LANCASHIRE AND THE COTTON-MILL IN LATE VICTORIAN FICTION

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South and North

In Alice O'Hanlon's *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner*, a little-discussed late Victorian novel of Lancashire life published in 1883, but set in the period of the Cotton Famine, there is an epiphanic moment of a type which recurs often in this category of fiction.[1] In this dramatic, emblematic clash of value-systems an educated southern female consciousness confronts for the first time the northern (masculine) reality of factory-life. Two well-brought-up, conventional middle-class girls from a quiet town in the south of England, Kate and Helen Wynter, are forced by the death of their father to live with their uncle, Robert Reid, who is a paternalistic mill-owner in the fictional Lancashire town of Ockleybridge. They bring with them a full set of negative assumptions about Lancashire and the factory. The girls are taken on a tour of Robert Reid's cotton mill, and their first reactions to the shock of exposure[2] are carefully documented:

> *Never before had the girls entered a warehouse, workshop, or manufactory ... the noise was distracting, almost distressing, to them, with its whirr, clangour, and buzz. They felt stunned and deafened ... (and) upset by the uncompromising stare awarded them as they entered each separate room or weaving shed by perhaps a hundred eyes at once. And certainly it must have been overfacing and disagreeable to these delicately bred maidens to be thus gazed out of countenance by card-strippers and slubbing-frame tenters, spinners and weavers, in rough fustian or sleeveless print gowns, with the fluff of cotton in their hair, and the smell of oil on their garments.*[3]

At first the girls recoil in horror and disgust, rejecting the factory and Lancashire dialect speech as uncouth, crude and vulgar. They can barely understand how the operatives communicate with one another.[4] Through daily contact with the mill and the domestic lives of its workers, however, they slowly learn to appreciate the entrepreneurial energy and social concern demonstrated by Robert Reid, and to recognise the vitality and variety of the operative culture. In a reciprocal process of moral education they themselves conduct classes in basic literacy for the unemployed mill-workers during the Cotton Famine, thus discovering a purpose in life beyond the trivial social round. Finally they come to recognise fully that Robert Reid "had within him the root and essence of a true gentleman ... not always the gift of inheritance. Better still, he was nothing if not *jannock* as his employees would have described him – that is, thoroughly genuine."[5] As the girls become more familiar with the true nature of the operatives the threatening and "overfacing" first contact with the workforce is dissolved. The mass become individualised and differentiated through a process of personal contact, and the girls discover for themselves the richness of local dialect speech, and, for example, the existence of "working-men who puzzle out difficult mathematical problems over the loom or in the workshop, or who spend their leisure hours in absorbing pursuit of the various branches of natural history."[6] In the deeper symbolism of this plot-movement can be traced an attempt to legitimize and valorize the factory, and indeed Lancashire itself, within the national culture. In such episodes, replicated in many similar fictions of the period, there is an effort to re-write or re-construct the stereotypes – Coketown, the riot, political violence, Chartism and Trade Unionism, pollution, uniformity, ignorance – which had long represented 'Lancashire' in the national consciousness. The Lancashire novelist J. Marshall Mather, in the Introduction to his novel *By Roaring Loom*, for example, notes that "in some parts of England Lancashire people were thought of as little better than savages", and sets out quite explicitly to "nationalise in fiction the values of Lancashire factory life".[7] This article will consider the representation of Lancashire and the Cotton Districts in a little-studied late Victorian sub-genre, sometimes known to contemporaries as 'mill-fictions'.

Lancashire and the Novel

In his influential *The Working-Classes in Victorian Fiction*, published in 1971, Keating remarks that "to speak of the industrial tradition is to mean a handful of novels written primarily in the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century ... interest in industrialism as a subject for fiction was closely related to the rise and decline of Chartism."[8] Other critics, too, identify a deep-seated cultural conservatism and nostalgia for the values of rural life in conventional literary modes. Wiener, for example, in his account of the construction of 'Englishness' in literature, finds that the "increasingly dominant image of the nation denied its chief characteristic – the rise of industry."[9] These judgements, however, fail to recognise the existence and significance of a well-established and pervasive fictional sub-genre, the regional historical novel set in Lancashire. Most realist novels have as subject a past which predates the moment of publication: even the classic Manchester 'condition of England' novel, Mrs Gaskell's *Mary Barton*, is structured around a distinction between the 'now' of the narrative voice (1848), and the 'then' of the action (1838 – 1842). It is true that later Victorian Lancashire fiction engages with its social themes in ways which suggest less immediate urgency and anxiety than is the case in the 1840s; however, a novel like Jessie Fothergill's *Probation*, written in 1879 as a response to the Blackburn Riots of 1878, but set in the period of the Cotton Famine (1861), is clearly about a fictional process in which the social problems of the moment can be better understood with the aid of the 'lessons of history'.

> *Then (1861), in the woe of the poor and the sympathy of the rich, it almost seemed as if the great, black, frowning barriers of caste had been overthrown, but*

the division of classes, the opposition of master and man is a plant of sturdy growth, and strikes its roots deep and far into the earth. Now, sixteen years later, comes a strike almost without parallel for bitterness and unyielding stubbornness on either side ... a strike accompanied by looting and mob rule ...[10]

Such novels are often described as 'historical', as if they were distanced from the concerns of the moment; they are in fact deeply engaged with contemporary social themes at every level. The fictions are best understood, therefore, as part of an attempt to re-consider the immediate past, to draw particular lessons from it, and to re-evaluate Lancashire, the factory, and its culture in this new context. Thus the common historical association of the cotton mill with conflict, violence and pollution is gradually replaced by a set of metaphors built up around the concepts of family, community and cultural continuity. The Lancashire Mill-Settlement comes to represent, in this movement, a model of successful management of difficult processes of transition. In this fictional discourse the factory, that most potent image of modernity in the nineteenth century, is finally incorporated within national culture and the symbolic order; in a process of moral legitimation its power as a threatening image of disruption is replaced by a more accommodating set of associations. Employees, in this convention, may identify with, and have loyalty to, their workplace and its culture. In J. Marshall Mather's *By Roaring Loom*, for example, an old weaver who has spent her working life in the mill returns to her looms after retirement: "hoo were as tender wi'em as if they'd been childer; nay, flesh and blood were'nt i' it."[11]

The following titles are broadly representative of what is an extensive sub-genre. James Kay-Shuttleworth's *Scarsdale* (1860), Jessie Fothergill's *Probation* (1879), William Westall's *The Old Factory* (1881), and Alice O'Hanlon's *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner* (1883).[12]

These novels have many features in common. All were published in book form by well-known London Houses in three volumes at the standard price of 31s 6d. Although print runs were relatively small – *Scarsdale* and *Probation*, for example, both appeared in editions of 1,000 – the novels were more influential and widely read than might be assumed at first sight. Some were rapidly reprinted in cheaper, one-volume versions, or serialised in monthly journals. William Westall's *The Old Factory* achieved wider circulation as a newspaper serial prior to book publication.[13] In addition, the existence of well-organized commercial lending libraries in all large towns ensured that most novels in the three-decker format had multiple readers. All the titles cited above appear in the printed catalogues of Mudie's Library shortly after publication. The controversies which surrounded some other novels of the period – Mrs Ward's account of a crisis of religious faith in *Robert Elsmere*, for example – give some indication of the power of the genre to stimulate national debate about social themes. The titles listed above were also extensively reviewed in local and national periodicals. Although readership of this category of fiction was certainly restricted by considerations of price and the availability of leisure time, the liberal elite to whom such writing was most likely to appeal was strategically placed to exert influence within the national structures of power.

This group of novels is unified by broadly similar descriptions of regional topography, character, and language, a

Jessie Fothergill, author of Probation, *from a photograph in Helen C. Black,* Notable Women Authors of the Day *(1906), p.183.*

common perception of the nature of labour relations in the mill community, and finally, at a deeper level, by shared formal structures of conflict and resolution. In this way fictions of the category discussed here create what amounts to a collective discursive context, a common set of images, structures and values through which they engage with their dominant theme – Lancashire and its mill-communities.

City and Country

All the novels attempt to publicise a valorized category of something often referred to as the 'true' Lancashire identity, expressed through the uniqueness of its topography, its culture, and the nature of personal character. The 'Lancashire' constructed in these fictions begins with the exclusion of any large city, and especially Manchester itself, as having an authentic claim to represent the region. In the industrial city, in this convention, the rivers are sour and stinking with the refuse of dye-stuffs poured into them; the buildings dirty, the slum-life degrading, the culture of the elite over-sophisticated, the politics violent and confrontational.[14] In *Probation*, for example, there is a thematic rejection of the city as a source of value and identity. In this passage a worker from an outlying settlement visits a Manchester art gallery:

It was a hot, close, Manchester afternoon. Scarcely a breath of air was stirring. The smoke pressed down heavily upon the thick, yellow air ... omnibuses, carts, and lorries were struggling in a lock in the middle of the street.[15]

Above and Right: *Title page and frontispiece of an 1880 edition of Probation this highly symbolic image shows a Lancashire factory town refracted through the window of Adrienne Blisset's study.*

PROBATION

A Novel

BY

THE AUTHOR OF 'THE FIRST VIOLIN'

LONDON

RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, NEW BURLINGTON ST.

Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen

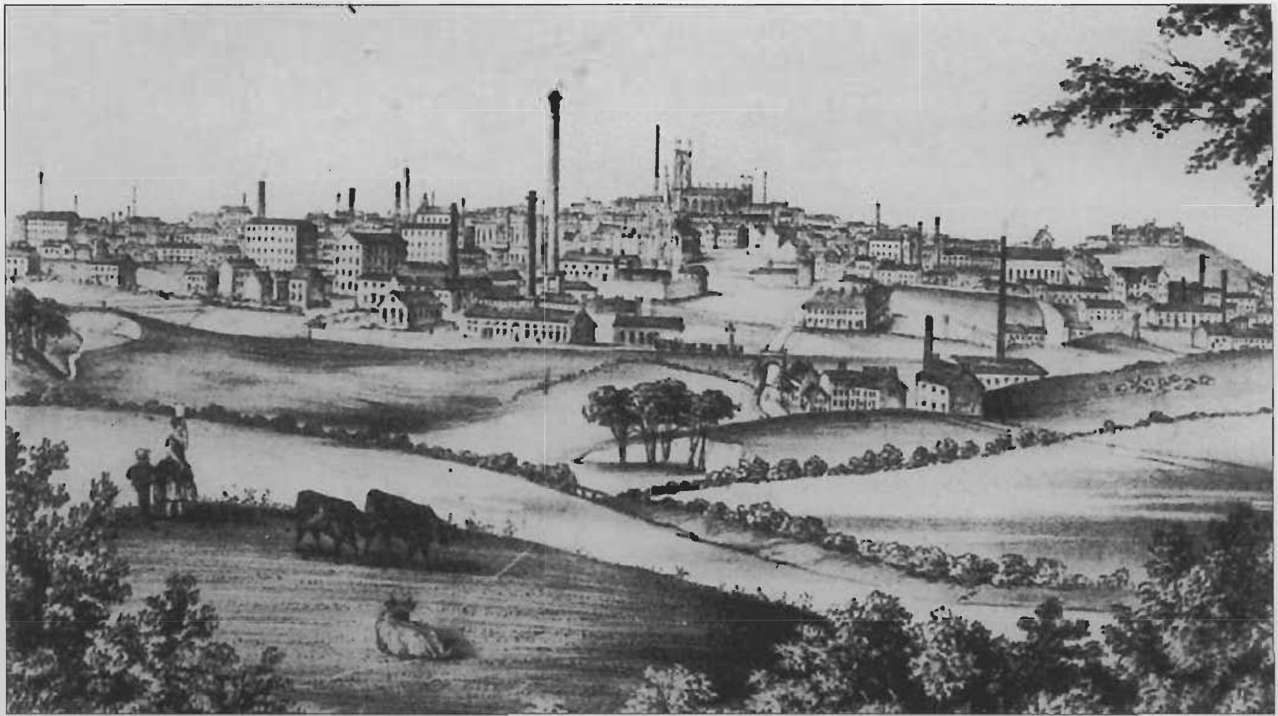
1880

He sits in front of the modern paintings, unable to guess what they represent and shocked by the 'city-price' of 100 guineas. Here, the commercial ethos of the city is shown to reduce culture to the status of a commodity, in contrast to the deep-rooted traditional and communal practices of the outlying settlements. Language too, in the city, becomes no more than a babel of conflicting voices in which the harmonizing, unifying power of dialect speech is lost and a form of cultural anarchy takes its place.[16] Lancashire identity is also diluted by the presence of other ethnic groups: the Irish, Italian, German, Jewish communities, each with their own cultures and histories. The historical association of Manchester with theories of economic individualism and the primacy of market forces, here seen as in conflict with older ideas of community and custom, is another aspect of the thematic rejection of city-life in this literary convention.

Lancashire Landscapes

The 'true' Lancashire topography and character is thus located outside the city, in mill-settlements or smaller townships in which the textile trade had been established since the late eighteenth century. In these settlements there are a range of dwellings and buildings – farmsteads, hand-loom weavers cottages, water-powered mills – which represent a continuity of tradition and values. Above the settlements are the moors, stark, bleak and harsh, but, in this literary tradition, also uniquely characteristic of the region.[17] The various elements which form this landscape – moor, valley, farmstead, mill-settlement, township – connected by a network of ancient pack-horse trails – relate together harmoniously to form a version of industrial pastoral which includes rather than rejects the factory. The steam-powered mill appears as an additional feature to be incorporated in an already established industrial landscape, not as an alien, disruptive interloper. The living connection with pre-industrial craft-based modes of production – small-scale farming, hand-loom weaving – has not been lost in these communities. The fictional town of Ockleybridge in *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner* is "often obscured by black smoke which poured from its chimneys", but on the surrounding hillsides "harvest workers are busy all day, sheaves of golden corn stand ready for carting away."[18] *Scarsdale*, too, opens with a very typical account of these features:

> *... some distance below the Hall might be seen the tall chimney of a cotton mill, and , in lateral dingles farther south, the tops of the chimneys of other factories, showing that water-power was aided if not supplanted by steam. Further on the plain arose the smoke of a growing manufacturing town called Hurstwood, whose mills were thickly congregated along the river ... when the eye searched the northern branches of the river, the signs of manufacturing*



Oldham from Glodwick, c.1860.

> *industry disappeared ... homesteads at intervals overlooked the abrupt sides of the valley.*[19]

In William Westall's *The Old Factory* these elements can be particularly clearly identified. The Mill which is at the centre of this text is located outside Orrington, an imaginary Lancashire township in a valley below the moors. The building is covered in ivy, and is surrounded by carefully tended gardens:

> *... it was called 'old' because it was less new than one or two other spinning mills in the same neighbourhood; and, perhaps, because there was something ancient in its appearance and associations. It lay in a valley, and was built on the site of an old corn-mill ... a brook, fed by springs on the moor, flowed through the valley, and a broad sluice conducted a part of its water into a dam, for the service of the great water-wheel, which, together with a steam-engine made by Boulton and Watt, furnished the mill with motive power ... (the mill) formed a picturesque feature in the landscape.*[20]

These Lancashire settlements also continue traditional practices lost in the city. In *Scarsdale*, for example, a central chapter, *The Rochdale Rushbearing*, provides a detailed and carefully documented account of a festival shared by both operative and employer:

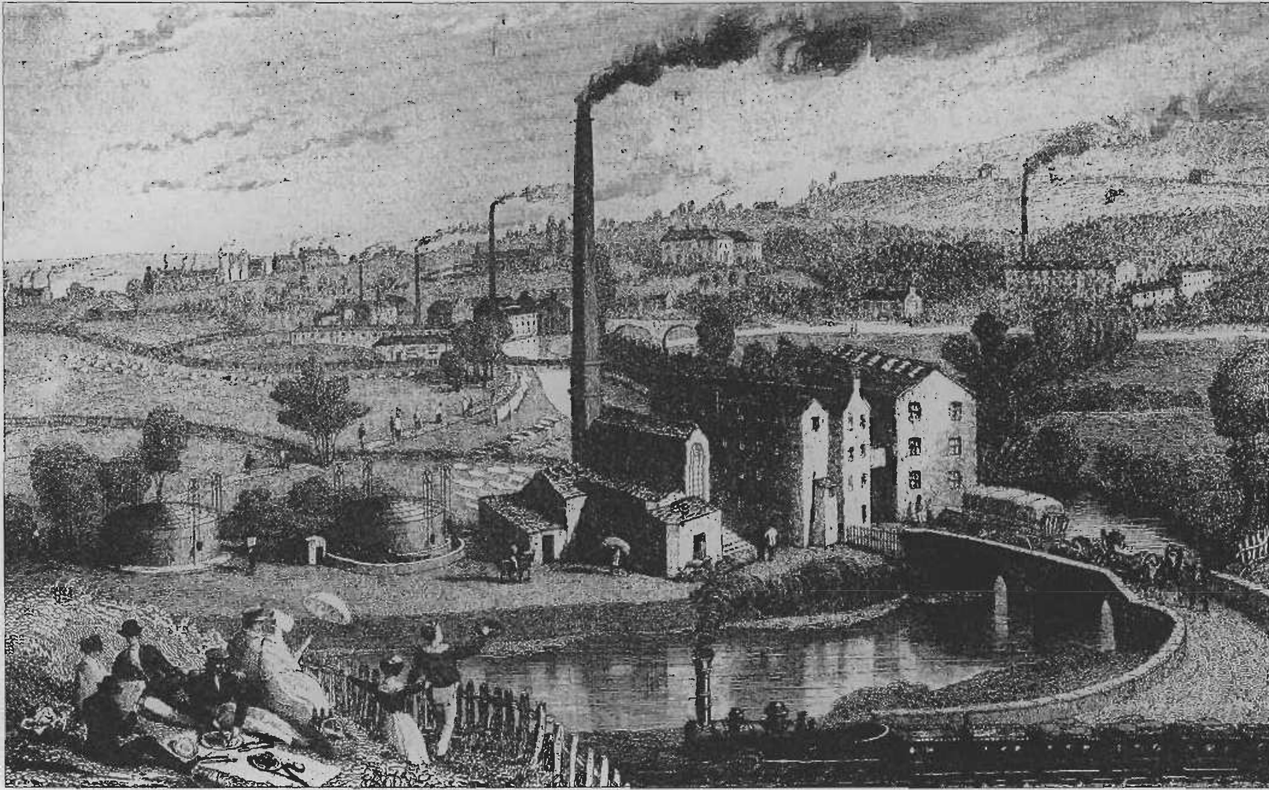
> *On the summit (of the cart) was a bower in the form of a crown, made of holly, laurel, and other evergreens, round which were twined garlands. An immense wreath of large flowers encircled the base of the arbour ... on each of the smooth sides of the cone, between the boundary of rush hedges, were inscriptions in brilliantly coloured flowers. On one was Scarsdale, on another Colliers, on a third Weavers.*[21]

In *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner*, too, there are ceremonial rites which unite master and man beneath the unifying banner of regional identity. Every year at Christmas Robert Reid's mill is closed for a day to host a "monstrous dinner-party" for workers and employer. In the speeches and recitations which follow, dialect unifies and defines the sense of shared community. In the movement described here a particular version of the elements which constitute the Lancashire character is developed. Independence of mind, bluntness of manner, direct and natural speech, a 'Saxon' concern with down-to-earth productive skills, patience and endurance in politics, kindness concealed beneath a gruff exterior, are recurring elements in this account.

Working Class Culture

In the trajectories followed by working-class protagonists in these novels similar impulses can be traced. There is a narrative pressure to demonstrate the potential for moral and intellectual development in the Lancashire operative, replacing earlier stereotypes. There are two working-class characters whose experience is described in some detail: Victor Deloisir in *Scarsdale*, and Myles Heywood in *Probation*. Both are natural leaders in their communities; both are at first attracted to radicalism as a response to the suffering of their people, but later reject the politics of conflict for theories of co-operation and individual advance through the processes of education. Deloisir was brought up in "the most wretched district of Manchester, Ancoats", in conditions of poverty: "All he knew of life was confined to his mother's garret, the coarse hodmen, porters and navvies, the rude factory hands of Ancoats ...".[22]

Deloisir's journey out of the darkness of city life is accomplished through the processes of self-help. He joins the Free Library and the Mechanic's Institute, and at first is led to activity in the Trade Union movement. Later, he rejects the



Summerseat Cotton Mill near Bury. Undated image held in Manchester Central Reference Library local collection.

use of force for political ends and is influenced by a French social philosopher, Malvoisin. Malvoisin leads him to some actual French and Swiss communitarian experiments. Characters in the novel, including Deloisir, visit a community set up on the shores of Lake Constanz by De Fellenberg, and his disciple Wehrli, and similar social experiments in Paris. These communities were widely publicised for their successful redemptive work in the 1830s and 1840s. Destitute city children were exposed to the example of benevolent masters who shared their living conditions, and worked as equals. The children were taught to co-operate in productive activity for the good of the community. "I was with them all day long", wrote Wehrli, "I was their father."[23] Deloisir and Malvoisin discover that many similar attitudes are present in the culture of the Lancashire mill communities in Scarsdale, and Deloisir leaves the city to work in these Lancashire valleys and to promote his theories of co-operation.

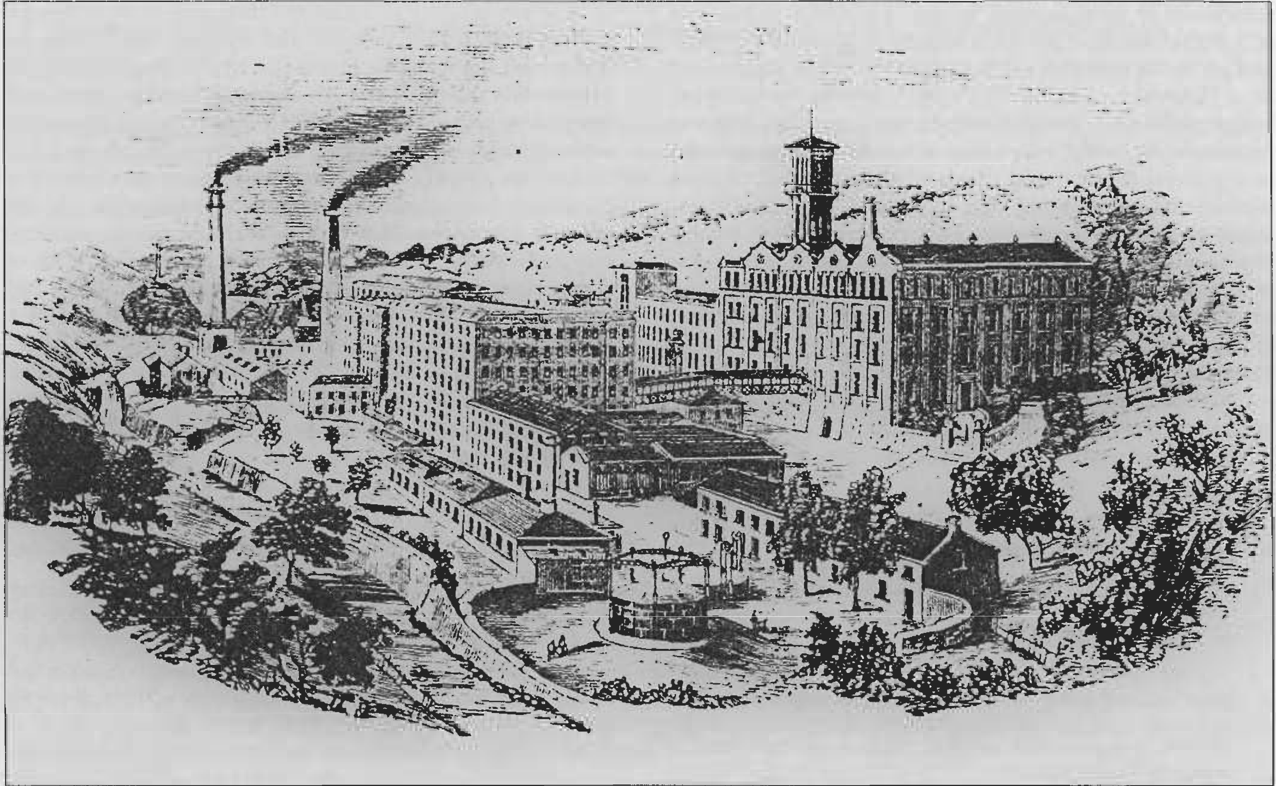
A similar influence appears in *Probation*. Here a young woman, Adrienne Blisset, who is half-German, has acquired 'modern' social ideas about co-operative organization during periods abroad:

> *In Paris she had lessons in democracy from a young genius who lived in a garret and planned schemes of a perfect republic, but her best teacher had been ... a professor in Berlin, a man of literature and philosophy ...*[24]

She befriends Myles Heywood, an idealistic young millworker, and encourages him to travel to Germany to work in a factory run on co-operative principles. When he returns he uses his experience in a Lancashire factory where his ideas and energy make him a natural leader of the men. He advocates co-operative practices in place of conflict. In a classic symbolic union of the 'best' in both classes, Adrienne Blisset and Myles Heywood eventually marry.[25]

Cotton Mill as Community

In their formal structures, too, this group of novels show similar features, although each has its own particular modulation of the processes of conflict and resolution. Each has at its heart an idealised Lancashire mill-community outside the city, in which harmonious labour relations have prevailed, owing to a combination of the inherited 'good sense' of the employees and the social concern of a paternalistic master. In this movement, both master and man are shown to benefit from an understanding of their shared interests, buttressed by their common Lancashire identity. However, in each case a disruptive element which threatens to destroy the settled community appears in the text: machine breaking in *Scarsdale*, Trade Unionism and political violence in *The Old Factory*, the Cotton Famine and the desperation it produces in *Probation* and *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner*. The conflict or disturbance is resolved in the conclusions by the combination of a Lancashire inheritance of shared community values, reinforced by an additional impulse from outside the closed circle of mill-life. This intervention may come from concerned professionals – doctors, ministers – or as the result of an input of ideas from 'social thinkers'. In these novels the English writer most often cited in this context as a beneficial influence on master and man is John Ruskin. However, the novels are also alive to experiments into co-operative methods of governing labour relations being conducted in France and Germany. The 'social thinker' Malvoisin in *Scarsdale*, the half-German Adrienne Blisset in *Probation*, and the Swiss inventor Basel in *The Old Factory*, all bring new insights which revitalise the tradi-



Egerton Mill near Bolton. From the British Trade Journal, 1 Feb. 1883, p.94. The mill-communities at Barrow Bridge and Eagley near Bolton were nationally famous as examples of what could be achieved through a spirit of co-operation and benevolent paternalism.

tional values of the threatened Lancashire communities. In the remaining example, *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner*, a combination of impulses from outside the community – the young southern woman Helen Wynter, and a Quaker Doctor whom she marries, fulfil a similar structural function. The movement is towards the resolution of conflict by a more formal development of ideas of co-operation and profit-sharing, building on a foundation of benevolent paternalism and deference already present in the Lancashire mill-communities.[26]

Westall's *The Old Factory* is perhaps the most intensely typical of all these texts. In it are deployed most of the standard structures of conflict and resolution. The Old Factory is owned by Adam Blackthorne, an unredeemed self-made man. When Union Delegates arrive in the district they identify him as "the hardest and most tyrannical master in th'countryside", and determine to smash his looms.[27] However, Blackthorne meets and eventually takes into partnership a Swiss inventor, Basel, who has different ideas about labour relations. Adam Blackthorne's son Frank, who is once again influenced by Ruskin's writing, is also more interested in co-operative ideas and modes of benevolent paternalism than his father. The son "was popular with the hands, and took an interest in their comfort and well-being."[28] He appreciates the culture of the operatives, and tries to improve their housing. Frank eventually marries Basel's daughter Valèrie, in a symbolic union of a type common in this category of fiction. When the Old Factory burns down in a fire, the couple determine to build a new mill with the stones of the old, in a spirit of co-operation with the workforce.

In these ways the novels collectively construct an 'invented history' of the region which seeks to re-assess the national status of the Mill and of the culture which surrounds it. In this literary convention, therefore, the Lancashire Cotton Factory and its community are re-constituted as positive and exemplary symbols of desired modes of labour relations. Although these fictional accounts are clearly idealised in many ways, such communities certainly existed in Lancashire, both in the countryside, and in the 'Town Colonies' found in Ancoats and elsewhere. As Patrick Joyce notes, they have a real historical importance which is often overlooked:

> *... the development of industrial paternalism from the 1840s was of central significance in the evolution of British society ... such town and country colonies were far more common than is generally appreciated.*[29]

The factory-communities set up by Ashton Brothers in Hyde, Hugh Mason in Ashton, the Greg family in Styal, and John Ashworth at Eagley outside Bolton are only a few of the better known examples of this process. The model mill-complex at Barrow Bridge outside Bolton was nationally celebrated. Issues of *The Illustrated London News*, 18th and 25th October, 1851, for example, contain a full report of a visit by the Prince Consort to the settlement, remarking that "the community of interest between the employer and the employed (was) perfectly illustrated by the goodwill and thoughtful attention of the former to the interests and welfare of their subordinates." These millowners provided libraries, schools, leisure facilities and improved housing for their workers.

Form and Ideology in the Novel

However, the almost mythic significance awarded to such communities, and to more traditional village settlements in

Lancashire in these fictions, is clearly ideological and part of a highly selective invented history. A group of powerful and pervasive metaphors is deployed: the mill is represented as a 'knowable community',[30] built around the unifying image of 'family', with the manufacturer accepting paternal responsibility for the well-being of the workers, and placed in a pastoral landscape in which a powerful sense of local identity and tradition are seen to transcend potentially destructive class-divisions. At a more formal level of literary organization, too, these novels are contained within restricted and conventionalised definitions of genre: the recurrent patterns of disturbance followed by re-assertion of order, and the use of an 'omniscient' third-person narrative voice whose authority is unquestioned produce a metonymic discourse in which literary form and ideology are closely related.[31] Thus the accounts of Lancashire life in these fictions occupy a strategic position in the forging of new mechanisms of social stability and order. Although broadly conservative in mode and analysis, they cannot be understood simply as the expression of a seamless bourgeois hegemony. This fictional discourse in fact explored and dramatised some of the deepest fissures within bourgeois social thought. An opposition between proponents of a free market, on the one hand, and conciliatory theorists of a moralised, humanized organization of production, on the other, is structuring. These fables of reconciliation, community and custom were on one level a response to fears of the respectable about the threat of political violence and social disorder; on another, they can be read as part of a comprehensive and at least partly successful attempt to re-position Lancashire and its Mill-Communities within the symbolic order. In the continuing tension between images of England as 'Garden' and as 'Workshop' the Lancashire experience was determining.

Notes

1. Alice O'Hanlon, *Robert Reid, Cotton Spinner*, 3 Vols (1883). There is a copy of this scarce novel in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Internal evidence in the text suggests that the author has personal knowledge of Lancashire, but there is no information about her in standard reference sources, or any critical discussion of her work. Any biographical information from readers will be welcome.
2. The association of confrontations of this kind with a vocabulary suggesting violation or rape are not accidental. In this episode, and elsewhere in the early chapters, the girls are subjected to a penetrating male gaze which strips them of their illusions. The well-known riot scenes in Mrs Gaskell's *North and South* (1855) are clearly open to a similar reading. *North and South*, although a novel of city-life in a somewhat different tradition, is identifiable as a form of ur-text lying beneath the surface of many of the fictions discussed in this chapter.
3. O'Hanlon, *Robert Reid*, Vol. I, p. 126.
4. J. K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester, 1987), p. 4, notes the national reputation of the region for "poverty and barbarism", or even "savagery", and for "the persistence of a low threshold of violence". This view of Lancashire as one of the dark places of the land survived late into the nineteenth century.
5. O'Hanlon, *Robert Reid*, Vol. I, p. 69. The use here of the dialect term 'jannock', and many similar examples in which 'factory-language' is incorporated into the standard English narration, is a linguistic sign, at the level of vocabulary, of the thematic attempt to legitimize Lancashire cultural life.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 69. The emblematic figure of the self-taught naturalist recurs often in this ideological construction. Some Lancashire 'working-men of science' received national publicity as examples of the successful "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." John Percy, 'Scientists in Humble Life', *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. V, No. 1 (1991), pp. 3–10, gives a full account. In *Robert Reid*, a poor weaver, Amos Coombe, "had made the flora of his native county a life-long study. He knew the names and habitat of every flower and moss and lichen that grew within forty miles of Ockleybridge." (Vol I, p. 68).
7. J. Marshall Mather, *By Roaring Loom* (1896). This author, a Methodist Minister, wrote a number of other similar novels set in a Rossendale valley mill-village, and also a biography of John Ruskin, whose social analysis he shared.
8. P. J. Keating, *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (1971), p. 7.
9. M. J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (1981), p. 41.
10. Jessie Fothergill, *Probation* (1879), p. 222.
11. Mather, *By Roaring Loom*, p.76.
12. The increasing volume of dialect and standard English novels which were published in the region in the later nineteenth century, especially by the two Manchester Houses of Abel Heywood and John Heywood, have much in common with the London-based titles discussed here, not least in their rejection of the city and interest in smaller settlements. Edwin Waugh, for example, in his *Lancashire Sketches* (Manchester, 1887), noted that the true Lancashire man had a kind of contempt for "teawn folk as an inferior race, especially in body ... townsfolk had nothing wholesome about them" (p. 18). There is a comprehensive bibliography of late Victorian standard-English Lancashire fiction titles in Trefor Thomas, *Nineteenth Century Lancashire in Fiction* (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1988).
13. The novel appeared first in the *Manchester Times* and the *Glasgow Herald*, and, according to the author, was reproduced time and time again in Lancashire. For full details of the newspaper serialisation of such fiction, see E. Cass, 'Factory Fiction in the Cotton Factory Times', *Manchester Region History Review*, VIII (1994), pp. 32–43.
14. There are other novels of the period which represent the city in more positive ways. Mrs Humphry Ward's *The History of David Grieve* (1892) develops an image of Manchester as open to energy and enterprise, with a vivid and varied cultural life of its own.
15. Fothergill, *Probation*, p. 340.
16. The common account of dialect in this type of fiction as a natural or pure speech-mode, able to represent the concerns of the people without the intervention of commercial pressures or class mediation is of course ideological. Dialect writing was in fact always subject to commercial and, indeed, political pressures in quite complex ways. However, the fact that dialect was often written for performance rather than private reading suggests that its relationship to the community was distinctive, and unlike that of London-based commercial literature. The fullest discussion of the problems surrounding the question of language and identity in Lancashire during this period is Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People* (Cambridge, 1991).

17. There are many graphic representations – engravings and book illustrations – which share the common features of the literary convention. These were at least as influential as the novels in transmitting the set of values which underpin the images.
18. O'Hanlon, *Robert Reid*, Vol. 1, p. 147.
19. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Scarsdale* (1860), Vol. 1, p. 10.
20. William Westall, *The Old Factory* (1881), p. 155. F. D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (Revised Ed. 1967), p. 74; notes that "the rules of the picturesque allowed the intrusion of steam engines or mills or mines only if they were given an air of decrepitude, or made to appear old and ruinous and so harmless".
21. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Scarsdale*, Vol. I, p. 200. This novel was published anonymously, but its authorship was widely known. Although earlier in period than other titles discussed here, its thematic concern with identifying the roots of Lancashire historical and cultural identity is very striking.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 236. This odd choice of name for a Lancashire working-man may owe something to the example of Roland Detrosier, who was an important figure in the Manchester 'self-help' culture.
23. There is a full account of these communities, which were visited by Kay-Shuttleworth, in H. Pollard, *Pioneers of Popular Education* (1956).
24. Jessie Fothergill, *Probation* (1879), p. 91. Jessie Fothergill was an interesting and in many ways representative Lancashire novelist. She came from a non-conformist family background, and left Manchester, where her father, a Quaker, was a partner in the merchant firm of Fothergill and Harvey, at an early age to live in the Rossendale valley. Her attitude to Lancashire was much influenced by visits she made to Germany, and by her reading of John Ruskin.
25. The use of marriage as a structural device to resolve class or regional division is a well established convention in realist fiction.
26. In Mrs Humphry Ward's Manchester novel, *The History of David Grieve* (1892), profit-sharing schemes were also central to the structure.
27. Westall, *The Old Factory*, p. 54
28. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
29. P. Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics* (1980), p. 144.
30. A number of these fictions note with approval the practice of maintaining a 'Great Book' of the mill, in which personal details of each employee are recorded. The obverse of the positioning of the mill-owner as 'father' is of course the image of the workers as 'children', in need of moral education and benevolent guidance.
31. In these novels, for example, the dominant 'separate spheres' view of gender relations is unquestioned. Although other fictional sub-genres of the period are often formally inventive and challenging of social norms at several levels, the realist Lancashire fictions discussed here work almost wholly within pre-existing conventional boundaries.

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