

Beyond entertainment and provincial sentiment

MID-VICTORIAN Furness saw a small country town, Ulverston, reveal, between 1858 and 1871, a rather striking burst of curiosity about the old ways of talking. This has been rightly described by Denwood and Thompson in their anthology of Lakeland dialects as “a literary boom of special interest to dialect lovers”.¹ It started, as they say, with John Stanyan Bigg’s novel *Alfred Staunton* and was part of a widespread Victorian delight in the vernacular. Sprake published in 1907 a “chronological list of the books wholly or in part in the dialect of Cumberland and Westmorland, and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands”.² If we imagine the 132 items set out in a graph covering each decade from the 1770s to the 1890s, the story is one of a small but steady interest, with a marked increase in the 1850s preceding a huge rise in the 1860s, and thereafter a gradual decline. The vernacular surfaced in the columns of the burgeoning regional newspaper press, in magazines, books, and penny issues. It was spoken at penny readings, concerts, and private gatherings. There was a desire that the linguistic past with its distinctive knowledge and customs had to be preserved. This past was threatened by a uniformity driven by such factors as the rail network, the increasing prevalence of the printed word, a socially widening participation in public affairs, and an expanding elementary schooling. In a changing and migratory society, etymological enquiry and scholarly inquisitiveness about old customs mingled with the influences of such variables as self-awareness, consciousness of difference, love of one’s local area, conservatism, and tensions associated with displacement.³

The Ulverston experience reflects this, but also contains a surprising particularity. *Alfred Staunton* is linked to the rivalry between two Scotsmen (of Dundee and Edinburgh), both of whom were trying to influence British literary tastes. This was a rivalry that intimately involved the young J. S. Bigg (1828-1865), whose poetry had attracted attention far beyond the confines of Ulverston and would ultimately give him a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This paper considers the Scottish rivalry’s effect on the Furness author’s work and the use he made of dialect. It also highlights the varied uses to which dialect prose was put by other contributors to the boom. This is not unimportant given that dialect is a subject which has attracted insufficient attention from social historians. It cannot be dismissed simply as entertainment and a reflection of provincial loyalties.

A largely backward setting

Paradoxically, a fascination with old ways of talking contrasted with the challenge Bigg’s town faced – to focus on the future. Ulverston in the 1860s was, demographically, economically and administratively dozing and slow-moving, and desperately in need of progressive measures in local self-government.

Contemporaries understood their town to have become “a standing joke amongst commercial travellers – that [it] like Hawkshead” was “a *finished* town – namely, that its trade and commerce are at a standstill”. The *Ulverston Advertiser*, which hoped the local gentry and tradesmen would “meet with a single purpose – the prosperity of the town”, knew that “probably there is a good deal of truth in the assertion”.⁴ Thanks to the railways, falling behind was a real fear among Victorians when “being ‘on time’” was increasingly becoming “part of the new momentum of life”.⁵ Ulverston lagged behind its pace-setting neighbour Barrow. This was despite being a part of the Furness Railway in 1854, linked by goods to Carnforth and Lancaster by 1857, and a bid to discover iron ore close by. There was a feeling that leading men were not doing enough. The town had not been without initiatives: from 1834 it had a gasworks and from 1853 a waterworks, but these existed because there was money to be made. In 1859 a Highways Board was established, but Ulverston did not have a Local Board – the crucial institution – until the beginning of 1871, and then only after drawn-out infighting, about which the *Times* of Barrow, recently corporate, was contemptuous. Failure to act quickly and appropriately over its sewerage system turned Ulverston into a most unsatisfactory place with regard to health. For many years yet it would be, as Marshall puts it, “the black spot of Furness”.⁶ In the 1850s and 1860s the town needed clear and distinct government to move forward. It also needed the dynamo an iron works would provide.⁷

Ironically, an important reason for the conspicuousness of dispute – and of dialect – was that Ulverston was beating Barrow in one respect at least. It had not one but two fine examples of the progressive, still quickening society that Britain was becoming. The *Ulverston Advertiser* was founded in 1848, and the *Ulverston Mirror* was on the streets in 1860. This record is impressive. The six years from 1855 to 1861 saw as many as 123 English towns getting a local newspaper for the first time. In most of these it was just one for the time being.⁸ In 1861 a visitor, George Gilfillan, described Ulverston as “a very intelligent town”, whose “inhabitants are emphatically a reading people”.⁹ He had been addressing the town’s lecture association, an arena for the intellectual élite. Whatever flaws Ulverston had, it was not culturally barren.

The smack of the everyday world: J. S. Bigg

Low Furness dialect had appeared in print at least by 1846, with *The Ulverston Perpetual Tide Table*. This was, according to its alternative title, “an explanation of the rules for calculating the moon’s age, times of high water, etc. Illustrated with examples; being a familiar conversation between a Low Furness farmer and a townsman”.¹⁰ It was written by Urswick-born John Bolton (1791-1873), formerly a weaver, latterly a land surveyor, and from his early years a smitten self-taught geologist. The townsman-teacher uses Standard English; the learner, Thomas, dialect. The generously minded and creative Bolton hoped to benefit farmers and others.¹¹

It was over a decade later that Bigg, who had been the first editor of the *Ulverston Advertiser*, and was then editing the *Downshire Protestant*, included Furness dialect in his one (and only) novel *Alfred Staunton*. The novel was first published in 1858, in London, and not in 1861 as the anthologists say. The date is important because it

bears on one influence surrounding its writing. Only its use of dialect, graphic passages of local interest, and an autobiographical dimension, have been seen to make Bigg's novel noteworthy: "Considered as a work of art", wrote an anonymous contributor to the *North Lonsdale Magazine* in 1866, it "was a failure".¹²

However, *Alfred Staunton* may usefully be examined in the light of a punishing British literary struggle. In 1854 Bigg had published in London his "dramatic poem" *Night and the Soul*. This made clear his membership of a small number of poets disparagingly identified as the Spasmodic School by Professor W. E. Aytoun (1813-1865), of Edinburgh University. These "new poets" – their favoured description, he said – "come upon their imaginary stage, tearing their hair, proclaiming their inward wretchedness, and spouting sorry metaphysics in still sorrier verse for no imaginable reason whatever". Intense feelings had to have "some evident and intelligible cause". He wanted a concern for the proper objective progression of the content: "sound and pretension are becoming more esteemed than sense and deliberate purpose – brilliant writing, or writing which seems brilliant, is esteemed as of the highest kind, without regard to congruity or design". He believed "a plot – that is, a theme – well-considered, developed, and divided, must, to make it effective be adequately and naturally expressed".¹³

The Spasmodics had their supporters, notably the man who was impressed by Ulverston's intelligentsia, the briefly very influential literary critic, the Revd George Gilfillan (1813-1878), of Dundee. Gilfillan and Bigg were friends, but the former and Aytoun were enemies. The Spasmodic School was ruthlessly killed off by Aytoun. His criticism was echoed in leading British literary journals and embraced Tennyson and the Brownings – and, because it took in prose too, Ruskin and Carlyle. Aytoun's most powerful punch was a devastating parody, *Firmilian* (1854). In reviewing, in 1857, for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (which she said was a "novel in verse"),¹⁴ he linked Bigg with the leading members of the school, Philip James Bailey, Alexander Smith, and Sydney Dobell. This review was, says Weinstein, "his final attack against the Spasmodics".¹⁵ The Spasmodic poets, whose careers had been so promising were, it is claimed, irrecoverably wounded. Weinstein has shown responses among the group to Aytoun's hostility. Thus Smith and Dobell's "later poetry is, in fact, a search for matter and manner opposite to those of the Spasmodic School", the former putting a focus on "relatively ordinary people".¹⁶ Weinstein does not indicate Bigg's reaction.

Alfred Staunton, however, provides some evidence. It was written during this fervent mid-1850s period. Bigg seems to have been a warm and friendly man but also deeply introspective. As a literary critic himself, he was sensitive to the prevailing currents. In *Alfred Staunton* he cannot resist having his eponymous hero engage in a discussion about the new poets who had "recently been the cause of such profuse shedding of critical ink".¹⁷ Staunton (for whom we may read Bigg himself) knows Aytoun has a sound case. He accepts that the works "are in general too purposeless, too devoid of human interest". He talks of "many glorious fragments, but few fine wholes; . . .". He agrees with an observation that "plot or story, properly so called" is absent, later pointing out that "everything is indiscriminately adorned; and, therefore, everything is distorted out of all natural proportion".¹⁸ He does not deny his respect for the new poets' splendid talent (for

that would mean Bigg rejecting his own), but greater discernment was needed. Aytoun would have been pleased at the acknowledgement of his criticisms made manifest in the novel. Whatever the range of motives behind the poet's decision to write *Alfred Staunton*, his work represents some attempt to write with less pretentiousness and more attention to purpose and reality.

This was clearly difficult. *Alfred Staunton's* plot, it was said by the anonymous writer in the *North Lonsdale Magazine*, was "loosely constructed". Moreover, the novel had "by far too many metaphysico-philosophical speculations – of which Mr Bigg was passionately fond – to lay any firm hold on the popular mind". In other words, we are given to understand, he had fallen prey once again to self-indulgence. Nevertheless, concluded the critic, the book was "well worth reading". The reason given is pertinent to my argument here: "The outer world of human life has presented many scenes to our author, and we find them *reproduced with fidelity* . . .", i.e. objectively and sanely. [Emphasis added] Pointedly, the critic followed this comment by focusing on the author's use of dialect.¹⁹

There was a tradition among dialect writers of showing life how it was, Denwood and Thompson point out, "more particularly in the dialogue".²⁰ Bigg drew on this. Thus he preserves for us an authentic figure: "A garrulous barber of Ulverston", said the critic, "noted for the equal expertness with which he wields the razor and his gibes and jests", whom we meet, speaking in dialect, when he is a barber's boy. He "is the wit of the piece", this writer added, "and many are the humorous pranks he plays".²¹ Furness dialect makes more penetrating Bigg's description of a Quaker meeting and adds to the impact of his account of a coach journey over dangerous sands on the way to Ulverston. The latter was written as the railway was bringing the oversands coach to a halt, and is quoted generously in the *North Lonsdale Magazine* article. It is a memorably imagined depiction which would certainly have resonated, probably uncomfortably, with the knowledge of many readers who had travelled that route. A nervous passenger hears of "a chap as hed cum and gone owre here for forty year, amaist (almost) – was drown't like a ratten in a bog. T'tide cum on him titter nor [more rapidly than] he expectit, poor body!"²²

Here, then, was Bigg using dialect to provide for his readers the smack of an everyday world. A dangerous one in this particular illustration over which the railways had only just triumphed when his novel was published. His dialect writing was undeniably being "naturally expressed", and he was deploying it while reflecting on Aytoun's criticisms. However, his novel is not to be seen as the grand gesture of an injured heart, a prickly "I'll show him" response. It is more likely that as a young writer he was, temporarily at least, experimenting with a different form, and Aytoun's criticisms of the Spasmodics were among the influences. He was not turning his back on poetry, for being a poet was his primary (literary) identity. *Alfred Staunton* appeared while he was in Ireland, and writing the novel would have given him ample opportunity to reflect on his Furness roots. Bigg's continuing vulnerability to the temptation of abstraction reduced his effectiveness as a novelist. But his use of dialect does indicate the strength of a transparent bid in his literary work to think rather more about honest-to-goodness life. With it we are a long way from the "gaudy, glittering, and hyperbolic", to use Aytoun's words.²³ And in this respect at least Bigg was very successful. It was his dialect pictures to which his Furness readers responded most warmly. In 1862 we have further representations in

dialect of feelings that can be clearly understood. In *Shifting Scenes and Other Poems*, dialect makes more poignant the evocation of emotion surrounding the loss of a loved one, “Lile Polly”. Here was the cause and effect for which Aytoun had asked. This poem proved popular. “We have read and re-read this poem, and should not like to meet the man or woman in the whole of the district, who could read it unmoved”, *North Lonsdale Magazine* readers were told.²⁴

Social critic and guide: Geordie o’ t’ Ellers

Expressing himself *natterally* was the forte of Geordie o’ t’ Ellers (a part of Ulverston). His vehicle was Bigg’s newspaper. He and the pseudonymous Roger Piketah were, with Bigg, the most acclaimed Furness dialect writers. Bigg was a great supporter of literary talent,²⁵ but the extent of his influence on all these writers is uncertain.

The *Advertiser* was proud to emphasise its circulation among the “moneyed and respectable”. Significantly, Geordie first appeared in the politically neutral but not indifferent newspaper (as it put it) on 5 April 1860, when the editor was once again Bigg – and when it had a dangerous new rival, the reform-oriented *Ulverston Mirror*. The latter’s outspokenness against police and magistrates had a definite appeal. A typical mid-Victorian in his acceptance of what has been described as a “viable hierarchical society”,²⁶ Geordie had self-respect, knew his own worth, and recognised that deference had its limits. He was the *Advertiser*’s pattern of an ordinary, sensible, respectable workingman, an iron-ore miner who had done some farm service (which must have mirrored the experience of many individuals). His letters sought not simply to amuse, but also to give the perspective on local matters of such a person.²⁷ Geordie was frank and witty. Irregular and unpredictable, his letters varied markedly in length. They included splendid specimens in folklore’s tall tales tradition.²⁸ But they represented far more than this. A few examples will suffice.

Geordie supported Bigg in the latter’s bitter dealings with the editor of the *Ulverston Mirror* about the nature and ethics of regional journalism. The *Mirror* lacked a generous spirit and its nature was to tear into people, even those who didn’t deserve it, he suggested, declaring on an earlier occasion that the latter’s outspoken editor, J. A. Bernard (who quoted Latin to indicate he was an educated gentleman), “sud be duk’t in’t Kanel”.²⁹ This was a statement the gentlemanly Bigg could publish if not openly make himself. Bernard was familiar with the literary work of his younger rival, whom he regarded as a namby-pamby, and his paper’s attacks on Bigg’s journalism had echoes of Professor Aytoun’s criticism of his poetry.³⁰ For Geordie, certainly, life was no mystic drama. At a time when the *Advertiser* was sharing in the encouragement of what some saw as the nation’s unwise worship of athletic prowess, the clearly unwise preparation on the part of a number of wrestlers at the town’s annual sports meeting made him feel sorry for them: “thay’d hed nout ta hit (eat) fer 24 ours, an’ thay hed ta run up and downt coors at [to] bring thersels down tult reet weyt, but as sean as thay’d dun this, t’sandwedges an’ hofe-an’-hofe [beer] dud katch it”, they had told him.³¹ Geordie confronted the various stresses of people’s initial experiences with the new railway network, which enabled for the first time very large numbers of people to be conveyed on land. He tersely and meaningfully observed of an excursion he took: “thear wos terbel neadin’ an’

krushin' wark at t'Kendal stashun. Thear wos shokin' mannishment thear".³² He engaged in the factional discussions on the town's sewerage system, the improvement of which meant expense: "Yan side sez stinks dus nea hort, an' tudder side sez tha due. Now wha's reet? I na this, at stinks errent plesent an' sum ov't chaps at's for them dussent like them ayder".³³ A few years later, in the run-up to the establishment of a local board, an obstacle arose in the form of litigation begun against the sewer authority by a landowner and magistrate, H. W. Askew, of Conishead Priory. There was a lot of talk and much printer's ink spent. The *Advertiser* strove for balance. Geordie himself hit a populist note: "Mister Askew, ov't Priory, says he hes't *misfortun* to awn yan-fifteenth ov't propperty rateabel til't Oostan sewers. Just ye tell him, will ye, as I'll tack it off his hands, an charge him nout for keepin' his misfortun!"³⁴

In 1868 Geordie emphasised how, by the successful holding of a Royal North Lancashire Agricultural Society annual show, Ulverstonians had demonstrated what they "cud du wen ther wos out cummin as suit't them". This appreciation of much-needed civic patriotism was followed by a leading article in the *Ulverston Advertiser* a week later encouraging "our men of action to greater exertions" in the light of successes achieved.³⁵ Geordie highlighted the prices of necessities like milk and potatoes.³⁶ He advised young men on what to look for in a wife, and young women on sexual behaviour: "Keep yersels ta yersels, an keep yersels respectabel. Enny man as'il try ta leead ya away fra this, hes naa respect for ye, an thaare niwer was, sen't world stud, a happy wed't life hefter a misfortun. If thaare's naa konfidence afoor thaare can be nin hefter". His contempt for "slonks" (work-shy and furtive) was made clear. He explained to masters and mistresses why their servants should be treated kindly.³⁷ At a time when distress among the unemployed cotton workers in Lancashire elicited local sympathy and cash, and donor lists were being published, Geordie told the polite and the moneyed where their charity *should* be targetted: "at yam". He identified as a suitable recipient, 65-year-old Ulverston-born Thomas Beck. This poor soul, who was classified as an idiot and lived in the workhouse, daily carried milk cans on a yoke. Geordie had been shocked to see him soaked in heavy rain: he needed "a reet gud girt glaz'd kape at'll carry t'watter hoff em, an' nut let em be dround like a rat if he is nobbet a poper".³⁸ This was not the only time he spoke up for paupers. Geordie manifested his amazement at the treatment of wives at a banquet concluding a "Grand Masonic Celebration" in the town which attracted much popular attention. Freemasonry was far more visible then, and "a much stronger force in English society".³⁹ In the newspaper's report the wives had been described as "fair spectators". "Wod ye beleeve it?" commented Geordie the following week. "Thay hactuelle gev them tikkets ta gang an see them feed, pot them up intat gallere, an nivver hext them to hev a toothful, an it wos that hot up thaar thay wore farele knockt up". His own wife (depicted in his letters as both womanly and sensible, ready to give sound advice, and show initiative) would not have tolerated it, he said.⁴⁰ This (male) criticism of an unusual expression of patriarchal values was, it should be noted, a few years before the *Advertiser* had begun to rethink its position on women.⁴¹

Bigg, as editor, was responsible for bringing Geordie to the public, but he was the creature of three of his colleagues: a reporter and clerk, John Kitchen (1829-1872), and two printers, James Postlethwaite (1830-1876) and James Roper Robinson

(1836-1908). In 1865 Robinson, who had served his apprenticeship with Stephen Soulby, the paper's original owner, became sub-editor, and in 1887 editor. Robinson's obituary states very definitely that, "There were originally three 'Geordies'", but when both of the other men had died, Robinson carried on "single-handed".⁴² Denwood and Thompson, following the obituarist, suggest a tidy sequence: Kitchen first, then Postlethwaite, and after him Robinson, although they write of "some sharing" of the pseudonym.⁴³ This is not the place for an attribution analysis, which must be the subject of another study. For our purposes here, with a focus on the use made of dialect, we need to note first, that for the *Ulverston Advertiser's* readers there was only *one* Geordie, and second, he became part of what has been described as a newspaper's "personality".⁴⁴

Saving bodies, souls, and talk, too: Henry Barber

One of the most loyal readers of the *Ulverston Advertiser* was Dr Henry Barber (1838-1909). It seems to have been his habitual approach to life and work that caused him to use dialect. Dr Barber, medical researcher, antiquarian, aspirant clergyman, was an all-round salvationist: bodies, souls – and language and customs. He was a seventh son, which seems appropriate because there was a prevalent traditional belief that such an individual had healing powers. In the same year that Bigg returned to Ulverston, Barber announced his arrival as a surgeon in the newspaper which the former was once again editing. When Barber moved on in 1873 to become a clergyman he left two distinct but related legacies, one under his pseudonym Roger Piketah.⁴⁵

Dialect writing by Bigg and others, its appearance in the press, and the existence of useful glossaries, created the conditions in which Barber, a diligent scholar and an off-comer born in Nottingham, developed an acknowledged expertise. This proved capable of putting together his first legacy, a collection of stories, *Forness Folk, the'r Sayin's an Dewin's* by 1870.⁴⁶ Mindful that the native dialect was "going out of fashion", Barber declared in his preface that he wanted to save some of the stories he had heard from "quaint old characters of Furness" while there was yet time to do so, because they were "fast dying out". It is abundantly clear that Barber approved of and was curious about his Furness survivors, of whom he is eloquent: "Teeming with fun, and brim-full of native wit, they are always ready to draw upon their vast fund of local anecdote and history for the amusement of their listeners", he writes, "detailing names, places, dates, and circumstances with surprising minuteness".⁴⁷ The stories as retold by Barber may have some relation to truth – he talks of his informants recalling "actual occurrence" – but are unverifiable. Some are certainly apocryphal, and belong to other parts of the country as well. "Smugglin' an' Wreckin' i' Forness" surely comes into this category. However, *Forness Folk* is evidence of what Barber felt was representative of "life and character in Furness": his work was therefore more about local inhabitants' perceptions and understandings than facts that could be proven.⁴⁸

Its publication by George Coward of Carlisle is to be noted. Coward (1831-1892), born nearby, had served his apprenticeship in Ulverston. His fascination with dialect, his "good taste and sound judgement in all matters relating to his business", and his skilful critical appraisal, underlined the intrinsic merit of Barber's dialect

writing.⁴⁹ An anonymous reviewer in the *Ulverston Advertiser* thought Barber's work was "a good reflex of some of our Furness traditions, idioms, and opinions, and we venture to predict it will be a favourite at penny readings and other places".⁵⁰ This was a view shared by others: "His dialect sketches were popular at Penny Readings round Ulverston in the early 1870s".⁵¹ It seems, therefore, that Barber's sentiments about Furness and its people manifested in the stories he gathered were recognised by inhabitants as the authentic "expression" of their own sentiments – no mean feat for an offcomer.⁵²

While building up a medical practice described as "extensive", Barber became a founder member and first Worshipful Master of the Furness Masonic Lodge (whose members included the iron masters Myles Kennedy and H. W. Schneider). He was also an initiator of the Saturday Evening Concerts for the working classes. He pursued scientific and antiquarian interests, and was clearly a strong churchman. Perhaps he used the pseudonym Roger Picketah because becoming known as a dialect storyteller would damage his social status, or his reputation as a serious medical researcher and an antiquarian scholar, or his plans to join the Anglican clergy.⁵³

As Barber was collecting and writing up his stories, his genuine anxiety for the physical welfare of local people was growing, and led to his second legacy. A charismatic and influential man, he argued in a letter to the *Advertiser* the need for a hospital in Ulverston because "the opening and extension of the railway, the development of the resources of the district, the introduction of powerful and complicated machinery in mining, manufactures, and agriculture, have increased the liability to accident an hundred-fold, . . .".⁵⁴ He pictured graphically the adverse conditions facing a surgeon trying to deal with a seriously injured workman at home, or in a nearby inn. Sensibly, Barber told Ulverstonians how their cottage hospital could be funded. When it was opened in 1873 he was the acknowledged founder.⁵⁵ Given the nature of the Furness economy, and Barber's documented concern to deal with the consequences of what he, as Picketah, calls the "terble nasty, dang'rous wark" of miners (and of other wage earners), it is no surprise that much of *Forness Folk* focuses on quarrymen, iron-ore miners, cocklers, and fishermen. By such people, we are told, Barber "was greatly liked and respected".⁵⁶ This is not surprising. A recognised authority at the time on regional dialect and mores – and one whose name was familiar to readers of the *Advertiser* – observed that, "The dalesmen do not pay much respect to any one who addresses them in language they are not accustomed to, *nor do they make much allowance for ignorance of their own dialect*."⁵⁷ [Emphasis added] Not just dalesmen. Barber used dialect to get closer to Low Furness folk, too, and the fruits of his efforts suggests he was able to do it without being patronising. Here was a medical doctor who was not only wanting to improve their lot, but was also prepared to listen to them and cherish their talk. This, it may be added, was also very strange behaviour for someone who was to join the Anglican clergy, a body of men who, comments Hoppen, "seldom grasped that it was their social behaviour – the way they talked, dressed, moved their bodies, lectured, frowned – rather than their social ideas which kept the (working) people from church".⁵⁸

For these reasons, "T' poor Miners i' Forness" seems to be an appropriate example to choose from Barber's collection. A lack of close knowledge of mining

(e.g. of terminology and methods) is immediately apparent. Barber may have visited but surely never went down a mine! But his sympathy for miners is apparent throughout. In one of two separate references to the ignorance of the better off he writes: “It wod surprise a deal o’ grand foke (with whom, of course, he was familiar) to see thor poor miners, m’appen twenty or thirty at yance in t’ middle o’ t’neet, hofe neakked, scrubbin’ the’rsels to git freshent up afooar gangin yam”. He observed that it was to be regretted that all iron masters did not provide “wesh houses fit up wi warm watter” and drying facilities. Certainly the mine owners’ attentiveness to their employees’ interests had its limitations. Barber introduced further (mild) criticism of the firms by noting the variation in the way the sickness and burial clubs were run. He was correspondingly gentle in his criticism of the miners’ aggressive, drunken, and irreligious behaviour. He refers to various causal factors that had been identified, including “bad manishment” (management), although the effect of this is weakened by adding: “an’ o’ maks o’ things; but ther’s sewer to be a gay bit o’ grumblin’ amang hands”. He was, after all, a masonic brother of mine owners! Barber suggested, in another observation about ignorance of their lives, that “them at’s takkin pains to meakk better men o them” – presumably clergy and temperance activists – should consult the miners’ wives, the shopkeepers, and (especially) the mining captains.⁵⁹

Barber’s comment on one tale, suggests, perceptively, an unusually subtle – and brutally determined – example of miners’ resistance to clerical teaching. It also reveals the author’s nature. A (very) rare church attender had stayed behind after the service to waste time comfortably while his wife cooked an old and therefore tough hen. “He wos nea gommeral [foolish boaster] thattan”, writes Barber the aspirant priest generously, “an’ he likely thowte he’d teann t’ best means o’ larnin’ them [clergy] he duddent set mich be ther teddisum [tedious] bis’ness”.⁶⁰ Whatever the basis in fact of this story of an individual miner, such disrespectful and unilateral conduct is of a piece with the “anarchistic” opinions and behaviour of certain Furness miners in later years as they resisted “the incursions of the Church, the Freemasons, and the Salvation Army”.⁶¹

A timely warning: Theodora Kennedy

It is an iron-ore miner and his family who provide the dialect interest in *Far North*. This was written by a member of one of Ulverston’s leading families, the Kennedys, and published in three volumes in London in 1866. The author, who used the androgenously abbreviated forename, Theo, was Theodora Kennedy (1826-1894), then aged 40.⁶² Her father was Charles Storr Kennedy, who had been a partner in the Ulverston Mining Company; her husband was Ewen Colquhoun of Luss, a Scottish diplomat.⁶³

Of greater significance from the perspective of this paper is the person to whom the novel was dedicated, “With the Affectionate Regards of the Writer”: a man who enjoyed Furness dialect, Myles Kennedy (1836-1883). The younger brother of Theodora, he was a wealthy iron master and quasi-country squire who was to become chairman of the much-needed Ulverston Local Board from 1871 until 1881. A Conservative who was eventually recognised as the party’s head locally, he was described by a contemporary as having been “the most popular gentleman in

Ulverston”, very supportive of his birthplace.⁶⁴ “He loved old hearts; . . . the very stones of the old town, and the old dialect of the place, and his very stories that he loved to relate reeked of the air of the Fells of Furness”.⁶⁵ His widely-recognised caring behaviour towards victims of mining accidents and their families and his backing for the hospital, in addition to his disposition and association with freemasonry, would have endeared him to Dr Barber.

Like *Alfred Staunton, Far North* has a mainly Furness background. Its title, its dedication, and the use of dialect also signal a wish to emphasise local connections. It is hardly conceivable that the vigorously intelligent and talented author was unfamiliar with the work and reputation of Bigg. The basis of the story of one of the Kennedy characters – a minor but not unimportant element within the novel – is a rule that may be inferred from traditional lore, that a female who loses her heart to a socially superior male and gets sexually involved ends up greatly distressed.⁶⁶ Kennedy made such folk wisdom a thought for the times – and dialect was crucial to the gloss put on it. If Henry Barber, in seeking to preserve dialect was, like Bigg and others, celebrating it, Kennedy gave the notion of its preservation a twist: rejecting “provincialisms” was dangerous. In what was a sensation novel typical of the time, dialect was used to make a strong statement about the preservation of social hierarchy.

A “thoroughly honest and truthful” iron miner and his outspoken wife have an exceptionally pretty but selfish and unfilial daughter, whom they had educated at a school for the children of tradesmen, where she “soon learnt, . . . , to be very discontented with her social position”. She “detested the sight of her father’s red-stained clothes” and “struggled very hard with the provincialisms which fetter the purity of her English”. Her “grammar (being) infinitely better than her principles”,⁶⁷ she has a secret affair with a baronet which leads to her vanishing, her distraught mother’s death, her father’s descent into drunkenness, and her own abandonment in London. Kennedy thus transforms the dialect-hating daughter from “t’Snadrop [Snowdrop] o’ Farnorth” to “a clout [cloth] for mucky hands”, as her father puts it graphically, “a flai cra [scare-crow] for aw t’nebburs ut point out tull their barns!”⁶⁸

The blame for such evil consequences is put on her having been schooled out of her class. This judgement is made by an old and viciously mischievous character, a lawyer. His characterisation, the description of his opinions as “liberal sentiments”, his awful end, and the emphasis placed by the author on the negative personal qualities of the miner’s daughter, may be thought to suggest that Kennedy did not share such a view. However, there is no discussion of the lawyer’s judgement. Moreover, although the offcomer ironmaster had a school built, it was “for the miners’ children”.⁶⁹

At the time *Far North* was being written an extension of the franchise to the urban working-man was in prospect. Therefore the issue of schooling for the working classes was increasingly prominent. Kennedy’s story of the miner’s socially ambitious daughter would have been taken by many contemporaries, especially those who were of the Conservative Sir Charles Adderley’s persuasion, as a timely warning of what he, a former education department chief, saw as the perils of interfering with the “social equilibrium”.⁷⁰ Indeed, “seeing society hierarchically, and keeping hierarchy going, was the one view that united most politicians, and most people” until at least the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁷¹ The reports in both

of Ulverston's newspapers on Myles Kennedy's death and funeral show just how strongly it could be held even then. *Far North's* second and cheaper single-volume edition came out in 1871, just after Forster's Education Act.

The traditional – and the unusual: J. P. Morris and John Bolton

The remaining significant contributors to Ulverston's dialect prose had risen socially, and though far apart in age were close friends: James Pennington Morris and John Bolton. The use they made of dialect was different, however. The former's was traditional; the latter's unusual, possibly quite rare. Very likely the Lowick-born son of a blacksmith, Morris (1830-1898), sometime iron moulder and an effective nuisance inspector, became a reporter for the *Ulverston Mirror* in 1863. Like Bigg and Bolton, Morris was a speaker at the town's lecture association. Barber, who chaired a talk he gave, was one of a number of prominent local men who provided very supportive testimonials when Morris was seeking a job in Liverpool. Years later, however, he expressed privately serious criticism of Morris's integrity, claiming to be owed a considerable sum of money.⁷²

Morris, who was immensely proud of his locality, admired the poet-novelist Bigg sufficiently to publish a biographical account of him in the first volume of the ambitiously conceived but short-lived *North Lonsdale Magazine* (1866-67) which he "conducted". Barber claimed to be "the founder of that ill-fated periodical", adding, "as I know to my cost (financially)".⁷³ Over several issues various items in dialect were printed or reprinted. In 1869 Morris, who in his preface acknowledged having consulted *Alfred Staunton* and Bigg's dialect poetry, produced *A Glossary of the Words and Phrases of Furness*.⁷⁴ It had been "begun as an amusement", but he later decided to continue his studies to achieve the more serious goals of not only preserving "a few of the good old forms of speech" like Barber, but also explaining "some of the obscure phrases of our early English writers".⁷⁵ Its scholarship and worth earned praise locally and further afield.⁷⁶

Earlier, Morris had produced well-regarded examples of dialect writing, which included: "T'Siege o' Brou'ton", "T' Invashun o' U'ston", and "Lebby Beck Dobby". The stories came out at one penny apiece in 1867, before being advertised as a collection by Barber's publisher, the dialect enthusiast and former Ulverston apprentice printer George Coward. Morris's dialect writing appeared in the local press.⁷⁷

The story about the invasion is set in the time of the wars with Napoleon's France. The cost of grain shoots up and people go hungry, especially the poor at Coniston and Kirkby. Some 300 to 400 slate rivers [quarrymen who split slate] march on Ulverston and steal grain which they distributed. The constables can do nothing and the workmen return home before soldiers arrive. The extent to which his story is true is hard to assess. No matter, it and his others were welcome, amusing additions to local lore and balanced Morris's more scholarly work.⁷⁸

In his *The Ulverston Perpetual Tide Table*, Bolton had used dialect within a conversational format as a teaching aid. Sadly, it seems he used dialect again only in a few snippets. But he did so in the scholarly book for which he is best known, and his purpose in doing so, was unusual. *Geological Fragments of Furness and Cartmel* was published in Ulverston in 1869 when Bolton was 78. He dearly wanted to

illuminate and enrich a self-portrait of an amateur geologist at work in his 70s: old, painstaking, tenacious, and optimistic. He describes, in Standard English, “. . . an old man over seventy years of age, an inveterate fossil-hunter, quietly folding up his old wallet, made from coarse canvas wrapping, for a cushion, and sitting down on it in the middle of the street, . . . subject to the jeers and witticisms of every passer by, and with hammer and chisel patiently dig and split up the soft rock of which the road is composed, and continue his work from morning till night without a moment’s rest, and without meat or drink during the whole day, not even once rising from the ground to straighten himself. . . .” Typically the work is unsuccessful, or barely so, and yet “he continues to work for one, two, or three days almost in every week, for upwards of two years, . . .” Of course, there was the joyful reinforcement provided by the occasional treasure. It was a *modus operandi* that attracted attention and the discovery of fossils was hid from the curious. Bolton quotes a Pennington schoolboy, “sees’ta Tom! by gock, if t’aad fella isn’t sitten ther yet, an lile Seppy Atkinson [a curious youngster] hes brout his mudders chair cushion out and is sitten beside em ta keep em cumpeny, and ise varra near starv’t to de death wi cummin yam, an t’aad fella was sitten here when we went ta’t school in’t mornin”.⁷⁹ Here was a self-taught scientist, of no little repute, using dialect to bring to his published work a vivid image of the effort and obsessive commitment that lay behind it. Bolton’s “homely humour” was appreciated by readers.⁸⁰

Conclusion: looking afresh at dialect writing

The second edition of Kennedy’s book has been appropriately identified by Denwood and Thompson as marking the close of the Ulverston dialect boom.⁸¹ However, the Geordie tradition of letters to the *Ulverston Advertiser* continued, and Barber, soon to leave the town, did not lose his interest in writing dialect stories – he brought out an enlarged collection in 1902. Just as “up to the last” the doctor’s “interest in [the cottage hospital] remained unabated”, so he remained until his death in 1909 a reader of the *Ulverston Advertiser*, which was sent to him regularly by a friend.⁸²

Bigg’s use of dialect has been approached in this paper as evidence of some attempt to be more down-to-earth in his literary work. While even in his prose he remained vulnerable to pretentiousness, his dialect writing (in prose and poetry) was warmly received. It may be seen as a colourful element in the reaction of the Spasmodic poets to the Edinburgh professor’s criticisms of a literary tendency he was determined to squash. Bigg, Ulverston’s leading literary figure, clearly recognised that the professor’s views had merit. One consequence, therefore, was a curious local addition to the mixture of motives behind the general Victorian interest in dialect writing.

Bigg’s Furness contemporaries’ uses of dialect varied. For Geordie’s alter egos it was a seam from which skilled writers of standard English could extract surprise, humour, and (a version of) blunt sanity. At times, Geordie’s longer letter seems to be a forerunner of those by modern-day columnists. His letter was also a symbolic reassertion, as well as utilization, of hierarchy. Look, he was saying in effect, the *Ulverston Advertiser* is read by people other than carriage folk, professionals, and shopkeepers.⁸³ For Morris, the native, and Barber, the offcomer – both polymathic

in their studies – the use of dialect meant the intentional preservation of something they held dear, although for the latter its use also seems to have been more than an interest, rather an integral part of his approach to life and of how he saw himself. For the well-connected Kennedy, its use helped to make more vivid contemporary fears over the consequences of interfering with the social order. And to Bolton's ingenious use of it as a means of instruction, he added fugitive touches to a geologist's self-portrait, gently reminding us (in a seemingly postmodern way) of the "person" in empirical research.

Although we cannot determine in any precise way the extent of the influence on others of Bigg's use of dialect, his prominence as a literary figure and his position as newspaper editor, certainly gave such writing a greater visibility in Ulverston than it probably would have had without him.

Given the attention devoted to dialect in the nineteenth-century regional newspaper press, it seems surprising that in a recent, highly regarded reference book on local history, the latter is not mentioned in the entry on dialect and accents. Even among contemporary specialists in the history of the nineteenth-century newspaper press, where an analysis is made of attitudes to newspapers and their nature at that time, dialect can fail to enter the index. Dialect writing is far from being a fashionable quarry for social historians. Certainly, they are not usually concerned with the quality – the aesthetic nature – of such writing, preferring to leave it as the province of colleagues in English literature – if, indeed, the latter are interested. The entry on Bigg in the new Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography* says nothing about his dialect writing. Where dialect writing is considered in academic social histories it is likely to be treated in a general way as evidence of "regional self-awareness", or, more specifically, in terms of the vagaries of publication and reception. More narrowly focused studies may handle discussions of the roots of dialect. Popular treatments of traditional folk culture where dialect is used descriptively to record and illustrate difference may, quite unintentionally, put our ancestors in danger of being treated rather patronisingly as quaint, even inferior. In more purely local history books dialect often seems to be ignored.⁸⁴

Dialect writing is a rich and fascinating, if challenging, resource. This paper suggests that it is worthy of greater consideration by historians than it has hitherto been given.

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Notes and References

- ¹ M. Denwood and T. W. Thompson, *A Lafter o'Farleys in t' Dialects o' Lakeland, 1760-1945* (Carlisle, 1950), 10.
- ² A. Sprake, *A Bibliography of the Dialect Literature of Cumberland, Westmorland & Lancashire North of the Sands* (Kendal, 1907), Part III, 43-49.
- ³ Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 1-34; C. Upton and J. D. A. Widdowson, *An Atlas of English*

- Dialects* (Oxford, 1996), xvi: S. Bennett, "The Golden Stain of Time: Preserving Victorian Periodicals", in L. Brake, A. Jones, and L. Madden (eds.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke, 1990) (166-183), 166,168; J. D. Marshall and J. K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century* (Manchester, 1981), 15, 16, 154, 155; J. K. Walton, *Lancashire, A Social History 1558-1939* (Manchester, 1987) 99, 105, 305.
- ⁴ "The Prospects of the Town", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 2 March 1871. See also, "Speculations as to the Future of Ulverston", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 16 March 1873.
- ⁵ J. Mordaunt Crook, "When the Sun itself gave In. The Great Exhibition and the Coming of the Railways", *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 November 1999 (5-6), 6.
- ⁶ J. D. Marshall, *Furness and the Industrial Revolution* (Barrow-in-Furness, 1958), 418.
- ⁷ J. D. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 245, 417. The North Lonsdale Iron Works was opened in 1874, three years after the establishment of the Ulverston Local Board. See also the *Ulverston Advertiser*, 2 March 1871. The *Barrow Times* was quoted by the *Ulverston Mirror*, 21 January 1871.
- ⁸ A. Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power, and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1996), 23.
- ⁹ G. Gilfillan, "No. 1 of Jottings from a Short Tour among the Lakes", reprinted from the *Dial*, *Ulverston Mirror*, 21 December 1861.
- ¹⁰ J. P. Morris, "In Memoriam. John Bolton. Born 1791. Died 1873", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 23 January 1873.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.* Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 5, 6, and 54-57.
- ¹² "John Stanyan Bigg", Local Worthies, *North Lonsdale Magazine and Lake District Miscellany*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1866 (2-10), 7. The British Library copy does not have a publication date. The catalogue entry indicates 1859, which the Library suggests may have been when it got the book, or the cataloguer may have made an inference from other data. J. P. Morris, who studied Bigg's novel for its dialect and may therefore be relied upon, says 1858 in the preface to his *A Glossary of the Words and Phrases of Furness* (Carlisle, 1869), xv. The Barrow Library copy, to which reference is made in this paper, is also undated.
- ¹³ Quoted by M. A. Weinstein, *William Edmondstoune Aytoun and the Spasmodic Controversy* (Newhaven and London, 1968), 188-189. This paragraph and the next are based on this book, especially chapters 4-7.
- ¹⁴ M. Drabble (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (sixth edition Oxford, 2000), 51.
- ¹⁵ Weinstein, *op. cit.*, 187.
- ¹⁶ Weinstein, *op. cit.*, 163 and 166.
- ¹⁷ *Alfred Staunton*, 287.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 288-292.
- ¹⁹ "John Stanyan Bigg", *North Lonsdale Magazine*, 7.
- ²⁰ Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 3.
- ²¹ "John Stanyan Bigg", *North Lonsdale Magazine*, 7.
- ²² *Ibid.* The 7 and 8 September 1857, saw the last Ulverston-Lancaster Oversands coach following the opening of the passenger rail link on 26 August. J. Melville and J. L. Hobbs, "Furness Travelling and Postal Arrangements in the 18th and 19th Centuries", *CW2*, xlvi, 106.
- ²³ Weinstein, *op. cit.*, 189.
- ²⁴ "John Stanyan Bigg", *North Lonsdale Magazine*, 9. There were two other dialect poems in Bigg's collection, "Auld Granfadder Jones" and "T'Auld Man"; J. S. Bigg, *Shifting Scenes and Other Poems* (London, 1862), 169-172.
- ²⁵ Although they were not in dialect, between 26 July 1860 and 21 March 1861, at least fourteen original poems by seven authors were published in his newspaper.
- ²⁶ D. Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London, 2000), Chapter 3.
- ²⁷ In later years he would be advising working men how to become "hindependent", taking himself as a model: by regular saving, house owning, and church-going. See "Hindependent Werkin Men", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 12 February 1885.
- ²⁸ For Geordie examples, see "Cum Out Ov My Bed", 14 January 1869; "Fereful Hafair at Bardsa!", 4 March 1869; "Horteculter Hextraordinare; An A Wunderful Fleack", 28 April 1870; "Yaare huntin. – A Queere Fish", 9 November 1871, all in the *Ulverston Advertiser*; Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 13.
- ²⁹ "T'Kriketters' Koncert", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 1 November 1860; "TMirror, Palma, an' Tuther Lot",

- Ulverston Advertiser*, 18 October 1860.
- ³⁰ See e.g. *Ulverston Mirror*, 24 August and 14 September 1861.
- ³¹ “Geordie at t’Flan Spoorts”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 15 August 1861. One well-known person unimpressed by the appeal of athleticism was the popular novelist Wilkie Collins. See N. Page’s edition of Collins’, *Man and Wife* (Oxford, 1995), Introduction, vii and xv.
- ³² “Geordie an’ t’Kendel Trip”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 5 September 1861. Rail excursions were dangerous affairs in the 1850s and 1860s; J. Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (London, 1995), 270-289.
- ³³ “Toke i’t Ellers”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 23 March 1865.
- ³⁴ “Misfortuns”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 13 April 1871.
- ³⁵ “T’Deckerashuns”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 27 August 1868; “Ulverston and its Shows”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 3 September 1868.
- ³⁶ “T’Price ov Milk”, and “Taties”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 20 October 1864, and 25 July 1867.
- ³⁷ “Geordie’s Martinmas Hominey”, *Ulverston Advertiser* 23 November 1871.
- ³⁸ “Poor Tommy Bek”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 21 November 1861.
- ³⁹ D. Hawes, “Is he Worshipful Brother? (sic) Anthony Trollope’s links to the Freemasons”, Commentary, *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 October 1999, 16.
- ⁴⁰ “T’Fremason Girt Du”, *Ulverston Advertiser* 23 April 1868. The purpose of the masonic event was to install a deputy provincial grandmaster. “Grand Masonic Celebration at Ulverston”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 16 April 1868.
- ⁴¹ The *Advertiser’s* changing attitude to the position of women is examined in P. Lucas, “The Regional Roots of Feminism: a Victorian woman newspaper owner”, *CW3*, ii, 277-300.
- ⁴² “Death of Our Agricultural Editor, Mr J. R. Robinson. Fifty Years of Newspaper Life”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 27 February 1908.
- ⁴³ Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 12, f.n.
- ⁴⁴ J. R. Wiener, “Sources for the Study of Newspapers”, in Brake, Jones, and Madden (eds.), *op. cit.*, 161.
- ⁴⁵ After being a deacon in 1873, Henry Barber was ordained priest in 1874. Curate first at Wellingborough, subsequently at Madron, Cornwall, he was rector of Upton Helions, Devon, between 1879 and 1884. During this same period, in 1882, he was also appointed chaplain at the English church, Coblenz (until 1885). While there he served as chaplain to the imperial household. In 1887 he was appointed master of Ravenstone Hospital, Ashby-de-la-Zouche, and licensed as a preacher in the Peterborough diocese. He died in 1909 aged 71. “Death of Dr Barber, Master of Ravenstone Hospital,” *Coalville Times*, 26 February 1909; “Death of Dr Barber. Founder of Ulverston Hospital”, *Ulverston Advertiser* 25 February 1909. I am indebted to Aidan Jones for locating the date when Barber died. For Barber’s advertisement, see *Ulverston Advertiser*, 31 May 1860. It may be noted briefly here that some people have wrongly identified J. R. Robinson as Roger Piketah. A comparison of their dialect prose clearly shows Robinson could not have been Piketah. The earliest external evidence helps to clarify the authorship: see “Ulverston Letter” by Peter the Hermit, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 17 July 1902. The paper was then owned by William Holmes, described by Barber as a friend, who published in that year the second Piketah collection. See also Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 12. This matter, like Geordie’s authorship, must be the subject of a separate study.
- ⁴⁶ R. Piketah, *Forness Folk, The’r Sayin’s an’ Dewin’s* (Carlisle, 1870).
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, v, vi.
- ⁴⁸ Renwick makes such a point in relation to folk poetry. R. de V. Renwick, *English Folk Poetry: Structure and Meaning* (London, 1980), 14.
- ⁴⁹ “Death of Mr. George Coward”, *Ulverston Advertiser*, 21 April 1892. The contribution to a book’s importance by individuals other than a book’s author should not be under-estimated. See I. Maclean, “Is Civility Enough?”, *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 February 1999, 12 and 13.
- ⁵⁰ *Ulverston Advertiser*, 15 January 1871.
- ⁵¹ Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 12.
- ⁵² The word “expression” is deliberately used here in R. G. Collingwood’s sense. See A. Ridley, *R. G. Collingwood, A Philosophy of Art* (London, 1998), 40ff.
- ⁵³ The *Medical Directory* for 1898 gives Barber’s research papers as: “Case of Hereditary Deformity (webbed fingers) in four successive generations” (*Medical Mirror*, 1864), “Cases Illustrative of the Successful Application of Cold and Heat over the Spine in Uterine Complaints” (*Medical Mirror*, 1870), and “Cases of Long-continued Abstinence from Food” (*British Medical Journal*, 1870). His

- most well-known book is *Furness and Cartmel*, published in 1894, but his antiquarian research began in the 1860s. He was eventually elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.
- ⁵⁴ H. Barber, "A Cottage Hospital for Ulverston", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 23 July 1871.
- ⁵⁵ See "Death of Dr Barber, Founder of Ulverston Hospital", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 25 February 1909, and "The Opening of the Cottage Hospital", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 10 July 1873.
- ⁵⁶ Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 11.
- ⁵⁷ A. C. Gibson, "The Cumberland Dialect", from *The People of the Lake District*, Reproduced in the *North Lonsdale Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 6, April 1897, 134.
- ⁵⁸ K. T. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* (Oxford, 1998), 455.
- ⁵⁹ Picketah, *op. cit.*, 22, 25, 26. See Marshall, *op. cit.*, 246.
- ⁶⁰ Picketah, *op. cit.*, 25.
- ⁶¹ A. McFadzean, *The Iron Moor: A History of the Lindal Moor and Whitriggs Haemetite Iron Mines* (Ulverston, 1989), 84-86.
- ⁶² H. G. Kennedy to Dr T. K. Fell, 30 December 1901 CRO(B) Kennedy Family Correspondence, 1901, Furness Collection. Kennedy and Fell were cousins.
- ⁶³ I have been helped regarding Kennedy family genealogy by Mrs Marie Barltrop, a descendant of the Kennedy family, and Mrs Jennifer Snell.
- ⁶⁴ R. Casson, "Myles Kennedy", *A Few Furness Worthies* (Ulverston, 1889) (78-81), 80; "Death of Mr Kennedy" and "Funeral of Mr Kennedy of Stone Cross", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 15 and 22 March respectively, and "Death of Mr Myles Kennedy", *Ulverston Mirror*, 17 March, all 1883.
- ⁶⁵ *Ulverston Advertiser*, 22 March 1883. The words are those of the Revd Cuthbert W. Bardsley, quoted by a reporter at an evening service in the parish church, St. Mary's. The funeral service itself was held at Holy Trinity.
- ⁶⁶ Renwick, *op. cit.*, 55.
- ⁶⁷ T. Kennedy, *Farnorth* (sic), second edition, (London and Ulverston, 1871), 116, 117.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 378.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 195.
- ⁷⁰ A. Briggs, *Victorian People, A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1852-67* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 266.
- ⁷¹ Cannadine, *op. cit.*, 104.
- ⁷² Cumbria Family History Society (1997) *1851 Census, Transcript and Index*, Ulverston (Part 1), 135; Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 11; *Ulverston Advertiser*, 21 April 1864; the testimonials are to be found inside "Ulverston", a book of newspaper cuttings from 1869 to 1871, presumably compiled by Morris, CRO(B) Furness Collection, Z2015; letter from H. Barber, 7 May 1907, Correspondence of H. Barber, 1898-1907, CRO(B) Furness Collection, Z2765.
- ⁷³ Letter to Harper Gaythorpe, 16 September 1898. See Correspondence of H. Barber, 1898-1907, CRO(B) Furness Collection, Z2765.
- ⁷⁴ J. P. Morris, *A Glossary of the Words and Phrases of Furness* (Carlisle, 1869).
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vii, viii.
- ⁷⁶ Picketah, *op. cit.*, endpapers.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, endpapers; Morris, *op. cit.*, xv; Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 11.
- ⁷⁸ "T'Invashun o' U'ston" was published under the title "Reminiscences of Furness", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 1 August 1867. See A. Cameron, *Slate from Coniston: A History of the Coniston Slate Industry* (Barrow-in-Furness, 1996), 15.
- ⁷⁹ J. Bolton, *Geological Fragments of Furness and Cartmel* (Whitehaven, 1978), 145-147. (First published in Ulverston and London, 1869).
- ⁸⁰ J. P. Morris, "In Memoriam John Bolton 1791-1873", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 23 January 1873. By this time Morris had been in Liverpool for several years.
- ⁸¹ Denwood and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 10. *Jannock or The Bold Trencherman* (London and Manchester, 1874) contains Furness dialect, was set in Dunnerdale and Broughton, and written by Edwin Waugh, "the Lancashire poet".
- ⁸² "Death of Dr Barber. Founder of Ulverston Hospital", *Ulverston Advertiser*, 25 February 1909. His second collection of stories was R. Picketah, *Breks an' Hakes, an' Sic Lyk* (London and Ulverston, 1902).
- ⁸³ Such use of dialect is pointed up by P. Bourdieu; J. R. Thompson (ed.), Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, 1992), Editors Introduction, 19.

⁸⁴ See: D. Hey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (Oxford, 1996) 130; Jones, *op. cit.*; M. Drabble (ed.), *op. cit.* (which has no entry under dialect writing); P. Davis, *The Victorians*, *The Oxford English Literary History*, Vol. 8, 1830-1880 (Oxford, 2002) (in the index of which “dialect” does not appear, although the dialect poetry of William Barnes, of Dorsetshire, is discussed in the text); K. Mullin, “Bigg, John Stanyan (1828-1865), poet and journalist”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/2369>; Marshall and Walton (1981) *op. cit.*, 15, 16, 154, and 155, and Walton (1987), *op. cit.*, 33 and 305; D. S. Roberts, “Thomas De Quincey’s ‘Danish Origin of the Lake Country Dialect’”, *CW2*, xcix 257-265. In the *Index for Transactions* for 1960-1989 (New series volumes lx-lxxxix) the word “dialect” does not appear. Between 1990 and 2002 there is reference in only one volume, that in which Roberts’s paper appears.

Also consulted: W. B. Kendall, *Forness Word Book*, begun at Salthouse in the year 1867, mss., CRO(B), and W. Rollinson, *The Cumbrian Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore* (Otley, 1997).

