

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

This bibliographical note is highly selective; it is designed primarily for the assistance of the reader who wishes further to pursue the subjects of the separate chapters. Several of the books have appeared since *Victorian Cities* was written.

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a valuable bibliography of books and articles about social aspects of British cities, with a stimulating introduction by Ruth Glass, in *Urban Sociology in Great Britain; A Trend Report* (Unesco, *Current Sociology* No. 4, 1955). See also W. H. Chaloner, 'Writings on British Urban History, 1934-57' in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1958). More recent writings are covered in the *Urban History Newsletter*, edited from Leicester University by H. J. Dyos, and in an important article by Dyos, 'The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Review of Some Recent Writing' in *Victorian Studies* (1966).

Basic statistical information is set out in A. F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899; Cornell Reprints in Urban Studies, 1963); T. A. Welton, *England's Recent Progress* (1911); T. W. Freeman, *The Conurbations of Great Britain* (1949); and D. Friedlander and R. J. Roshier, 'A Study of Internal Migration, 1851-1951' in *Population Studies* (1966). For the geographical background, see S. J. Low, 'The Rise of the Suburbs' in the *Contemporary Review* (1891); A. E. Smailes, 'The Urban Hierarchy in England and Wales' in *Geography* (1944); 'The Site, Growth and Changing Face of London' in R. Clayton (ed.), *The Geography of Greater London* (1964), and *The Geography of Towns* (5th edn 1966); R. E. Dickinson, *City and Region* (1964); H. M. Mayer and C. F. Kohn (eds.), *Readings in Urban Geography* (1959).

The development of local government is examined in S. and B. Webb, *The Manor and the Borough*, 2 vols. (1908); H. J. Laski, W. I. Jennings and W. A. Robson (eds.), *A Century of Municipal Progress, 1835-1935* (1935); E. S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government*, 2 vols. (1907); more briefly in K. B. Smellie, *A Short History of Local Government* (1954); and in more depth in a number of articles, including G. B. A. Finlayson, 'The Municipal Corporation Commission and Report' in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (1963) and 'The Politics of Municipal

Reform' in the *English Historical Review* (1966); and R. Lambert, 'Central and Local Relations in Mid-Victorian England' in *Victorian Studies* (1962).

For public health and related problems, see M. W. Flinn (ed.), *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1965); Sir John Simon's classic study *English Sanitary Institutions* (1890), along with R. Lambert's monograph, *Sir John Simon and English Social Administration* (1963); S. E. Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (1952); R. A. Lewis, *Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement* (1952); E. J. Syson, 'On the Comparative Mortality in Large Towns' in the *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society* (1871); and D. V. Glass, 'Some Indicators of Differences between Urban and Rural Mortality' in *Population Studies* (1964).

For transport and other services, see T. C. Barker and M. Robins, *A History of London Transport*, Vol. I (1963); D. Ward, 'A Comparative Historical Geography of Street Car Suburbs in Boston, Mass. and Leeds, 1850-1920' in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1964); F. W. Robins, *The Story of Water Supply* (1949); H. Finer, *Municipal Trading* (1941); and G. F. Chadwick, *The Park and the Town* (1966).

For building and housing, see E. R. Dewsnup, *The Housing Problem in England* (1907); J. Parry Lewis, *Building Cycles and Britain's Growth* (1965); H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* (1961); N. Davey, *A History of Building Materials* (1961). For town planning, see W. Ashworth, *The Genesis of Modern Town Planning* (1954).

Leading questions about 'provincialism' are asked by S. G. Checkland in 'English Provincial Cities' in the *Economic History Review* (1953), and some of them are dealt with more fully in D. Read, *The English Provinces* (1964).

2. CITY AND SOCIETY: VICTORIAN ATTITUDES

The city as a centre of social and cultural study is examined in a number of interesting general books, notably E. W. Burgess and R. D. Mackenzie, *The City* (1925); P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution* (1949 edn); L. Mumford, *The City in History* (1961); P. Hauser and L. Schnore (eds.), *The Study of Urbanization* (1965); G. Friedmann (ed.), *Villes et campagnes* (1953); R. E. Dickinson, *The West European City* (1950); C. Tunnard, *The City of Man* (1953); K. Lynch, *The Image of the City* (1954); H. Rosenau, *The Ideal City and its Architectural Evolution* (1959); and, invaluable for statistical information, Kingsley Davis and H. Herz, 'The World Distribution of

Urbanization' in the *Bulletin of the International Statistical Institute* (1951) and 'The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World' in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1955).

Early-nineteenth-century criticisms and defences of the city are set out in the following books, representative of a far larger number: C. T. Thackeray, *The Effects of the Principal Arts, Trades and Professions, and of Civic States and Habits of Living, on Health and Longevity* (1831); P. Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of Great Britain* (1833); T. Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, 3 vols. (1821-6); F. von Raumer, *England in 1835*, 3 vols. (1836); E. Buret, *De La Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France*, 2 vols. (1840); C. E. Lester, *The Glory and Shame of England*, 2 vols. (1841); W. Cooke Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (1842) and *Natural History of Society* (1844); A. de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, edited by J. P. Mayer (1958); L. Faucher, *Études sur l'Angleterre*, 2 vols. (1845); F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (1958); R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities* (1843); H. Colman, *European Life and Morals*, 2 vols. (1849); J. S. Buckingham, *National Evils and Practical Remedies* (1849); W. O. Henderson (ed.), *J. C. Fischer and his Diary of Industrial England* (1966).

For the mid-Victorian period, the following contemporary works provide indispensable evidence: H. Gavin, *Sanitary Ramblings* (1848); G. Bell, *Day and Night in the Wynds of Edinburgh* (1849); J. Garwood, *The Million-Peopled City* (1853); G. Godwin, *Town Swamps and Social Bridges* (1859); H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. (1851-62), with parallel studies of provincial cities printed in the *Morning Chronicle*; J. Hollingshead, *Ragged London in 1861* (1861); H. D. Littlejohn, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh* (1865); F. L. Olmsted, *Walks and Talks* (1857).

For late-Victorian England, see Sir B. W. Richardson, *Hygeia: A City of Health* (1876); W. R. Lethaby, *Of Beautiful Cities* (1897) and *Form in Civilisation* (1957 edn); E. Howard, *Tomorrow, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898). The social survey approach is best revealed in Charles Booth's massive *Life and Labour of the People of London, A Study of Town Life*, 17 vols. published between 1889 and 1903, and in B. S. Rowntree's *Poverty* (1901). See also Rev. A. Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883). There are interesting general reflections in T. H. S. Escott, *England, Its People, Polity and Pursuits* (1879), and C. F. G. Masterman, *The Condition of England* (1908).

For contemporary American views, see *The Great Metropolis* (1892); the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, *First Report of a Committee on the Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Classes in the City of New York* (1853); E. H. Chapin, *Humanity in the City* (1854); A. Mayo, *The Symbols of the Capital* (1859); C. Nordhoff, 'The Mismanagement of New York' in the *North American Review* (1871); C. L. Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York* (1872); W. Glazier, *Peculiarities of American Cities* (1883); J. A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and *The Battle With the Slum* (1902); Hull House Maps and Papers (1895); H. Fletcher, *The Drift of Population to Cities* (1891); W. H. Tolman, *Municipal Reform Movements in the United States* (1897); J. A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (1901); D. F. Wilcox, *The American City, a Problem in Democracy* (1904) and *Great Cities in America* (1910); L. Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) and *Autobiography* (1931); and F. C. Howe, *The City, the Hope of Democracy* (1905), *The British City* (1907) and *European Cities at Work* (1913).

Other useful international material can be found in M. du Camp, *Paris: ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie*, 6 vols. (1875); P. Meuriot, *Des Agglomérations urbaines dans l'Europe contemporaine* (1898); P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme*, 3 vols. (1926-52); B. and J. M. Chapman, *The Life and Times of Baron Haussmann* (1957); D. H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (1958); L. Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne au XIX^e siècle* (1950) and *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses* (1958); R. R. Kuczynski, *Der Zug nach der Stadt* (1897); G. Simmel, *Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben* (1903); E. Pfeil, *Grossstadtforschung, Fragestellungen, Verfahrenswesen und Ergebnisse einer Wissenschaft die dem Neubau von Stadt und Land von Nutzen sein Könnte* (1960); A. M. Schlesinger, 'The City in American Civilisation' in *Paths to the Present* (1949), and *The Rise of the City* (1933); R. C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier* (1960); A. Strauss, *Images of the American City* (1961); M. and L. White, *The Intellectual versus the City* (1962); and B. McKelvey, *The Urbanization of America* (1967). The best general book on American background and attitudes is R. Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (1955), and there is a good bibliographical guide by C. N. Glaab in the general *Study of Urbanization* (1965), edited by Hauser and Schnore. There is also an anthology edited by Glaab called *The American City, A Documentary History* (1963).

For some aspects of religion and the city, see K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (1963); Canon Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (1957); and A. I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism* (1943), the first

and last of which have good bibliographies. Philanthropy and the cluster of motives associated with it are discussed in D. Owen, *English Philanthropy* (1965); B. Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians' in *Victorian Studies* (1966); M. Simey's fascinating monograph, *Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century* (1951); and J. F. C. Harrison, *Social Reform in Victorian Leeds, the Work of James Hole* (1954).

For the role of the historian, see the searching essay by W. Diamond, 'On the dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History' in E. Goldman (ed.), *Historiography and Urbanization* (1941); E. E. Lampard, 'American Historians and the Study of Urbanisation' in the *American Historical Review* (1961); E. Jutikkala, 'The Borderland: Urban History and Urban Sociology' in the *Scandinavian Economic History Review* (1958); and, above all, O. Handlin and J. Burchard (eds.), *The Historian and the City* (1963), which contains useful bibliographical information.

3. MANCHESTER, SYMBOL OF A NEW AGE

For the Manchester of the 1840s, as local contemporaries saw it, the guide books provide much the best introduction. See B. Lowe, *Manchester as it is* (1839; 2nd edn 1842). This guide may be compared with J. Ashton, *The Manchester Guide* (1804). Such accounts provide a necessary background for understanding the comments of visitors and foreign critics, like Faucher and Engels, whose work is mentioned in the bibliographical note to Chapter 2. A local study of basic importance, although it precedes Queen Victoria's accession, is J. P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture of Manchester* (1832). This should be set alongside Gaskell's work also mentioned in the note to Chapter 2. For later comments on the period covered in this book, see J. T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (1881), and W. A. Shaw, *Manchester Old and New* (1894).

For Manchester's history as seen by Manchester men, see A. Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester* (1851) and *The History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (1853); J. Wheeler, *Manchester, its Political, Social and Commercial History, Ancient and Modern* (1836); J. Reilly, *History of Manchester*, 2 vols. (1861); and W. E. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester* (1886). Another interesting book is H. Dunckley's *The Charter of the Nations* (1854). Illuminating later studies are by G. Saintsbury, *Manchester* (1887); G. B.

Hertz, *The Manchester Politician 1750-1912* (1912); and K. Chorley, *Manchester Made Them* (1951).

For the novelists, see L. Cazamian, *Le Roman social en Angleterre* (1935); K. Tillotson's study, *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties* (1954); Mrs E. H. Chadwick, *Mrs Gaskell, Homes, Haunts and Stories* (1913 edn); R. D. Waller (ed.), *Letters Addressed to Mrs Gaskell by Celebrated Contemporaries* (1935); A. Pollard, *Mrs Gaskell: Novelist and Biographer* (1965); E. Wright, *Mrs Gaskell: The Basis for Reassessment* (1965); M. Masefield, *Peacocks and Primroses: A Study of Disraeli's Novels* (1953); B. R. Jerman, *Young Disraeli* (1960); R. Blake, *Disraeli* (1966); and K. J. Fielding (ed.), *The Speeches of Charles Dickens* (1960).

The Anti-Corn Law League has been examined very fully in D. G. Barnes, *A History of the English Corn Laws* (1930) and N. McCord, *The Anti-Corn Law League* (1958). The history of the term 'Manchester School' is set out in T. S. Ashton's article on the subject in the *Manchester School* (1954). An early account of the School is given in Goldwin Smith's *Reminiscences* (1910). Professor Ashton's *Economic and Social Investigation in Manchester, 1833-1933* (1934), a history of the Manchester Statistical Society, is also extremely useful. A more recent discussion of the Manchester School is to be found in W. D. Grampp, *The Manchester School of Economics* (1960). See also A. Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1794-1858* (1934), and the second volume covering the period from 1858 to 1939 by Redford and B. W. Clapp. Dr Clapp's *John Owens* (1966) is also useful, as is A. Silver, *Manchester Men and Indian Cotton* (1966).

The later history of the Liberal Party in Manchester has been examined by P. Whitaker in an unpublished University of Manchester thesis entitled 'The Growth of Liberal Organisation in Manchester from the 1860s to 1903' (1956). There is important and original material, highly relevant, on mid-Victorian politics in J. R. Vincent, *Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857-68* (1966), which includes an interesting discussion of Rochdale.

The history of local government in Manchester is well covered in A. Redford's *History of Local Government in Manchester*, 3 vols. (1939), and S. Simon, *A Century of City Government* (1938). See also W. E. A. Axon, *Cobden as a Citizen* (1907), and W. H. Brindley, *The Soul of Manchester* (1929).

Attempts have been made to 'place' Manchester in world social history by Ralph Turner, in 'The Cultural Significance of the Early English Industrial Town' in C. W. de Kiewiet (ed.), *Studies in British History* (1941) and 'The Industrial City: Center of Cultural Change' in C. F. Ware (ed.), *The Cultural Approach to History* (1940).

L. S. Marshall wrote an article in the latter volume on 'The Emergence of the First Industrial City, Manchester, 1785-1850' and a useful book, *The Development of Public Opinion in Manchester, 1780-1820* (1946).

For Manchester on the eve of its great industrial and demographic expansion, see W. H. Chaloner, 'Manchester in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century' in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1959). cf. J. Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* (1795). See also H. Baker, 'On the Growth of the Commercial Centre of Manchester' in the *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society* (1871-2); and E. Cannan, 'The Growth of Manchester and Liverpool' in the *Economic Journal* (1907).

4. LEEDS, A STUDY IN CIVIC PRIDE

Although much has been written about particular aspects of the history of Leeds in the nineteenth century there are no general introductions to the history of the city or major works of scholarly synthesis. For useful information, see *Leeds and its History*, reprinted from the Tercentenary Supplement of the *Yorkshire Post*, 8 July 1926, and *Leeds and Its Region* (1967), prepared for the visit of the British Association. The background chronicle of Yorkshire history is set out in John Mayhall's invaluable *Annals of Yorkshire*, 3 vols. (1878), and H. Schroeder's earlier and less full *Annals of Yorkshire* (1852). See also the four volumes, excellently illustrated, called *Yorkshire Past and Present* (1871). These were edited by T. Baines.

Aikin's account of late-eighteenth-century Manchester may be usefully compared with T. Housman's *Topographic Description of Yorkshire* (1800). Anon., *A Walk Through Leeds or a Stranger's Guide* (1806), carries the story further. A later guide book which has been freely used in this chapter is *An Historical Guide to Leeds and its Environs* (Leeds, 1858). This may be supplemented by J. Measom's *Official Illustrated Guide of the Great Northern Railway* (1861). For a modern study of value, see L. Cooper, *Yorkshire West Riding* (1950). A specialist article which is relevant to this study is D. Ward's 'The Building Cycle and the Growth of the Built-up Areas of Leeds' in the *Northern Universities Geographical Journal* (1960).

Biographies of Leeds men discussed in this chapter include W. G. Rimmer, *Marshall's of Leeds, Flax Spinners* (1960); *The Life of Edward Baines by his Son* (1881); T. Wemyss Reid, *A Memoir of John Deakin Heaton, M.D.* (1883), a fascinating study of provincial life; and W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar*

Hook, 2 vols. (1878). See also G. G. Lang, *Church and Town for Fifty Years, 1841-91*, and for local politics J. S. Curtis, *The Story of the Marsden Mayoralty* (1875).

The work of Cuthbert Brodrick is examined in T. Butler Wilson, *Two Leeds Architects* (1937). The history of the musical festival has been briefly told by F. B. J. Hutchings in the Leeds Centenary Music Festival Souvenir Programme (1958). See also F. R. Spark, *Memoirs of My Life* (1913).

On Bradford there is a mass of badly co-ordinated information. A history of Bradford is even more urgently needed than a history of Leeds. The following books are necessary reading: J. James, *The History and Topography of Bradford* (1841) and *Contributions and Additions to the History of Bradford* (1886); J. Fawcett, *The Rise and Progress of the Town and Borough of Bradford* (1859); E. Collinson, *The History of the Worsted Trade and Historic Sketch of Bradford* (1854); W. Cudworth, a voluminous writer, *Notes on the Bradford Corporation* (1881), *Round About Bradford* (1876) and *Histories of Bolton and Bowling* (1891); W. Scruton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford* (1889); J. Burnley, *Phases of Bradford Life* (1889); and E. Sigsworth, *Black Dyke Mills* (1958).

The *Memoirs of Sir Jacob Behrens* (1885) touch on the contrast between Bradford and Leeds. Another interesting biography written by a man who knew Leeds better than Bradford is T. Wemyss Reid's *Life of the Rt Hon. W. E. Forster* (1888). See also the autobiography of Fred Jowett, the Bradford pioneer of the Independent Labour Party, *Fred Jowett of Bradford* (1952), with a good introduction.

Ibbetson's *Directory of the Borough of Bradford* is a useful source book. I have used the 1845 edition in this chapter. See also F. Hooper, *Statistics Relating to the City of Bradford* (1898). For essential data about the two cities in the twentieth century, see R. E. Dickinson, 'The Regional Functions and Zones of Influence of Leeds and Bradford' in *Geography* (1930).

On Saltaire, see W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below* (1961), and Ashworth, *op. cit.* Among earlier studies, see W. Cudworth, *Saltaire, Yorkshire, England* (1895); B. Allsop, *Sir Titus Salt* (1878); and T. Balgarnie, *Sir Titus Salt* (1878). There is a recent article on Saltaire by R. K. Dewhirst in the *Town Planning Review* (1960-61).

5. BIRMINGHAM: THE MAKING OF A CIVIC GOSPEL

The account given of Birmingham in this chapter rests on an extension and re-evaluation of the material which I used in my book

The History of Birmingham, Vol. II (1952). The first volume of this history by Conrad Gill, published in the same year, is a definitive account of fundamental importance. Some of the distinctive features of Birmingham's social and political structure are discussed in a number of articles I have written about the city, particularly 'Thomas Attwood and the Economic Background of the Birmingham Political Union' in the *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1948); 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities', *ibid.* (1957); and 'Social Structure in Birmingham and Lyons' in the *British Journal of Sociology* (1950). See also C. Gill, 'Birmingham under the Street Commissioners, 1769-1851' in the *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* (1948) and the extremely important Vol. VII of the *Victoria County History of Warwick* (1964) with essays on most aspects of Birmingham.

Older books of value are J. A. Langford's *Century of Birmingham Life*, 2 vols. (2nd edn 1871), and his *Modern Birmingham and Its Institutions*, 2 vols. (1873); R. K. Dent, *Old and New Birmingham* (1879-80) and *The Making of Birmingham* (1894); J. H. Muirhead (ed.), *Birmingham Institutions* (1911); E. Edwards, *Birmingham Men* (1878); J. S. Jaffray, *Hints for a History of Birmingham* (MS. Birmingham Reference Library); T. Anderton, *Tale of One City* (1893); G. C. Allen, *Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country* (1926); and the British Association, *Birmingham in its Regional Setting* (1950), a parallel volume to that on Leeds.

Dr T. R. Tholfsen, an American scholar, has written a number of most useful and stimulating articles on Victorian Birmingham. Among them are 'The Chartist Crisis in Birmingham' in the *International Review of Social History* (1959); 'The Artisan and the Culture of Early Victorian Birmingham' in the *Birmingham Historical Journal* (1954); 'The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus', *ibid.* (1959); and 'The Transition to Democracy in Victorian England' in the *International Review of Social History* (1961). Another valuable American article is F. H. Herrick's 'The Origins of the National Liberal Federation' in the *Journal of Modern History* (1945). This article notes the shortcomings of M. Ostrogorski's *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties* (1902), which is still treated by many historians as if it were the only source. Much the most valuable recent study of Birmingham's local government politics is E. P. Hennock's unpublished Cambridge doctoral thesis 'The Role of Religious Dissent in the Reform of Municipal Government in Birmingham' (1956). Many of its conclusions have been incorporated into my analysis.

For the individuals who made such an important contribution to

the foundation of the civic gospel in Birmingham, see J. H. Muirhead, *Nine Famous Birmingham Men* (1913); N. M. Marris, *Joseph Chamberlain* (1900); J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, Vol. I (1932); R. A. Armstrong, *Henry William Crosskey, His Life and Work* (1895); A. W. W. Dale, *The Life of R. W. Dale* (1899); W. Wilson, *The Life of George Dawson* (1905); and R. W. Dale, 'George Dawson: Politician, Lecturer, and Preacher' in the *Nineteenth Century* (1877). See also J. Buckley, *Joseph Parkes of Birmingham* (1926).

There is useful material about Birmingham's cultural history in R. E. Waterhouse's *The Birmingham and Midland Institute, 1854-1954* (1954).

6. MIDDLESBROUGH: THE GROWTH OF A NEW COMMUNITY

There is a most valuable nineteenth-century account of Middlesbrough in H. G. Reid (ed.), *Middlesbrough and its Jubilee* (1881). See also for early accounts *Middlesbrough, its History, Environs and Trade* (1899) and T. Bulmer's *History, Topography and Directory of North Yorkshire*, Part 1 (1890). Lady Bell's *At the Works: A Study of a Manufacturing Town* (1907) is a classic description of what late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Middlesbrough was like. It should be compared with Ruth Glass's *The Social Background of a Plan, A Study of Middlesbrough* (1948).

In Middlesbrough Public Library there is a useful manuscript history of the town - the Tweddell manuscript. There is also a lively *Record of the Proceedings* at the opening of the Town Hall in 1889. The newspapers, however, provide the only account of most of the critical and interesting episodes in the life of the growing community.

The steel history and its economic vicissitudes are discussed in D. L. Burn, *An Economic History of Steelmaking* (1950).

Cowen, whose views on Middlesbrough and on Victorian cities in general have been quoted, is the subject of a book by E. M. Jones, *The Life and Speeches of Joseph Cowen, M.P.* (1885). Its motto is taken from Emerson - 'Eloquence is a Triumph of Pure Power'. Lowthian Bell's *Principles of the Manufacture of Iron and Steel* (1884) and his memorandum on 'The Iron Trade' which he offered to the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade in 1886 are important documents.

Mr D. C. Hearn has collected much valuable material relating to Middlesbrough's iron masters and their social and political affilia-

tions which he hopes to be able to put together in published form.

It is interesting to compare Barrow-in-Furness and Middlesbrough. See S. Pollard, 'Town Planning in the Nineteenth Century: The Beginnings of Modern Barrow-in-Furness' in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* (1952-3); J. D. Marshall, *Barrow-in-Furness* (1959); and F. Barnes, *Barrow-in-Furness and District* (1957). See also P. H. White, 'Some Aspects of Urban Development by Colliery Companies' in the *Manchester School* (1953).

7. MELBOURNE, A VICTORIAN COMMUNITY OVERSEAS

Much the best introduction to the study of Melbourne is the excellent anthology of comments about the city with valuable introductions by James Grant and Geoffrey Serle, *The Melbourne Scene, 1803-1956* (1957). It has a short but useful bibliography. Alan Birch and D. C. Macmillan have prepared a companion volume on Sydney, *The Sydney Scene, 1788-1960* (1962). See also the excellent anthology edited by A. Brissenden and C. Higham, *They Came to Australia* (1962).

English readers will find A. G. L. Shaw's *The Story of Australia* (1954), R. M. Crawford's *Australia* (1952), W. K. Hancock's *Australia* (1930) and Manning Clark's *A Short History of Australia* (1963) extremely useful introductions to the Australian 'background'. So too in recent English perspectives is J. D. Pringle's *Australian Accent* (1958) which shows how different to most Australians the comparison between Melbourne and Sydney appears at the present time from what it did in the Victorian age. See also G. Greenwood (ed.), *Australia, A Social and Political History* (1955).

Russel Ward's brilliant monograph, *The Australian Legend* (1958), is controversial and extremely suggestive in the best sense. Behind it is Vance Palmer's *The Legend of the Nineties* (1954). Cyril Pearl's *Wild Men of Sydney* (1959) makes fascinating reading.

Two books on earlier periods are illuminating - George Nadel's *Australia's Colonial Culture* (1957), which has a good selective bibliography of titles, some of which are not listed elsewhere, and Douglas Pike's *Paradise of Dissent, South Australia, 1829-1857* (1957). See also C. Hadcraft, *Australian Literature* (1960); B. Smith, *Australian Painting* (1962); and R. Gollan, *Radical and Working Class Politics: A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910* (1960). N. G. Butlin's informative *Private Capital Formation in Australia, Estimates*

1861-1900 (1955) is No. 5 of the Australian National University's Social Science Monographs, and more recently he has published *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900* (1964). F. S. Greenhop's *History of Magazine Publishing in Australia* (1947) is useful for reference.

For recent trends in Australian historiography there is much of interest in Professor J. La Nauze's articles 'The Study of Australian History, 1929-59' in *Historical Studies* (1959) and Professor Manning Clark's inaugural lecture at Canberra University College, printed in *Signposts* (1959).

In writing this chapter, however, I have made as much use as possible of contemporary materials. F. W. L. Adam's searching *Australian Essays* (1886) and *The Australians, A Social Sketch* (1893) are excellent commentaries, particularly when checked and supplemented by the volumes of *The Vagabond Papers* by 'the Vagabond', Stanley James, who usually called himself Julian Thomas (1877). These books are far more penetrating than J. A. Froude's *Oceana* (1886); A. Trollope's *Australia and New Zealand* (1876); and C. W. Dilke's *Greater Britain* (1868 and later edns) and *Problems of Greater Britain* (1890), which are best read in their inverse order of appearance. H. Mortimer Franklyn's *A Glance at Australia* (1881) is a good introduction, written by the editor of the *Victorian Review*. James Allen's *History of Australia, 1787-1882* (1882) gives a clear picture of what were thought to be the essential 'facts' concerning Australia at the beginning of Melbourne's golden decade.

For Melbourne, see H. Perkins, *Melbourne Illustrated and Victoria Described* (1880); the *Argus* Exhibition Supplement (2 October 1880); W. Westgarth, *Personal Recollections of Early Melbourne and Victoria* (1888); R. E. N. Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia* (1883); Fergus Hume, *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* (London, 1935; 1st edn Melbourne, 1886); 'Garryowen' (E. Finn), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, 2 vols. (1888); J. Freeman, *Lights and Shades of Melbourne Life* (1888); T. W. H. Leavitt and W. D. Lilburn (eds.), *The Jubilee History of Victoria and Melbourne* (1888); A. Sutherland and others, *Victoria and Her Metropolis* (1888); D. A. Gresswell, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions and Sanitary Administration of Melbourne and Suburbs* (1890); H. C. J. Lingham, *Juvenal in Melbourne* (1892); H. G. Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria* (1904); W. H. Newnham, *Melbourne, The Biography of a City* (1956); G. Serle, *The Golden Age* (1963); and E. Graeme Robertson's beautifully illustrated *Victorian Heritage, Ornamental Cast Iron in Architecture* (1960). Margaret Kiddle's *Men of Yesterday* (1961) is particularly sensitive and illuminating.

There are two well-documented University of Melbourne Studies, one a B.A. dissertation by J. R. Parris, *The Melbourne Exhibition 1880-1* (1955), the other an M.A. thesis by R. J. Moore, *Marvellous Melbourne* (1958), which cover leading themes in Melbourne's life in this period. For novels, see F. Hardie's *Power Without Glory* (1930) and Henry Handel Richardson's *The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney* (1910).

8. LONDON, THE WORLD CITY

Despite the recognized importance of the subject, there is no good general history of nineteenth-century London. Much of the material in this chapter is culled from articles in newspapers and periodicals, notably the *Fortnightly*, the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Quarterly Review*. Perhaps the best general introductions to the study of London are the numerous anthologies about it which have appeared during the last century. Among them see R. Harling, *The London Miscellany, A Nineteenth-century Scrapbook* (1937), and D. M. Low, *London is London: The Unique City* (1937). F. Bedarida deals with the neglect of London as a topic among historians in his article 'L'Histoire social de Londres au XIX^e siècle' in *Annales* (1960).

A brief Victorian account of London's growth and development during the period is provided by G. L. Gomme in his *London in the Reign of Victoria, 1837-97* (1898), one of the many books written for the Jubilee. See also the instructive and indispensable book by H. Jephson, *The Sanitary Evolution of London* (1907). The many books by Sir Walter Besant are mainly of antiquarian value, but there are points of interest in the symposium which he edited, *London in the Nineteenth Century* (1909), and in his *South London* (1899). I have also made use of C. Capper, *The Port and Trade of London* (1862), and W. J. Loftie, *A History of London* (1883). J. Grant's *The Great Metropolis*, 2 vols. (1836), sets the scene at the beginning of the reign, and C. Knight's *Cyclopaedia of London* (1851) is a good guide to limited aspects of mid-Victorian London.

Apart from books like those of Mayhew and Booth mentioned in an earlier note to Chapter 2, see also, on the growth of London, D. Lyson, *The Environs of London* (1795), which may be compared with Aikin on Manchester; R. Price Williams, 'The Population of London, 1801-81' in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* (1885); Sir John Summerson, *Georgian London* (1945); H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb, A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (1961), 'Railways and Housing in Victorian London' in the *Journal of Transport History*

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(1955), 'Some Social Costs of Railway Building in London', *ibid.* (1957-8), and 'Workmen's Fares in South London', *ibid.* (1953-4). See also D. L. Olsen, *Town Planning in London in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1964).

Relations between East End and West End are discussed in A. Morison, *Tales of Mean Streets* (1894); G. Lansbury, *My Life* (1928) and *Looking Backwards and Forwards* (1935); E. Sinclair, *East London* (1950); and M. Rose, *The East End of London* (1951). There is no shortage of local studies. See, for example, W. Robins, *Paddington, Past and Present* (1853); A. Montgomery Eyre, *Saint John's Wood* (1913); R. O. Sherington, *The Story of Hornsey* (1906); and S. Potter, *The Story of Willesden* (1926).

For London's government, see Sir Gwilym Gibbon and R. W. Bell's standard *History of the London County Council* (1939), although there is little detail about the Victorian period in this book. This may be supplemented by the Fabian Society's *Facts for Londoners* (1889) and *The London Programme* (1891); S. West, *The Reform of London Government* (1888); J. Lloyd, *History of a Great Reform* (1889); W. Saunders, *The History of the First London County Council* (1892); A. G. Gardiner, *John Benn and the Progressive Movement* (1925); B. Webb, *Our Partnership* (1926); and W. A. Robson, *The Government and Misgovernment of London* (1939). P. Thompson's *Socialists, Liberals and Labour in London, 1889-1914* (1967) is an extremely valuable recent study.

9. EPILOGUE: OLD CITIES AND NEW

An enormous amount has been written about Britain's older cities. Perhaps the best starting point for their further study, a Victorian starting point, is provided by the eleven volumes called *Historic Towns*, which were edited by Edward Freeman and by W. Hunt and first appeared in 1889. See also for the beginnings of the story H. A. Merewether and A. J. Stephens, *History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom* (1835), and J. Doran, *Memoirs of our Great Towns* (1878); E. A. Freeman, *English Towns and Districts* (1883).

For Bristol, see the recent general history by Bryan Little, *The City and County of Bristol* (1954), which includes a bibliography. The first history of Bristol by William Bassett appeared in 1789, a few years after W. Hutton's pioneer *History of Birmingham* (1781). J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor's *Bristol Past and Present*, 3 vols. (1881-2) is a magnificent Victorian quarry. See also J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century* (1893).

Bibliographical Note

On Liverpool, see J. A. Picton, *Memories of Liverpool*, 2 vols. (1873), and G. Chandler's *Liverpool* (1957), which covers the whole period of Liverpool's development from its creation as a borough in 1207. A particularly valuable monograph, which makes the historian realize how useful such monographs would be for other cities, is B. D. White's *A History of the Corporation of Liverpool* (1951).

Leicester's history is well chronicled in R. W. Greaves, *The Corporation of Leicester* (1939), and A. Temple Patterson, *Radical Leicester* (1954). See also J. Thompson, *Short History of Leicester* (1879), and R. Read, *Modern Leicester* (1881), for Victorian portraits. J. T. Spencer's *Guide to Leicester* (1888) may be compared with the Manchester and Leeds guides. Compare also *Bemrose's Visitors' Guide and Handy Book to Derby* (1881). There is a good bibliography in a useful, unpublished Leeds M.A. thesis, *The Social, Economic and Political Development of Derby, 1835-1888* by J. A. Standen (1959). Nottingham's Victorian history is examined in great detail in R. A. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town* (1966). See also J. D. Chambers, *The Vale of Trent*, a supplement to the *Economic History Review* (1956), and *Modern Nottingham in the Making* (1945); J. Orange, *History and Antiquities of Nottingham*, 2 vols. (1840); T. Bailey, *Annals of Nottinghamshire* (1853); *Pictorial Guide to Nottingham and its Environs* (1871); and W. H. Wylie, *History of Nottingham* (1893). Nottingham politics are discussed in A. L. Wood's 'Nottingham's Parliamentary Elections, 1869-1900' in the *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* (1950). For Coventry, see J. Prest, *The Industrial Revolution in Coventry* (1960). For York, see J. Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York* (1819); J. J. Sheahan and T. Whellan, *The History and Topography of the City of York* (1855), and C. B. Knight, *A History of the City of York* (1944).

Exeter's problems are examined through the eyes of Thomas Latimer in R. S. Lambert's *The Cobbett of the West* (1939). James Cossins's *Reminiscences of Exeter Life Fifty Years Since* (1879) may be supplemented by the painstaking and authoritative reports of Dr Thomas Shapter, *The History of the Cholera in Exeter in 1832* (1849), *Remarks upon the Mortality of Exeter* (1844) and *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of Exeter* (1845). There is a full study by R. Newton, *Victorian Exeter* (1967). On the cholera generally, see H. H. Creighton, *History of Epidemics* (1893), and my article 'Cholera and Society in the Nineteenth Century' in *Past and Present* (1961).

For Norwich the main source used in this chapter is A. D. Bayne's *Royal Illustrated History of Eastern England*, 2 vols. (1880), and his *History of Norwich* (1875).