatives) from the Lock-Out played their own part in the dissemination of knowledge about the strike, as well as conveying the thoughts, aspirations and motives of

the workers to the public at the time. They represent a vital component of historical primary source material. By the 1862 Cotton Famine the mood was more subdued and the songs from the crisis reflect this.

The role of women was the topic of Chapter 6 as portrayed through the medium of popular song, thus providing another insight into 19th century working-class life in industrial Lancashire. This is a particularly difficult task as it remains a largely uncharted area within the study of popular song culture. The main theme here is empowerment within the domestic setting of the household, the working environment of the cotton industry and to a lesser degree, the political sphere. The experience of women in all of these situations is represented in the ballad texts. What they appear to represent is a degree of domestic empowerment in the home in contrast to the working environment, where the only positive portrayal (from a male point of view) is that of objects of sexual desire. This can be seen in examples such as "Bury New Loom", "The Weaver and the Factory Maid" and so on (5).

Local identity is also a major feature of the broadsides during this period concerning the image of women. The notion of the "Lancashire Witch" was a common literary device, but it does shed light on the problem of interpretation (6). Is she being represented as a strong-willed woman or is the term intended to be taken in a pejorative sense? This last point raises the question of female authorship in ballad culture and would form the basis for a separate study in itself. As stated above, there appears to be a dearth of secondary

historiographical work derived from original ballad material, concerning the subject of women and popular song culture.

This last comment highlights a major value of this study in a wider sense. Popular working-class song texts tell a story; in the last case "herstory". A principal theme in the course of the work has been to demonstrate how the songs performed and enjoyed by working people, principally broadsides can provide evidence that social conditions do beget ideas and thoughts. Although texts relating to real events are not always entirely factual, they impart something of the cultural essence of labouring people. They were an important part of their everyday lives and therefore ought to form a part of historical scrutiny and analysis, requiring further research. As it has been stated earlier, the broadsides have received little in the way of academic attention compared to music hall (7). There is a link between the two lyrical forms and this requires further investigation. It has been suggested here and elsewhere that broadsides aided working-class literacy, whilst also introducing labouring people to more formal examples of literature, such as Sir Walter Scott (8).

With regard to the actual study of broadside sheets there are several factors to consider. One major limitation is the style of performance, along with the reception of the their buyers and audience. The sheets themselves tell us nothing about this and all that remains is a few eyewitness accounts from contemporary observers such as W. Henderson who described, "...the raucous voice of the street ballad singer" (9). W.E. Adams observed that Thomas Willey's street sellers and singers in Cheltenham went about, "...bawling

their doleful wares all over town" (10). The performance, along with the reception of this material in the 19th century is a matter of conjecture.

The physical study of broadside sheets requires comment. The Harkness Collection held in the Harris Library was recently transferred onto C.D. Rom disc format, which makes it more convenient for the scholar of popular music. However, it must be appreciated that it is important to handle the source material in order to make a connection with the past.

For example, it would not be possible to discern the different quality of the paper used by Harkness for the 1842 Guild ballads, on a computerised system. One simply has to touch the actual paper (very carefully) to notice the difference and make a connection with the past.

Finally it must be emphasised once more that this work has not merely been an exercise in "gap filling". Given the lack of material on this subject since about 1997, this work is a contribution to the field of popular song study. However, it also stands to represent how important it is to see the lives of working-class people not merely as numbers on a graph, names on a parish register or as just statistics in general, but as living, breathing human beings. This is perhaps the most significant contribution this thesis will make to social history.

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FRANCE AND THE REPUBLICANS!

John Harkness, Printer, Church Street, Preston.

Come all you free Republicans and listen to my song,
I hope that it will please you all, and will not keep you long;
It is concerning of these Frenchmen bold, as you shall understand,
At Paris they fought in thousands, and boldly kept their ground.

CHORUS.

So Britons all united be, don't let the Frenchmen come,
They have caused thousands for to die, while others they have run.

It was in February this very year, as now I will relate,
Old Philippe had to run from France, and leave both crown & state,
O yes, he ran to England just like a bunter keen,
He wants us to take care of him because he knows the Queen,

A Republican Government the French five months have had,
And now Europeans think the French are really going mad;
For they can't agree among themselves, as it does appear quite plain
For nearly 30,000 of them have been killed and slain.

If bold Napoleon Bonaparte just now had been alive,
He would have driven with all before him, like bees out of an hive,
He would have made them curse and rue the day they kicked up a
prince,

He would have sent them to old David would the Emperor of France

The Archbishop of Paris, too, is now lying in state,
A Frenchman's hall formed his downfall, most awful to relate;
O Napoleon, Napoleon, if I could on thee call,
Thou would make the world to ring again with thy cannon balls.

O this year of '48 strange things have come to pass,
What anguish will the parent feel for their darling sons, alas,
Who in the civil war of France have perished of late,
In fighting for ambition, O what a cursed fate.

So to conclude and make an end of the civil war in France,
Let's pray to God that times may mend, or we shall stand a chance,
For if John Bull he does get stript and enters in the field,
If the world it comes to cope with him it cannot make him yield.

Composed by Mr. TOWNSON, Author of the
"Flying Clogger," "General Sale," &c.

Jemmy Johnson

SQUEEZE ME,

OR THE

Yorkshire Lad in London

When I left father and mother, sister, and brother,
They all cried you'll surely be undone,
For resolved was I my fortune to try,
And just take a trip to London.
Cry'd my father when there, don't damn and swear,
As the Londoners do if they tease ye,
And your passion keep down as well as you can,
And say—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

Lord, father do you take me for a fool,
That was in Yorkshire born and bred man,
I'm not to be done by the London chaps,
As long as I've eyes in my head, man;
And should they think for to go to contrive,
With their cunning and tricks to tease me,
I, as well as they, knew how many beans make five,
If I don't, then—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

I went to the play—I went to the park—saw the King,
To see all the grand sights I were willing,
But when I came at night to count o'er my brass,
Egad, I found I'd took two bad shillings.
If the Yorkshire lads war to know it, says I,
Oh dear, how they would all tease me,
But some kind friend shall have 'em again,
If they don't, why—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

A fine lady came up, half drunk in the street,
Thinking for me to nicely trepan, sir,
For you sir, I being drest all in my best,
She called me a handsome young man, sir;
And sir, if along with me you'll go, says she,
I think as how I could so please ye,
So I went and I gave her the two bad shillings,
If I didn't—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

Then a stranger came up, says he, my dear friend,
I'm glad in London to meet you,
Don't you know me? says he—says I, very well,
Come to yon public house and I'll treat you;
So I called for the liquor—got half drunk,
When the chap he thought for to ease me,
But I walked me away, left him the reckoning to pay,
If I didn't—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

Then another chap called me on the other side,
Says he look, I've found a gold ring, sir,
If you'll ten shillings give me, yours it shall be,
Oh! says I, 'tis a grand-looking thing, sir;
But I tell you what, my sweet London chap,
Don't think of my money to ease me,
For a Yorkshire lad knows brass from gold,
If he don't then—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

I was so tired of their tricks, says I, I'll go home;
When all's right, tight, and comely;
For a rolling stone gathers no moss,
And home is home, if it's ever so homely.
But I made 'em remember, 'fore I left town,
The thought how it did please me,
That the Yorkshire lad was not to be bad,
If he was—Jemmy Johnson squeeze me.

565

APPENDIX 2

CATEGORISATION?

1. POLITICS

2. SOCIAL ISSUES

- a) Work
- b) Crime
- c) Bawdy
- d) Domestic and the sexes
- e) Pastimes
- f) Morality
- g) Living Standards

3. SENTIMENTAL

- a) Romantic/Fanciful
- b) Rural

4. SCOTS/IRISH

- a) ...in origin
- b) ...as subject matter

5. REGION/LOCALITY

6. WAR, PATRIOTISM and SEAFARING

7. SUPERNATURAL AND FANTASTIC

8. NEGRO

their range of themes and styles. The four chapter divisions that follow impose my own 'order' on the songs, one that is of course artificial and provisional; no such divisions were used by those who printed, sang, or bought the songs. In constructing these categories, however, I am following in the footsteps of contemporary commentators and collectors; the Victorian enthusiasm for classification found plenty of material here. Articles on the broadside ballad invariably included a list of subjects or song types. Frederic Madden, for example, proposed this categorisation for his vast collection based on subject matter.¹²

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Devotion & Morality | 7. Marriage & Cuckoldry, |
| 2. History (true & fabulous) | 8. Sea: love, gallantry, |
| 3. Tragedy (murders, | actions |
| executions, acts of God) | 9. Drinking & Good |
| 4. State & Times | Fellowship |
| 5. Love, pleasant | 10. Humorous Frolics & |
| 6. Love, unfortunate | Mirth |

This is actually a more accurate guide than most to the subject matter of the songs, particularly in its emphasis on songs of various kinds about sexual relations. But if we try to apply it to the actual songs (and it is notable that Madden did not) it is unworkable; no list of this kind could do justice to the full range of subjects. Individual songs do not slot neatly into such pigeonholes; many incorporate more than one subject or theme. Moreover, there are important connections of tone and imagery that could be made across various categories.

In fact popular songs were distinguished by more than just subject matter, as John Harland illustrated in his Manchester Guardian survey in 1839.¹³ Some of his song types were based on subject (local manners and customs, bawdy songs, criminal laments); but others were a reflection of the songs' origins (stage songs, Scots and Irish ballads) or presumed audience (operatives, country audiences). A similar mix of criteria can be seen in Walter

¹² Madden MS Add.2688, p.2.

¹³ Songs of the working classes Nos 1 & 2.

APPENDIX 4**Number of Songs Held in Harkness Collection By Each Printer and Their Geographical Location**

PRINTER	TITLES	LOCATION
JOHN HARKNESS	277	PRESTON
Bebbington	9	Manchester
Cadman	38	Manchester
Catnach	173	7 Dials, London
Crowder	3	Hyde
Ford	2	Sheffield
Fordyce	2	Newcastle and Hull
Hill	3	London
Hirst	2	Oldham
Hobson	1	Manchester
Ireland	1	Manchester
Jackson	12	Birmingham
Jacques	10	Manchester
Lang	1	Preston
Liptrot	2	?
Livesey	9	Manchester
Parnell	23	Liverpool
C. Paul	4	Bloomsbury
James Paul	15	7 Dials, London
Peel	2	Oldham
Pearson	16	Manchester
Pitts	9	7 Dials, London
Pratt	1	Birmingham
Russell	9	Birmingham
Ryle	5	7 Dials, London
Sargent	2	Preston
Such	3	London
Swindell	21	Manchester
Thompson	4	Liverpool
H. Thompson	4	Liverpool
Walker	13	Durham
Watts	1	Lanc End
Wheeler	4	Manchester
White	2	Preston
Whiting	4	Birmingham
Willis	2	Manchester

APPENDIX 5

Approximate Annual Output of Sheets Produced By Harkness (Gregg Butler)

Year	Sheet Nos.	No. of sheets per Year
1841	1 - 45	45
1842	46 - 144	98
1843	145 - 240	95
1844	241 - 337	96
1845	338 - 432	94
1846	433 - 490	67
1847	491 - 546	55
1848	547 - 593	46
1849	594 - 639	45
1850	640 - 671	31
1851	672 - 691	19
1852	692 - 705	13
1853	706 - 730	24



BANKS OF SWEET

Dundee.

It's of a farmer's daughter, so beautiful I'm told,
Her parents died and left her five hundred pounds in gold.
She lived with her uncle, the cause of all her sor,
You soon shall hear this maiden fair did prove his overthrow.

Her uncle had a plough-boy young Mary lov'd full well,
And in her uncle's garden their tales of love would tell,
But there was a wealthy squire who oft came her to see,
But still she lov'd her plough-boy on the banks of sweet Dundee.

It was one summer's morning her uncle went straightway,
He knocked at her bed room door and unto her did say,
Come rise up pretty maiden, a lady you may be,
The squire is waiting for you on the banks of sweet Dundee.

A fig for all the squire's, your lords and dukes likewise,
My William's hand appears to me like diamonds in my eyes
Begone, unruly female, you ne'er shall happy be,
For I mean to banish William from the banks of sweet Dundee.

Her uncle and the squire rode out one summer's day,
Young William is in favour—her uncle he did say,
Indeed 'tis my intention to tie him to a tree,
Or else to bribe the press gang on the banks of sweet Dundee.

The press gang came to William when he was all alone,
He boldly fought for liberty, but they were six to one.
The blood did flow in torrents—pray kill me now, said he,
I would rather die for Mary, on the banks of sweet Dundee.

This morn'g one day was walking lamenting for her love,
She met the wealthy squire down in her uncle's grove,
He put his arms around her, stand off base man, said she,
You sent the only lad I love from the banks of sweet Dundee.

His clasp'd his arms around her and tried to throw her down,
Two pistols and a sword she spied beneath his morning gown
Young Mary took the pistols, the sword he us'd as free,
But she did fire and shoot the squire on the banks of sweet Dundee.

Her uncle overheard the noise and hasten'd to the ground,
O since you've kill'd the squire I'll give you your death wound
Stand off then, said young Mary undaunted I will be,
She trigger drew her uncle slew on the banks of sweet Dundee.

A doctor soon was sent for—a man of noted skill,
Likewise came his daughter for him to sign his will,
He will'd his gold to Mary who snuff'd so nautically, [See.
And clos'd his eyes no more to rise on the banks of sweet Dundee.



PRESTON

Guild

OF 1842.

J. Harkness, Printer, 93, Park-road, Preston.

Now Preston Guild is drawing near,
People of all sorts will be there,
Lords, Knights, and Squires of high renown,
In chaise and coaches come to Town.

Merchants who trade beyond the seas,
Will there attend,—their wits to please,
And tradesmen, to defend their will,
Increase the throng at Preston Guild.

The butchers sell their meat now dear,
They fall and rise, to spend it there,
Their wives in Mullin will be drest,
And Gigg it away with the very best.

Badgers, by pinching the poor,
And farmers who've got gold in store,
And as fine as the rest, resolved they will,
Travel by railway to Preston Guild.

The streets they'll crowded be all day,
And every night, a ball or play,
Concerts and Assemblies, then there'll be,
Each evening to keep up the glee.

With love indulging Masquerades,
Bachelors then, are rakish blades,
Wives, widows, maids, by dress and skill,
Increase the throng at Preston Guild.

And amongst the rest who walk you'll find,
Adam and Eve, with the tailors join'd
With other sights more curious odd,
Increase the show at Preston Guild.

All you that come this Guild to see,
With money well provided be:
For wanting this, your case is bad,
You'll want both victuals and a bed.

A bed of straw or chaff is very high,
And in the streets all night some lie,
For Barn or Stable, charge they will,
A shilling a night, at Preston Guild.

No. 79

11486

A NEW SONG ON THE

Preston Guild 1842.

You lads and lasses far and near,
Unto my song pray lend an ear,
The time is come for mirth and glee,
To Preston Guild let's haste away;
For Tom and Sal with Jim and Peg,
And daddy with his wooden leg,
And grunting Jack with Sam and will
Are all gone off to Preston Guild,

There lords and ladies, Kings and Queens,
At Preston Guild they may be seen.
Yes, merchants—tradesmen a grand show,
With ladies walking in a row;
And then the trades they do appear,
By gum it makes one feel quite queer
Some walking others standing still,
This is the fun at Preston Guild.

The tailors they lead up the van,
With Adam and Eve they look so grand,
Then Robin Hood's men and gardeners,
Who represent Mars the god of wars,
Shopkeepers Publicans so free,
Will follow up for liberty,
The grandest show in England still,
Is the jubilee at Preston Guild,

The factory folks are next in view,
Spinners, weavers and carders, too,
The piecers do not lag behind,
Brickmakers at the Guild we find,
Bricksetters, masons, two and two,
To see them walking in row,
The men who houses and factories build,
You'll see them walk at Preston Guild.

When at the Guild you do arrive,
Like Bees they're swarming all alive,
All kinds of trades are working still,
You'll see, now you're at Preston Guild,
There's swinging boxes, likewise shows,
And soldiers listing drunken fools.
Both drunkards and teetotalers will
Enjoy a peep at Preston Guild.

Its loss or buy for cakes or nuts,
Sweet meats or ORMSKIRK, stuff your guts
Or make a trow at civil will,
Now lads you're come to Preston Guild,
Or see the sports that's up and down,
At Preston Guild in Preston town,
Two shillings a bed pay with good will,
If you stop one night at Preston Guild.

The times are hard the wages low,
Some thousands to the Guild can't go.
From Blackburn, Burnley, and Chorley still,
They will roll on to Preston Guild,
From Wigan—Bolton—Lancaster,
From Liverpool and Manchester,
The Railroad brings them on it still,
To see the fun at Preston Guild.

So young and old I'll tell you true,
It's different now since twenty-two,
The men did labour with good will,
It's not so now this Preston Guild.
But let us hope the times will mend,
When the poor mau can the poor befriend,
We want our rights and then we will,
Have plenty of sport next Preston Guild.



KATHLEEN

Mavourneen.

Harkness, Printer, Preston.

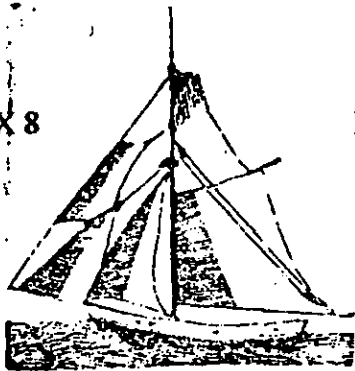
Kathleen Mavourneen
The gray dawn is breaking,
The horn of the hunter,
Is heard on the hill,
The lark from her light wing,
The bright dew is shaking,
Kathleen Mavourneen,
What slumbering still.

O, hast thou forgotten
How soon we must sever,
O hast thou forgotten,
How soon we must part,
It may be for years,
And it may be for ever,
Then why art thou silent,
Thou voice of my heart.

Kathleen Mavourneen,
Awake from thy slumber,
The blue mountains glow,
On the sun's golden light,
Ah! where is the spell,
Once hung on thy numbers,
Arise in thy beauty,
Thou star of my night.

Mavourneen, mavourneen,
My sad tears are falling,
To think that from Erin,
And thee I must part,
It may be for years,
And it may be for ever,
Then why art thou silent,
Thou voice of my heart.

85.



Irish William.

Being the Answer to "Irish Molly O."

Harkness, Printer, 8, Water Street, Preston.

It was one summer's morning in the pleasant month of
I heard two lovers talking, as I along did stray, [May,
It proved to be young Mary, so I will now unfold,
Her lover's name was William, a jolly Sailor bold.

CHORUS.

He is young, he is handsome, the bravest one I know,
And since his inclination is to face the daring foe,
I hope he will return again to his Irish Molly O.

He said it's my intention to leave you love behind,
I've shipp'd on board a man-of-war - my articles are sign'd
My month's advance I will devide, I may return with more
And live happy and contented with the girl that I adore.

O William, dearest William, pray do not go to sea,
When I arrive at twenty-one, a lady I shall be:
But seek for some employment upon your native shore:
And do not go to face the foe on board a man-of-war.

Says William now the ocean has summoned me away
So now along with Mary I can no longer stay—
For I may be promoted and return with gold in store
And bless the day I sail'd away on board a man-of-war

Now since you are so venturesome, I hope you will prove
For it is my intention to wed with none but you; [true,
And since your inclination is to cross the raging main,
Farewell, my dearest William, we hope to meet again.

The small boat is in readiness to row me from the land,
And yonder is the ship-of-war, you see she is well mann'd
Young William took a parting kiss, perhaps to meet no
And Molly's waiting his return unto the Irish shore. [more

NO. 94.

PRESTON GUILD, OF 1842.

(J. Harkness, Printer, 93, Park-road, Preston.)

1 Come all you lads and lasses,
That loves to hear my prate,
Pray listen to my ditty that I am to relate,
The lines that I shall relate,
My pen shall not lie still,
For I will tell you all the fun at famous Preston Guild.

2 On Monday the sports began,
With claiming of the freemen,
At town hall the mayor did meet,
Of gentlemen there was a fleet,
With hearts as light as any feet,
From far and near they all did meet, at famous Guild.

3 Then to the marsh they did repair,
To see the regatta that was there,
Such hustling, bustling, and creeping under
To get a good sight it was a wonder,
Besides the cricket match more curious still
There was such sights at Preston Guild.

4 The opening of the Guild was at the town hall
Mayor, town's clerk, and alderman,
There was both large and small,
Then to the New market the procession did move
The mayor to give an adjournment as it did prove
I was thither as they nearly me did smother at famous Preston Guild.

5 Then off to the fire works off I set,
Many thousands there I met,
He ascend with rockets so rare,
With wheels and bomb shell be made me stare,
He made the people to stand still,
Did Mr. Bywater, at famous Preston Guild.

6 On Tuesday was very fine,
All was grand for beauty's shrine,
The rout began with two marshalls,
And many trades I will not mention,
Wrestling,—concerts, mention I will,
Is what I saw at Preston Guild.

7 On Wednesday morning the procession began
With Pablo Fanques and his Royal band,
The carpet was laid and what could be made out
The mayoress and ladies, began to walk on out
A fancy dress ball mention I will,
Is what I saw at Preston Guild.

8 On Thursday morning it was wet,
So down Lune street off I set,
To get a sight of public breakfast,
To the regatta and races I ran fast
So that I might get a good place,
And on the course I met are will, Egad! it's nice at Preston Guild.

9 On Friday the races began with glee,
A Customs Ball for evening's spree,
And up street some friends I pass'd,
As wanted to get some brass;
For a long-fingered gentleman cus'd my till
So I'll return home from Preston Guild.

10 So now good people to conclude my song,
I hope my good friends I've not kept you long,
May heaven preserve you & keep you from ill
And spare you to go to next Preston Guild,
And (you spare the Mayors of this town's will
That preserves the just of Preston Guild.

R. A.

are now lost. The following, written for the Guild of 1802, although partaking of the doggerel, may not be without interest, as a picture of local manners and feelings "sixty years since." The song was taken down, the other day, from the lips of a Lancashire hand-loom weaver of "nankeen," seventy-six years of age. He recited it at his loom from memory, and stated that his father visited Preston Guild, in 1802, whence he took home with him this then newly composed ballad. It is printed pretty nearly as he recited it, except that he gave it in the Lancashire dialect, which rendered it all the more racy, and no doubt a more close resemblance to the way in which it would be sung in the streets of Preston sixty years ago. At succeeding Guilds, a somewhat similar song, with alterations for the worse, has been "cried" by "flying stationers."

Now Preston Guild is drawing near,
And folk of all sorts will be there,
Lords, knights, and squires of high renown
In *shays* and coaches come to town.

Merchants that trade beyond the seas
Will there attend, their wits to please;
And tradesmen, too, depend, they will
In whiskeys* ride to Preston Guild.

Butchers sell their meat now dear,
Their pelf to raise to spend it there,
And their wives in muslins will be drest
And jig it away with the very best.

Badgers,† by pinching of the poor,
And farmers, who've got gold in store,
All as fine as the rest, resolved, they will
In whiskeys ride to Preston Guild.

The fun with racing will commence,
When gamblers free their guineas spend,
Then *sharps* may lose, and *flats* may win,
And "knowing ones" be taken in.

The streets they'll crowded be all day,
And every night, a ball or play;
Concerts and 'semblies, too, there'll be,
Each evening to keep up the glee.

With love-indulging masquerades,
Bachelors then are rakish blades:
Wives, widows, maids, by dress and skill,
Increase the throng at Preston Guild.

* A sort of gig.

† Corn and provision dealers; usually applied to those who buy at one place and sell at another.

Grand comp'nies in the streets parade;
'There's not calling or a trade,
But will the grand procession join,
With bands of music and colours fine.

Among the smiths you'll Vulcan find,
And Adam and Eve with tailors joined,
And other sights more curious still
Compose the show at Preston Guild.

All you that wish these sights to see,
With money well provided be;
For, wanting this, your case is bad,
You'll lack both victuals and a bed.

A bed of straw or chaff lets high,
In paver's shops* all night some lie,
For a barn or stable charge they will
A shilling a night at Preston Guild.

The ballad-mongers had a song or two at the last Guild; but neither their poetical nor descriptive merits render a quotation desirable.

* A figure of speech for "the street."

William Dobson and John Howland, A HISTORY OF PRESTON GUILD
(3d edition, 1st vol. 9. Dobson, 1862)

Preston guild

1842.

You lads and lasses far and near,
 Unto my song pray lend an ear,
 The time is come for mirth and glee,
 To Preston Guild let's haste away;
 For Tom and Sal with Jim and Peg,
 And daddy with his wooden leg,
 Aye grunting Jack with Sam and Will
 Are all gone off to Preston Guild.

There lords and ladies, Kings and Queens,
 At Preston Guild they may be seen,
 Yes, merchants—tradesmen, a grand show,
 With ladies walking in a row;
 And then the trades they do appear,
 By gum it makes one feel quite queer,
 Some walking, others standing still,
 This is the fun at Preston Guild.

The tailors they lead up the van,
 With Adam and Eve they look so grand;
 Then Robin Hood's men and gardeners,
 Who represent Mars the god of wars;
 Shopkeepers, Publicans so free,
 Will follow up for liberty,
 The grandest show in England still,
 Is the jubilee at Preston Guild.

The factory folks are next in view,
 Spinners, weavers, and carders, too;
 The piecers do not lag behind;
 Brickmakers at the Guild we find,
 Bricksetters, masons, two and two,
 To see them walking in a row,
 The men who houses and factories build,
 You'll see them walk at Preston Guild.

When at the Guild you do arrive,
 Like bees they're swarming all alive,
 All kinds of trades are working still,
 You'll see, now you're at Preston Guild,
 There's swinging boxes, likewise shows,
 And skiers listing drunken fools,
 Both drunkards and teetotalers will
 Enjoy a peep at Preston Guild.

Its toss or buy for cakes or nuts,
 Sweet meats or ORMSKIRK, stuff your guts
 Or take a throw at civil will,
 Now lads you're come to Preston Guild,
 Or see the sports that's up and down,
 At Preston Guild in Preston town,
 Two shillings a bed pay with good will
 If you stop one night at Preston Guild.

The times are hard, the wages low,
 Some thousands to the Guild-cant go,
 From Blackburn, Burnly, & Chorley still,
 They will roll on to Preston Guild,
 From Wigan—Bolton—Lancaster,
 From Liverpool and Manchester,
 The Railroad brings them on it still,
 To see the fun at Preston Guild.

So young and old, I'll tell you true,
 It's different now since twenty-two,
 The men did labour with good will,
 It's not so now this Preston Guild,
 But let us hope the times will mend,
 When the poor man can the poor befriend;
 We want our rights and then we will,
 Have plenty of sport next Preston Guild.

HARKNESS, PRINTER, 93, PARK ROAD, PRESTON.



LONG-SONG SELLER

APPENDIX 13

PRESTON 19TH CENTURY BROADSIDE PRINTERS

1. C. Ambler, 3 Temple Court, Fishergate, Preston
2. Armstead, 4 Old Shambles, Preston
3. W. Gillow, 17 Back Charlotte Street and 4 Leaming Street, Preston
4. Lang
5. J. Livesey, Church Street, Preston
6. J. Robinson, 17 Cannon Street, Preston
7. Seargent
8. White
9. P. and H. Whittle, 23 Fishergate, Preston