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Notes

Introduction

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Chapter 1

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- 37 See Joseph Sharples, Alan Powers and Michael Shippobottom, *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture, 1904–1933* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996).
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Chapter 2

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- 16 Ibid.
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- 51 'Liverpool Advertising Itself', *MG*, 29 July 1926, 11.
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- 71 *MG*, 7 October 1925, 10.
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- 114 MG, 16 September 1926, 11.
- 115 Gunn, *Public Culture*, 53.
- 116 Christopher Otter, 'Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City', *Social History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 5. See also Christopher Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800–1910* (Bristol: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
- 117 MG, 16 September 1926, 11; 'Refuge Tower Illuminated', MCL LSC Image Collection, Ref. M07624; Hulme, 'Civic Culture and Citizenship', 85.
- 118 *Daily Dispatch*, 4 October 1926, MCL LSC: *Civic Week, 1926, Volume 1*.
- 119 MG, 21 September 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week, 1926, Volume 1*.
- 120 MG, 1 October 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week, 1926, Volume 1*.
- 121 In *Manchester Chronicle*, 1 October 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week, 1926, Volume 1*.
- 122 'Civic Week Shopping: The Age of Luxury', MG, Saturday 10 October 1926, 9.

- 123 MG, 5 October 1926, 10.
- 124 MG, 2 October 1926, 8.
- 125 Advert for Affleck and Brown. Source: MCL LSU: Cuttings *Civic Week*, 1926, Volume 5.
- 126 MG, 5 October 1926, 6.
- 127 DD, 4 October 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week*, 1926, Volume 1.
- 128 Clay and Brody (eds), *Manchester at Work*, 7.
- 129 'Civic Week trail of Triumph', *Evening Chronicle*, 8 October 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week*, 1926, Volume 1.
- 130 Arnold Maren to the MG, 10 September 1926, 11. The debate appeared in several issues of the *Manchester Guardian* but I can find no references to it in the official publications of the organizers.
- 131 *Northern Voice*, 8 October 1926, II, 22, 2.
- 132 MEN, 1 September 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week*, 1926, Volume 1.
- 133 'Civil Link with Empire', by L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, DD, 4 October 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week*, 1926, Volume 5.
- 134 See Stephen Constantine, "'Bringing the Empire Alive": The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda, 1926–33', in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 192–231.
- 135 MG, 10 October 1926, 11.
- 136 Manchester Council Records, 1925–6, Vol. II, 261. There was some success here and by 1931, Lancashire exported 8,080,000 yards of cotton to China. MG, 22 October 1931, 12. However, the success was short-lived due to political instability and an increased tariff in China alongside increased competition from Japan stifled trade. MG, 10 January 1934, 5.
- 137 Kidd, *Manchester*, 187.
- 138 MG, Manchester Corporation Centenary Issue, 16 May 1938.
- 139 Manchester Corporation, *How Manchester Is Managed: A Record of Municipal Activities, with a Description of the City* (Manchester, 1938), 35.
- 140 N. D. Manchester Corporation Records, 1936–7 *Epitome*, 666.
- 141 Ibid.
- 142 Manchester Corporation, *How Manchester Is Managed* (1938), 40.
- 143 Manchester City Council, *Centenary Celebration of Manchester's Incorporation. Official Handbook to the Exhibition of Civic Services, City Hall, Deansgate*, 2–7 May 1938 (Manchester: Percy Brothers, 1938), 35.
- 144 Manchester City Council, *Centenary Celebration*, 71.
- 145 William Barker (ed.), *Your City: Manchester, 1838–1938* (Manchester: Manchester Corporation, 1938), 16.
- 146 Wildman, 'A City Speaks: The Projection of Civic Identity in Manchester'.
- 147 Barker, *Your City*, 20.
- 148 Ibid.

- 149 MG, Manchester Corporation Centenary Issue, 16 May 1938, 25.
- 150 Manchester City Council, *Centenary Celebration*, 28–9.
- 151 Barker, *Your City*, 44.
- 152 Manchester City Council, *Centenary Celebration*, 7.
- 153 Barker, *Your City*, 44.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 Manchester and Salford District Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, *This Is Our City: A Programme for a Modern Manchester* (Manchester: Communist Party of Great Britain, Manchester and Salford District Committee, 1937). The local party outlined their grievances with the way the Corporation ran the city in the publication. There were national bi-annual hunger marches throughout the 1930s as a reaction against enduring unemployment and social problems. See Peter Kingsford, *The Hunger Marchers in Britain, 1920–1939* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982).
- 156 Sheena Simon, *A Century of City Government: Manchester, 1838–1938* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), 405.
- 157 Manchester Corporation, *How Manchester Is Managed* (1938), 35.
- 158 *MEN*, 4 May 1938, 1.
- 159 Manchester Corporation, *How Manchester Is Managed* (1938), 35.
- 160 Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in fin-de-siècle Paris* (London: University of California Press, 1998), 1.
- 161 English, ‘Empire Day in Britain, 1904–1958’, 248.
- 162 See, for example, ‘Civic Week Trail of Triumph’, *Evening Chronicle*, 8 October 1926, MCL LSC Cuttings: *Civic Week 1926*; LPM, 23 September 1924, LCL LSC Cuttings: *Liverpool Civic Week, Wembley 1924*.

Chapter 3

- 1 ‘The Renaissance of Bold Street’, *Liverpolitan*, January 1938, 17.
- 2 Erika D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London’s West End* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000). See also Mica Nava, ‘Modernity’s Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store’, in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, eds. Mica Nava and Alan O’Shea (London: Routledge, 1996), 38–76.
- 3 Pamela Cox and Annabel Hobley, *Shopgirls: The True Story of Life Behind the Counter* (London: Hutchinson, 2015).
- 4 Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain, ‘The World of the Department Store: Distribution, Culture and Social Change’, in *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850–1939*, eds. Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 22. See, James B. Jeffreys, *Retail Trading in Britain*,

- 1850–1950 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 335 and Peter Gurney, *Co-operative Culture and the Politics of Consumption in England, 1870–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996). See also Janice Winship, ‘Culture of Restraint: The British Chain Store 1920–1939’, in *Commercial Cultures: Economies, Practices, Spaces*, eds. Peter Jackson, Michelle Lowe, Daniel Miller and Frank Mort (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 15–34; Frank Mort, ‘Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain: The Case of Montague Burton, the “Tailor of Taste”’, *History Workshop Journal* 323, no. 3 (1994): 106–27.
- 5 See, Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire. America’s Advance through 20th-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).
 - 6 Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 131.
 - 7 Gabrielle Esperdy, *Modernizing Mainstreet: Architecture and Consumer Culture in the New Deal* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008), 9.
 - 8 Asa Briggs, *Friends of the People: The Centenary History of Lewis’s* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1956), 154. Bill Lancaster also suggests that ‘by 1939, the department store could look back over the previous decade with satisfaction. Largely the product of the Victorian period, the *grand magasin* in Britain continued to prosper, unlike many of its industrial counterparts that were born in the same period’. Bill Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 105. More recently, Peter Scott and James Walker’s comparative analysis of department stores in Britain and the US found that although the US stores instigated a retail revolution, the ‘US-style service sector industrialization was rapidly and enthusiastically embraced by British stores ... British stores reaped high returns from investment in these innovations.’ Peter Scott and James Walker, ‘The British “Failure” that Never Was? The Anglo-American “Productivity Gap” in Large-Scale Interwar Retailing – Evidence from the Department Store Sector’, *Economic History Review* 65, no. 1 (2012): 301.
 - 9 Lindy Woodhead, *Shopping, Seduction and Mr Selfridge* (London: Profile Books, 2007), 163.
 - 10 Earl of Woolton, *The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Woolton* (London: Cassell, 1959), 104.
 - 11 Woolton, *Memoirs*, 68.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 108.
 - 13 Kelly’s Trade Directories, published from 1845 until the 1970s, offer comprehensive and detailed information on shops and their locations. Kelly’s listed retailers (including name and business address) by trade, making clothing and clothing-related retailers relatively simple to geographically locate and quantify.

- 14 The extensive information supplied by Kelly's directories raised certain methodological issues. The directories covered many of the satellite and smaller towns that encircle Liverpool and Manchester and they were excluded from this study to avoid a distorted or unclear assessment of the interwar changes.
- 15 I initially distinguished between Outer Area (a), the area beyond the city centre, encompassing the older suburbs, and Outer Area (b), the new suburbs built in the 1920s and 1930s. The number of shops was so insignificant in the new suburbs, however, that they made a negligible impact on the study and as a spatial category Outer Area (b) became irrelevant.
- 16 See advert for Lewis's, *Liverpolitan*, May 1937, inside cover.
- 17 Sam Davies, Pete Gill, Linda Grant, Martin Nightingale, Ron Noon and Andy Shallice, *Genuinely Seeking Work: Mass Unemployment on Merseyside in the 1930s* (Birkenhead: Liver Press, 1992), 13 and 19.
- 18 Sheila Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 126.
- 19 Pat Ayers, 'The Hidden Economy of Dockland Families: Liverpool in the 1930s', in *Women's Work and the Family Economy in Historical Perspective*, eds. Pat Hudson and W. R. Lee (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 279.
- 20 A possible avenue for further research would be to re-examine the trade directories and focus on the area immediately surrounding Manchester city centre, including Withington, Cheetham Hill and Ancoats, ignoring its satellite towns.
- 21 Alan Kidd, *Manchester* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 219.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 188.
- 23 Viv Caruana and Colin Simmons, 'The Promotion and Development of Manchester Airport, 1929–74: The Local Authority Initiative', *The Local Historian* 30, no. 3 (2000): 165–77; Kidd, *Manchester*, 219.
- 24 Manchester Guardian, *Commercial Yearbook 1925* (Manchester: Manchester Guardian, 1925), 193.
- 25 Liverpool Organization, *The Book of Liverpool: Civic Week, 1928* (Liverpool: Liverpool Organization 1928), 14.
- 26 Jessica Walker Stevens, *Studio*, May 1927, 263, John Lewis Archive (JLA) 208/c45.
- 27 'The Art of the Shop Window', *The Observer*, 1 February 1931, 17.
- 28 'Christmas Shopping: Attractions for Women', *MG*, 17 December 1926, 5.
- 29 'A New Shopping Centre', *MG*, 7 May 1927, 17.
- 30 For a close analysis of Mass Observation's approach see Penny Summerfield, 'Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?', *Journal of Contemporary History* 20, no. 3 (1985): 439–52. Chapter 4 undertakes a more detailed examination of Mass Observation's agenda, ideology and research.
- 31 Mass-Observation Archive (MO A.): Worktown (WT) 29/a Shops and Shop Owners.

- 32 MO A: WT 29/a Shops and Shop Owners.
- 33 Liverpool Corporation Council Minutes, 3 September 1924, 352/MIN/COU II.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Rappaport uses the example of Music Hall culture to illustrate this. Rappaport, *Shopping*, 192.
- 36 MO A: WT 30e/34, 19 May 1939.
- 37 Esperdy, *Modernizing Mainstreet*, 3.
- 38 Woolworth's Household Week Window Display, 1931, Stewart Bale Photographic Archive N8773. A similar aesthetic of abundance also feature in pictures of Ellwoods, Draper's Shop, Manchester, 1935, Manchester Central Library Local Studies Photographic Collection, M55942 and Bon Marché Blouse Department 1930s, JLA Photographic Collection.
- 39 *MG*, 5 October 1926, 10.
- 40 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (London: Harvard University Press, 2002). A 4, 1, 43.
- 41 *MG*, 2 October 1925; Manchester Guardian, *Commercial Yearbook 1925*, 177 and 179.
- 42 Manchester Guardian, *Commercial Yearbook 1925*, 177 and 179.
- 43 MO A: WT29/b Shops and Shop Owners.
- 44 Charles Reilly, *Some Liverpool Streets and Buildings in 1921* (Liverpool: The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury, 1921), 23.
- 45 Henry A. Miller, 'The City is getting Gayer!', *Liverpolitan*, August 1935, 26.
- 46 Crossick and Jaumain, 'The World of the Department Store', 21. See also Rappaport, *Shopping*.
- 47 Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 39.
- 48 'The Renaissance of Bold Street', 17.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 A. E. S. *Liverpolitan*, March 1937, 35.
- 51 Lancaster, *Department Store*, 85.
- 52 On the emergence of spending power or young working-class people, see David Fowler, *The First Teenagers: the Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain* (London: Woburn Press, 1995).
- 53 Briggs, *Friends of the People*, 149–50.
- 54 Woolton, *Memoirs*, 94.
- 55 Advertisements in the *Liverpool Echo*, *Liverpolitan*, *Manchester Evening News* and *Manchester Guardian* were utilized were counted and analysed for the months of January and February, October and November in 1920, 1932 and 1938. I examined each daily issue of the *MEN*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Liverpool Echo* for the sample months and years and I counted advertisements in each issue of *Liverpolitan*, a monthly periodical. Different socio-economic groups read these

publications, so an analysis of the message and quantity of their advertisements needs to address the importance of readership. The appendix provides a complete account of the number of advertisements found.

- 56 B. Seeböhm Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress: A Second Social Survey of York* (London: Kongmans Green and Co., 1942).
- 57 Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 26.
- 58 Ibid., 45.
- 59 David Ayerst, *Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (London: Collins, 1991), 452. No comparative history exists for the *MEN*, or for the Liverpool press, but an engaging history of the press in Manchester during the twentieth century does exist, although it focuses on the national newspapers printed in Manchester: Robert Waterhouse, *The Other Fleet Street: How Manchester Made Newspapers National* (Altrincham: First Edition Limited, 2004).
- 60 Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press*, 41.
- 61 Guy Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising* (Routledge: London, 2001).
- 62 Roland Marchland, *Advertising the American Dream: Making way for modernity, 1920–1940* (London: University of California Press, 1986), xvi.
- 63 Donald Weber, ‘Selling Dreams: Advertising Strategies from *Grands Magasins* to Supermarkets in Ghent, 1900–1960’, in *Cathedrals of Consumption*, eds. Crossick and Jaumain, 177.
- 64 Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press*, 148.
- 65 Ayerst, *Guardian*, 488.
- 66 ‘The Best Shop Window: “Manchester Evening News” Record Contract’, *MG*, 18 September 1931, 11.
- 67 Ayerst, *Guardian*, 489.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800–2000: Perfect Pleasures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 96 and 111.
- 70 See, for example, Kendal’s advert, *MEN*, 7 January 1920; Affleck and Brown advert, *MG*, 1 January 1920.
- 71 Taken from an analysis of all advertisements placed by Kendal’s and Affleck and Brown in the *MEN* and *Manchester Guardian* during January and February 1920.
- 72 Rachel Bowlby, *Carried Away: The Invention of Modern Shopping* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 8; Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 4.
- 73 Promotional Poster for G. H. Lee’s, Liverpool c.1920, JLA 637/a.
- 74 Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 101.
- 75 *Liverpolitan*, inside cover, 1937; *Liverpolitan*, May 1932, inside cover.
- 76 JLA Box 180/3/a.

- 77 See, for example, Kendal's, *MG*, 10 February 1920.
- 78 G. H. Lee's, *Liverpool Echo*, 3 February 1920.
- 79 Lewis's, *Liverpool Echo*, 12 February 1920.
- 80 Bon Marché, *Liverpool Echo*, 19 January 1920.
- 81 Affleck and Brown, *MEN*, 3 February 1932.
- 82 Briggs, *Friends of the People*, 49.
- 83 'Another 5/Day at Lewis's Million Pound Sale', *MEN*, 16 January 1932.
- 84 Lewis's, *MG*, 12 January 1932.
- 85 George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 1989), 82.
- 86 Sally Alexander shows how fur was relatively cheap and available for purchase in regular instalments. Sally Alexander, 'Becoming a Woman in London in the 1920s and 1930s', in *Metropolis: London, Histories and Representations*, eds. David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge, 1989), 265.
- 87 Lewis's, *MEN*, 7 October 1938.
- 88 G. H. Lees, *Liverpool Echo*, July 1938, 32.
- 89 Annette Kuhn, 'Cinema and Femininity in the 1930s', in *Nationalising Femininity: Culture, Sexuality and British Cinema in the Second World War*, eds. Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 177–92; Andrew Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900–1939* (Buckinghamshire: Open University Press, 1992).
- 90 Jeffrey Richards states that in 1934 annual cinema admissions stood at 903 million, rising to 1,027 million in 1940. Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930–1939* (London: Routledge, 1984), 11.
- 91 'Gracie Sells Stockings', *Liverpool Post*, 1 September 1932. JLA Cuttings.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Jeffrey Richards, 'Fields, Dame Gracie (1898–1979)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 94 Andrew Higson, *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 103.
- 95 Ibid., 160.
- 96 *Liverpool Echo*, 19 September 1933.
- 97 'A Symphony of Fashion', *Liverpool Echo*, 18 October 1938, 8.
- 98 See Kathy Peiss, 'Making UP, Making Over: Cosmetics, Consumer Culture, and Women's Identity', in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, eds. Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough (London: University of California Press, 1996), 311–36. For a discussion of the mannequin parade and its relationship with modernity see Caroline Evans, 'Multiple, Movement, Model, Mode: The Mannequin Parade', in *Fashion and Modernity*, eds. Christopher Breward and Caroline Evans (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 125–45.
- 99 Asa Briggs, *Friends of the People*, 22.

- 100 'A Lifetime in Retailing,' *The Gazette*, 29 May 1971, John Lewis Press Cuttings Folder, JLA.
- 101 Katrine, 'For Profit or Pleasure, do your business in Liverpool', 3.
- 102 For an account of Selfridge's pioneering role in retail, see Woodhead, *Shopping, Seduction and Mr Selfridge*.
- 103 'Some Pre-War Reminiscences on Life at G. H. Lee's', G. H. Lee's *Chronicle*, 23 January, 1569, in John Lewis Press Cuttings Folder, JLA.
- 104 'Some Pre-War Reminiscences', 1570.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Woolton, *Memoirs*, 100.
- 107 Nicole Robertson, *The Co-operative Movement and Communities in Britain, 1914-1960: Minding Their Own Business* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Nicole Robertson, 'Collective Strength and Mutual Aid: Financial Provisions for Members of Co-operative Societies in Britain', *Business History* 54, no. 6 (2012): 925-44.
- 108 *MG*, 5 October 1926, 6.
- 109 Kendal's, *MEN*, 11 February 1938.
- 110 Deborah S. Ryan, "'All the World and Her Husband': The *Daily Mail* Ideal Home Exhibition 1908-39", in *All the World and Her Husband: Women in Twentieth-Century Consumer Culture*, eds. Maggie Andrews and Mary M. Talbot (London: Cassell, 2000), 11.
- 111 *Liverpolitan*, May 1932, inside cover.
- 112 S. Reece, *Guide to Manchester and Salford* (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1939), 52.
- 113 Charles McGovern, 'Consumption and Citizenship in the United States, 1900-1940', in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 43.
- 114 See, David Jarvis, 'British Conservatism and Class Politics in the 1920s', *The English Historical Review* 111 (1996): 59-84; Mary Hilson, 'Women Voters and the Rhetoric of Patriotism in the British General Election of 1918', *Women's History Review* 10, no. 2 (2001): 325-47.

Chapter 4

- 1 George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 1989), 81 and 82-3.
- 2 For further examples, see also Walter Greenwood, *Love on the Dole* (London: Vintage, 2004), 42 and John Sommerfield, *May Day* (London: London Books, 1936), 30.

- 3 Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 57; Katharine Milcoy, 'Image and Reality: Working-Class Teenage and Girls' Leisure in Bermondsey during the Interwar Years', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2001, 159; Brigitte Soland, *Becoming Modern: Young Women and the Reconstruction of Womanhood in the 1920s* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000); Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: Virago, 1985).
- 4 Carol Dyhouse, *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism* (London: Zed Books, 2011), 56.
- 5 Charlotte Wildman, 'Miss Moriarty, the Adventuress and the Crime Queen: The Rise of the Modern Female Criminal in Britain, 1918–1939', *Contemporary British History* 30, no. 1 (2016): 73–98; Lucy Bland, *Modern Women on Trial: Sexual Transgression in the Age of the Flapper* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
- 6 Selina Todd, 'Young Women, Work, and Leisure in Interwar England', *Historical Journal* 48, no. 3 (2005): 791 and 803.
- 7 Robert Bruce Davies, *Peacefully Working to Conquer the World: Singer Sewing Machines in Foreign Markets, 1854–1920* (New York: Arno, 1976); Joan Perkin, 'Sewing Machines: Liberation of Drudgery for Women?', *History Today* 52, no. 12 (2002): 35–41; Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860–1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Barbara Burman (ed.), *The Culture of Sewing: Gender, Consumption and Home Dressmaking* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Cheryl Buckley, 'On the Margins: Theorizing the History and Significance of Making and Designing Clothes at Home', *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998): 157–71.
- 8 Sally Alexander, 'Becoming a Woman in London in the 1920s and 1930s', in *Metropolis: London, Histories and Representations*, eds. David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge, 1989), 247.
- 9 Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 57.
- 10 Andrew Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900–1939* (Buckinghamshire: Open University Press, 1992).
- 11 Humphrey Spender, *Worktown People: Photographs from Northern England, 1937–39* (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1982), 10.
- 12 Peter Gurney emphasises the lack of cooperation the Mass Observation researchers met in Bolton and many inhabitants were distrustful of those claiming to work for Mass Observation. One pub, The Vaults, barred Humphrey Spender after the landlord called the police when Spender took photographs of the customers. Peter Gurney, '"Intersex" and "Dirty Girls": Mass-Observation and Working-Class Sexuality in England in the 1930s', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no. 3 (1997): 266.

- 13 Cited in Penny Summerfield, 'Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?', *Journal of Contemporary History* 20, no. 3 (1985), 441. See also James Hinton, *Nine Wartime Lives: Mass Observation and the Making of the Modern Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). The history of the movement is chronicled in Nick Hubble, *Mass-Observation and Everyday Life: Culture, History, Theory* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).
- 14 Angus Calder, 'Mass-Observation 1937–1949', in *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*, ed. Martin Blumer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 127.
- 15 Summerfield, 'Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?', 440.
- 16 Gurney, "'Intersex" and "Dirty Girls"', 260.
- 17 MO A: WT 30/e 81 Retail in Blackpool.
- 18 Mass Observation defined four distinct spending groups in Bolton by their income in 1937. Group A (2.1 per cent of Bolton's population) was said to have an annual income of over £500, Group B (10.6 per cent) with a weekly income of between £5 and £10, Group C (52.3 per cent) with an income of between £2 10s. and £5 a week, and Group D (35 per cent), who earned less than £2 10s. a week. MO WT A 29/a Shopping.
- 19 MOA WT 30/e 81 Retail in Blackpool.
- 20 Gurney, "'Intersex" and "Dirty Girls"', 261.
- 21 Mass Observation, *Change*, No. 1 *Bulletin of the Advertising Service Guild*, Clothes Rationing Survey, An Interim Report Prepared for The Advertising Guild (London: The Advertising Guild, 1941), 9–10.
- 22 Mass Observation, *Change*, 9.
- 23 Again, see John Sommerfield, *May Day*, George Orwell, *Road to Wigan Pier* and Walter Greenwood, *Love on the Dole*.
- 24 Mica Nava, 'Modernity's Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store', in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, eds. Mica Nava and Alan O'Shea (London: Routledge, 1996), 46. See also Bill Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 171; Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 3.
- 25 For an important and influential account of gender and the press in interwar Britain, see Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).
- 26 Penny Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing up in England, 1920–1950* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1995), 119–50.
- 27 Manchester Guardian, *Commercial Yearbook 1925* (Manchester Guardian: Manchester 1925), 177.

- 28 Manchester Civic Week Committee, *Manchester Civic Week Official Handbook* (Manchester: Civic Week Committee, 1926). 55.
- 29 *MG*, 2 October 1926, 9; *MG*, 4 October 1926, 4; *MG*, 4 October 1926, 5; *MG*, 2 October 1926, 8.
- 30 *MG*, 2 October 1926, 8.
- 31 Manchester Guardian, *Commercial Yearbook 1927* (Manchester: Manchester Guardian, 1927), 151.
- 32 Manchester Guardian, *Commercial Yearbook 1928* (Manchester: Manchester Guardian, 1928), 169.
- 33 'Lucille of Liverpool ... Her Diary', *Liverpolitan*, December 1932, 9.
- 34 For similar themes see the second instalment, 'Lucille of Liverpool ... Her Diary', *Liverpolitan*, January 1933, 7.
- 35 Pauline Rushton, *Mrs Tinne's Wardrobe: a Liverpool Lady's Clothes, 1900–1940* (Liverpool: The Bluecoat Press, 2006), 27.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 33.
- 38 'Oh Miss 1937, Please Stop Trying to Look Like a Film Star!', *Liverpolitan*, February 1937, 26.
- 39 *LPM*, 6 May 1931, LCL LSC, Cuttings: Visit of the Lord Mayor of Liverpool to the Mayor of New York City, May 1931.
- 40 'These Words Are a Woman's', *Liverpolitan*, March 1933, 14.
- 41 MO A: WT 30/e, Saturday 9 June 1939.
- 42 MO A: WT W31/h Shopping and Shop Windows, 15 February 1938.
- 43 'Civic Week Shopping', *MG*, 2 October 1926, 8.
- 44 MO A: WT 29/a Shopping.
- 45 See Alexander, 'Becoming a Woman'; Selina Todd, 'Poverty and Aspiration: Young Women's Entry to Employment in Inter-war England', *Twentieth Century British History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 119–42; David Fowler, *The First Teenagers: the Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain* (London: Woburn Press, 1995).
- 46 MO A: Shopping Box 29/a Report on Bolton Market c.1939.
- 47 Report dated 13 March 1937, MO A: WT 29/a Shopping.
- 48 MO A: Day Survey 53, 12 June 1937.
- 49 MO A: Shopping Box 29/a Report dated 13 March 1939.
- 50 MO A: Shopping Box 29/a Report dated 13 March 1939.
- 51 MO A: WT 29/a Shopping.
- 52 MO A: FP A17, 9.
- 53 MO A: WT 30/e Saturday 9 June 1939.
- 54 MO A: Day Survey 53, 12 June 1937.
- 55 MO A: Personal Directive on Personal Appearance, 1939. Correspondent 1057. Single b.1912.

- 56 MO A: WT 30/a, Shopping and Household Budgets.
- 57 'Civic Week Shopping', *MG*, Saturday 2 October 1926, 10.
- 58 Interview with Mrs Jackson, Rupert Street. MO A: Topic Collection (TC) 18, Personal Appearance and Clothes, 1/C.
- 59 MO A: TC 18 1/C, Interview with Mrs Banks, Fairlough Street.
- 60 MO A: Personal Directive on Personal Appearance. Respondent 1032, 48-year-old married housewife in Burnley.
- 61 Again see Alexander, 'Becoming a Woman' and Todd, 'Poverty and Aspiration'.
- 62 MO A: TC 18 1/C, Interview with Mrs Rogerson Grant Street, MO A: TC 18 1/C.
- 63 MO A: Personal Directive, 1057
- 64 'These Words Are a Woman's', 14.
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Chapter 5

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Chapter 6

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- 74 Ralph Harrington, '"The Mighty Hood": Navy, Empire, War at Sea and the British National Imagination, 1920–60', *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 2 (2003): 181.
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- 76 Martindale, *Liverpool Cathedral*, 3.
- 77 Commentator, £3,000,000 *Cathedral*, *Universal Talking News*, 1933. 35mm COMB B/W POS 628120.
- 78 'Legate Dedicates St. Louis Cathedral', *NYT*, 30 June 1926, 15.
- 79 Office of the Admiralty to Downey, 15 May 1933, LAA, S2, VI, B1.
- 80 The official radio broadcast (published in print form) lists the attendees and describes all the religious delegates but no military representative. Martindale, *Liverpool Cathedral*.

- 81 In March 1929, following the Roman-Vatican settlement of 1929, there was an Admiralty Fleet Order that decreed that that representatives of the Vatican 'should be regarded as representing the Pope in his capacity as head of the Roman Catholic Religion and not in his capacity as a temporal sovereign ... who are not entitled to salutes or military honours'. The Foreign Office responded by contradicting the Admiralty, asserting that Papal representatives 'should respectively receive the same honours as are accorded to Ambassadors and ministers.' A statement re-drafted the Admiralty's policy in May, which granted the Pope status as a chief of State. Admiralty Fleet Order National Archives (PRO) WO/32/3058.
- 82 The Chaplain-General called for the tradition of parades to continue because otherwise 'the Army will be divorced from religion ... it will become anti-religious of itself'. *Extracts from Minutes of the 63rd meeting of the Interdenominational Advisory Committee on Army Chaplaincy Services*, War Office 5 November 1930. PRO WO/32/4014.
- 83 For instance, no military representatives seem to have attended the consecration ceremony of Westminster Cathedral in 1910. *The Times*, 29 June 1910, 10.
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- 85 See Allen Greenberg, 'Lutyens's Cenotaph', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 1 (1989): 5–23.
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- 88 'Cathedral Marks Feast of St John', *NYT*, 28 December 1922, 16; 'St. John to have a Jubilee', *NYT*, 16 December 1923, 7; 'St. John's Service Fills Cathedral', *NYT*, 11 April 1927, 24; '3,500 Join Prayer for the Cathedral', *NYT*, 2 February 1925, 19.
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- 90 *Solemn Blessing and Laying of the Foundation Stone of Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King to be the Second Largest in the World*, 1933. 35mm COMB B/W POS Pathé 628121A.
- 91 Martindale, *Liverpool Cathedral*, 2.
- 92 *The Observer*, 4 June 1933, LCL LSC Cuttings: *Cathedral Collection*, 1929–1957.
- 93 Martindale, *Liverpool Cathedral*, 15.
- 94 *Liverpool Daily Post*, 14 September 1936, LCL LSC Cuttings: *Cathedral Collection*, 1929–1957; LAA S2 V B8.
- 95 Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, 326.
- 96 *Protestant Times*, 12 January 1935, 3 and 4.
- 97 *Protestant Times*, 20 April 1935, Front Cover.
- 98 *DD*, 5 June 1933, LCL LSC Cuttings: *Cathedral Collection*, 1929–1957.
- 99 *DD*, 6 June 1933, LCL LSC Cuttings: *Cathedral Collection*, 1929–1957.

- 100 In 1931, for example, the *New York Times* reported Downey 'was made a target for stone-throwing while laying a foundation stone in the Edgehill district yesterday. He escaped injury. The incident came as a climax to strong feeling between religious factions in Liverpool.' *NYT*, 5 September 1931, 8. See also *NYT*, 15 July 1932, 10; *NYT*, 18 July 1932, 7.
- 101 'Orangemen Mon British Church', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 July 1932, 1; 'Liverpool Cathedral Stoned by Orangemen', *Daily Boston Globe*, 15 July 1932, 15; 'Orangemen Attack English Cathedral: Sing Hymns as They Shatter Stained-Glass Windows of Liverpool Catholic Edifice', *NYT*, 15 July 1932, 10.
- 102 'Ways and Means', Archive, 1922–53, LAA S2 V A/6.
- 103 Letter from Gerald J. Hardman and Company to Father Turner, 18 April 1940, LAA S2 B5.
- 104 Bishop of Salford to Downey, 4 July 1931, LAA S2 A35.
- 105 R. Ashbroke to Father Turner, 5 November 1936, LAA S2 B10.
- 106 Archbishop of Cardiff to Downey, 20 March 1931, LAA S2 A35.
- 107 Downey (ed.), *Rebuilding the Church in England*, 4.
- 108 Downey to Mackay – Mackay, advertisers.
- 109 'Liverpool Cathedral Second to St. Peter's: Preliminary Work on the Great Edifice is Proceeding Rapidly as Funds are Available', *NYT*, 22 May 1932, 4. See also 'Liverpool's Project for Great Cathedral: England Builds New Cathedral', *NYT*, 21 September 1930, 12; 'Lutyens Will Design Liverpool Cathedral: British Catholics, With Fund Near \$1,000,000, Choose Him for Edifice in Modern Spirit', wireless to *NYT*, 31 July 1929.
- 110 *LPM*, 14 September 1936.
- 111 'Ways and Means', Archive, 1922–53, LAA S2 V A/6.
- 112 *Catholic Times*, 27 May 1922, 11.
- 113 *LCR*, January 1932, back page.
- 114 Correspondence from Imperial Agency to Downey, 29 September 1931, LAA S2 Box 5 A/34.
- 115 *LCR*, February 1933, inside page.
- 116 Report to Downey 3 July 1933, LAA S2 B13.
- 117 *LCR*, July 1933, back inside page.
- 118 *LCR*, April 1931, front inside page.
- 119 Report to Downey 3 July 1933, LAA S2 B13.
- 120 LAA S2 V B11.
- 121 *MG*, 17 December 1930, 18.
- 122 *Daily Mail*, 21 March 1935, LCL LSC Cuttings: *Cathedral Collection 1929–1957*. Again, this appears to mirror the fundraising activities for St John's in New York and many women raised vast sums of money for the cathedral.
- 123 LAA S2 V B11.
- 124 'Ways and Means', 1922–53, LAA S2 V A/6.

- 125 See, Maggie Andrews, *The Acceptable Face of Feminism: The Women's Institute as a Social Movement* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1996).
- 126 Allitt, *Catholic Converts*.
- 127 This statistic derived from the total number of recorded communions taken each year divided by the number of attendants at Mass on Easter Sunday. For example, in 1924 there were a total of 6,535,000 communions given out and divided by 258,000, the number of attendants at Mass on Easter Sunday. Taken from Canon Hughes, *A Concise Catholic History of Liverpool*, 43.
- 128 Peter Doyle, *Mitres and Missions in Lancashire: The Roman Catholic Diocese, 1850–2000* (Liverpool: The Bluecoat Press, 2005), 135.
- 129 Doyle, *Mitres and Missions in Lancashire*, 150.
- 130 <http://www.liverpoolmetrocathedral.org.uk/history/history.html> (accessed 11 August 2011).
- 131 Donors could take out life insurance on behalf of the cathedral, it cost as little as £1 12s. a year and paid the dividend on the donor's death. Cathedral Endowment Brochure, *Showing How You Can Help in a Big Way* (n.d.), LAA S2 VI A4.
- 132 According to his son, leading Catholic architect Francis Xavier Velarde (1897–1960) was asked by Downey (after a recommendation by Sir Charles Reilly) to complete Lutyens' design in 1948. Velarde apparently refused because he did not think it was appropriate considering the destruction Liverpool experienced in the Blitz, and also did not want to complete someone else's design. Giles Velarde, 'Strife of Reilly', *The Times*, 1 February 2007. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/debate/letters/article1308478.ece> (accessed 6 June 2007).
- 133 Architect's Report, 13 September 1954, LAA S2 VI C2.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Watkin, *English Architecture*, 189.
- 136 John Summerson, 'Arches of Triumph: The Design for Liverpool Cathedral', in Arts Council of Great Britain, *Lutyens*, 52.
- 137 Liverpool Archdiocese, *A Cathedral for Our Time* (Liverpool: n.p., 1967), 8.
- 138 Title of an exhibition on Liverpool Archdiocese's attempt to build a Catholic cathedral during the interwar years held at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 27 January–22 April 2007. See <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/whatsonnet/displayexhibitions.aspx?mode=future&venue=2> as (accessed 27 December 2011).

Conclusion

- 1 The problem of housing persisted throughout the 1940s and 1950s, particularly in Manchester where possibilities for creating a new town emerged as soon as the war ended. 'Housing Problem for Manchester', *MG*, 25 June 1947, 8. Manchester Council bought Hattersley, to the east of the city, in the 1960s to create an overspill

estate to deal with the continued housing problem and Liverpool Corporation undertook an unpopular programme of clearance around Scotland Road in the early 1960s, moving many people out to Skelmersdale and Widnes.

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- 3 'Manchester's Whit Week', *MG*, 9 June 1941, 3.
- 4 'Lewis's', *MG*, 16 September 1939, 5.
- 5 Asa Briggs *Friends of the People: the Centenary History of Lewis's* (London B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1956), 199.
- 6 Michael D. Kandiah, 'Marquis, Frederick James, First Earl of Woolton (1883–1964)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 7 James Greenhalgh, 'Building the Peace: Modernity, Space and the City in Britain, 1939–1957', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2013, 36–64.
- 8 'Manchester Raid Damage', *MG*, 20 January 1941, 6.
- 9 Stephen Essex and Mark Brayshay, 'Town Versus Country in the 1940s: Planning the Contested Space of a City Region in the Aftermath of the Second World War', *Town Planning Review* 76, no. 3 (2005): 44.
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- 11 Frank Mort, 'Fantasies of Metropolitan Life: Planning London in the 1940s', *Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 1 (2004): 129.
- 12 'Replanned Liverpool', *MG*, 11 December 1941, 3.
- 13 Martin Dodge and Richard Brook, 'Dreams of Helicopter Travel in the 1950s and Liverpool's Undeveloped Plans for a City Centre Heliport', *Transactions of the Royal Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 163 (2014): 111–25.
- 14 Rowland Nicholas, *City of Manchester Plan 1945* (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1945); Greenhalgh, 'Building the Peace', 92–3.
- 15 Greenhalgh, 'Building the Peace', 94.
- 16 Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939–1945* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971).
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- 22 Jon Murden, '"City of Change and Challenge": Liverpool since 1945', in *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), 394.

- 23 Frank Mort, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain: The Case of Montague Burton, the "Tailor of Taste"', *History Workshop Journal* 323, no. 3 (1994): 106–27; Janice Winship, 'New Disciplines for Women and the Rise of the Chain Store', in *All the World and Her Husband: Women in Twentieth-Century Consumer Culture*, eds. Maggie Andrews and Mary M. Talbot (London: Cassell, 2000), 23–45; Dawn Nell, Simon Phillips, Andrew Alexander and Gareth Shaw, 'Helping Yourself: Self-Service Grocery Retailing and Shoplifting in Britain, c. 1950–75', *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 3 (2011): 371–91.
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- 25 Mass Observation, *Change, No. 1 Bulletin of the Advertising Service Guild*, Clothes Rationing Survey, An Interim Report Prepared by Mass-Observation for The Advertising Guild (London, 1941).
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