

‘From a “Gin Palace” to a “King’s Palace?”
The Evolution of the Music Hall in Preston
c1840-1914’

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Abstract

This thesis adopts a chronological approach to the development of Preston's music halls between c1840 -1914. It was partly inspired by the apparent lack of similar academic work having been undertaken. Nevertheless comparable studies of other provincial towns have provided valuable models against which the Preston experience can be tested. Through documentary analysis, based particularly on the local press and music hall trade press, the principal aims are to place Preston within the historiography of the music hall genre; to evaluate the evolution and growth of the Preston Victorian and Edwardian music hall and its relationship with rival forms of entertainment and to assess the impact of reformers on the social class composition of audiences in their quest for moral and legal reform.

Research has revealed several significant findings: Preston was at the forefront of music hall development and by 1839 its first concert hall was established. The movement against music hall was strengthened because of the local influence of Joseph Livesey and his followers who advocated total abstinence and promoted counter-attractions. Nevertheless the 1860s and early 70s was a particular boom time for Preston Music Hall with the opening of several new concert halls. Preston broadly follows the national pattern of growth but with a notable exception: there was no major variety theatre or properly constructed pub music hall in the town between 1889-1905.

The years between 1905 and 1914 represents a second period of music-hall resurgence with three established variety theatres filling the void in music hall provision. However, a suggestion of a surplus of seats for music hall coincides with the opening of Broadhead's vast King's Palace Theatre in 1913 and rival cinema entertainment. Part of the Broadhead syndicate's management philosophy was that in case of poor box office returns their music halls could be re-designed for use as factories. Neither Preston theatre found this adaptation necessary and both survived to present the genre of inclusive music hall entertainment until the 1950s.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late parents, Joan and Norman Hindle, who took me along to music hall and pantomime performances at the Royal Hippodrome and King's Palace theatres and to most of the town's cinemas.

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I would particularly like to acknowledge the encouragement and professional expertise afforded to me in the preparation of this work by Professors Dave Russell and John Walton of the University of Central Lancashire. Research and compilation has been an enjoyable and stimulating experience and special thanks are also due to the staff of the University of Central Lancashire Library, Lancashire Record Office, Preston Reference Library, Lancashire Evening Post and all those who gave me guidance and assisted with research.

It has been a privilege to share experiences with local historians and a host of helpful and interesting people. I extend my sincere thanks to those who have recalled popular entertainment in Preston.

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Introduction

With certain exceptions the coverage of Edwardian music hall outside London is relatively understudied, and the growth and decline of Preston's Victorian and Edwardian music hall industry has not been the subject of previous academic research. This case study will aim to discover the origins and development of Preston music hall within the period c1840 – 1914 and to offer comparisons with existing studies. It will also analyse to what extent Preston might be considered to be a microcosm of a national pattern and discuss how far Preston had its own unique characteristics.

Accounts of music hall were originally the province of literary and theatre historians and many of the early histories of music hall are little more than personal accounts contained in journals. They are: 'Mostly anecdotal and confined to dealing with those aspects of the music-hall scene which were important for the authors at the time.'¹ It was not until the latter part of the twentieth century that social and academic historians began to take close interest in music hall.

According to Russell, 'we look in vain for the very first hall.'² A particularly early example of the music hall genre in London is the 'Regency Theatre of Varieties' of 1829.'³ In Lancashire, Thomas Sharples, opened one of the country's first established music halls in 1832 and called it the Bolton Star Music Hall while in Preston the established Concert Room was in existence by 1839.

Russell's definition of music hall is adopted in this thesis as it covers three key aspects in the consideration of music hall in Preston. He defines the term 'music hall' as being used in at least three separate ways: 'To describe a certain performance style, an entire section of the entertainment industry or an individual building...It was essentially from the singing saloons that music hall emerged...For this reason no accurate count of halls can be made,' a problem which is applicable to Preston.

¹ Kift, D. *The Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.3

² Russell, D. *Popular Music in England*, (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 73

³ Scott, H. *The Early Doors* (London, 1946) p. 52

‘Singing saloons and prototype music halls also went under the names concert room, concert hall and by the 1860s the term music hall appears to have won the day.’ He considers that the growth of music hall is ‘one of the most striking features of nineteenth-century history.’⁴

Vicinus sees music hall progressing from a class based to a mass entertainment, a development that can be seen in terms of a complete professionalisation of performance and the provision of entertainment for the masses rather than an expression of working-class culture itself.⁵ Stedman-Jones⁶ regards music hall as being largely confined to the working class while Russell’s view is that ‘In class terms, the backbone of the audience was probably always the upper working class and the lower middle class.’⁷ The changes in the class composition of audiences in relation to the Victorian music hall in Preston are discussed broadly to compare findings. In Preston, from its early beginnings music hall came under pressure not only because of its working-class origins, but also because of its close links with the drinks trade, both of which were factors in its presumed lack of respectability, if not outright immorality. In relation to this issue, Bailey examines the transformation of popular leisure from 1830 to 1885 and the middle class schemes for respectability and rational recreation, which attempted to reform the leisure habits of the working classes.⁸

Bratton debates the culture of music hall itself by focussing upon class, gender and the songs and sketches that made up the music hall repertoire.⁹ This study will examine how performance styles broadened the appeal of music hall until it became a mass entertainment in the Edwardian era but it will not make a social and political analysis of the repertoire.

In the introduction to *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, Bailey reviews several different approaches to music hall history. He considers ‘music hall’s equivalent of the Whig or Liberal interpretation of history’, in which proprietors are depicted as benevolent providers of respectable entertainment and the ‘idealist interpretation’ in

⁴ Russell, D. *Popular Music in England*, (Manchester University Press, 1987) pp 72-80

⁵ Vicinus, M. *The Industrial Muse* (London, 1974) p. 239

⁶ Stedman Jones, G. ‘Working-Class Culture in London 1870-1900’ *Journal Social History* 7, 1977 pp. 460-508

⁷ Russell, D. *Popular Music in England*, (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 80

⁸ Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978)

⁹ Bratton, *Music Hall Performance and Style* (Open University Press, 1986)

which, retrospectively, music hall is seen as either part of a 'Good Old Days' world or as a romanticised expression of authentic working-class culture. Bailey shows how social historians have become interested in the halls viewing them as part of working-class culture but within a capitalist society, so that its development from pothouse to palace is represented as 'a product of conflict rather than consensus.'¹⁰ Opposition to the pub music hall, particularly from temperance campaigners was important in shaping Preston's Victorian and Edwardian variety theatres.

Earl's national study of the architectural development of music hall describes seven evolutionary phases from the earliest form to the Edwardian variety theatre.¹¹ The extent to which Preston can be seen as a microcosm of Earl's hypothesis will be tested by seeing how well the features of examples of buildings used for music hall in Preston approximate his findings.

Kift's work marks an important stage in the writing of music hall history. She notes that up to her study the 'focus of interest has been almost exclusively on the London halls.' She explores the conflict between music hall and such controlling forces as local and central government as well as the competition with legitimate theatre. Kift considers which classes of people composed audiences at different times during the evolution of music hall. In her discussion of class conflict she examines how temperance is an example of an issue that crossed class boundaries and cannot be seen simply as the middle-class trying to impose sobriety on the working-class. Her interest also extends to the degree of success of social reformers and to how far working-class people were able to espouse for themselves respectable values like family life and self-improvement.¹²

Kift's work is also based on case studies of Bolton, Leeds, Glasgow, Liverpool, Sheffield and Manchester. It will be important to see how Preston fits into the mainstream development of music hall and where it both follows and diverges from the national and regional pattern. One particular important local study is Poole's work on Bolton, which examines music hall as part of a growing leisure industry. As

¹⁰ Bailey, P *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure* (Open University Press, 1986) pp xiii -xv

¹¹ Earl, J. 'Building the Halls,' in Bailey, *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure* (Open University Press, 1986) p. 1

¹² Kift, D. *The Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.3

well as discussing the influence of respectability, he considers how, as music hall developed and as economic circumstances improved, it began to attract a wider audience, including 'relatively well off shopkeepers and assistants, skilled workers and clerks'. He finds music hall in conflict with local magistrates and in competition with legitimate theatre. An additional significant aspect of his work is the link he explores between circus and music hall.¹³ Poole's combination of such themes as circus and music hall, class, competition and the significance of legislation in the growth of music hall during the nineteenth century enables parallels to be drawn with Preston.

Like Bolton, Preston had music hall and legitimate theatre in direct competition for audiences. In this respect, Reid's findings on the legitimate theatre in Birmingham is helpful as a guide in the discussion of audiences and competition between the genre of theatre and music hall. The legitimate theatre offering Shakespeare and melodrama as well as music hall was popular with the working classes in both towns and the pit and gallery segregated audiences,¹⁴ although it would be probably be an overconfident assumption to conclude that higher priced tickets always attracted the upper classes.

Crump's study is a local case history of music hall in Leicester, in which he looks at the social and economic factors influencing development and makes comparisons with the national pattern of growth.¹⁵ Crump's examination of the impact of the national trend of rational recreation on popular culture in Leicester provides an example for an assessment of the influence of the same trend in Preston as part of a consideration of patterns and types of opposition to music hall. A further local study is Waters' history of the Palace of Varieties in Manchester in which he looks at the complex area of music hall licensing and the effective strength of antagonism from reformists to the licensing of the Manchester Palace.¹⁶ Conflict resulting from the efforts of social reformers to deflect audiences away from music hall through the promotion of temperance and respectability is presented to strengthen the argument of

¹³ Poole, R. *Leisure and Music Hall in Nineteenth Century Bolton* (Lancaster, 1982)

¹⁴ Reid, D. 'Popular Theatre in Victorian Birmingham,' in *Performance and Politics in Popular Drama* ed. Bradby, D. (Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp 65-85

¹⁵ Crump, J. 'Provincial Music Hall in Leicester,' in Bailey, P. *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, (Open University Press, 1986) p. 53

¹⁶ Waters, C. 'The Battle over the Palace of Varieties,' in Bailey, P. *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, (Open University Press, 1986) p. 141

how music hall was shaped in Preston. However, opposition to the licensing of the Preston King's Palace was on the grounds of over provision and the economic viability of Edwardian theatre and one hypothesis for discussion will be that Preston's theatre industry was overburdened at the time of its opening in 1913.

Crowhurst discusses the widespread adoption of limited liability status from the mid-1880s for financing the music hall industry and states that the historian's knowledge of music hall finance is rather fragmentary.¹⁷ The lack of documentary evidence of the economics of music hall suggested by Crowhurst, applies equally to Preston where information about the number of seats occupied is scant. The town's last two music halls did not enjoy limited liability status and since their closure over fifty years ago, documented accounts have been lost or destroyed so analysis of their profit and loss cannot be ascertained.

Russell in an essay on the Edwardian era advocates the view that the variety theatre was not a lesser form of true music hall, but 'a significant entertainment form in its own right' with a distinctive 'cultural role and meaning'.¹⁸ Russell's view of the distinctive nature of Edwardian theatre, is adopted here as part of the consideration of music hall in Preston in its later form. Mellor's account of the history of regional music hall has been used in the examination of the influence of the syndicates,¹⁹ as, despite its academic limitations including a lack of footnotes, it is one of the few twentieth-century studies.

The extensive coverage of Victorian and Edwardian music hall given in this dissertation to some extent differentiates it from similar case studies. According to Walvin: 'Socio-historical issues show that twentieth century culture is fruitful for academic research.'²⁰ His suggestion is adopted in this study, as it aims to be a comprehensive account of the culture of the music hall industry during the neglected period of the twentieth century.

¹⁷ Crowhurst, A. 'Capital investment in the British Entertainment Industry,' in *Leisure Studies*, 20, 2001 p. 107

¹⁸ Russell, D. 'Varieties of Life: the making of the Edwardian Music Hall' in M. Booth and J. Kaplan, *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 61

¹⁹ Mellor, G. *The Northern Music Hall*, (Frank Graham, 1970)

²⁰ Walvin J. *Leisure and Society, 1830-1850*, (Longman, 1978)

Sources

Research for this study has utilised a wide range of primary sources. *The Preston Chronicle* (1812) *Preston Pilot* (1825) *Preston Guardian* (1844- founded by temperance advocate, Joseph Livesey,) and the *Lancashire Daily Post* have all been scrutinised for material. Reports in the Whig *The Preston Chronicle* and the *Preston Guardian* were usually prejudiced against music hall because of its association with the drink trade whilst the Tory *Preston Pilot* newspaper, with a vested interest in the trade, was generally supportive. National periodicals devoted to the halls and utilised here, include *The Era*, published between 1838 and 1939, *The Era Almanac and Annual*, published between 1868 and 1919, *The Stage*, first published in 1881 and *The Performer*, first published in 1906.

Unfortunately Brewster Sessions records are only reported sporadically in newspapers.²¹ There is also a paucity of biographical and financial information about Preston's proprietors and managers, especially throughout the Victorian era and, where appropriate, other sources including Census Enumerator's Reports have been utilised. However, a direct descendant of the entrepreneurial Broadhead family, the late Major A. Burt-Briggs of Lytham, has provided invaluable information on the syndicate contribution of W.H. Broadhead and Sons to Preston, during the Edwardian era.

Structure

Chapter One looks at the origins of music hall and how elements of circus and other popular entertainments were integrated into the performance. The legal distinction between legitimate theatre and music hall will be examined to consider the effect of competition between the two genres. Evolutionary phases will be considered by comparing Preston with the Earl model to see how closely it matches his pattern for music hall development more generally.

Chapter Two considers the effects of temperance attacks on the music hall industry.

²¹ Comprehensive records thereof are extant from 1912 in the Lancashire Record Office.

Consideration will also be given to the ways in which proprietors attempted to mitigate these attacks and how rational recreation was adopted by social reformers as an alternative to music hall. Finally the chapter will give examples of the temperance influence and increased control through licensing laws and building regulations in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Three examines the rise of the Edwardian variety theatre by considering the syndicate contribution in Preston. Changing styles of entertainment that influenced the decline of the music hall around the time of the Great War will be discussed. The emergence of cinema as an alternative genre will be shown to be a principal rival to music hall.

Preston during the Victorian and Edwardian Era

Before turning to the main task, it is necessary to give a concise social and economic background to the growth of music hall in Preston. The growth of the textile industry and the consequent growth in population throughout the nineteenth century will be considered. The relation between music hall and working hours, wage levels, housing and poverty will also be examined.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Preston was already established as Lancashire's administrative and judicial centre and maintained a professional and clerical sector in employment. It was an important market town at the centre of rich agricultural plains and developed as a distributive centre. The development of the railway network from 1838 had a part to play in the growth of the music hall and circus industry and coincides with the emergence of pub entertainment in singing saloons. The likelihood is that performers utilised the national railway network to tour the provinces throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

At the time of the 1851 census a small professional and clerical sector earned the highest wages. About half the population were engaged in artisan occupations and skilled workers could earn over 20/- per week, during good times but many were less regularly employed. For those women who did not work in factories, the largest single occupation was domestic service. There were tradesmen and shopkeepers of all kinds including the proprietors of beer houses and public houses scattered around the town. Perhaps the poorest of all were the charwomen and itinerant salesmen, many of whom were almost totally destitute.²² By mid-century factory work was the basis of Preston's prosperity, with around 25,000 people employed by sixty-four textile firms during 1850. Advances in technology transformed textile production from a domestic industry to a factory process and 'Preston held a leading position in spinning as well as weaving.'²³ The textile industry thus helped create a new urban industrialised working class and a six-fold increase in the population of Preston during the first half of the nineteenth century.

²² Anderson, M. *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) p. 24

²³ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History 1558 - 1939* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 199

Preston population 1801- 1911

1801... ..	11,887
1831	33,112
1841	50,131
1851... ..	69,542
1861... ..	82,085
1871.... ..	85,427
1881... ..	91,500
1891.....	107,573
1901.... ..	112,989
1911	117,088

Anderson's analysis of the Preston Census for 1851, provides further evidence of the dominance of the textile industry. He shows that among adults over 20 years old 32 per cent of men and 28 per cent of women were engaged in cotton manufacture, along with a high percentage of children. Among women it was the younger wives and those with few or no children who were in employment²⁴ In Lancashire during 1851, 'Cotton accounted for nearly 40 per cent of girls aged between 15 and 19 and about 25 per cent of boys of that age.'²⁵

Factory operatives worked up to fourteen hours a day in the early Victorian period. Legislation in 1847 and 1850 saw a reduction to a ten-and-a-half-hour day and the implementation of half-day working on Saturday. According to Anderson, weekly wages in the cotton industry were high relative to wages in other occupations: young men and women under 18 years could earn between 5/- and 13/- per week. Adult women earned 9/- to 16/- per week and depending on their work description men earned between 10/- to over 20/- per week Further analysis of the Preston Census for 1851, shows that while wages may have been relatively high there was not much money to spare: 'over 60% of the families of the wives who worked in factories

²⁴ Anderson, M. *Family Structure* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) pp 25-72

²⁵ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) pp. 111, 177

would have been in difficulties had they not done so.’²⁶ Thus the commercialisation of leisure depended upon the amount and proportion of working-class incomes that could be spared for entertainment. This included young cotton operatives as there was no legal control over pubs and music hall governing their admittance until the introduction of the Licensing Act, 1872. Poole referring to Bolton says, ‘There were no effective controls over drinking by children and young people, and those who worked in factories had enough money and independence to drink like their adult workmates.’²⁷

The overall prosperity of workers was affected by periodic strikes and depressions affecting the textile industry in Preston. The level of industrial strife is exemplified by the cotton strike of 1836 and the Chartist riots of August, 1842, when the military shot dead four cotton operatives in Lune Street. During the Great Lockout of 1853-54 Charles Dickens visited Preston and gained some inspiration for his depiction of Coketown in *Hard Times*. The 1853 strike and lock out lasted for nearly a year as the cotton workers tried to make up wage cuts in the 1840s.

The Victorian historian, Hewitson, supports the view that Preston had an exceptional level of industrial unrest: ‘Numerous conflicts, some very serious, and all of them tending to weaken the bonds of mutual goodwill between the employers and the employed, have taken place in the cotton trade of Preston. At one time Preston was deemed the chief battlefield of Lancashire, so far as cotton trade difficulties of any moment were concerned.’²⁸

Anderson states that between the depressions and strikes in Preston, ‘the intervening years were mainly periods of high wages and high employment.’²⁹ The link between wage levels and the development of the pub industry is referred to by the Reverend John Clay the Chaplain of Preston Prison, in 1852 when he attributed drunkenness to improved employment and increased wages.³⁰

²⁶ Anderson M. *Family Structure* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) pp 23- 26

²⁷ Poole, R. *Popular Leisure and the Music Hall* (Lancaster University, 1982) p. 39

²⁸ Hewitson, A. *History of Preston*, (Preston, 1883) p. 174

²⁹ Anderson M. *Family Structure* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) p. 29, 23

³⁰ Clay, J. *Select committee on public houses*, Parliamentary Papers, 1852 Q. 6260

Men who left the cotton industry and went into labouring and trading occupations earned far less than they had in cotton. 'Many men who in-migrated into Preston were unable to obtain well paid employment in the factories... One important result of this was that many families lived in primary poverty.'³¹ Also, the population of Preston more than doubled between 1831 and 1851 and with this rapid growth had come the predictable sanitary and housing problems. By 1851, when the population had reached 69,542, the total number of houses was 11,543 and each house had an average of 5.9 occupants. 'Two bedrooms were the norm and inside conditions were very cramped, frequently damp with poor hygiene standards, lighting and sanitation. This was at a time when Preston was without piped water, drains or sewers. Cholera and typhus were rampant and infant mortality was very high among working-class families.'³²

The Lancashire 'Cotton Famine,' (1861- 1864) brought mass unemployment and poverty to Preston and extensive areas of Lancashire at the time of the American Civil War.³³ A commercial crisis on this scale had profound economic and social implications for Preston, particularly as many of the working class were, in effect, reduced to pauperism. It is estimated that 49,000 people were receiving outside relief and that the number of people unemployed peaked at 14,500 during April 1863.³⁴ Edwin Waugh comments on the level of poverty: 'I hear on all hands that there is hardly any town in Lancashire suffering so much as Preston...Destitution may be found almost anywhere there just now.'³⁵

Walton argues that in Lancashire 'Substantial increases in cotton workers' wages are not in evidence until after the Cotton Famine. The mid Victorian period sees little gains in real wages, punctuated by severe economic crises and accompanied by persisting low standards of health and hygiene'.³⁶ However, the increasing demand for music hall entertainment, particularly during the period 1864-1875 may be linked

³¹ Anderson M. *Family Structure* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) pp. 25-29

³² Morgan, N. *Vanished Dwellings* (Mullion Books, 1990) pp. 27- 0

³³ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 201.

There is debate over the extent to which the depression was caused by the North's blockade of southern shipping or whether the war masked an impending cyclical trade depression. Tutorial with Professors Walton and Russell, University of Central Lancashire, on 13th July, 2006. American Civil War fought between 1861-1865

³⁴ Hunt, D. *Preston – Local History Guide* (Warncliffe Books, 2005) p.80

³⁵ Waugh, E. *Home Life of the Lancashire Factory Folk 1867* pp. 24-25

³⁶ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 244, 284

to slight but significant changes in workers' earnings and increased leisure time. Indeed the social and economic conditions endured do not appear to have adversely affected the growth of public houses and the associated commercial music hall industry. At the very moment the economy began to recover from the effects of the Cotton Famine some landlords adapted public houses and beer houses so as to provide for live public entertainment. The opening of the George Music Hall in November, 1864, when 'hundreds were refused admission to prevent suffocation,' shows how successfully they had timed their strategy.³⁷ The opening of purpose built concert halls, as distinct from singing saloons, is consistent with the pace of the industry and national music hall development. In Preston this is also demonstrated with the 'Guild Music Hall,' which opened in October, 1866: 'The new Guild Concert Hall was opened on Monday. Long before the performance commenced the room was full to repletion.'³⁸

Thus the late 1860s was a boom time for the Preston Victorian Music Hall and the associated drink's industry.³⁹ Upon payment of the inclusive refreshment token costing around 2d., music hall patrons could come and go as they pleased to watch a structured programme of music hall acts. Music hall had a strong and widespread appeal in attracting those who perhaps wished to be distracted from the hardships of urban living during Preston's Industrial Revolution, not only by inexpensive beer and gin but also by the conviviality of the music hall. However, 'public houses constituted the chief nineteenth century leisure venue for many other reasons than seeking solace for a desperate or humdrum existence.'⁴⁰ Kift takes into consideration both the residential pattern and admission prices in relation to audience composition.⁴¹ Preston was very compact in area, mainly because of housing density concentrated in the south-east and north-west areas of the town close to where the earliest spinning mills had been built.⁴²

Widespread improvement of the Lancashire economy comes during the long fall in

³⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 10th December, 1864.

³⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, 16th December, 1867

³⁹ See also Chapter One, page 21

⁴⁰ Reid D. 'Playing and Praying,' ed. Daunton *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2,000) p. 767

⁴¹ Kift D. 'The Composition of Music Hall Audience 1850 - 1900,' in Bailey P. *Music Hall* (Open University Press, 1986) p. 73.

⁴² Appendix 1 illustrates that music halls were well within walking distance of principal working class housing

basic commodity prices which followed the money wages boom of the early 1870s...These years saw significant improvements in housing and municipal amenities and a falling incidence of disease and premature death' 'Death and disease rates in the cotton districts did begin to show a marked decline from the 1870s onwards.⁴³ During 1877 the Chief Constable of Preston reflected on the level of increased prosperity of textile workers: 'They earn pretty fair wages and as a rule they spend pretty freely. A man receives his wages on a Friday and generally he will spend a portion of those in drink before he gets home.'⁴⁴

In Preston, extensive improvements and slum clearance programmes were introduced with the Bye Laws of 1876 and the Preston Improvement Act, 1880. Morgan confirms: 'Preston's housing was revolutionised with this legislation with most new housing good enough to survive until the present day.'⁴⁵ This progress continued and says Walton, 'Even Preston was making headway by the turn of the century.'⁴⁶

The opening of the Gaiety Music Hall in 1882 is part of the process of urban enrichment taking place in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Preston's commerce, business, and industrial fabric underwent considerable expansion. Hewitson⁴⁷ refers to the very real advances made by the time of the Preston Guild (1882) in the social and physical fabric of the town. Workers generally had considerably more regular leisure, than fifty years earlier but had to wait until the turn of the century for the concession of a full-scale Wakes Week.⁴⁸

Preston was at the hub of the road and rail network and was also the administrative centre of Lancashire County Council. Preston Docks was opened for commercial trading during 1892 providing about 500 jobs by 1911 and helping to consolidate Preston's key position in the transport sector.⁴⁹ New industries were founded when W. Dick and J. Kerr established an engineering works in 1897 to meet the growing demand for tramcars and railway locomotives. This became one of the town's major

⁴³ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) pp. 284, 312

⁴⁴ Oglethorpe, J. *Select Committee on Intemperance*, Parliamentary Papers, 1877, Q 4124

⁴⁵ Morgan, N. *Deadly Dwellings* (Mullion Books, 1993) p. 59

⁴⁶ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 313

⁴⁷ Hewitson, A. *History of Preston*, (Preston, 1883) p.187

⁴⁸ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 284

⁴⁹ Savage, M. *Dynamics of Working-Class Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 95

twentieth century employers employing over 10% of the male workers of the town, as against 23% in all branches of cotton.⁵⁰ At the same time, the textile industry remained important for the town's economy and was employing 30,000 people in 1911. The economic conditions prevailing in the first decade of the twentieth century were to provide a fertile ground for the establishment of the first Edwardian music hall.

⁵⁰ Pelling H. *Social Geography of British Elections* (McMillan, 1967) pp 261-262.

Chapter One

The Evolution of the Victorian Music Hall 1839-1882

This chapter will commence with an examination of the forms of entertainment that preceded the music hall industry and look at how the Theatres Act, 1843, influenced its foundations and audiences. The evolution of the Victorian music hall building in Preston will then be examined before consideration is given to the challenges presented by the legitimate theatre.

The Origins of the Music Hall Performance in Preston

The diverse origins of Preston music halls around 1840 incorporated elements from a plethora of earlier forms of entertainment. In particular music hall integrated entertainment derived from the travelling circus and fairs, which appeared in Preston offering side-shows, novelties, roundabouts and street ballad singers

Table One - Travelling Circuses and Menageries Visiting Preston 1824 –1840

Venue and date	Entertainment Style	Admission Price	Typical elements of performance
Preston Market March, 1824	Atkin's Menagerie and travelling fair	'Admittance ladies and gentlemen 1s, servants, children 6d. feeding time half past nine , 2s'	'Performing male lion and the beautiful Bengal tigress in the same cage.'
Chadwick's Orchard' May 1834 (Preston Market)	Circus & travelling fair	Not advertised .	Closing with the 'Siege of Janina' A pantomime.
Grimshaw Street, Deceember, 1834	Ryan's Equestrian Temple Travelling Circus	Admission charges front boxes 2/6d , second boxes 1/6d, pit 1/-, gallery 6d.	Very expensive for working classes but advertising directed at the 'nobility and gentry .'
Preston Guild, 1842	Pablo Fanque's Travelling Circus	Front boxes, 2/-, side boxes 1/-, pit 6d., gallery 3d.	Featuring the fairy ponies, Albert and Nelson and 'first female equestrians in the world'

Circus was originally an invention of Philip Astley in the late 1760s. The number of circuses and menageries visiting Preston during the first half of the 19th Century began to make an impact on audiences. The overall admission prices ranging from 3d to 2/6d (Table 1) reflect their popularity and demonstrate that audiences were probably drawn from across the social classes. Higher prices directed towards the nobility of 2/6d at Ryan's Circus would have been unaffordable for the working classes, who would probably have occupied gallery seats for 3d at Pablo Fanque's Circus. Pantomime which integrated song and dance comic sketches came to the Preston stage in 1834 and is here shown as an incidental innovation in the travelling circus at Chadwick's Court. By the 1870s several circuses had very large companies,¹ and we shall in Chapter 3 that several of these circuses visited Preston.

Preston's Theatre Royal, opened to celebrate Preston Guild in 1802, with its own stock company, had an important role to play in music hall development. Kift states: 'Around the middle of the nineteenth century the term music hall did not mean a venue for variety entertainment but a general purpose hall.'² Before the opening of the Town Hall in 1861 and the Public Hall in 1882, the Theatre Royal fulfilled the role of both theatre and multi-purpose hall. As well as meetings there were renowned orchestral concerts featuring both Pagannini (1833) and Lizst.³(1840) Prior to 1843, performances at the Theatre Royal, usually commenced at 7p.m. and were divided into three parts, presenting quasi-dramatic productions, musical interludes, farce, singing, circus and comic routines. Whittle's comment in 1821 that 'dramatic productions never flourished to any great extent in Preston,'⁴ has some relevance to the pre-music hall era but there were certainly moments of light relief.

In 1829, a performance at the Theatre Royal presented a comic inspired circus interval between two plays, featuring two men, Jocko and Jacko, masquerading as monkeys around the gallery and upper boxes, before carrying out a daring circus escapade from gallery to stage.⁵ The theatre was phasing comedy and circus entertainment as a

¹ *The Era*, 9th June, 1870

² Kift, D. *The Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 20

³ *Preston Chronicle*, 5th December, 1840

⁴ Whittle, P. *History of Preston* (Preston, 1821) pp 93-96

⁵ Hindle, D. *Twice Nightly* (Carnegie Publishing, 1999) p. 35

comic interval into the dramatic performance. This is an example of the kind of act that was later incorporated into music-hall programmes and perhaps illustrates how an audience was being drawn towards the culture of music hall, albeit, in this instance, in the established theatre. Kift illustrates how men dressed as animals similarly appeared at the Bolton Star Music Hall.⁶ On the 14th September, 1861 the famous type-rope walker, 'Blondin' starred at the Theatre Royal⁷ illustrating the ongoing popularity of circus performers throughout the 19th century with all social groups.

There is evidence of deliberate discrimination by Watkin Burroughs, a former London theatre manager, who took over the Theatre Royal in 1833 and attempted to justify his position in raising admission prices on grounds of class: 'To put the theatre in a proper state to receive the first classes of society, the manager submits the following prices to the public - boxes 2/6d, pit 1s/6d, gallery 6d.'⁸ These prices illustrate how working-class audiences were segregated by being confined to the cheapest seats; indeed, in 1833 the purchase of even a gallery seat at sixpence would have been unaffordable for many textile workers. Thus class prejudice in the theatre may have assisted the growth of provincial music hall. Reid mentions how elsewhere in the provinces 'The often rowdy and unrestrained behaviour of both gallery 'gods' and 'young bloods' in the boxes was thoroughly distasteful to respectables'⁹

While theatre itself was limiting the working-class element in its Preston audience, the legislative process generally separated music hall as a separate form of entertainment.

The Theatres Act of 1843

This section will consider the legal distinction between legitimate theatre and music hall and examine how the Theatres Act, 1843, introduced theatre regulation throughout the country for a growing entertainment industry.

⁶ Kift, D. *Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 53

⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 14th September, 1861

⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, 16th February, 1833

⁹ Reid, D. 'Playing and Praying,' ed. Daunton, M. *Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2,000) p. 779

The Theatres Act, 1843, presented proprietors of theatres and small music saloons with a legal dilemma. Bailey states: 'The differentiation of specific territories had been assisted by the Theatres Act, 1843 which distinguished between the legitimate drama house and other premises which were denied the privilege of staging the drama but allowed the running sale and consumption of drink and tobacco in the auditorium.'¹⁰ Proprietors could apply for a Lord Chamberlain's Licence, which authorised plays, or operate with a Liquor Licence issued by magistrates for the sale of drink and the provision of live entertainment.¹¹ The Theatres Act removed the traditional, or legitimate, theatre's monopoly so anyone could apply for a licence and present anything except drama in licensed premises. Under the new act 'stage play,' was defined in broad terms to include tragedy, comedy, farce, opera, burletta, interlude, melodrama, pantomime, or other entertainment. Thus a distinction was drawn between stage plays presented at the Theatre Royal and pub entertainment.

Breaches of the Act were rare in Preston, as it was not until the 1870s, with the introduction of sketches into music hall that there were grounds for complaint by legitimate theatre managers. The manager of the Theatre Royal identified rival illegal theatrical activity when he saw a contravention of the law at the George Concert Hall during September, 1876, when the landlord was fined 10/- and costs for allowing stage plays to be performed without a theatrical licence. In fact, it was a comic routine sketch with dialogue between two artists and lasting only a few minutes.¹² The reaction of the Theatre Royal's manager indicates a keen sense of rivalry with music hall and a protection of repertoire in what was a competitive commercial environment.

Generic music hall was presented, partially in response to the growing competition from the singing saloons, at the Theatre Royal for three consecutive short seasons between 1866-68. However, one stipulation of the Theatre Act, 1843, was the preclusion of drinking and smoking in the auditorium of a legitimate theatre, but this too appears to have been rarely contravened. An example is Edward Gibbons who, in 1868, was charged with being drunk and smoking in the theatre. 'He was locked

¹⁰ Bailey, P. *Music Hall the Business of Pleasure* (Open University Press, 1986) p. ix

¹¹ Provincial music, dancing and entertainment in taverns was first augmented by the liberally interpreted Disorderly Houses Act, 1751, regulating places of public entertainment. The requirement for a separate licence for music, singing and dancing was not necessary in Preston until the introduction of the Preston Improvement Act, 1880.

¹² *Preston Chronicle*, 2nd September, 1876

away because of the many complaints', according to Edward Tannent, the Stage Manager, who 'cautioned all persons against smoking as the respectable portion of the audience had been obliged to leave the audience the previous evening. At the subsequent court appearance, the mayor, acting as magistrate, wished it to be understood that smoking was against the regulations and fined him one shilling or seven days in jail.'¹³ The above are two examples of the 1843 Act being applied in Preston but what do they imply about the development of music hall?

The Gibbons case not only illustrates the working of the Theatres Act, but also shows how music hall was initially perceived as lacking the respectability of middle-class entertainment. The Act can thus be said to have helped to formalise music hall as, primarily, a working-class form of entertainment where workers found some escape from their hard lives in the factories in an atmosphere of enhanced conviviality. This second example of the 1843 Act being applied in Preston illustrates the attraction of music hall for a significant number of customers, like Gibbons, who were able to smoke, drink, enjoy the entertainment and savour the working-class, bawdy atmosphere of the pub music hall without finding themselves on the wrong side of the law. For many, a lively and varied evening would have been preferable to an uncomfortable seat in the gallery at the legitimate theatre at a cost of around 3d.

The 1843 Act thus demarcates music hall as a genre and formalises its economic link with alcohol. Theatre proprietors could not fund their performances through alcohol served in the auditorium and had to rely on seat prices alone. From its inception in Preston, as elsewhere, music hall grew from and appealed to a working-class culture where workers formulated their own distinct form of entertainment in the pubs in contrast to the programmes on offer at the purpose-built theatre. In the music hall the working-class audience was central rather than peripheral. However, we shall see that during the second half of the nineteenth century the contest between theatre and music hall was not as one-sided as may first appear due to the increasing appeal of pantomime, seasonal music hall, revue, melodrama, and Shakespeare to all classes of society.

¹³ *Preston Guardian*, 19th February, 1868.

The Drinks Industry and Music Hall

The extent to which Preston's public houses fostered music hall and working-class culture is crucial to this study for early forms of music hall began in 'cheap dancing and singing saloons that featured in working-class leisure in the cotton towns.'¹⁴ At the time of the Theatres Act, 1843, the market for commercial entertainment was already being exploited by publicans in pubs and beer-houses with a gradual adoption of music hall acts derived from diverse sources. Liberal alcohol consumption was a driving economic force behind the growing popularity of live entertainment with capital investment made by some landlords in adapting public houses and beer houses to accommodate live entertainment.

Entertainment in pubs and beer houses where the 'free and easy', style of entertainment was staged is evident in Preston from at least 1834.¹⁵ This was partially as a result of the Beer Shop Act, 1830, which brought about 190 beer houses to Preston between 1830 and 1834. Tavern entertainment in the mid 1830s gradually evolved into the first singing saloons of the 1840/50s to the more elaborate and commercialised George music hall of 1864.

In 1852 there were said to be 'public houses in every part of Preston and its vicinity and nearly in every nook and corner.'¹⁶ This is not just an indication of the number of places serving alcohol, some of which were embryonic music halls, but shows that workers had money they were ready to spend in the pubs and on entertainment. During 1868 Livesey complained about the continuing renewal of pub licences. 'Out of a dozen fresh applications, nine or more will probably be refused without much hesitation; but of two hundred renewals it would be something uncommon if three of them were finally withheld.'¹⁷

A link between concert hall and public house expansion can be seen in tables 2 and 3 indicating a prospering trade in the post cotton famine years from 1864. The inclusive seating capacity in seven of Preston's concert halls plus seasonal music hall

¹⁴ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 299

¹⁵ Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) p. 47

¹⁶ *Memorial Primitive Methodist School, Preston, 1852* L.R.O. M.S.S. DPR 138/62

¹⁷ Livesey, J. *Staunch teetotaler*, No 20, August, 1868, p.305

productions at the Theatre Royal, gives an estimated capacity of between 7,000-8,000 seats for music hall during the late 1860s and early 1870s. This served a steadily rising population that had increased by 3.5% to 85,427 by the time of the 1871 Census. According to Bailey 'After the take off in the 1850s music hall enjoyed its first great boom in the 1860s and early 1870s.'¹⁸ Thus Preston broadly corresponds with the national expansion of the music hall industry during the same period.

Table 2 - Preston's Public House Concert Halls of the Victorian era¹⁹

Albion Hotel, Church Street	1839 - 1856
Wagon and Horses, Tithebarn Street	c1859 - c1868
Crown Music Hall, Church Street	1872 - 1874
George Hotel, Friargate	1864 - 1889
Black Swan, Water Street	c1865 - 1880s
Guild Inn, Library Street	1866 - 1870
Sun Inn, Main Sprit Weind	1870 - 1874
New King's Head, Friargate	1870 - 1882

Table 3 - Growth in Licensed Premises in Victorian Preston²⁰

Year	Public Houses	Beer Houses	Total Licensed
1852	169	254	423
1868	226	264	490
1870	226	252	478
1876	221	236	457
1880	204	228	432

Preston is in line with the overall decline of the drinks industry in Lancashire identified by Walton: 'the social influence of drink and the pub reached a peak in the 1870s. After 1876 restrictive licensing policies reduced the availability of pubs in new areas.'²¹ Following the introduction of local and national legislation this trend is noticeable in Table 3 when the total number of public houses and beer houses peaked in 1868 but was reduced to a low of 432, during 1880. This also mirrors a sharp

¹⁸ Bailey, P. *Music Hall*. (Open University Press, 1986) p.x

¹⁹ *Preston Chronicle/Guardian*. 1841-1882 & *The Era Almanac and Annual*, 1868-1919: See also Appendix 8

²⁰ *Preston Chronicle*, 22nd August, 1868 & *Temperance Petitions*, L.R.O. DDPR 138/62

²¹ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History*, (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 300

decline of the music hall genre following the introduction of the Preston Improvement Act, 1880, described in Chapters Three. As the town infrastructure and population expanded and in spite of the influence of temperance and legal reform, the combined total of Licensed Victuallers and Beerhouse keepers in Preston stabilised and increased to 444 by 1892.²²

We will see that notwithstanding the ongoing alcohol provision in pubs and other retail outlets the pub music hall yielded to social and legal reform. Preston failed to attract the big syndicate interest managed by theatrical entrepreneurs such as McNaughten and Stoll during the 1890s. Paradoxically Preston was devoid of a variety theatre to accommodate the golden years of legendary music hall stars touring England's lavishly appointed new variety theatres but eventually caught up in 1905 with the pre-eminent form of entertainment of the period.

From a Gin Palace to a King's Palace

Preston's Victorian pub music hall evolved from informal 'free and easies' and culminated with the opening of the King's Palace on 6th February, 1913. Earl's London-based study proposes seven broad phases as a way of outlining the evolution of music hall by identifying typical building forms for each phase.²³ This section examines Earl's hypotheses to see how Preston reflects his proposed model of London development. As Earl himself acknowledges, his framework is 'crude'. Therefore it cannot be expected that his descriptors apply precisely to the evolution of Preston's music hall. The avoidance of particular examples being made to fit tidily into the chronological approach adopted by Earl has been strictly maintained. There will be some discussion of the ways in which entertainment was presented in the evolving music hall building and the chapter will conclude by examining how music hall, at its peak in the early 1870s, met the challenge offered by rival entertainment at the Theatre Royal. A brief italicised outline is first given of Earl's description followed by comment on an example of the relevant phase occurring in Preston.

Phase one is described by Earl as the free and easy singing room exemplified by a

²² Waters, C. 'Manchester Morality and London Capital,' ed. Bailey, *Music Hall*, (Open Univ. Press, 1986) p. 148

²³ Earl J. 'Building the Halls' in Bailey, *Music Hall*, (Open University Press, 1987) p. 1

group of amateurs singing round a piano, for which almost any room would do provided it is adequately furnished with a table and chairs. As the arrangements are so informal the time could be any time up to the present day.

It is clear that this description could apply to many premises throughout the nineteenth century, where workers enjoyed singing around the piano or to the accompaniment of a fiddler in the pubs and beer houses and where informality stimulated entertainment. Thus they overlap with later phases of development. Entertainment in pubs and beer houses is evident during 1838, when 'boys and girls aged between fourteen and seventeen years, without a guardian present, played pitch and toss and danced to a fiddle overnight in a jerry shop' (beer house.)²⁴ This sort of pub activity generated during the 1830s can be seen as the beginning of a pattern of 'free and easies,' during successive decades. 'In one low dirty room of a beer-house crowded with young men and low prostitutes, a fiddler is scraping away at an old fiddle and a girl is step dancing.'²⁵ We will probably never know the accuracy of the reporter's claim that the women were prostitutes. Nevertheless the girl's clog dancing represents a link with a local tradition in the cotton mills where a large workforce of women would start beating out a rhythm with their wooden clogs in time to the shuttles buzzing back and forth on the loom. Step-dancing or 'Lancashire Clog', became a favourite with mill-workers in Preston and was performed extensively in music hall while representing a strong northern culture and perhaps even solidarity and local pride during Preston's Industrial Revolution.

An example of a Phase One free-and-easy occurring at the time of a later phase can be seen by a report in 1868 on a free and easy at the Old Cock Inn, which noted there were '40 gentlemen present, with excellent singing and a brass and string band.'²⁶ But the usual practice was that customers would sing popular songs with perhaps the landlord playing the piano. This can be seen in the example of the Park Road Inn: 'George Marginson will open on Saturday evening, a free and easy, for adults only. A competent pianist will be in attendance and no expense will be spared to render it attractive and respectable.'²⁷

²⁴ Livesey, J. *Moral Reformer*, L.R.O. DDP 138/48

²⁵ *Preston Chronicle*, 25th February, 1865

²⁶ Smith M. 'Lancashire Cotton Towns,' ed. Bell, *Victorian Lancashire* (David & Charles, 1976) p.176

²⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 19th February, 1870

Phase two is represented as a free and easy concert room modified into a more formal singing saloon by, for example, knocking two rooms into one.

In his 1842 Annual Report, Prison Chaplain the Reverend John Clay provides evidence of three extant early Preston concert halls: 'One of the concert rooms, capable of holding 650 persons was opened in the summer of 1839. Two others of smaller dimension were opened in the spring of 1841.'²⁸ Thus was born what may have been Preston's first established concert hall or music hall at the Albion Public House in 1839. With two additional halls in 1841 a pattern of growth and evidence of commercialisation and regularity of the industry begins to emerge. However, during December, 1841 the Albion Public House, Clarke's Yard, Preston, was advertised to let with two sizeable concert rooms. 'To be let the 'Albion' with well accustomed spirit vault and two concert rooms measuring 52' x 29' and 55' x 31' and with tap rooms attached thereto.'²⁹ Its continuance as a music hall is supported by the 1851 Census Enumerator's Report which, for the first time, describes occupants of the 'Albion' as five professional vocalists in their twenties, three men and one woman and one 19 year old male musician.³⁰ The presence of professional artists and the very fact that the Albion had such large separate concert rooms by 1841 provides evidence that the Albion was probably the first established music hall in Preston. The Albion concert room closed c1854 and the pub had been renamed the Imperial by 1857.

There were modified rooms in public houses and beer houses throughout the town. Separate harmonic rooms were later instituted at the George and King's Head and members of the public were encouraged to entertain. In 1857 the proprietor of the King's Head initially installed a piano in a separate room. A concert and harmonic room was opened on the same site in 1870.³¹

Phase three is the beginning of an evolution towards professionalism... In effect, it is movement from an informal meeting to a 'regular concert'. It is not a purpose built room but a pro-type music hall with a low dais provided. The movement from phase

²⁸ Clay, A. *Chaplain's Annual Report, Preston House of Correction, 1842*. (L.R.O. QGR2/32 – 1842, p.5)

²⁹ *Preston Chronicle*, 18th December, 1841

³⁰ *Census Enumerator's Survey, 1851*, L.R.O.

³¹ *Preston Chronicle*, 5th November, 1870

two may at first be barely perceptible.

A building form representing this phase has not been identified. However, from Preston in 1851 James Hudson reported: 'Singing rooms are numerous, prosperous and constantly well attended'. At first the music had only been provided in the winter months, but by the 1840s concerts were being held throughout the year and the entertainments and appointments were on a grander scale.³² Thus, in accordance with Earl, certain unspecified singing saloons in Preston were rising above the phase of the impromptu informal concert by staging regular concerts in the singing rooms throughout the year.

Phase four: The concert room (mid 1850s) is by now a music hall staging professional concerts in a separate plain oblong room with an open platform across one end and a little balcony at the other end... A chairman sits with his back to the stage... It is in truth a music hall with admission tickets.

The Black Swan Concert Hall situated on Water Street exemplifies Phase Four. The date of its commencement is unknown though by 1865 the basic accommodation consisted of a 'concert hall measuring 20' x 16', cheap decorations, a little stage and rough wooden seats occupied by 60 or 70 lads and lassies of the cotton operative class. Young girls were supping porter which they had exchanged for a refreshment ticket.'³³ The Black Swan operated a token system for admission, known as 'wet money', exchanged for alcohol at the bar. Prison Chaplain John Clay described the basic economics of music hall at the stage of its evolution. 'The man or woman pays two-pence to entitle them to admission, for which they receive a ticket, and for that ticket they receive two pennyworth of liquor, and the dramatic representation.'³⁴ This shows how the early music hall was governed by the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquor that funded the entertainment. However, during the second half of the nineteenth century an admission charge was made for the entertainment and drink then became ancillary to the entertainment.

³² Hudson, J. 'History of Adult Education, 1851,' in Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class* (Routledge & Kegan, 1978) p. 30

³³ *Preston Chronicle*, 28th January, 1865

³⁴ Clay J, *Select committee Public Houses & places of Public Entertainment* Parliamentary Papers, 1852, Q6399

Phase five is the grand music hall with the architects designing new enormous purpose built rooms, linked with the pub. The stage has a row of footlights, though there is no proscenium. The audience is now presided over by a chairman who introduces a formally organised programme.

Preston's first entrepreneurial music hall family, the Blackoes, moved to Preston, from the nearby rural hamlet of Haighton³⁵ Two brothers showed enterprising business acumen in the part they played in the emerging music hall industry by constructing two concert halls in 1864 and 1870. When Edward Blackoe, opened the 'George Concert Room', on Saturday 29th November 1864 he provided the real foundation for Preston's music hall: 'Edward Blackoe of the 'George Inn', Friargate, intends to open, a new and very extensive concert room, built expressly for the purpose...First class talent has been engaged and nothing will be wanted to make entertainment pleasing, happy and comfortable, so that even the most fastidious may go and spend a few jovial hours to their heart's content.'³⁶ Over 1,000 patrons attended the opening night and Blackoe proclaimed: 'This is living proof that the people of Preston will support entertainments when they are of a good and respectable character. The hall will be opened every evening about seven o'clock and closed about ten.'³⁷

Matching the Earl model, the George had capacity for over 1,000 people, which suggests an ambitious purpose built concert room constructed at the rear of the pub as a separate adjunct. It measured 93' long x 24' wide x 16' high; a pretty room, with an arched roof, a neat little stage and a nicely painted act drop. According to the advertising propaganda, 'The hall was properly ventilated with good seats and with beautiful scenery.'³⁸ At the George, 'There was nothing calculated to disgust or demoralise...The curtain rose and the usual concert-hall swell, dressed in loud and utterly impossible attire, came upon the stage. Upon the stage, in one corner sat a rubicund-looking chairman who announced the coming man...After a well-merited encore the curtain fell and the orchestra played selections until the chairman

³⁵ The 1861 Census shows that Edward Blackoe was a 32 year-old farrier born at Haighton and living with his brother John at the King's Head, Preston.

³⁶ *Preston Chronicle*, 12th November, 1864

³⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 10th December, 1864

³⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, 10th December, 1864

announced another singer.³⁹ Corresponding with Earl the presence of a chairman and formalised programming is further evidence of the music hall genre and its greater level of organisation.

John Blackoe was obviously convinced of the demand for popular entertainment, as he followed his brother's lead when he opened the New King's Head Concert Hall, Preston, on the 14th November, 1870, claiming it to be the largest and most respectable Concert Hall in town.⁴⁰ The size of these concert halls as well as the presence of a chairman and speciality acts illustrate how The George and the King's Head were successful developments that were underpinned by good management.

The diversity of performance styles shown in Table Four demonstrate that music hall acts were becoming more sophisticated and suggests that it appealed to a wider audience. Victorian music hall featured clog dancers and novelty acts, musicians, jugglers, ventriloquist, clowns and circus inspired acts. Comedy, in a variety of styles, was a vital part of the Preston's evolutionary music hall repertoire with serio-comics featuring prominently. Another key figure to emerge in Preston music hall was the singer, whether he was comic, duettist, sentimental ballad or operatic singer. While popular songs could help draw the working-class audience there is some evidence of a broad musical culture in music hall especially so at Sun Inn with an operatic vocalist appearing in 1870 and the playing of sacred music at the Wagon and Horses on Sunday evenings during 1861, thus fostering a respectable image.

An attempt to sound a cultured tone was expressed at the George in September, 1872, when landlord Mr Leo Waddington advertised 'The last week of Don Ferretra - the great man flute appearing at the George. All should come and see this clever artist before his departure from England' ⁴¹ Martin Brown took over as landlord of the George in 1874. As an established music hall comedian who had entertained at the King's Head, Preston, in December, 1870,⁴² Brown would have knowledge of the business in his new role at the George. New ideas included an extension for continuous 12 hour music hall performances at the George: 'Uninterrupted performances on Whit Monday (only) from 10am to 10p.m. with the concert room

³⁹ *Preston Chronicle*, 18th January, 1865

⁴⁰ *Preston Chronicle*, 26th November, 1870

⁴¹ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 14th September, 1872

⁴² *Preston Chronicle*, 24th December, 1870

being crowded most of the time.⁴³ Thus in better economic times by 1876 it reflects a continuing demand for music hall with a large cast incorporating traditional music hall and circus acts.

Table 4 - Performance Styles in Victorian Music Hall

Venue and Date	Programme	Remarks
Wagon & Horses Preston Chronicle 26.10.1861	'With a talented company of male and female vocalists. The proprietor had newly decorated the hall and installed an organ for the playing of sacred music every Sunday evening.	Winter open Mon. Tues. & Sat only
Guild Concert Hall, Library St. Rear St John's, Church (Preston Chronicle) 6.10.1866.	Week commencing Messrs Snape, Culliver and Robson, Negro Comedians, Will Vale - comique, Miss Julia Smythe, sentimental and serio comic.	Serio/comics dominate
Theatre Royal Music Hall, Fishergate, Preston Chronicle, 16.3.1867	Monsieur Caselli, first appearance out of London of the wonder of the world. Performing and juggling on the invisible wire; Master Shapcott, vocalist, dancer and drummer.	Circus & music hall
The Sun, Main Sprit Weind The Era 11.9.1870	Madam Lorenzo (sentimental and operatic vocalist) a talented artist, Nelly Gilton, (serio comic - also very clever), Signor Saroni (piccolo player and baritone vocalist who is constantly demanded).	Evidence refined culture.
King's Head ⁴⁴ The Era, 28.1.72	'Professor Capron - ventriloquist, F. Raymond - impersonator and clog dancer, The Brothers Panell - French clowns with performing dogs, Miss Amy Turner and Miss B. Anderson - serio comic, Miss Jessie Danvers - vocalist and clog dancer, Tom Melbourne - star comic	Clog dancers typical music hall genre in Preston.
George Concert Hall, Friargate. The Era 21.7.1878	Tom and Rose Merry, (duettists, vocalists and dancers), Marie Santley (serio comic), Will Atkins (comic), Mr and Mrs Patrick Miles and Young Ireland (known as the solid man) and Tom Walker described as topical	Preston's first established pub concert hall of 1864.

⁴³ *The Era*, 11th June, 1876

⁴⁴ See also Appendix 2 for music hall programmes at the King's Head, 1870-71

Earl states, 'By the 1870s music halls were beginning to look quite different. As the music hall industry took off, success led to alterations in practically every hall.'⁴⁵ Martin Brown would have been keen to maintain a large respectable audience and would probably have known that the economics of the business were such that the George Music hall had to be maintained to a high standard. Accordingly, following a short period of closure for refurbishment the hall was re-opened in October, 1879: 'It was reopened on Monday last and was literally packed with a most respectable audience with crowds being unable to gain admission. The hall has undergone extensive alterations with the stage remodelled, new commodities and dressing rooms provided, fresh scenery supplied and the place decorated tastefully. With a good band occupying the orchestra place, it promises one of the first attractions of the town'.⁴⁶

This 1879 transformation of substantial improved theatrical facilities such as stage remodelling and additional dressing rooms may be perceived as a further evolutionary trend linking the concert hall with the opening of the first variety theatre, the Gaiety Theatre, in 1882. However, following a period of closure of the George Music Hall town centre planning and the building of the Harris Museum led to the demolition of the combined George Public House and Music Hall in 1895.⁴⁷

Phase Six: the grand music hall modified by substituting rows of seats for supper tables with the bar still in the auditorium. Many people 'drop in', to the music hall during the course of the evening. There is good value to be had in any sampling of the programme.

The Clarence, Grimshaw Street was one of Preston's last concert rooms to close c.1886. The undated programme reproduced in Appendix Four indicates, through the mention of the Preston North End player, Belger, that it was printed around 1883⁴⁸ By now the refreshment token had been superseded but the inducement of free music hall was still being funded by the advertised choice of alcohol and cigars, on sale in the auditorium. The programme also illustrates the moderate style of locally based

⁴⁵ Earl J. 'Building the Halls,' in. Bailey, *Music Hall* (Open University Press, 1987) p. 8

⁴⁶ *The Era*, 5th October, 1879

⁴⁷ See Appendix 3 for illustration of the George and town centre redevelopment plans that led to its demolition in 1895.

⁴⁸ Enquiries with Dr. David Hunt at the National Football Museum re football player Belger. The Clarence Music Hall programme illustrated in Appendix 4 is with the kind permission of Librarian, Preston Reference Library.

entertainment on offer and claims that 'It was the place to spend a convivial hour', thus matching Earl's description as a drop in to sample the programme. However, seating arrangements cannot be properly clarified but, curiously, 'children in arms were not admitted unless brought by someone,' may suggest rows of seats. As the date when the Clarence opened cannot be ascertained and as it has only one distinct feature of the phase, it has to be regarded as a part match or hybrid.

*Phase seven: the stage is now equipped like a theatre stage for any kind of performance. The bars are now separated from the auditorium. The theatre is now enriched with comfortable tip up seats and padded gallery benches. They are no longer brilliantly lighted rooms where friends meet to drink and listen to a song. They are theatres where audiences assemble to be entertained.*⁴⁹

The origins and management of the New Gaiety Palace of Varieties not only epitomises phase seven of Earl's description but also provides an excellent example of how music hall still drew on its roots in circus. This corresponds with the sources of music hall considered by national and regional theatre historians: Kift states: 'Every music hall programme consisted of three principal components: circus numbers, music and theatre, information and innovations.'⁵⁰ The Gaiety Music Hall was a direct descendant of Newsome's Circus of 1872, which was built as a wooden construction adjacent to Preston Railway Station.⁵¹

Preston circus, music hall and established theatre increasingly featured performances on a lavish scale served by the railway with improved mobility for scenery, animals equipment and of course, performers and audiences. Newsome's Circus convenient railway station location capitalised on the circus attraction for passengers on local excursions and special trains: 'Newsome's Grand Circus - adjoining the railway station, Butler Street, Preston. Immense success of last night's Cinderella-notice to the inhabitants of Longridge, Goosnargh, Fulwood and neighbourhood, a special train will leave Preston tomorrow, Thursday evening at a quarter to eleven, for the accommodation of parties from that locality visiting the circus'.⁵²

⁴⁹ Earl, J. 'Building the Halls,' in *Bailey Music Hall* (Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 1

⁵⁰ Kift, D. *Victorian Music Hall*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 53

⁵¹ Newsome first opened permanent circus buildings in Northern towns during the mid 19th Century.

⁵² *Preston Guardian*, 3rd July, 1872

On the 16th October, 1880, local impresario, Henry Hemfrey, opened the first version of his Gaiety Theatre in Butler Street, by adapting Newsome's wooden circus pavilion: Befitting the influence of respectability and age of temperance local newspapers advertised the theatre as 'The Gaiety Temperance Theatre', (late Newsome's Circus) proclaiming the grand opening night: 'See the beautiful stage and scenery, see the magnificent decoration, the best and largest company that ever appeared in Preston.' Admission prices: chairs 1/-, sides and promenade, 6d, pit 3d. half price to chairs at nine'.⁵³ 'The building has undergone extensive alterations. A stage has been erected and the ring has been boarded over and comfortably seated. The new proprietor promises that the entertainment shall be of a high-class character. Every arrangement shall be made to secure that air of respectability that was attached to the establishment during the tenancy of Mr. Newsome'.⁵⁴

However, by 1882 the 'The Gaiety Temperance Theatre' Butler Street stood in the way of proposed railway station infrastructure and was demolished. Henry Hemfrey, transferred to a new theatre in Tithebarn Street. Thus was born Preston's first large variety theatre accordingly named the New Gaiety Palace of Varieties, which staged generic music hall from 1882/88. It conforms to Earl's phase seven descriptions in that it was purpose built and detached from the pub with fixed pit and gallery seats and a properly equipped stage. Here, the level of congeniality inherited from the pub concert hall was transferred to the new variety theatre that could accommodate an audience of 2,000 patrons in the large architecturally designed auditorium.

The opening coincided with Preston Guild celebrations in September, 1882, and featured variety entertainment: 'Enormous success, see this week's grand company. Messrs Graham and McBryde Smith's Punch and Judy, great success of the Phillips Trio, Vern and Vault and grand Guild Company.'⁵⁵ Preston mirrored the national trend of dispensing with the music hall chairman and by now refreshment tokens for alcohol had long since disappeared as a means of funding the performance. At the Gaiety there is no record of a chairman presiding over the proceedings. It is therefore

⁵³ *Preston Guardian*, 18th October, 1880

⁵⁴ *Preston Guardian*, 16th October, 1880

⁵⁵ Hewitson. *History of Preston* (Preston, 1883) p. 355

likely that the acts were indicated by a board side-stage with a list of numbers in the programme giving the order of the artist's appearance such as that described by Kift.⁵⁶

Entertainment was now profitable in itself and its economic basis dispensed with the need for a theatre bar. Instead patrons were invited to the Wagon and Horses Harmonic Room (a type of free and easy) close by. Admission to the best seats was one shilling, a price matching that of the pit at the Theatre Royal, suggesting that both theatres were competing for patrons from the skilled working-class or the lower middle-class. Admission to the pit and the gallery at the Gaiety was 6d and 3d where the less affluent would have been seated. These admission prices were the same as those at the original Gaiety Temperance Theatre in Butler Street.

The tradition of music hall being a working-class male preserve was beginning to change for there is some evidence that respectable families were being attracted to the Gaiety Music Hall during 1884 where a high level of discipline was apparent: 'Police in attendance and strict order enforced.' Female attendance was encouraged but prostitutes were discouraged by the inducement of 'Thursday nights: ladies free if accompanied by a gentleman but children must be paid for'⁵⁷ Harrison states: 'Music Halls achieved the temperance reformer's aims of inducing men to share their recreation with their families.'⁵⁸

Traditional circus acts continued to feature in music hall performances during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. On the 7th July, 1884, the Gaiety Palace of Varieties featured the Wondrous Panlos, performing acrobatically whilst on roller skates; Little Ernest - the Midget Clown; and jugglers, acrobats, a marionette show, dancers, musicians, trick cyclists, Tyrolean Minstrels and Percy Honri - 'Champion Boy Tenor of the World'.⁵⁹ This range of acts is an illustration of a form of entertainment that hybridises circus and music hall. The above also serves to illustrate how the Gaiety evolved from the original Newsome's Circus of 1872 in three distinct stages from Newsomes via the wooden Gaiety Temperance Theatre to the purpose built 'Gaiety Palace of Varieties,' of 1882.

⁵⁶ Kift, D. *Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 23

⁵⁷ Honri, P. *Working the Halls* (Saxon House, 1973) p. 28

⁵⁸ Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians* (Keele University Press, 1994) p. 314.

⁵⁹ Honri, P. *Working the Halls* (Saxon House, 1973) p. 28

It can be seen that Earl's phases do broadly apply to Preston despite early phases overlapping the later phases of music hall. The most helpful aspect of his work is his chronicling of the evolution of building types, although it has been found that the record for Preston is also 'unfortunately gapped'⁶⁰ Nevertheless the foregoing discussion suggests that the town can be seen to be a suitable microcosm reflecting national, or, at least, London-based music hall development in the period to 1882.

Rivalry to Nineteenth Century Preston Music Hall

This final section considers how Preston's legitimate theatre responded to the growth of music hall, and examines the effect of competition between the two genres.

Quite early in the growth of Preston's music hall industry the Theatre Royal featured acts akin to music hall, such as a group of 'American serenaders staged during 1848.'⁶¹ The success of this performance suggests the theatre was a rival: 'On 'Monday evening every part of the house was crowded and hundreds, it is said, went away unable to gain admittance.'⁶² The theatre remained popular with the working-class audience by offering half-price admission after 9pm when the cost of a gallery seat was 6d, the same as in 1833.

A visitor to Preston described the popularity of the pit and gallery with audiences at the Theatre Royal during 1861: 'The audience composed of factory operatives, occupied the pit and gallery, and brought their babies with them.'⁶³ In alluding to Reid's account of the Birmingham Theatre Royal certain similarities become apparent. At Birmingham, according to a police report in 1840 'Audiences comprised 1,200 persons in the gallery, of whom there were probably 600 girls and boys under 16 years of age, and 200 more from 16 to 20 years... We have heard of hundred being turned away from the pit and the gallery doors.'⁶⁴ (1852 report)

⁶⁰ Earl, J. 'Building the Halls,' in *Bailey Music Hall* (Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 2.

⁶¹ *Preston Guardian*, 13th January, 1848

⁶² *Preston Guardian*, 13th January, 1848

⁶³ *Preston Chronicle*, 21st January, 1861

⁶⁴ Reid, D. 'Popular Theatre in Victorian Birmingham' ed. Bradby, D. *Performance and Politics in Popular Drama* (Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp 69, 80

‘At Birmingham only in the 1860s was the full force of music hall competition felt by the Theatre Royal.’⁶⁵ Likewise in Preston, music hall began to offer a real alternative to the Preston theatre’s more usual programming during the mid 1860s. The Theatre Royal developed its response to Preston’s pub music halls to such an extent that the working classes were able to consider theatre and music hall entertainment as direct alternatives. At the peak of the growth of the pub concert hall in Preston the response by management at the Theatre Royal was to adapt the programme and bill it as, The Theatre Royal Grand Music Hall in March 1866. A capacity audience enjoyed comic vocalist, ‘James Taylor, The Court Minstrels, and Dusioni Star Acrobats’ and supporting cast.⁶⁶ It staged music hall again for three months commencing on 18th March 1867 and was billed as ‘a grand amalgamation of star concert hall artists selected with the greatest care from the principal London Music Halls.’ There was a further music hall season commencing 5th September, 1868. Prices were designed to attract a pit or gallery working-class audience at 3d and 6d ⁶⁷ There is, therefore, evidence that the theatre had begun to feel the effects of the concert rooms and singing saloons in enticing their working-class audiences in that it staged similar generic music hall performances to the established pub music halls for three consecutive seasons between 1866-68.

In 1869 the theatre was purchased and managed by a local Scorton operatic singer, William Parkinson who adopted a more refined approach to programming by significantly reducing music-hall acts. During the first half of the 1870s Parkinson brought opera, pantomime and drama with higher scaled prices for operatic productions. Overall admission prices were expensive although there had been no substantial increase in the segregated gallery since 1833: Dress Circle, 3/6d - opera 5/-; side boxes 2/- opera 3/-; pit stalls 1/6d - opera 2/-; pit 1/- gallery, 6d.⁶⁸ ‘During Christmas, 1872, the London pantomime, ‘The Naughty Forty Thieves,’ was presented with newly installed machinery for the splendid transformation scene.’⁶⁹ Seats in the pit and gallery of 1/- and 6d respectively would probably have been affordable by a broad-based working-class audience for the popular pantomime incorporating the latest theatrical technology and music-hall stars.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 68

⁶⁶ *Preston Chronicle*, 17th March, 1866

⁶⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 16, 17th March, 1866, 16th March, 1867, 5th September, 1868

⁶⁸ *The Era* 5th January, 1869

⁶⁹ *Preston Chronicle*, 21st December, 1872

Preston's concert halls prospered to such an extent that by the 1870s the theatre was having difficulty competing with the expansion of music hall. Evidence of declining audiences at the theatre is manifest in the fact that in 1876 financial disaster occurred, resulting in the sale of the theatre to a local building club. For the period 1871-76 there is evidence in newspaper correspondence of a deflection of audiences from dramatic productions at the theatre to the rival attraction of the pub music hall.

In 1871 a correspondent using the nom-de-plume, 'Saxon', spoke of how drama was being overtaken by the popularity of the singing saloons. 'Singing or concert rooms can get crammed, while the drama gets no kind of support at all. The commercial classes and mill owners in Preston seem to have lost all taste for Shakespeare and the working classes have left *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and the *Merchant of Venice* for concert rooms for 'Hoop di-doodem-doo,' 'Champagne Charlie,' and all that kind of stupid balderdash. Men are becoming too starched or too frigid to be seen at a respectable play...To sustain proper theatrical representations men may be drawn from spending their money in drinking at concert halls hearing all sorts of blarney strung together in the shape of songs. The theatre is nearly always empty while the screaming, mocking, silly concert rooms get all the money.'⁷⁰

It emerges that dramatic productions at the theatre including Shakespeare had been popular with both the working and upper classes in Preston but had perhaps now succumbed to the rival attraction of the concert/music hall. That there was a class basis for criticism is highlighted by another correspondent taking a conflicting view using the nom-de-plume 'Live and Let Live.' He responded to 'Saxon's' letter by defending the culture of the music hall and criticising the Theatre Royal on a number of counts: 'I have ceased going to the theatre for several reasons: First on account of the price; second on account of the lateness of the hour; third on account of so many lewd characters being there; and fourth on account of the talent being generally so poor. More recently I have visited a concert hall in Friargate, opposite Orchard Street, (The King's Head) and I find I can spend an hour or two any evening, between 7 and 10 o'clock, for about 3d or 4d. and really enjoy myself by listening to stupid balderdash such as our friend 'Saxon' appears to have got so thoroughly disgusted with. By hearing first-class songs by first-class artistes I consider myself as particular as any one, in my choice of entertainment. I have neither

⁷⁰ *Preston Chronicle*, 13th May, 1871

heard nor, seen anything wrong in this place of general resort, and the only object I have in writing, is to put this concert hall business in the position it duly merits.’⁷¹

‘Saxon’ responded with a letter echoing rational-recreation philosophy by suggesting more cerebral activities for the working classes: ‘Live and let live, believes in free trade amusements, but ought he not to add that he wishes the greatest success to the most instructive kinds of amusements, and that it is his duty as well as mine, to try to lift the people up into the higher, more intellectual and more virtuous amusements, especially when we can see a beautiful theatre in one of the best parts of town empty night after night.’⁷²

Another newspaper correspondent supported ‘Saxon’s’ campaign while extolling the Shakespearean productions at the Theatre Royal: ‘I know of one thing I should prefer hearing that anyone belonging to me had gone to see *Hamlet* or *The Merchant of Venice* at the theatre than listen to ‘Matilda,’ at a concert hall. I think I may safely class ‘live and let live,’ among the individuals who have forgotten the existence of a certain man named W. Shakespeare and who prefers a song a and a gill to one of the greatest playwrights. I trust that concert hall mania may give way to a healthy conception of the value of the legitimate drama.’⁷³

This correspondence illustrates how the success of music hall aroused prejudices and how certain factions have entered the music hall versus rational recreation debate further described below. Saxon’s concern for the decline in theatre attendance should not be taken at face value and the conflicting letters are worthy of discussion. Though the pub music hall at the time of the Saxon letter was probably more successful with the working classes for the reasons put forward by ‘live and let live’, there is some evidence to rebut the claim that the ‘theatre is nearly always empty.’ For example, the Theatre Royal continued as a live theatre until it was superseded by cinema in 1920 and, could not have existed until then, if audiences were so small.

The appeal to all classes of pantomime, Shakespeare and melodrama is evident in primary sources. Therefore the point made by ‘Saxon’ that ‘The commercial classes and mill owners in Preston seem to have lost all taste for Shakespeare and the working classes

⁷¹ *Preston Chronicle*, 27th May, 1871

⁷² *Preston Chronicle*, 17th June, 1871

⁷³ *Preston Chronicle*, 10th June, 1871

have left *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and the *Merchant of Venice* for concert rooms', is an interesting one. While it provides evidence that during 1871 audiences transferred their allegiance from theatre to concert room, it is contradicted by the success of a visit by the distinguished Shakespearean actor/manager, Sir Henry Irving and the Lyceum Theatre Company. There were full houses for a production of 'Hamlet,' in October 1878. Irving's popularity was such that on the first night he was 'Called before the curtain after the last act and was cheered to the echo...Morgan (the theatre manager) deserves the thanks of the community for affording the public of the town another chance of seeing the great actor in his choicest characters once more supported by such an excellent all round company'.⁷⁴ There can be little doubt that the appearance of Sir Henry Irving was a major attraction.

Shakespeare and melodrama was now appreciated by both the working and middle-class audience in Preston; a trend not unusual in other English towns. In Birmingham melodrama was recognised by theatre critics as being popular with pit and gallery audiences. 'What both the reading and play-going public looked for was a great deal of sentiment and strong pathos, domestic suffering and bliss, a good story line, sensation and violence, a stern morality, much positive virtue and its reward in the almost inevitable happy ending, eccentric humour, and native English jollity and spirit.'⁷⁵ The success of Preston's Theatre Royal in the presentation of prestigious and affordable Shakespearean productions in 1878 shows a parallel.

Thus, legitimate theatre had its place in Preston but during the late 1860s and 1870s music hall was challenging the theatre for audiences. The success of Preston's theatre can be seen to be somewhat sporadic tending to support Crump's conclusion for Leicester that music hall was in serious competition with popular theatre.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *The Era*, 13th October, 1878

⁷⁵ Booth M. R. 'English Plays of the Nineteenth Century,' cited Reid, D. 'Popular Theatre in Victorian Birmingham,' ed. Brady D. *Performance & Politics in Popular Drama* (Cambridge University Press, 1980) p. 79

⁷⁶ Crump, J. 'Provincial Music Hall in Leicester, 1863-1929,' in P. Bailey, *Music Hall*, (Open University Press, 1986) p. 69

Chapter Two

The Moral and Legal Challenges to Music Hall

This chapter describes how the Victorian pub music halls underwent social, political and legal reform. There will be discussion on the influence of religion and temperance on audiences to ascertain the reasons for political and social reform. The moral response of rational recreation as a counter attraction will tell us why music hall proprietors adopted the rhetoric of respectability to rebut the criticisms of social reformers. The extent to which the authorities dealt with the external campaigning will show that the introduction of licensing laws and building regulations in the latter part of the nineteenth century contributed to the demise of Preston's Victorian Music Hall.

The Influence of Religion and Temperance

The growth of Preston during the Industrial Revolution was accompanied by an increase in the number of churches and chapels. Table Five shows the numbers of different places of worship and those in attendance on 30th March, 1851 including Sunday Scholars.¹ Preston had the lowest overall attendance figure, and the lowest for the Church of England, of any English town in 1851.² Roman Catholic attendance constituted nearly half the total of Worshippers and is indicative of a high native population of Roman Catholics in the town. Irish immigration into Preston increased slowly until the 1840s but after the famine there were dramatic increases.³ Although the Anglican and Catholic churches predominate in terms of numbers there is a significant nonconformist population, about 36% of Preston's Christians. The Methodists, inspired by John Wesley, who preached four times in the town, built a chapel in Back Lane in 1787. Other nonconformists included Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians. It was the nonconformist group that was to become a source of persistent opposition to music hall and a major source of the temperance movement:

¹ Mann, R. *Religious Worship in England and Wales, 1851 Census* Registrar General, London, 1854. p.126

² Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 184

³ Anderson, M. *Family Structure* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) p. 39

‘Temperance had a large body of followers, working-class Methodists forming the core. It comprised skilled workers and independent artisans but did not make much headway with factory workers in large provincial towns.’⁴ Thompson’s comments on the presence of skilled workers is true for Preston: ‘Temperance meetings were generally well attended by respectable artisans, who listened to the speakers with marked attention’⁵

Table 5 - The 1851 Census of Religious Worship in Preston

Number Places of Worship and Religious denomination	Total	Total No of attendants Sunday morning 30 th March, 1851
Total Number of Churches	29	11,803
Church of England	10	2479
Independents	2	1065
Particular Baptists	2	437
Scotch Baptists	1	23
Society of Friends	1	153
Unitarians	1	86
Wesleyan Methodists	3	1505
Primitive Methodists	1	342
Wesleyan Association	1	254
Huntingdon’s Connex	1	142
New Church	1	100
Isolated Congregations	1	120
Roman Catholics	4	5097

Joseph Livesey was born in Preston and was a founding member of the Preston Temperance Society. ‘Livesey was among Preston’s leading opponents of the established church. He had denounced Anglican wordliness and admired the Quakers, but he joined the Scotch Baptists because he found them less introverted.’⁶ Livesey and six others introduced teetotalism to the movement through their innovation of the total abstinence pledge at Preston’s first Temperance Hall on 1st September, 1832. The Preston Temperance movement was especially active between 1832 and 1876, campaigning against drunkenness and low moral standards in Preston’s growing number of public houses and singing saloons. Hewitson estimates that by 1883 (out of population of over 90,500,) there were 17,530 signed abstainers in the town.⁷

⁴ Thompson F. *The Rise of Respectable Society* (Fontana Pres, 1988) p. 320

⁵ *Annual Report of Preston Temperance Society* Harris Reference Library, Preston, 21st April, 1875

⁶ Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians* (Keele University Press, 1994) p. 113

⁷ Hewitson, A. *History of Preston* (Preston, 1883) p. 352

In Preston, and throughout England, 'Evangelicals were key supporters of the temperance movement, which together with greater status consciousness, was a prime factor bringing inns and taverns into disrepute.'⁸ Nationally many temperance reformers, especially nonconformists, were suspicious of both theatres and music halls. 'We presume that nearly all our readers are opposed to the theatre,' wrote the *Weekly Record*, a leading temperance paper on 8th November, 1862. Attacks on music hall took place in many towns and cities. A specific example is the Wesleyan attacks on the Manchester Palace Theatre described as a 'den of iniquity.' The aid of the Almighty was invoked, in a day of prayer in 1891 to prevent its opening.⁹ The type of propaganda and attacks directed towards music hall in Preston will be examined in the next section.

Audience Composition and Moral Attacks

This section will examine audience composition and how the Victorian music hall in Preston was a particular target by advocates of temperance and social reformers who campaigned against the culture of the music hall industry.

From the time of the earliest theatres and music halls, temperance meetings and concerts were given at a variety of venues including the Theatre Royal. In 1833 the manager, Watkin Burroughs aligned himself with the cause by disassociating himself from pub culture and assured his patrons: 'The theatre interior has been splendidly embellished and the scenery entirely repainted. At a time when all classes are so earnestly exhorted to temperance, the manager trusts it will not be irrelevant to state that a theatrical performance affords a highly rational evening's amusement and the visitor leaves the theatre frequently morally improved and certainly without any exposure to inebriety as no spirits or wines can be obtained even if desired.'¹⁰ The continuity of this form of support can be seen in the teetotal movement's staging of the propagandist play, 'The Trial of John Barleycorn', at the Theatre Royal, in 1842.¹¹

Joseph Livesey testified in 1834 that he had no objection to either music or dancing in

⁸ Reid, D. 'Playing and Praying,' ed. Daunton, M. *Cambridge Urban History* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2,000) p. 781

⁹ Anglesey, N. *The People's Theatre* (Manchester, 1981)

¹⁰ L.R.O. DDP 28/6

¹¹ *Preston Chronicle*, 19th February, 1842

the beer-shops and pubs of Preston, provided there was some official regulation.¹² Livesey was not a killjoy although in 1838, his moral concern was over boys and girls aged between fourteen and seventeen years, without a guardian present, playing pitch and toss and dancing to a fiddle overnight in a jerry shop (low class beer house.)¹³ He seems to see this style of impromptu entertainment staged in one of Preston's first free and easies as likely to expose young people to moral danger, and thus, in its earliest form, music hall was under attack on moral grounds.

In 1841 moral concerns over sexual behaviour and theft were already being expressed for men, women and young people attending the Albion Concert Room: A newspaper correspondent wrote, 'I myself know an instance of the seduction of an unfortunate female, who had been enticed to attend a singing room, contrary to the orders of her mistress, and who lost her good name and her good place in consequence...I have known married men frequent singing rooms with the most infamous and disgraceful intentions. Now for the third grave charge against singing rooms. I have known lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age being encouraged to squander the money of their employers, which they had purloined, and to bring along with them girls of vile character, upon whom they spend considerable sums in liquor.'¹⁴

The foregoing example of the Albion concert room c1841, tell us something about the prevailing social conditions surrounding the earliest forms of music hall. The concert room atmosphere suggests excessive consumption of alcohol, sexual impropriety and a level of criminal activity. It is interesting to note that the concerns expressed here are not simply for the welfare of members of the working-class, but for the interests of the middle-class also, as a mistress has lost her servant and employers are troubled by theft.

The social concerns of local clergymen suggest they were among the leading opponents of the singing saloons. The Reverend John Clay, Anglican Chaplain of Preston Prison during the 1840s was a severe critic of the singing saloons and campaigned for reform and better education in sympathy with the temperance movement.¹⁵ The level of his concern over the concert rooms was even mirrored in his Annual Report for 1842. 'Since these places are so overwhelmingly frequented it

¹² 'Evidence Committee on Alcohol 1834,' in Bailey P. *Leisure & Class* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) p. 47

¹³ Livesey, J. *Moral Reformer*, L.R.O. DDPR 138/48

¹⁴ *Preston Chronicle*, 3rd December, 1841

¹⁵ Walmsley, T. *Memories of the Preston Cockpit* (Preston Guardian Press, 1892) p. 5

follows that sound education is becoming diffused.¹⁶

The Reverend Clay, even allowed a twenty-year old prisoner to endorse his 1842 Annual Report, with the following enlightening attack of the Albion concert room c1840. 'At such places there was singing and dancing and acting and all sorts of performances...I have tried to give over going to such places but there was always someone to ask me if I was not going to the concert...I was never fond of drink but the singing and dancing enticed me to go and I can say with some safety these places have been my ruin and I have no doubt they have been the ruin of many more...I think it would be a good thing if they were stopped...I have seen 500 or 600, at the----¹⁷ They are mostly young people, factory people, lawyers, clerks and all sorts of people. There are twelve persons in prisons now that I have seen there. I took seventeen watches altogether. I generally pawned them for one third their value at the playhouse and concert room.'¹⁸ Thus the prisoner appears to attribute drink and the handling of stolen goods in the concert room and theatre, for his incarceration and the passage is testimony to the Albion's concert rooms corrupting influences upon him.

The account reveals that prior to the Theatres Act, 1843, the music hall performance was said to integrate 'singing and dancing and acting and all sorts of performances.' Acting would have been an illegal activity post 1843. Significantly the Albion attracted '500 to 600, mostly young people, factory people, lawyers, clerks and all sorts of people.' The composition of the first Preston concert room audience integrated young working class factory workers but was not their exclusive preserve nor was it gender specific. This draws parallels with the views of Russell and Kift: 'It is possible that a more 'respectable' middle-class element did attend, albeit in relatively small numbers, almost from the outset.'¹⁹ Kift states, 'The early halls were not the sole preserve of the disreputable. They addressed men and women alike, the rough and the respectable...nineteenth century music hall attendance was determined by the social calendar of work and leisure.'²⁰

¹⁶ Clay, A. *Chaplain's Annual Reports, Preston House of Correction, 1842, 1850* (L.R.O. QGR2/32 – 1842, p.5, & QGR 2/34 – 1850, p.51 & App.27)

¹⁷ A space left in Clay's Report implies reluctance to divulge the name of the premises as being the Albion.

¹⁸ Clay, J. *Chaplain's Annual Report, Preston House of Correction, 1842*, (L.R.O. QGR2/32 – 1842, p.5)

¹⁹ Russell, D. *Popular Music in England*, (Manchester University Press, 1987) pp. 80, 81

²⁰ Kift, D. 'Composition of Music Hall Audience' in Bailey, *Music Hall* (Open Univ. Press, 1986) p. 75

In 1852 the Reverend Clay gave evidence to a Select Committee on public houses when he distinguished between adults and young people in relation to their choice of venue: 'The adults ascribe their ruin to the beer-houses and public houses; the young ones ascribe their ruin as far as it goes, to the concert and dancing room.'²¹ Clay, like Livesey, was opposed to music hall because of its attraction for young people and their exposure to moral danger: 'The child rejected or outraged at home soon finds in the streets or fields companions in misery or idleness...then arises the inclination for debasing entertainment and it is plentifully supplied by low theatres and singing saloons.'²² While there is no direct evidence, it may have been partly as a consequence of ongoing attacks on music hall that the Albion Music Hall was closed in 1854 and transformed into the Spinners and Minders Institute in 1859,²³ which was regarded as a worthy organisation.

By the 1860s many pub music halls were said to be patronised by the working classes. 'It must be confessed that the recreations in which the working classes can indulge are but few in number: the public house, the singing room, with its well puffed attraction, the dancing room and you have enumerated all the places in which he is a welcome guest.'²⁴ The young cotton operatives were one significant group of workers who patronised Preston's concert rooms. 'At the Black Swan during January, 1865, seats were occupied by 60 or 70 lads and lassies of the cotton operative class and only three men were present. Young girls gaudily dressed were seated supping porter.'²⁵ The reporter claimed that there was an alarmingly high number of young girls present as *filles publiques* or prostitutes.²⁵ The simple and hedonistic form of the entertainment would be seen by reformers as being part of this low moral tone and unsuitable for the young cotton operatives. 'Two coloured minstrels were dancing and a ventriloquist entered into dialogue with two young girls and questioned them through the mouthpiece of the doll about nature's best handiwork - a lovely woman. The girls' answers were received by the audience with roars of laughter and delight.'²⁶

This type of dialogue suggests a type of double entendre expressed in some singing saloons and concert halls that stimulated correspondence from temperance reformers to

²¹ Clay, J. *Select committee on Public Houses and Places of Entertainment*, P.P. 1852-53, Q.6380

²² *Ibid* Clay J.

²³ Hewitson, *History of Preston* (Preston, 1883) p.354, *Preston Chronicle*, 15th March, 1856

²⁴ *Preston Chronicle*, 11th February, 1865

²⁵ *Preston Chronicle*, 28th January, 1865

²⁶ *Preston Chronicle*, 28th January, 1865

the liberal press. Two independent reports in February, 1865, express continuing serious moral concern: 'True there are temperance halls and of the latter we cannot speak too highly, but of the former (singing and dancing saloons) we cannot say much in the way of praise; taking the Preston hall as a specimen a dirtier or unattractive place than which it would be difficult to find.'²⁷ Another venue involved young people in an unnamed singing room apparently exposed to moral danger: 'Can any good emanate from such places... Little by little the girl loses her modesty, and the end is as sure and certain as is the clergyman's hope of her joyful resurrection after her life of vice with its daily battling with hunger, and her wretched death in the workhouse infirmary.'²⁸

It may be argued that these writers demonstrate moral panic over the composition of the working-class music hall. The extreme tone of the above reports suggest that the Whig *Preston Chronicle*, clearly aimed to further the temperance cause by bringing about closure of drinking establishments and certain music halls with this type of propaganda. The working-class basis of music hall and the fact that it numbered young people and prostitutes in its audiences, were factors in the attempts by temperance reformers; clergy and nonconformists to influence the authorities, to close down singing saloons on the grounds that they were places of ill repute. Bailey sees music hall as arousing even greater opposition than the theatre: 'Next to the pub the music halls became the most embattled institution in working-class life as reform groups strove to close or censor them'²⁹

During 1868 a meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, to present the magistrates with a petition not to grant any more spirit licences on the basis that the number of houses licensed (including music halls) was quite sufficient for the wants of the town.³⁰ Typical of the temperance reformers' attacks is the tone of an article written in 1870. Thomas Walmsley, an original teetotaler, reflected the mood in his attack on the singing saloons: 'Much attention has of late been drawn to the desirability of public entertainments, with a view to checkmating the evils of the music saloons... One ill conducted public house with a singing room does an unspeakable amount of damage.'³¹

²⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 11th February, 1865

²⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, 11th February, 1865

²⁹ Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class* (Russell and Kegan Paul, 1978) p. 147

³⁰ *Preston Chronicle*, 22nd August, 1868

³¹ Walmsley, T. *Memories of the Preston Cockpit* (Preston Guardian Press, 1892) pp.4-5

A moral stance is expressed in 1876 by Chief Constable Oglethorpe in an address to the Preston Brewster Sessions in which he vigorously attacked music-hall culture, singling out the George in particular, then under the management of Martin Brown: 'These places are resorted to by large number of young persons of both sexes and I am of the opinion that they are the first step on the road to ruin and disgrace to many young people. At one of these houses, the George Inn, Friargate, on a Saturday night may be found from 500 to 700 young persons of both sexes from 200 to 300 of them apparently under the age of 16 years.' During the same week the Concert Hall audience was reported to be a disproportionate ratio of 160 males to only ten females,³² suggesting that on most occasions a male audience of young cotton operatives predominated.

It is interesting to note that Oglethorpe's criticism is of the more refined George music hall, which suggests that the efforts of the social reformers to raise concerns over the moral welfare of young people were meeting with success, in terms of influencing the authorities. Whatever its faults, however, music hall had a strong appeal to the working classes and was the preferred option to the temperance hall.

The Moral Response – Respectability and Rational Recreation

This section will examine 'respectability,' showing its association with alternative recreation. The response of Preston's music-hall proprietors will also be considered, especially in their adoption of the rhetoric of respectability.

Historians have debated the importance of respectability as a social force. Kift states: 'Nationally, respectability was the central concept in the arguments of the reformers.'³³ One of the ways to respectability was through temperance, as abstinence was expected to improve individual and family living conditions through better-balanced household budgets. According to Thompson, respectability increased after the 1870s, partly as a result of an increase in real wages by approximately 50 per cent in the last quarter of the century. He also points out a close tie with temperance: 'Abstinence would establish a regime of working-class respectability that would be recognised as such by the middle classes.'³⁴

³² 'Brewster Sessions Report,' *Preston Chronicle*, 2nd September, 1876

³³ Kift, D. *Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 182.

³⁴ Thompson, F. *Rise of Respectable Society* (Fontana Press, 1988) p. 199, 320

Bailey's discussion of how respectable values were adopted by the working-class is relevant here as he points out that middle-class perceptions were somewhat simplistic, showing that while 'the middle classes proceeded on the conviction that respectability was a social imperative', working-class culture had 'a tangential rather than an emulative relationship to that of the middle-class'. The working man at play could move through several different roles. Bailey uses a piece of documentary fiction to show that it is an over-simplification to see two mutually exclusive groups – the respectable and the non-respectable. The story of Bill Banks demonstrates that it was quite possible for members of the working-class to take advantage of respectable activities while still enjoying forms of entertainment that middle-class reformers would regard as vulgar or immoral.³⁵

The Preston advocates of temperance who opposed music hall had complete faith in the rightness of their cause but it cannot be assumed that any success they had is indicative of the wholesale adoption of respectability by the working-class that constituted a large part of the music hall audience. Furthermore, it will be argued below that legislation and not allegiance to the temperance call for abstinence was the major factor in the decline of pub music halls in Preston.

As well as expressing their condemnation in the strongest persuasive terms, those who promoted temperance and respectability knew from the beginning that alternative entertainments and leisure pursuits were needed if they were to win converts to their cause. Thus rational recreation was promulgated in Preston by an influential section of the town's middle-class leaders and temperance advocates. Indeed from the mid 1840s the most important agency of rational recreation was the temperance movement. The rationale was to lure the working class away from leisure pursuits associated with alcohol consumption through respectable counter attractions thereby the values of rational recreation might be internalised. Preston Corporation first enclosed 100 acres of Preston Moor as Moor Park as early as 1834. With further development of Miller and Moor Parks in the early 1860s the council aimed to provide recreational facilities and at the same time engage textile workers with employment in landscaping at the height of the cotton famine.

³⁵ Bailey P. 'Will the Real Bill Banks Stand Up? Towards Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability,' *Journal of Social History*, 12, 1978-9, pp73-90 Also Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) p 90

The Liberal members with their alliance to the nonconformist and teetotal movement welcomed any move to lure the workers away from the pub environment.³⁶ Education and self improvement were another side to the promotion of respectability; an issue referred to by the Recorder of Preston, Joseph Catterall, during 1869 when he attacked the pub culture: 'There ought to be very stringent regulations as to prostitutes and persons of notoriously bad character being allowed to congregate together in these houses. Yet supposing that the best licensing system possible should be carried out, we should still be far from suppressing the vice of drunkenness and its too often criminal results. This can only be done by education, judiciously adapted to the wants of our populations.'³⁷

An example of a respectable educational counter attraction in Preston was the Mechanics' Institute which first opened in Preston in 1828 and was known as the Preston Institute for the Diffusion of Knowledge. The organisation's link with temperance is shown by Joseph Livesey being one of its first officers, thus showing how temperance and rational recreation were joint forces in the promotion of respectability in Preston. During 1829 membership reached 700. Among the members in 1841 there were 85 clerks and shop-men, 76 tradesmen, 17 mechanics, 34 joiners and other operatives but only 6 factory hands. The promotion of improvement through education was boosted with the opening of the Avenham Institute, in October, 1849. The main storey had a theatre, library, reading room, committee rooms, classrooms and a lecture theatre with capacity for 600 people. The subscriptions were 6/6d a year and this included access to a library of 1500 books that circulated at the rate of 300 a week. At the time of Dickens's visits, during the 'Great Lockout of 1853,' the institute was described as 'lifting the souls of impoverished cotton workers. Dickens also attended meetings at the old cockpit during the Great Lockout.'³⁸

In Preston education had only limited success in competing with the pub and music hall culture, and so supports Bailey's idea of 'limited attachment' and his view that 'rationality and old-style conviviality were not necessarily irreconcilable qualities in popular recreation,' as exemplified by Bill Banks Day Out.³⁹ Questions arose concerning the success of counter attractions and the level of education received, and one report

³⁶ Livesey, J. *Staunch Teetotaler*, November, 1867. No 11 p. 164

³⁷ *Preston Chronicle* 30th January, 1869.

³⁸ Walmsley, T. *Reminiscences of the Preston Cockpit* (Preston Guardian Press, 1892) pp. 4-5.

³⁹ Bailey P. 'Will the Real Bill Banks Stand Up? Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability,' in *Journal of Social History* 12 1978-9 Also Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) pp. 90- 91

comments: 'The Avenham Institute does not do the good one would wish - it cannot rival the beer shops and public houses.'⁴⁰ The continual growth of music hall for many years after the founding of the Avenham Institute is evidence of its limited success as an opposing attraction and as Joyce states: 'The education received in the Mechanics and Church Institutes, often amounted only to the teaching of basic reading and writing. The music hall, the sports stadium and the popular press triumphed over the mechanics' institute and the temperance society.'⁴¹

During the period of music hall growth, reformers were persistent in their efforts to attract workers into what were perceived as worthy leisure pursuits. The concern to encourage rational recreation for the working classes embraced a whole range of counter attractions, several of which were listed by Joseph Livesey in 1867. 'There are the mechanics' institute, newsroom, library, working men's club, gymnasium, lectures, temperance meetings, concerts and tea parties.'⁴²

The Temperance Movement were proactive in influencing the authorities to curb licences and campaigned against the closure of the low class concert halls while offering the type of recreation referred to above. Russell states: 'from the mid 1840s a scheme of rational recreation that did not include music, was no scheme at all.'⁴³ Concerts intended to counter the singing saloon were inspired by a meeting that took place on 15th October, 1840, 'holden at the White Horse Inn in Preston', to initiate the Preston Choral Society and improve the choral taste of music in the town. There was also a moral aim: 'that no more places be opened to corrupt and ruin our young people.'⁴⁴ From the 1840s onward, concerts and recitals were organised in different venues including the Corn Exchange and the Avenham Institute Theatre. Conjurers and jugglers were sometimes invited to provide additional entertainment in the effort to offer an alternative to the pub and music hall.⁴⁵

Livesey found that a Saturday evening concert was highly useful in keeping teetotallers away from entertainments usually associated with drink: 'Our charge of admission is one penny. We have had rather more (singers) than could be accommodated...many of them

⁴⁰ Clay, J. *Select committee on Public Houses and Places of Entertainment*, P.P. 1852-53

⁴¹ Joyce P. *Work, Society and Politics* (Methuen Press, 1982) p. 171, 286

⁴² *Staunch Teetotaller* No 7, July, 1867 pp. 49-50

⁴³ Russell, D. *Popular Music in England*, (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 26

⁴⁴ L.R.O. DDP37/84, 15th October, 1840. Also *Preston Chronicle*, 10th October & 8th November, 1840

⁴⁵ *Preston Chronicle* 17th March, 1866

snatched from the public house'.⁴⁶ With the opening of the rebuilt Public Hall in Preston in 1882, musical and choral societies and orchestral concerts and oratorios were sustained as a feature of Victorian entertainment in the town. Captain J. Norwood presented his annual concerts with vocalists and maintained the orchestral tradition for over 40 years. These are not dissimilar to the Leeds People's Concert, part of the 'Music for the People,' movement, which aimed to counteract the appeal of public houses and the Leeds Casino Music Hall.⁴⁷

The coffee house movement of the 1870s when coffee houses were established all over the country⁴⁸ first came to Preston in 1878 following a meeting of the Preston Temperance Society. One of the speakers at the meeting announced that they intended to 'uplift the social and moral status of the working classes'. Just as the public houses provided ale, comfortable and convenient rooms for recreation, the coffee palaces would be open all day. 'Our aim is to take the drinkers away from the gin palaces and the beer shops,' said the speaker. 'It will be a pleasure to see people going with a jug to the coffee and cocoa house instead of going with it to the beer house.' The Queens, Friargate, and the Alexandra coffee taverns, St Paul's Schoolrooms, belonging to 'Preston Coffee and Cocoa Tavern Company', opened during 1878. The Queen's was elegantly furnished complete with chandeliers and there was a room for cards and chess and a separate ladies room but both venues closed in 1884. The reasons for failure were said to be an abundance of refreshment places and the two taverns were not centrally located.

Alternative recreation was provided and recommended for the work force in different ways. It may have been a consequence of the reformers' attacks on music hall the Albion was closed in 1856 and transformed into the Spinners and Minders Institute capable of accommodating 500 persons,⁴⁹

Livesey approved: There is everything the young men require apart from drink. The weavers and others have similar institutes. Now, I ask what is there to prevent the tailors, shoemakers, and all other trades from engaging rooms, although perhaps on a smaller scale?'⁵⁰ The premises were used by the Spinners and Minders Institute until closure in

⁴⁶ Pearce J. *The Life of Joseph Livesey*, (National Temperance Publication, London, 1887) p.50

⁴⁷ Russell, D. 'Leeds Rational Recreation Society, 1852-59; Music for the People in a mid-Victorian City,' *Publications of the Thoresby Society* LV1, 1981, pp. 141-3

⁴⁸ Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians* (Keele University Press, 1994) p. 296

⁴⁹ Hewitson, *A History of Preston*, (Preston 1883) p. 354

⁵⁰ *Staunch Teetotaller* No. 24, December, 1868 p.371

1882 when the total number of members was 740. The main objects of the association were local and general trade protection and relief in cases of personal accidents and machinery breakdowns. Savage, argues that the textile unions were strong and the Preston Overlookers', Spinners' and Weavers' Unions all had their own premises which were widely used for social purposes.⁵¹

Apart from the textile institutes, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union was founded in 1862 by Henry Solly, as a middle-class initiative, supported by the temperance movement, to counter alcohol-related entertainment. 'The club movement of the 1860s shows temperance reformers giving generously to a new counter attraction,' writes Harrison. ⁵² Bailey acknowledges the contribution of Solly, who 'embodied the C.I.U. and his credo exemplifies much that was common thinking about rational recreation'⁵³.

A Working Man's Club was established in Preston as early as 1863. Local political parties, which were outside the CIU, set up their own Liberal Club (1866) and Conservative Working Men's Club (1877) with combined totals of over 1,000 members.⁵⁴ Hewitson, claimed that in 1865, 'Preston's Working Men's Clubs although as yet in their infancy, are doing much to provide healthy and pure recreation.'⁵⁵ To some extent the Preston clubs partially fulfilled the need for rational recreation with drama, poetry and orchestral concerts including regular visits by Mr Norwood's Concert Band to Preston Conservative Club.⁵⁶

Working Men's Clubs at first avoided both the provision of alcohol and music-hall entertainment. However, the CIU came to accept the sale of beer on club premises, which first occurred in Preston clubs during 1868. Coincidentally, Livesey suggests that by 1868 they had failed in their principal aim of providing a counter attraction to the public house and can therefore be seen as posing little threat to the music hall: 'My last effort of any magnitude in this line was in connection with the Working Men's Club at No. 3, Lord Street. In a pecuniary sense it has been quite successful, yet it has not attracted the drinking men from the public house as many expected.'⁵⁷ According to Joyce (1982), 'they seem to have been more freely generated by workingmen themselves, as social

⁵¹ Savage, M. *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp. 124-125

⁵² Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians* (Keele University Press, 1994) p. 324

⁵³ Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class* (University of Toronto Press, 1978) pp. 108 121

⁵⁴ Hewitson, A. *History of Preston*. (Preston, 1883)

⁵⁵ *Preston Chronicle*, 11th February, 1865

⁵⁶ *Preston Guardian*, 21st December, 1889. *Preston Chronicle*, 5th January, 1889

⁵⁷ *Staunch Teetotaller*, No 20 August, 1868 p.312

and political outlets for the expression of allegiances already established.’⁵⁸ During the twentieth century, clubs offered a combination of live variety entertainment and alcohol, that contradicted the basic philosophy of rational recreation by following the lead of music hall. There is therefore little evidence that the clubs succeeded in drawing workers away from their drink.

The promotion of respectable forms of recreation led to music-hall proprietors adopting the rhetoric of respectability as a defensive strategy. There is evidence of programming that aimed to add refinement to entertainment, and of propaganda from proprietors designed to counter possible condemnation from the temperance movement. Being aware that respectability was the touchstone of social acceptability, they not only adopted its rhetoric but arguably also tried to instil its values into existing audiences and thus attract larger audiences from the middle class.

The following illustrates that efforts were made by proprietors of music halls to attract an audience that had, in part at least, been persuaded by the arguments of reformers: ‘National Music Hall, at Wagon and Horses, Tithebarn Street - powerful attraction during the Whitsuntide holidays, Monday June 13th 1859 - change of company - mirth and music...elevating tendencies to promote the moral, social and intellectual progress of mankind, to excite kindly sympathy towards each other among all classes of society and to inspire those lofty sentiments which poetry and music convey.’⁵⁹

The church in Preston began to provide alternative social activities to the public house, although Savage argues that these efforts were not very rewarding until the 1890s ‘when the golden age of church social life really began.’⁶⁰ Evidence of competition between the church and music hall is provided in 1861, when the Wagon and Horses Music Hall drew on the appeal of religious music in a respectable programme: ‘The proprietor has purchased an organ, on which there will be played a variety of Sacred Music every Sunday evening, commencing at half past six, and closing at ten o’clock.’⁶¹

⁵⁸ Joyce, P. *Work Society and Politics* (Methuen Press 1982) p. 270

⁵⁹ *Preston Chronicle*, 11th June, 1859

⁶⁰ Savage, M. *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 109

⁶¹ *Preston Chronicle*, 26th October, 1861

The defence of the pub music hall in response to the reformers' cause is demonstrated by the Blackoes, who managed two Preston Concert halls. Respectability was at the forefront of advertising when Edward Blackoe opened the George Music Hall to capacity audiences of around 1000 in November, 1864: 'A new and very extensive concert room will embrace nothing but the strictest morality and respectability.'⁶² A supportive press article describes how he implemented measures to engender an air of respectability with slogans offering, 'nothing but the strictest morality and respectability...A responsible door-keeper is stationed at the entrance to allow none to visit but orderly and well behaved persons, excluding boys and girls...Instructive mottoes are placed up on the walls impressing the reader with good and truthful maxims - 'moderation, a safe principle'; 'honesty is the best policy'; 'morality and prudence are much admired'; 'civility produces many friends'; 'no pains no gains'; and 'he who agrees with himself agrees with others...There was nothing calculated to disgust or demoralise. On the contrary the audience, quiet and well behaved, consisted of respectable looking grown up people, not children, and apparently not a single *'fille publique'* was present. We have nothing to say against such an audience.'⁶³ This noteworthy example reported in the *Whig Preston Chronicle* shows that temperance had a direct effect on how music hall was offered to the public and gives the impression that respectability was beginning to govern the tone of the music hall industry in Preston.

The Blackoe family also managed the King's Head. It offered a select room with private entrance, commanding a full view of the stage, probably intended to segregate the working and lower middle classes. John Blackoe opened the New King's Head Concert Hall in November, 1870. Again the importance of respectability in its promotion is evidenced by the following original quotation with three references to the word, respectability, emphasised in the space of thirty-seven words: 'The King's Head is the largest and most *respectable* in the town engaging first class talent worthy of the appreciation of a really *respectable* audience. Good ale and spirits, music, talent and *respectable* treatment always on hand.'⁶⁴

Although such claims should not be taken entirely at face value, the Blackoes probably made concerted efforts to instil good management to counter temperance attacks and rational recreation activities and therefore music hall proprietorship came to promote

⁶² *Preston Chronicle*, 19th November, 1864

⁶³ *Preston Chronicle*, 18th January, 1865

⁶⁴ *Preston Chronicle* 12th, 19th November, 1870

respectability. The Theatre Royal, like the George, had to show a clear concern for propriety during its 1867 music hall season: 'The prices of admission on the most reasonable terms to suit all classes of respectability; the entertainment to surpass anything yet attempted in Preston. Prices: centre boxes, 1/6d. side boxes 1/-, pit 6d., gallery 3d. Doors open 7pm., to commence at 7.30p.m., to conclude 10p.m., half price at 9p.m., to boxes only. No boys under 16 years unless accompanied by parents, Children in arms not admitted, no disorderly characters. Police officers in attendance to maintain order, three months tickets obtainable with reasonable rates from the manager.'⁶⁵

The Gaiety Theatre, Butler Street, was given the full title of Gaiety Temperance Theatre when it opened on 18th October, 1880.⁶⁶ At the New Gaiety Palace of Varieties there was no theatre bar in 1882 and drinking patrons were directed to the Harmonic Room at the Wagon and Horses. Therefore both the old and the new Gaiety Theatres reflect Bailey's comment on the shifting role of drink during the 1880s when: 'drink was becoming more of an incidental social lubricant and less of a total experience'⁶⁷ This is a crucial change in the development of music hall economics and is significant in terms of audience composition and the influence of respectability. The efforts of reformers to expose the working classes to a respectable leisure and entertainment culture matching middle-class values can be seen to have been influential in Preston, especially in its moral concerns, as it prompted music hall proprietors to promote respectability themselves. Respectability did not persuade drinking customers to forgo music hall but in this way it gradually moved away from being an essentially working-class form of entertainment and towards having a mass appeal.

Politics and Legal Reform of Music Hall

This section examines how the temperance movement campaigned for change in music hall licensing and was not entirely ineffectual. The attitude towards the drinks industry of elected representatives, municipal authorities and the magistracy will be considered in relation to the growth of music hall.

⁶⁵ *Preston Chronicle*, 16th March, 1867

⁶⁶ *Preston Chronicle*, 16th October, 1880

⁶⁷ Bailey P *Leisure and Class* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) p. 174

Harrison points that the prominent early teetotallers all came from the Liberal/Radical nonconformist section of society, and were backed by the Whig *Preston Chronicle* against the Tory *Preston Pilot*.⁶⁸ Preston was, until 1945, a 2-seat constituency, and one of the last constituencies to return two MPs. Most nonconformists voted Liberal while most Anglicans voted Conservative but from the early days of the nineteenth century up to the 1830s the returns had been equally divided between Whigs and Tories. After 1840 the balance tipped towards the Liberals but again became more equally divided between Liberal and Tory from 1852 – 1859.

Joyce states: 'The Conservative party's electoral success owed much to its involvement with the drink trade and the association between temperance and liberalism was close.'⁶⁹ Working-class support for the Tory candidate may therefore indicate some support for music hall and working-class values and interests. During a crucial period of music hall development the two Preston seats were secured by Conservatives who held them from 1859 until 1906.⁷⁰ In 1874, the great majority of the town's working class voted for the two Tory candidates. Edward Hermon, the greatest textile employer in the town received 6,512 votes. Livesey's experience of Preston elections, where 'the drink industry was powerful and bribery was rampant,' led him to place little value on party politics in the promotion of his cause.⁷¹ In 1854, at a time when Preston was witnessing an expansion of the drinks and music hall industry, over 50% of the town's magistrates were cotton manufacturers and 67% were Church of England Tories. Only 14% of the magistrates were directly linked as members of the Preston Temperance Society. This Tory dominance of magistrates augured well for the publicans, since the alliance between Tories and the pub industry, referred to by Joyce, was evident in Preston. The magistrates could not, however, avoid being affected by the level of temperance campaigning and public opinion, and adopted a policy of trying to stem the increase in the number of public houses and music halls.

The Reverend Clay submitted: 'A great number of public house licences are applied for; the borough magistrates refuse a large portion, and an appeal is then carried to the

⁶⁸ Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians* (Keele University Press, 1994) p. 112

⁶⁹ Joyce P. *Work, Society and Politics* (Methuen Press, 1982) pp. 292-294

⁷⁰ Flintoff, T. *Preston and Parliament* (Preston Reference Library, 1981) pp. 7-9

⁷¹ Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians* (Keele University Press, 1994) p. 199

Quarter sessions, and there the licence is obtained.’⁷² As one temperance newspaper puts it, ‘Instead of adopting stringent measures, the Quarter Sessions are promoting drinking in many localities where the action of the local magistrates would have diminished the evil.’⁷³ Dr Martin (Secretary of a Licensing Amendment League) in 1871 opposed allowing appeals from the local licensing magistrates to the Quarter Sessions and stated that ‘The Home Secretary would need all the moral support that could be given him as the drink selling interest was so powerful in the House of Commons’.⁷⁴ The influence of the drink lobby in Parliament together with Conservative dominance in local politics lent support to the brewing industry and licence applications, and thus assisted the growth of music hall in Preston. This favourable influence can be seen to be a factor in the pub music hall reaching its peak in the late 1860s and early 1870s

We have seen that the success of the pubs and music halls gave rise to intense opposition. This is evident in the written attacks by reformers and defensive counter measures taken by music hall proprietors. But criticism alone did not satisfy reformers; they also demanded legal reform, which eventually contributed to the demise of Preston’s pub music halls in the late Victorian era. Nationally, the trend towards reform can be seen in two Select Committee reports of 1852 and 1877 which enquired into the licensing of pubs, beer-houses, theatres and public places of entertainment, advocating closer police supervision, and expressed concerns over public morality.

As part of the movement towards greater control of music hall, the Chief Constable, James Dunn, advocated supervision by police and the magistracy of all places offering live entertainment as early as 1864. ‘There is a great increase in the number of public houses and beer-houses in the town where music and dancing is permitted. Some steps should be taken to place the same under the control of the magistrates and police.’ The Watch Committee expressed their view on music halls to the Home Office: ‘It is desirable that no house, room, booth or other place within boroughs or other populous places should be kept or used for public dancing, music, dramatic or other public entertainment without a licence first obtained from the JPs having jurisdiction within the borough.’⁷⁵

⁷² J. Clay, *Select Committee on Public Houses and Places of Entertainment*, P. P. 1852-53, Q6237

⁷³ *Preston Guardian*, 8th January, 1870.

⁷⁴ *Preston Chronicle*, 25th February, 1871

⁷⁵ *Preston Municipal Watch Committee Minutes*, L.R.O. CBP 51/2. 21st December, 1864, p.199

Livesey was clearly dissatisfied with progress in this respect, as in 1867 he said: 'If past experience is worth anything, it should teach us not to depend too much upon legislation. Neither magistrates as administrators, nor the legislature, have ever done much for temperance.'⁷⁶ Not surprisingly, licensed victuallers were pleased with the control exercised by magistrates and police in 1869 and took a different view: 'In Preston and district, we may congratulate ourselves in regard to our position, for both magistrates and police, although strict and vigilant, are at the same time reasonable.'⁷⁷

Legal change was partly instigated by local reformers and pressure groups of the kind that campaigned in Preston during the 1860s and 1870s. Their demand was for both local and national legislation to control both the sale and supply of drink and the supervision of licensed premises, including beer houses and music hall. Although temperance had limited success in actually persuading patrons not to attend music hall, or in restricting alcohol consumption through the law, some indirect influence on legislation is evident. This is hardly surprising given the strength of the temperance campaign in Preston. Its vociferous opposition dominated the social conflicts around the halls and eventually countered the favourable influence of a Tory and brewery alliance.

By the 1870s there were moves afoot that would impact on music hall by the imposition of stringent licensing conditions for premises offering live entertainment. The Licence Amendment League held a public meeting into a proposed licensing bill at Preston Corn Exchange on the 23rd February, 1871. It was presided over by a leading clergyman, Archdeacon Hornby, and attended by the mayor, magistrates and local clergy. There were more attacks on singing saloons and it was proposed that it should be illegal to sell liquor in any singing or dancing saloon or other place of amusement, without a licence granted by the magistrates.⁷⁸ This demonstrates that music halls in any form were now being specifically targeted for reform under the law in a concerted attack.

Lobbying of the kind demonstrated by the Preston Corn Exchange meeting and powerful campaigning by the temperance movement gradually contributed to the passing of the Licensing Act, 1872. It dealt with three main issues governing the drink industry: responsibility for licensing, opening hours and policing measures including giving the police a statutory right of entry to beer houses. This legislation was in fact one of many

⁷⁶ *The Staunch Teetotaler*, 3rd March, 1867

⁷⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 9th January, 1869

⁷⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, 25th February, 1871

measures which the Gladstone government passed with Conservative support but the Act did not entirely meet the demands of supporters of temperance as greater control by magistrates of premises offering music and dancing was still being called for.

The strength of opposition to music hall can still be seen, however, in comments made in 1877 by the Chief Constable of Preston, J. Oglethorpe to the House of Lords Commissioners on Intemperance: 'There is one evil in public houses as far as morality is concerned and that is having concert rooms and dancing rooms attached to them.'⁷⁹ This attitude, together with the pressure of petitions to magistrates and police was to meet with some success in Preston by influencing the adoption of legislation that was to contribute to the ultimate demise of the Victorian pub music hall.⁸⁰ Local autonomy for the control of licensing for music halls was eventually incorporated into Section 129 of the Preston Improvement Act, 1880. The implications of the legislation for a void in late Victorian entertainment will be further examined in Chapter 3.

The Act was adopted despite the influence of a dominant Conservative magistracy and the two Preston seats being held by Conservatives from 1859 until 1906.⁸¹ The strength of opposition to music hall was, however, not universally legislated for by central government until the passing of the Local Government Act, 1888, which first established local councils. The legislation may also have helped to placate the temperance cause by unifying existing local laws and making national music hall licensing compulsory. However, like the majority of councils, Preston delegated duties back into the hands of the magistrates⁸² who were already exercising their powers under Section 129 of the Improvement Act. Legislation led to a reduction of music hall in Preston though the appeal of its repertoire was such that by the Edwardian era seat prices had superseded alcohol as the financial basis of music hall.

⁷⁹ Oglethorpe, J. *Select Committee House of Lords, on Intemperance* P. P. 1877, X1, Q.4104

⁸⁰ L.R.O., DDPR 138/62

⁸¹ Flintoff, T. *Preston and Parliament*, (Preston Reference Library, 1981) p7-9

⁸² Kift D. *Victorian Music Hall*, 1996 (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 165, 181

Chapter Three

The Variety Theatres of Preston

The Hiatus in Preston Music Hall

This chapter examines the events that led to the opening of the Royal Hippodrome in 1905, an event that ended a sixteen-year hiatus in music hall provision in Preston and preceded the building of three variety theatres. The syndicate contribution and changing styles of entertainment, especially cinema that influenced the decline of the music hall around the time of the Great War will be examined. Consideration will first be given to the lack of a regular music hall in the town at the turn of the century when the town's population had increased to 112,989 by 1901 for this was atypical of a populous urban area.

The number of variety theatres grew nationally and in 1899 the *Era Almanac* listed two hundred and twenty six variety halls in the provinces. This lends support to Vicinus's view that 'the 1890s was a decade of particular success for music hall. All classes were attracted and a sufficient variety of halls existed to cater to all tastes'¹

Preston's variety theatres, however, were built between 1905 and 1913 towards the end of the national music hall boom, which lasted until the outbreak of the Great War. Thus there is a paradox: a town that, in other respects, broadly follows the national and regional trends in music hall development had no new music halls built and, so far as can be ascertained, none sustained during the 1890s. Circumstantial and direct evidence suggests that opposition from magistrates, governing both building construction as well as the conduct of the premises, led to the eventual closure of the town's Victorian music halls.

The hiatus in Preston's music hall was probably the result of a combination of factors. Among these, local autonomy governing the enforcement of licensing was significant in the reduction of the music hall. The licence issued under Section 129 of the

¹ Vicinus. M. *The Industrial Muse* (Croom Helm, 1974) p.239

Preston Improvement Act, 1880, was valid for twelve months, with terms and conditions, for the regulation of public dancing, music, or other public entertainment and issued whether or not the premises were licensed for intoxicants. In 1876 and 1880 the combined total of public houses and beer houses licensed for music and entertainment was thirty-one and eighteen respectively.² During 1881/2, after the introduction of the Act, *The Era Almanac* lists only The Gaiety, The George and King's Head as presenting music hall indicating an immediate post 1880 reduction of music and dancing licences. During the next decade, however, each of these venues would close.

It is conceivable that a few pubs continued to operate as free and easies or with actual concert hall performances. For example, *The Era* excludes any reference to the Clarence Music Hall or the Black Swan each of which presented music hall evenings during the 1880s. Closure evidence for the latter is provided by an 1887 plan of the Black Swan Public House illustrating a disused concert room measuring 16' x 12'.³

Before the 1850s it had only been in London and the area within a twenty-mile radius that a separate music and dancing licence had been required in addition to a liquor licence. During 1851 Birmingham introduced separate music licences and elsewhere in the provinces a similar trend of local acts affecting the existence of the pub music halls gradually followed suit. For example, Leicester's Chief Constable was granted a local act in 1884 governing music licensing and by 1885 pub music hall had been virtually abolished.⁴ The 1872, Bolton Improvement Act, gave the magistrates control over all licences for music, dancing, billiards and various other entertainments in the borough, whether in pubs or not, and there was an immediate squeeze on publicans who put on music and dancing⁵

The decline of the pub concert hall also coincided with tighter controls on licensing initiated prior to the Improvement Act by the effect of the Metropolitan Management and Building Act, 1878, governing building and safety regulations. The Act, adopted nationally required a Certificate of Suitability for a proscenium wall, dividing the

² *Preston Chronicle*, Brewster Sessions August, 1876, 1880

³ L.R.O. PSPR2/21 1887

⁴ Crump, J. 'Provincial Music Hall in Leicester' in Bailey, *Music Hall* (Open University Press, 1986) p. 53

⁵ Poole, R. *Popular Leisure in Bolton* (Lancaster University, 1982) p. 67

stage from the auditorium, and a heavy iron safety curtain, but smaller concert halls could not take its weight. The economy of the halls was also seriously affected by a requirement that bars be separated from the auditoria with a consequential reduction in alcohol consumption. The new legislation caused some 200 halls unable to meet the new standards to close.⁶ According to Kift, 'Building directives imposed on the proprietors of music halls 'were not so much intended to make the premises more safe as to drive them out of business,'⁷ This was no less so in Preston where its impact was felt by the proprietor of the Gaiety Music Hall in 1888. From the time of its 1882 opening it was delicately balanced in terms of its financial viability as is borne out by its short life of only six years as a music hall whilst managed by a lessee, Harry Yorke.

Yorke paid an annual rent of £320 a year but incurred debt to carry out necessary alterations to the Gaiety that had been demanded by the inspecting magistrates. As an interim measure, Yorke was granted a three-month music and dancing licence before he made application for a theatre licence.⁸ During October, 1888 the theatre reopened as a drama theatre and with a change of name: 'Mr Harry Yorke's Gaiety Theatre, will in future be known as the Prince's Theatre and Opera House and will be used only for dramatic purposes.'⁹ The problems of the Gaiety show the difficulties facing concert hall managers, who struggled to afford the expense of extensive alterations at the time of their annual licence application. Yorke would have been aware that the magistrates were less restrictive in their attitude to theatre, and so he was, perhaps, hoping for a greater return on his capital outlay. However, typical of late nineteenth century theatre fires that the improved legislation sought to prevent, the imposed alterations did not prevent a serious fire at the former Preston music hall in April, 1900. This resulted in rebuilding the proscenium and stage area before it reopened as the New Princes Theatre in December, 1900 and with a new capacity of 2,500.¹⁰

The decline in music hall in Preston was such that by November, 1889, the George

⁶ Mander and Mitchenson, *British Music Hall* (London, 1966), p. 47

⁷ Kift D. *Victorian Music Hall* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 166

⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, 18th August, 1888

⁹ *Preston Guardian*, 24th October, 1888. The Prince's Theatre (formerly Gaiety) is recorded in list of theatres in *The Era Almanac and Annual in 1889/90*. See also Appendix 8.

¹⁰ *Preston Guardian*, 22nd December, 1900 & L.R.O PSPR 2/21

was advertising itself as being unique in Preston: 'The only music hall in town. Special attractions. Concert tonight at 7.30p.m.'¹¹ . This claim lends some weight to the view that other music halls had ceased to exist. During the same week the Theatre Royal and the Prince's were presenting dramatic productions and Gilbert and Sullivan. Both drama theatres continued with the annual Christmas pantomime where established music hall performers increasingly appealed to family audiences but elsewhere the music hall genre was not forthcoming. In 1895 the George was demolished in a scheme to widen Friargate. Plans for the new George Hotel, re-erected on the same site, did not include a large concert room,¹² suggesting a lack of demand for music hall and/or the high cost of the capital investment necessary to conform with building and safety regulations. Whatever the reasons for its demise, however, the George functioned as a music hall in its own right for twenty-five years and as such was a clear precursor to the Royal Hippodrome that was to be built close by on Friargate in 1905.

The anomaly of the lack of a significant music hall presence in Preston between 1889 and 1905 becomes more apparent when it is contrasted with other Lancashire towns. Table 6 shows the top towns listed in order of licence-population ratio for the performance of music in Lancashire in 1892.¹³ Although Preston, with a population of 107,573, in 1891, is conspicuously absent from the table this is not the case in neighbouring Burnley, with a smaller population of 90,000, shown fourth in Table 6.¹⁴

Burnley had two drama theatres, the Victoria, and the Gaiety Theatre. The continuity of Burnley's music hall industry in the 1890s is illustrated by the construction of its first purpose-built music hall, 'The Empire,' which opened in October, 1894 and had capacity for 2,500. The Empire was unchallenged as a variety theatre until 1908 when the Palace Hippodrome, having 2,000 seats, opened in the centre of town in December, 1907.

¹¹ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 2nd November, 1889. See also Appendix 8 regarding gap years

¹² See Appendix 3 and L.R.O. PR.2/80

¹³ Waters C 'Manchester Morality and London Capital,' in Bailey, *Music Hall*, (Open Univ. Press 1986) p. 148

¹⁴ Population Census England and Wales, 1891

Table 6:¹⁵Public Houses in Lancashire Licensed for the Performance of Music in 1892

Town	Population	Public houses with music licences	Ratio of licences to population
1. Oldham	131,463	268	1 : 491
2. Bury	56,418	102	1 : 553
3. Clitheroe	10,815	14	1 : 773
4. Burnley	90,000	111	1 : 811
5. St Helens	71,288	74	1 : 963
6. Manchester	505,343	468	1 : 1080
7. Liverpool	517,961	400	1 : 1295
8. Wigan	55,013	29	1 : 1897
9. Salford	201,058	105	1 : 1915
10 Rochdale	71,458	35	1 : 2042

Two other Lancashire textile towns, Bolton and Blackburn, each had at least one legitimate theatre and purpose built music hall at the turn of the century. At Bolton, (population 115,002 – 1891) the rebuilt Victoria Theatre of Varieties operated as a music hall from 1882 and so did the Grand Cirque, opened in 1894. The Empire theatre of Varieties opened in 1908 and became the Hippodrome.¹⁶ At Blackburn, (population 120,064, 1891) the Princes Theatre opened c1890 and was rebuilt as the New Princes Theatre in 1906. It was renamed the Grand in December, 1931 and closed as a variety theatre in 1956. The Palace Music Hall opened on the 11th December, 1899 ‘with a first class variety bill.’ It re-opened as part of McNaughten circuit in September, 1900.¹⁷

¹⁵ Waters, C. ‘Manchester Morality and London Capital,’ ed. Bailey, *Music Hall*, (Open Univ. Press, 1986) p. 148

¹⁶ Poole, R. *Popular Leisure in Bolton*, (Lancaster University, 1982) p. 69, 82

¹⁷ Mellor G. *The Northern Music Hall*, (Graham Publications, 1970) pp. 23-24, 172-179

Alternative late Victorian Entertainment in Preston

It is relevant that as well as the costs imposed by new regulations the effect of the provision of alternative forms of entertainment is taken into account. Rational recreation in late Victorian Preston offered alternative forms of leisure pursuits exemplified by the Mechanics' Institute, parks, political clubs and other institutions served by philanthropic interests of the town. As has been shown, throughout the development of music hall it had been put under pressure to change by those who favoured respectability and temperance. This persistent influence helped promote its evolution from a pub based working-class genre to a mass entertainment and led to a broadening of the range of forms of entertainment.

By 1882 music hall capacity was reduced to an estimated 4,500 seats comprising capacity at the 'The Gaiety' (2,000) 'The George', (1,000) The King's Head (1,000) and The Clarence (about 500). Alternative entertainment in 1882 included both civic and private establishments representing a formidable challenge to music hall: The Theatre Royal had capacity for 1,700 seats while the two concert halls the Public Hall and the Guild Hall had total capacity for 4,564 seats. The Temperance Hall had 800 seats for miscellaneous entertainment. In addition there was an unspecified number of seats at the permanent and visiting circuses. A total estimated capacity of over 6,500 for entertainment for popular culture excluding the travelling circus suggests a strong reason why music hall did not prosper during the 1880s.

Walton acknowledges, 'What emerges is the sheer extent and range of commercial entertainment provision in the late Victorian and Edwardian cotton towns of Lancashire, building on and expanding from firm mid-Victorian foundations, and reaching almost all levels of working-class society.'¹⁸ In Preston the drama theatre, travelling circus, Victorian Pleasure Garden and legitimate theatre were all popular with the late Victorian and Edwardian audiences and filled the void in music hall entertainment during the period up to 1905. In 1898, at a time when the music hall was almost non-existent, the Theatre Royal underwent a second renovation which

¹⁸ Walton, J. *Lancashire: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 299

included three upper tiers and had a total capacity for 1,700.¹⁹ This development suggests that at the end of the nineteenth century the legitimate theatre was once again the dominant force in live entertainment in Preston as it had adapted sufficiently to attract audiences from across the classes.

The contribution of the pleasure garden and circus to late Victorian entertainment is particularly worthy of consideration. Visitors flocked to the Preston Pleasure Gardens, New Hall Lane, during the early 1880s to enjoy live entertainment, a dancing pavilion, sports facilities and a zoological garden. Over 200 birds and animals representing 100 species were accommodated in the zoo. The attraction had widespread appeal during Preston Guild of 1882. It was advertised as being accessible from the railway station: 'Tram cars from all the railway platforms, direct to the (pleasure garden) gates, every few minutes' Throughout the 1880s Preston Pleasure Gardens had established links with music hall by providing a venue for acts and on Sunday, 20th August, 1884, an attendance of 2,853, witnessed the live entertainment.²⁰ Two Preston music hall/circus stars artists, Mon. Descombes - globe performer and juggler and Madam Laura - invisible wire equilibrist were appearing at the pleasure gardens during Easter, 1885,²¹ having previously featured at the The Gaiety Palace of Varieties in 1882.²²

During June 1889, 'OHMY'S. Great Circus'²³ played at the pleasure gardens.²⁴ The travelling circus and menagerie regularly visited Preston throughout the Victorian era and was probably competing with the music hall. A visit during November, 1889 of 'Quaghens and Allen's grand Circus, Corporation Street had capacity audiences despite relatively high admission prices of 3/-, 2/-, 1/-, 6d and 3d., suggesting its likely appeal to most classes of society. Over a one-month period it was claimed that the Christmas pantomime presented by the circus - an equestrian version of 'Cinderella' - attracted 37,000 people.²⁵ Such was the immense popularity of the

¹⁹ Theatre Royal plan for 1898; see L.R.O. PSPR2/224

²⁰ L.R.O. DDCM (6)

²¹ *Preston Guardian*, 28th March, 1885

²² *Preston Chronicle*, 23rd December, 1882

²³ The 1901 Census shows circus artist, Joseph Smith, 46 yrs. residing at 5, Fox St., Preston, with wife & 4 children. Smith adopted OHMY as his middle name for he was in the habit of shouting 'ohmye,' as a circus bungee jumper and this led to the naming of his travelling circus.

²⁴ *Preston Chronicle* 8th June, 1889.

²⁵ *Preston Chronicle*, 1st December, 1889

circus in 1889 that there is a suggestion of a niche being filled with this popular entertainment genre and is also illustrative of a demand for live entertainment which is reinforced by the recollections of Pye in describing late Victorian entertainment in 1945. 'The memories of exciting entertainment as for instance OHMYS big wooden circus building and all for a penny for children on Saturday afternoons. Then later on Buffalo Bill's gigantic Wild West Show; then there were the plays, and pantomimes at the Theatre Royal, with the uncontrolled crush at the pit and gallery doors, in the days before the queue-system had been invented.'²⁶

Poole shows that another Lancashire town regularly had circus alongside music hall: 'wooden pavilions were commonly used in the period in Bolton by travelling circuses and this highlights the close connection with circus and theatre including the established theatre.'²⁷ In several provincial towns and cities the pub music hall extended into the twentieth century. Russell gives an instance of the Bradford music hall with a chairman still officiating in 1902 which illustrates this point and also that the demise of the pub music hall did not always follow a regular pattern.²⁸ Where other towns had both music hall and circus, Preston stands out as lacking the former and we will probably never know exactly why this highly specific pattern developed in Preston. After the closures of the Gaiety and the George it was not until the syndicates took an interest in the town during the Edwardian era that music hall was revived and brought Preston back in line with the national pattern of growth.

The Music Halls of Preston and the syndicate contribution (1905-1914)

It was in the 1890s that that Moss, Thornton and Stoll began building Empires, Palaces and Hippodromes throughout England. This section will show how a niche for a music hall in Preston was exploited by the Broadhead syndicate,²⁹ a north-west regionally-based firm that had the financial resources to exploit the opportunity that a town without a clearly recognisable music hall presented. Within eight months of building commencing a commodious theatre with 2,500 seats had been built, thus

²⁶ Pye, H. *The Story of Christ Church* (Preston, 1945)

²⁷ Poole, R. *Popular Leisure in Bolton* (Lancaster University, 1982) p.48

²⁸ 'The Magnet,' in Russell, D. *Popular Music in England* (Manchester University Press, 1987) p. 78

²⁹ For discussion of the significance of the northern syndicates see Mellor, G. *The Northern Music Hall* (Graham Publications, 1970)

extending the Broadhead theatrical enterprise away from the Manchester conurbation. Part of the company's philosophy was that in case of poor box office returns their theatres could be re-designed for use as factories.³⁰ However, neither the Hippodrome, nor the King's Palace, which opened in 1913, saw this type of adaptation and both survived as music halls until the 1950s.

William Henry Broadhead and his sons William Birch Broadhead and Percy Baynham Broadhead were instrumental in building fourteen and purchasing a further two theatres mainly in working-class areas of Manchester. The first theatre to be built was the Royal Osborne Theatre, Manchester in 1893 and subsequent halls were erected in working-class districts of the city. Part of their concept of respectability was to bring greater diversity of programming with 'dramatic productions of an uplifting moral nature', for working-class audiences in variety theatres at prices they could afford.³¹ As a family they displayed foresight by reacting to change. William Birch was the inspiration behind the design of most of the theatres, and he employed an architect, a Mr. J. J. Allen, to interpret his ideas. The style of architecture and interior design was influenced by Frank Matcham, the renowned theatre architect who designed the extant Grand Theatre, Blackpool. The prospering music hall industry and the Broadhead contribution to it was acknowledged by the performer, Percy Honri, who once said that 'W.H. Broadhead and Sons were builders of theatres rather than bidders for theatres someone else had built.'³²

The Broadhead slogan of taking amusement and entertainment to the people at prices to reach the multitude now had relevance to Preston. The Broadheads grasped that dramatic productions and a range of eclectic entertainment including variety, was a marketable proposition. Their motto for variety interest was 'make it quick, clean, smart and bright.' In this respect they were 'constructing new constituencies of support and... fostering new entertainment styles'³³, things that would be needed to develop a new music hall audience in Preston. Broadhead's talent scout, Ernest Simms, had the job of engaging artists while watching their performances. If suitable

³⁰ *Oral testament* Major A. Burt Briggs, August, 1998

³¹ *Ibid*

³² *Ibid*

³³ Russell D. 'The Making of the Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth and Kaplan *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 64

they were booked with a wage that was guaranteed while they toured the Broadhead circuit. The syndicate engaged acrobats, comics, glamorous dancing girls, magicians, singers, and a plethora of music hall entertainers on what was affectionately known as 'the bread and butter circuit'. This was because regular bookings did not produce the high wages of the Moss Empires, Stoll and other prestigious theatre circuits.

The Royal Hippodrome opened on the 16th January, 1905, managed by J. Freeman who came from Broadhead's Queen's Park Hippodrome, Manchester. A final inspection of the premises took place on the 14th January, 1905 when Mr. W. P. Park the Chairman of the Inspection Committee complimented Mr. Broadhead on his enterprise and, after Mr. Broadhead agreed to some minor changes, a licence was granted. That night the theatre was thrown open for inspection by the general public and many thousands of Prestonians passed through the entrance. Monday, 16th January, brought blizzards but this did not prevent the formal opening matinee performance with a full house and standing room only. The orchestra played the National Anthem and as the stage was revealed a hearty round of cheers resounded throughout the house.

The type of enthusiasm generated for the opening indicates that Broadhead was fulfilling a definite need. According to press reporting comments were passed that 'It certainly filled a long-felt gap in the town's entertainment provision... Time and again has a thoroughly up to date music hall and variety theatre been promised for Preston but it was not until some eight or nine months ago that definite arrangements for the construction of such a building was brought to the notice of the public. A most substantial and pretty Hippodrome is certainly a decided acquisition.'³⁴ The Hippodrome was lit by gas and electricity, which meant that safety provisions and fire inspections had to be rigorously enforced. The theatre exits facilitated that a 'full house' could be emptied in three minutes. An exceptionally large stage was fitted with a fireproof curtain and the lighting was arranged so that there was little danger of fire. Patent sprinklers were also a feature of the building. Thus, the Broadhead syndicate was able to meet more stringent regulations than those that the Gaiety had struggled to meet seventeen years before.

³⁴ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 17th January, 1905

The concept of class to mass entertainment may be interpreted as music hall evolving into mass entertainment that attempted to reach the widest audience. The Hippodrome is evidence of provision for a respectable Edwardian audience. The style of classical architecture and the private boxes at the Hippodrome were aimed at attracting a wide cross-section of the public: 'So far as the interior is concerned there is abundant evidence that no expense has been spared. The proscenium is in Ionic style with renaissance panels and on each side are statues representing repose and silence, supported by brackets, imitative of the heads of satyrs. On each side is a handsomely furnished private box. All the main walls are furnished with rich crimson art paper which harmonises extremely well with the gold and white used in other decorations... All 2,500 seats command a fine view of the stage and a spacious waiting room was provided for the benefit of the second house patrons.'³⁵ The level of refinement is in accordance with the findings of Russell that variety theatres were now more like the nationally established sumptuous drama theatres: 'Music hall with neo-classical exteriors and an array of exotic interiors increasingly came to resemble legitimate theatres.'³⁶

The growing culture for music hall inspired a local entrepreneur and architect, Edwin Bush, to follow Broadhead's lead and build and manage the independent Empire Theatre in 1911. The subsidiary blocks of this ambitious scheme, included shops on Church Street and chambers on three upper floors and the Empire Hotel in Tithebarn Street. Thus the variety theatre can be seen to be integrated into the commercial life of the town while Broadhead now had a further competitor. Edwin Bush offered seats at the Empire priced between 4d to 1/6d in 1911 compared with the Royal Hippodrome prices of 2/-in the circle, 1/-in the stalls, and 3d in the pit. It would seem that the period between the opening of the Empire in 1911 and the building of a second Broadhead theatre, the King's Palace, in 1913 was the time when Edwardian music hall was most economically successful in Preston. A total of three variety theatres by 1913 for a population of 117,088 meant that they could expect to be

³⁵ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 17th January, 1905

³⁶ Russell D. 'Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth and Kaplan *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.81

profitable, as managers assumed that about one-third of the local population could be deemed potential customers.

The Empire music hall matched Preston's Hippodrome in having an audience capacity of 2,500. On the opening night, 22nd May, 1911, many were unable to gain admission. A full description of the theatre was reported in *The Era*: 'The cost of the whole scheme is £65,000 and the venture is both bold and praiseworthy. The design of the theatre is in the Renaissance style of Louis XIV. There is a view of the stage from every part of the house. Entrance to the stage from the street is so ample in width and height that a motor-car, fire engine or 'coach and four' could drive straight across the stage in full view of the audience... The proscenium is flanked by two Georgian stage boxes... Each tier of boxes is crowned with an ornamental dome in line with the circle and gallery.' *The Era* also describes the forms of entertainment planned: 'With the ever popular variety performance the management also intends to stage musical comedy, pantomime and grand opera at suitable periods. A determined effort is to be made to exclude rigidly from all performances that bugbear of the variety stage, doubtful humour, and to present at all times clean, wholesome amusement of the highest quality obtainable.'³⁷

The opening of Broadhead's King's Palace, Tithebarn Street, on 6th February, 1913, to a packed 3,000 capacity audience marks the ultimate phase of music hall development in the town. What had begun as poor people's pub music hall staged in a gin palace had become a form of variety entertainment appealing to all classes staged in the King's Palace. Thus it was that eight years after the hiatus ended in 1905, Preston had three purpose-built variety theatres offering respectable music hall and other forms of entertainment to a wide spectrum of Edwardian society.

Respectable Audiences and Twice Nightly Performances

By 1905 audiences were increasingly bound by the behavioural constraints of respectability. The aim of attracting the widest possible respectable audience can be seen in what was expected of Broadhead's staff at the Hippodrome, who had to be especially clean and respectably dressed and live up to manager Walter Hume's

³⁷ *The Era*. 27th May, 1911.

catchphrase 'on the ball'. Before opening he paraded all the staff who dealt with the public and inspected their hands, nails and general appearance. He maintained that the box office and programme sellers' hands, faces and hairstyles must be up to the standards expected by patrons at that time.³⁸ This insistence on making theatre staff look as smart as good domestic servants lends some support to Russell's view that there was an attempt to attract a wider social class strata in music hall post 1890: 'There is implicit evidence that from the 1890s significant sections of the middle-class proper began to attend. They included clerks, teachers, managers and even some professionals with their families.'³⁹

Being without music hall, Preston cannot provide evidence of audience composition and management during the 1890s but there is evidence of a link with respectable audiences in 1884 when the level of congeniality inherited from the singing saloon was transferred to the new Preston Gaiety Theatre. By 1884 fixed seating facing the stage was the norm and the police were in attendance to uphold the high standards of the manager.

Twenty one years later Broadhead's policy provides some evidence of the ongoing trend towards respectability. The company maintained that the respectable citizen could take his wife and children to any of its productions, find them free from vulgarity and at a price well within his means. Admission prices were meant to cater for all classes through the provision of private boxes for the well-to-do and the segregation of the pit and gallery from the stalls and dress circle. In 1905 the seating at the Hippodrome was said to be well arranged and of luxurious character with prices ranging from 3d in the pit to 2/- for box and circle seats. Repectability was the keynote for all classes as can be seen in the emphasis on: 'Absolute detached lavatories for ladies and gentlemen throughout the theatre.'⁴⁰ Additionally, the temperance influence prevailed well into the 20th Century and the new generation of Preston's Edwardian theatres remained dry. William Henry Broadhead was himself, an advocate of temperance and many of his theatres, including the Palace and the Hippodrome, never had a liquor licence until after his death in 1930. Unlike the

³⁸ *Oral testament* Major A. Burt Briggs, August, 1998

³⁹ Russell, D. *Popular Music* (Manchester University Press. 1987) p. 79-82.

⁴⁰ *The Lancashire Daily Post*. 17th January, 1905

Victorian music hall, reliance on alcohol as a source of funding was evidently unimportant and the crush rooms and lounges of Broadhead's two Preston theatres offered only soft drinks and cups of tea. There were public houses situated close by, however, but these were not internally connected.

By now the music halls of Preston had graduated from once-nightly variety performances at the Victorian Gaiety of the type performed on the 7th July, 1884⁴¹ and described in Chapter One to twice-nightly performances during the Edwardian era. The revived music hall of the town is in line with Russell's view: 'Further efforts to increase profitability resulted in attempts at raising performers' productivity through the large scale utilisation from about 1900 of both the twice-nightly system and the matinee...The growth of a matinee performance again suggests the increased attendance of a slightly more leisured class.'⁴²

At the opening night of the Royal Hippodrome, 'there were good houses for both twice nightly performances.' The Empire capitalised on its advertising slogan 'Get the habit-Twice Nightly', to attract regular patrons and the King's Palace had the performance times of 6.40 and 9 as a permanent inscription on its terracotta exterior. From 1905 onwards the variety theatres of Preston presented, for the first time, twice-nightly performances, and at least two matinees a week making the performances more attractive to women, textile and engineering workers on shift work and, increasingly, the middle classes. This was a time when families had the opportunity to have a pleasant night out in Preston, put on their best clothes and meet their friends. Music hall visits were social events attended by the family, friends and work colleagues. That twice nightly became so common in Preston is perhaps testimony to the increasing patronage of a more sophisticated audience and propaganda by theatre owners that clearly aimed to attract the middle classes. At the time of the opening of the King's Palace in 1913, William Henry Broadhead, claimed: 'Another Messrs Broadhead and Sons achievement in the raising of magnificent halls for the delectation of the people. This is the most up to date theatre in Lancashire offering opera from the Grand Junction, Manchester and pantomime from the Pavilion,

⁴¹ Honri, P. *Working the Halls*, (Saxon House) 1973 p. 28

⁴² Russell D. 'Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth & Kaplan, *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p 65. Also Russell D. *Popular Music* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1987) p.81

Liverpool.⁴³ Unfortunately this ambitious undertaking did not augur well for the continuance of music hall as the Victorian hiatus for the genre was transformed into a glut of seats for music hall provision by 1913.

The Battle for the King's Palace

As we have seen, the opening of the Empire attracted favourable comment from the local press, but when the King's Palace Theatre opened on the 6th February 1913 there was serious opposition from other theatre owners on the grounds of over provision. The King's Palace was claimed to be an embarrassing addition to the town's entertainment venues. Preston already had two music halls and two theatres: The Empire and the Royal Hippodrome and the Theatre Royal and the Princes respectively. The capacity of the Hippodrome was 2,500; the Empire 2,500, the Theatre Royal 1,700, and the Prince's theatre 2,500. By 1913 Preston also sustained a total of twelve cinemas in the town. This gave an average of 40,000 theatre patrons per week excluding the cinema provision. Therefore the financial basis of Edwardian music hall in Preston was not entirely secure, especially after the opening of the second Broadhead theatre in February, 1913, with total capacity for about 3,000. This, together with the emergence of cinema in the town lends support to Bailey's view: 'By 1912 music hall was well into over production and reduced profits.'⁴⁴

On the 3rd February, 1913, William Henry Broadhead applied to Preston Borough Court for licences to operate under the Theatre, Act, 1843 and a Music, Singing and Dancing Licence to operate under the Preston Improvement Act, 1880, in respect of the new King's Palace Theatre. Counsel for Broadhead argued from the outset that the opposition was purely a trade dispute, submitting that his client was a suitable person to hold the licences as he was an established theatre owner whose new building met all of the safety requirements of the London County Council. Counsel for the owner of the Princes said that 'In the interests of fair play the licence should not be granted. The result of competition amongst the theatres would be the survival of the one with the longest purse.' The owners of the Empire Theatre and Theatre Royal jointly argued that not one of Preston's theatres realised a decent return on

⁴³ Documentation provided by Major A. Burt-Briggs, April, 1999

⁴⁴ Bailey P. *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure* (Open University Press, 1987) p. xiii

capital invested in them. The owner of the Theatre Royal stated that 'my house has suffered with the opening of the Empire and the Royal Hippodrome should be closed to compensate for the opening of the King's Palace.' Under cross-examination Broadhead pointed out that the Hippodrome was the first music hall built in Preston and was built six years before the Empire opened. He refused to disclose the Royal Hippodrome's profitability arguing that the theatres and cinemas were crowded on Mondays and Saturdays and sometimes on Thursdays. He told the court that Vaudeville shows would not be put on at the Hippodrome and the Palace in the same week. Despite the opposition and the distinct possibility of over provision Broadhead got his licence for the vast 2,600 seat King's Palace venue with room for another 400 standing.⁴⁵ The publicity gained by the opposition to the granting of a licence resulted in two bumper houses for the opening night variety night only three days after the licence was granted and is illustrative of the popular approval of Broadhead's enterprise.⁴⁶

The foregoing shows that during the period between 1905 and 1913, Preston's music hall patrons were adequately catered for, particularly with the provision of the King's Palace but clearly there were doubts about its economic viability. These doubts were justified when ironically the expansion of the circuit and economics of running three competing music halls and two drama theatres in Preston, led to the King's Palace itself becoming a full time cinema from 1917.

There seems little vindication for Broadhead's economic wisdom in opening a vast variety theatre at the time that theatrical provision had reached saturation point in 1913. Although it may also be said that his over-optimism is characteristic of the time: 'In terms of numbers of buildings and audience size, variety reached its apotheosis in the period from 1910-1914.'⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 3rd February, 1913.

⁴⁶ *The Era* 8th February, 1913.

⁴⁷ Russell D. 'Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth and Kaplan, *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.65.

Entertainment Styles

Though the economic foundations of music hall in Preston between 1905 and 1914 may have been less than secure, in terms of the quality and range of entertainment they were the town's golden years of variety, with many great music hall and theatrical performers appearing including Florrie Forde, Vesta Tilley, Marie Lloyd and Houdini.

Harry Houdini first appeared in vaudeville in his native America before coming to London in 1900 and the Preston Royal Hippodrome in 1906. He made his name synonymous with escapology and to promote his Preston performance demonstrated his skills by escaping from a locked cell in Preston Prison. His novelty act, when placed among a range of others, such as variety performers but also revue and integrated cinema interludes, shows how music hall had expanded as an entertainment form. The variety theatres were now licensed under the Theatres Act, 1843, for stage plays and the Preston Improvement Act, 1880 for music, singing and dancing. 'Variety' as a genre presented in the nineteenth century halls of Preston took on elements that later ramified into revue and other entertainment styles. The culture of circus continued to contribute to Edwardian music hall. Most of the Preston theatres produced acrobats, jugglers and strongmen as well as dogs and monkeys. On the 30th January, 1905, only two weeks after it opened, the Royal Hippodrome was staging 'Woolford's Stage Circus', which suggests an attempt to draw upon an audience that had been accustomed to circus during the hiatus years.

These kinds of performance can be seen as continuing a long tradition of circus in music hall and as contributing to the expansion of Edwardian music hall. Table Seven illustrates the range of Victorian music hall performers in Preston and supports Russell's comments on the changing nature of music hall: 'The individual comic singer's hegemony finally ended and the variety theatre became more and more the preserve of novelty acts, sketch artists, bioscope exhibitors, magicians and others.'⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Russell D. 'Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth and Kaplan, *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p. 62

A comparison of these Victorian and Edwardian performances indicates the predominance of singers, comedians, circus acts and those that expressed local traditions. Some of these acts continued into the twentieth century. For example clog-dancing is still in evidence in 1911.

Table 7: The Changing Nature of Performances in Preston Music Hall

<u>19th Century King's Head Music Hall, Friargate, Preston</u>	<u>Twentieth Century Variety Theatres First performances</u>
<p><u>26th November, 1870</u></p> <p>General Manager: Mr George D'Arcy Band Mr Douglas, cornet; Mr McGowan, Piano; Mr Collinson, flautist.</p> <p>Following talented artists will appear' Signor Sanguinetti with his marvellous and wonderfully trained performing birds including Samson and Blondin who will cross the rope each evening. Miss Ada Maitland, Character vocalist and dancer Mr and Mrs Gus Mangham, La Petite Bene, great Negro comedians. Barney O'Neil, Irish Comic and Dancer</p>	<p><u>16th January, 1905, Royal Hippodrome</u></p> <p>Charles Coburn (vocalist) Also appearing were Chard's Dogs; trick cyclists; acrobats; instrumentalists and singers.</p> <p><u>22nd May, 1911, Empire Theatre</u></p> <p>Marie Schulz; (vocalist) Selvidge and Holland; (comedy duo) Elsie Hulbert; (Clog dancer) Harry Rogerson; (comedian) Harry Tate's company in 'Gone Fishing' (revue) Bioscope presentation called 'The Haunted House'.</p>
<p><u>24th December, 1870</u></p> <p>Concentration of talent for Christmas Miss Ada May, Queen of serio comics Harry Sinclair, baritone Sam Redden, Negro Comedian and stump orator Sisters Vernon, operatic vocalists Martin Brown, popular comic Jessie Howard, serio comic and dancer La Petite Jennette, the infant wonder George D'Arcy, Comic & motto vocalist On 2nd January, 1871 Madlle Beatrice, Queen of the Globe, the only female performer in the world, will appear here</p>	<p><u>12th August, 1911, Empire Theatre</u></p> <p>Less than 3 months after opening the Empire was showing a week of films before reverting back to music hall.</p> <p><u>6th February, 1913, King's Palace (3,000 capacity audience)</u></p> <p>'A Hot Time in Dogsville.' It featured performing dogs and monkeys enacting a New York Street scene, supported by 12 Sunshine girls, (dance and chorus) rag time and ballet numbers, comedy duo, acrobats, musicians and Harry Taft (whistling comedian)⁴⁹</p>

⁴⁹ *The Era*, 8th February, 1913. See Appendix 5 for copy of opening programme

The opening night at the King's Palace on the 6th February, 1913, featured a circus style act with Charles Barnold's dog and monkey actors performing 'A Hot Time in Dogsville', which can be seen as an adaptation of a circus style act for a more sophisticated audience. The eclectic programme illustrates how the latest entertainment styles including ragtime were being integrated into national music hall. 'By 1913, about 130 American ragtime groups were touring Britain along with countless indigenous imitators'.⁵⁰

All three opening nights at the new variety theatres featured the type of novelty act that Russell sees as ending the singer's domination. The increasing evidence of cinematograph performance is a further sign of change, and the appearance of revue marks an important development. 'At its most sophisticated the sketch blended into revue...It was from 1912 that revue became a central part of variety entertainment throughout Britain.'⁵¹ By 1911 sketches were already a part of the bill at the Empire's opening night with Harry Tate's Company in 'Fishing'. Sketches such as this developed into revue and revues were increasingly staged at most of the Preston music halls. In September, 1914, the Empire presented Fred Karno's, 'The Hydro'. This was a typical revue with a London company featuring a real swimming bath and a bevy of beautiful girls with several musical scenic transitions. This may have been perceived by the family audience as a bright new approach to variety.

Indeed while revue was attracting a slightly more sophisticated audience, the emphasis on respectability had not gone so far as to eliminate the risqué element. Marie Lloyd, one of the most famous and controversial women of the era, had the innate ability to endear herself to all classes of society. She topped the variety bill at the Royal Hippodrome on the 30th October, 1911. The *Lancashire Daily Post* gave a favourable report: 'Marie Lloyd heads a capital bill of fare at the Hippodrome this week and had a flattering reception at the matinee yesterday afternoon.' By the time of her appearance in Preston the variety theatre was to have decreasing audience participation. However, Lloyd recaptured the music hall atmosphere at Preston when she engendered a rapport with her audience by engaging in unashamed spontaneity

⁵⁰ Russell D. 'Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth and Kaplan, *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.68

⁵¹ *Ibid* p 69, 70

and interaction. In the absence of adverse reporting it sounds likely that her broad humour and *double entendre* was acceptable to all classes, including the respectable lower middle classes. To some extent her 1911 Preston appearance might be seen as a legacy of the intimate atmosphere of the Victorian music hall that seemed to be having some resurgence in the period leading up to and including the Great War.

During the Great War Florrie Forde boosted morale with the rallying songs, 'Pack up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag', when she appeared at the Royal Hippodrome in October, 1917.⁵² This was Forde's second visit to the Royal Hippodrome, Preston, showing it to be on the established music hall circuit of music hall icons such as Lloyd, Forde and many others who appeared on the Preston stage between 1911-18.

As with the national picture the war increasingly saw variety theatres featuring ragtime, revue, opera, musicals, and drama to meet the changing tastes of audiences ranging from the working class to the bourgeoisie. The sustained interplay between performer and audience favoured by Lloyd and others was reduced, with some loss of individuality. These were substantial changes to the nature of generic music hall. Significantly the imperilled music halls had now to compete with the first silent films including propaganda war films. Musicals and musical comedy began to prosper and in drama modern touring companies gradually displaced the nineteenth century actor manager.

After the war variety in Preston had to compete with cinema, radio, television, and a whole plethora of popular entertainment, sport and recreational activities. Preston followed the national trend of conversion from music hall to cinema. Primary sources illustrate that the optimum periods for the genre of music hall in Preston extend to the onset of the Great War but continued as an increasing anachronism until the mid 1950s.⁵³

Table eight illustrates how the range of popular entertainment broadened and how generic music hall faced rival competition, most notably from cinema.

⁵² *Lancashire Daily Post*, 12th October, 1917

⁵³ *The Era Almanac and Annual*, 1913-1919 and other primary sources

Table 8: Rivals to Generic Music Hall

<u>Name of Theatre</u>	<u>Performance type</u>	<u>Year</u>
<i>Theatre Royal,</i>	Civic use, drama, recitals	1802-1866
	Music Hall , drama,	1866-1869
	musicals, Shakespeare, drama, melodrama	1870-1911
	cinema, drama,	1911-1920
	permanent cinema	1920-1955
<i>Gaiety Palace Theatre of Varieties,</i>	Music hall , circus, pantomime	1882-1888
Gaiety - change of name to <i>Princes Theatre and Opera House & latterly Prince's Theatre</i>	Drama, revue, pantomime mainly cinema	1888- 1913 1913- 1964
<i>Royal Hippodrome</i>	Music hall , circus, revue	1905-1957
	musicals, opera, drama, pantomime	1918-1957
<i>Empire Theatre</i>	Music Hall , opera, revue	1911-1919
	drama, revue, opera	1919-1930
	permanent cinema	1930-1976
<i>King's Palace</i>	Music Hall , revue, drama	1913-1917
	mainly cinema	1917-1939
	Music Hall , revue, musicals, pantomime	1939-1955

The advent of Cinema

At the turn of the century the travelling fairgrounds and circuses visiting Preston showed the first films in tents and trailers. OHMY's circus integrated one of the first cinematograph performances in Preston during February 1901, when it used Gascoignes's Bioscope to project the Queen's Funeral Procession.⁵⁴ In Preston, as elsewhere, the developing cinema industry was to have serious implications for the music hall industry. At first cinema was thought of as a minor item within the

⁵⁴ Elsewhere a fair at Hull had cinematograph tents from 1897. Reid, D. 'Playing and Praying,' ed. Dauntton M. *Cambridge Urban History* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2,000) p.760. Also Toulmin V 'We take them and make them' *Lost World of Mitchell and Kenyon*, (British film Institute, London 2004) p. 59

musical hall repertory and billed as the bioscope, but it was not long before this accommodation was seen as competition.

‘Moving pictures were provided with one of their most secure homes by the variety theatre.’⁵⁵ By 1907 the Royal Hippodrome was utilising a bioscope to blend the silent pictures with music hall acts. The bioscope was billed in Lloyd’s 1911 Hippodrome performance featuring, ‘some excellent views of holiday nights and incidents at Blackpool, shown on the bioscope.’ A bioscope presentation called ‘The Haunted House’, was projected on the opening night at the Empire Theatre, and as early as August, 1911, a week of films was shown.

The Preston-born cinema impresario, Will Onda, (real name Hugh Rain) played a key role in cinema provision in the town. The former circus acrobat and entertainer opened Preston’s first cinema in 1908 in Livesey’s former Temperance Hall. This trend was in keeping with converting buildings such as theatres, churches and breweries into cinemas. A succession of managers followed Onda’s lead and cinemas expanded significantly in competition with music hall. In the same newspaper advertising Lloyd’s live performance in 1911, three cinemas were advertising silent films: ‘The Pictureland,’ (Embee Hall,) the ‘Marathon Electric Theatre’ and the ‘Imperial Picture Palace,’ Church Street. The primitive Imperial was already using the music hall terminology of ‘twice nightly’ at 7 and 9. Here prices were probably more affordable than music hall at 2d, 4d and 6d. The Embee cinema also adopted a theatrical role and was competing with the theatres in January, 1915, with Christmas matinee performances of the ‘grand pantomime Dick Whittington’.⁵⁶ Preston’s town centre Palladium Cinema was the town’s first purpose-built cinema and its impressive appearance in 1915 is indicative of Preston’s prospering cinema industry, which blossomed with the advent of the talkies during the 1930s.⁵⁷

Thus, while music hall accommodated film in its programming it also had direct competition from the emerging cinema building which undoubtedly resulted in a

⁵⁵ Russell D. ‘Edwardian Music Hall’, in Booth and Kaplan’s *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.67

⁵⁶ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 11th January, 1915.

⁵⁷ During the first half of the 20th Century the town had a total of c30 cinemas (though not all co-existing at the same time) see Hindle, D. *Twice Nightly*, (Carnegie Publishing, 1999) p. 129 See Appendix Seven

reduction of music hall and theatrical activity. The Theatre Royal and the Prince's Theatre competed directly with music hall when Onda started to show the first silent films at these theatres in 1911 and 1913 respectively. As in most towns and cities, Preston's cinemas presented variety acts on stage, a form known as cine-variety. At the Princes Theatre 'Pictures and Turns', featured during the matinee performance in 1913.⁵⁸ Russell finds this kind of cine-variety prevalent at this time and interprets it as accommodation: 'Simple variety shows between films presented at hundreds of cinemas between 1908 and 1914.'⁵⁹

A diminishing music hall genre at the King's Palace between 1913 and 1917 is apparent and after 1917 it sustained regular cinema use for over two decades interspersed with occasional stage shows before reverting back to a full time commercial live. With the King's Palace switching to continuous film presentations in 1917 it was advertised: 'One continuous performance come what time you like stay as long as you like.'⁶⁰ The huge theatre never really justified the investment and the evidence suggests that Preston's theatre industry was overburdened. . With hindsight the objections and fears of rival theatre owners in 1913 at the time of cinema expansion were probably justified.

Epilogue: The Later Years

During the early 1930s Preston was in the throes of political and economic instability as a result of the world wide slump in trade and this was mirrored in the Preston's music halls with the Empire substituting a silver screen for a safety curtain when it became a full time cinema in August, 1930.⁶¹ Following the death of William Henry Broadhead, the Broadheads put up for auction their two Preston theatres on the 5th April, 1933. The King's Palace was advertised as a 'talking picture theatre', with a bioscope chamber and re-winding room, dramatic and music, singing and dancing licence, ten dressing rooms, seating 2,340 in the stall, pit and balcony.⁶² Following the event neither Preston theatre was sold in 1933 although the Royal Hippodrome

⁵⁸ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 5th September, 1913 .

⁵⁹ Russell D. 'Edwardian Music Hall', in Booth and Kaplan's *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.65

⁶⁰ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 4th September, 1917

⁶¹ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 4th August, 1930.

⁶² L.R.O. DDX 74/16/70

was sold during 1939 to Claude Talbot Entertainments, reopening in 1941⁶³ and surviving as a variety theatre until closure in May, 1957. The King's Palace closed as a variety theatre in February, 1955.

Both cinema and music hall theatre eventually succumbed to the innovation of television and changing social trends exemplified by the popularity of Bingo and popular taste in youth culture and home entertainment. The Royal Hippodrome was the last commercial theatre to close in May, 1957. Manager Claude Talbot went on stage and addressed the biggest audience in years. He may be seen as premature in noting the end of theatre: 'The date 25th May, 1957, should be remembered with shame by every citizen of this town who claims to enjoy the theatre. I don't think there will ever be a live theatre in Preston again.' The opening of the Charter Theatre in 1972 shows he was inaccurate about drama, but right in seeing music hall and variety confined to the annals of history. John Osborne reflected on its passing in 1965. 'The music hall is dying and with it a significant part of England'⁶⁴

⁶³ See Appendix 6 for changing styles of entertainment at Preston theatres and cinemas during 1941.

⁶⁴ Mander and Mitchenson, *The British Music Hall*, (London, 1965) p. 4

Victorian and Edwardian eras. The gin palaces, beer shops and early singing saloons were often one of the same set of premises staging primitive music hall performances and therefore the model of evolution of music hall in Preston equates with the notion of a progression: 'from a gin palace to a King's Palace.'

The 1860s and early 70s was a particular boom time for Preston Music Hall with the opening of several new concert halls. Preston had about eight pubs with concert rooms attached. Certain venues are of particular significance in illustrating the development and one of the first large purpose-built concert halls to open in Preston, was the George Music Hall in 1864. The opening coincided with the end of the cotton famine and the expansion of the pub industry and a peak in the associated Victorian music hall between 1864 and 1876. The George stands out as the capacity of its concert room was for an audience of a thousand who witnessed regular generic music hall performances for 25 years. The venue was a precursor to the new Gaiety Palace Theatre of Varieties, which opened in 1882 with capacity for 2,000 patrons. The Gaiety was the first Victorian variety theatre in Preston and as such was a great influence on the evolution of local music hall. In appearance it anticipated the Edwardian variety theatres with its curving balconies, rows of seats, large stage and proscenium arch.

As music hall evolved in Preston opposition to it grew also. During the crucial period of Victorian music hall development in Preston, from 1839-1876, an important agency of rational recreation in the town was the temperance movement. The advocates of temperance led the attack because of the close association between music hall and alcohol consumption. In terms of temperance opposition Preston was far from unique, but the movement against music hall was especially strong because of the local influence of Joseph Livesey and his followers who advocated total abstinence and promoted rational recreation with a range of counter-attractions. We have seen that temperance reformers used moral arguments in support of their campaign against music hall. It emerges that certain halls, particularly the cheaper singing saloons, were places that justified some of the criticisms levelled against them. On the other hand, some of the more extreme observations made by reformers are inconsistent with the respectable entertainment offered by some proprietors. It has also been shown that proprietors, mainly in the interests of their businesses, adopted rhetoric of

respectability in the 1860s. This Victorian response by theatre and music hall proprietors to counter their critics and internalise the principles of respectability in audiences is particularly notable in Preston throughout the period 1864-1884. However, this initially defensive measure was to emerge again in Preston in the Edwardian era as a promotional strategy that aimed to broaden the class basis of the music hall audience.

Although Preston had an especially pro-active temperance movement it met with limited success in actually persuading devotees of music hall to adopt alternative forms of leisure. Temperance did not, of itself, bring about the demise of music hall, but was a factor that worked in combination with others to make Preston atypical until the opening of the first Edwardian variety theatre. What has been shown is that the implementation of increased licensing laws and building regulations effectively deprived Preston people of a form of entertainment they had been enjoying for nearly fifty years. Preston is a good example of the effect that reformers had as a lobby for licensing procedures and building regulations governing music hall. Legalistic intervention brought the Preston Improvement Act, 1880, thereby effectively contributing to the curtailment of the pub music hall by reforming licensing procedures in respect of live entertainment.

The opening of the Gaiety marks a significant point in the progress of Preston's music hall but it does not show that it was matching the national trend. Only six years later it ceased to present music hall in October 1888, an event that marks a major step towards the demise of Victorian music hall in the town. Strong evidence for the decline in music hall interest has been shown in the consideration of the 1889 advertisement stating that the George was the only music hall in town. The various factors contributing to the demise of Preston's Victorian music hall have been considered. The evidence strongly suggests that there was a period when there was virtually no music hall in the town and so far as, can be established, this is atypical of similar sized towns during the late Victorian era. While there may have been a few free-and-easy style entertainments offered in some pubs, the fact that no new theatres were built after the Gaiety became a drama theatre in 1888 is conclusive support for a void in music hall provision. The discussions in Chapter Three indicate that a precise cause for this cannot be established. A combination of factors seems to have led to its

temporary disappearance including evidence that the presence of alternatives to music hall may have forestalled syndicate interest during the 1890s.

The value of local case studies is also illustrated by the discovery that the first syndicated Edwardian variety theatre to open in 1905 could be adapted for industrial use in the event of poor box office returns. William Henry Broadhead extended his syndicate of sixteen halls based in Manchester to Preston with the building of the Royal Hippodrome in just eight months. By now music hall had developed into a distinctive and successful entertainment genre and the respectable family Edwardian audience represented a shift from 'class' towards 'mass' entertainment. This audience was of sufficient size for the building of three new music halls in the course of just eight years, a development that shows how Preston belatedly caught up with the national trend. The period between 1905 and the Great War represents a second Preston music-hall boom, when iconic music hall stars graced the stage of all three of Preston's variety theatres during the golden years of variety.

Though Preston's second boom period broadly follows the national pattern, the town is atypical as the evidence suggests there was an overprovision of theatre seats from the opening of the King's Palace in 1913. With hindsight it can be seen that the objections of rival theatre owners in 1913 were justified, that the economic equilibrium was disturbed and a saturation point in music-hall provision had already been reached. This study has shown that the coincidence of the over-ambition of the Broadhead syndicate with the rise of cinema signals the decline of music hall in Preston. The years between 1911-1917, mark the period that cinema made a significant impact on music hall. Preston can be seen to chart the evolution of popular entertainment, especially as the Prince's, Theatre Royal and the King's Palace all became full time cinemas by 1917.

For reasons of space, the period from 1914 until the closure of Preston's last variety theatre in 1957 has not been covered in detail. This study is in line, perhaps unfortunately, with Bailey's observation: 'for the most part contributions do not venture beyond 1914, within a period loosely designated Victorian. Such deficiencies

offer opportunities for further studies.² For Preston there are areas of great interest. The changing role of Preston's theatres during the first half of the twentieth century would complement this research. At both the Hippodrome and the Palace there was a resurgence of interest in variety during the 1940s and topping the bill at that time were artists of such calibre as Frank Randle, Richard Tauber, Norman Evans, Gracie Fields and George Formby. Musical comedy, revue and repertory prospered and modern touring companies gradually displaced the nineteenth-century actor-manager. This study has examined the early impact of cinema on music hall, but there is scope for research into cinema provision in Preston. After the birth of cinema in the town and a century before the multi-nationals of today, cinemas were built to serve local communities in urban areas of the town as well as the town centre. Preston once had twenty two cinemas and therefore this topic affords many opportunities for future research, including the consideration of the significance of broader economic aspects on the growth of cinema on music hall. The range of performance styles that gradually displaced music hall in Preston generally accords with national trends and a case study of a particular theatre such as the Preston Empire could be shown to mirror these trends. The Empire is of particular interest as its performance styles ranged from music hall to revue and then musicals, drama and opera. In 1930 it became a full-time cinema. It thus illustrates the changing role of the theatre in twentieth century Preston. Other fruitful areas for research would be syndicate contribution and the economics of music hall throughout the 20th Century.

At the commencement of research into Preston music hall, I sought contemporary comment from Mr. Alan Baker the Manager of the Preston Guild Hall and Charter Theatre, who informed me: "Instinct tells me that so far as theatre is concerned, Preston has probably always been in the second division. Variety is dead nowadays and has been for a long time. Unlike the days of the old Hippodrome, traditional theatre entertainment seems to have little appeal in this city any more". Whatever the truth of this observation for contemporary theatre, the period that begins with the first Preston free and easy until the closure of the last variety theatre is far from a "second division" interest for the social historian. It is hoped that this thesis will be of value to those who share an interest in Preston's music hall and that, as a first study, it has contributed to the history of the town.

² Bailey, P. 'Naughty but nice,' in Booth and Kaplan, *The Edwardian Theatre*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996)

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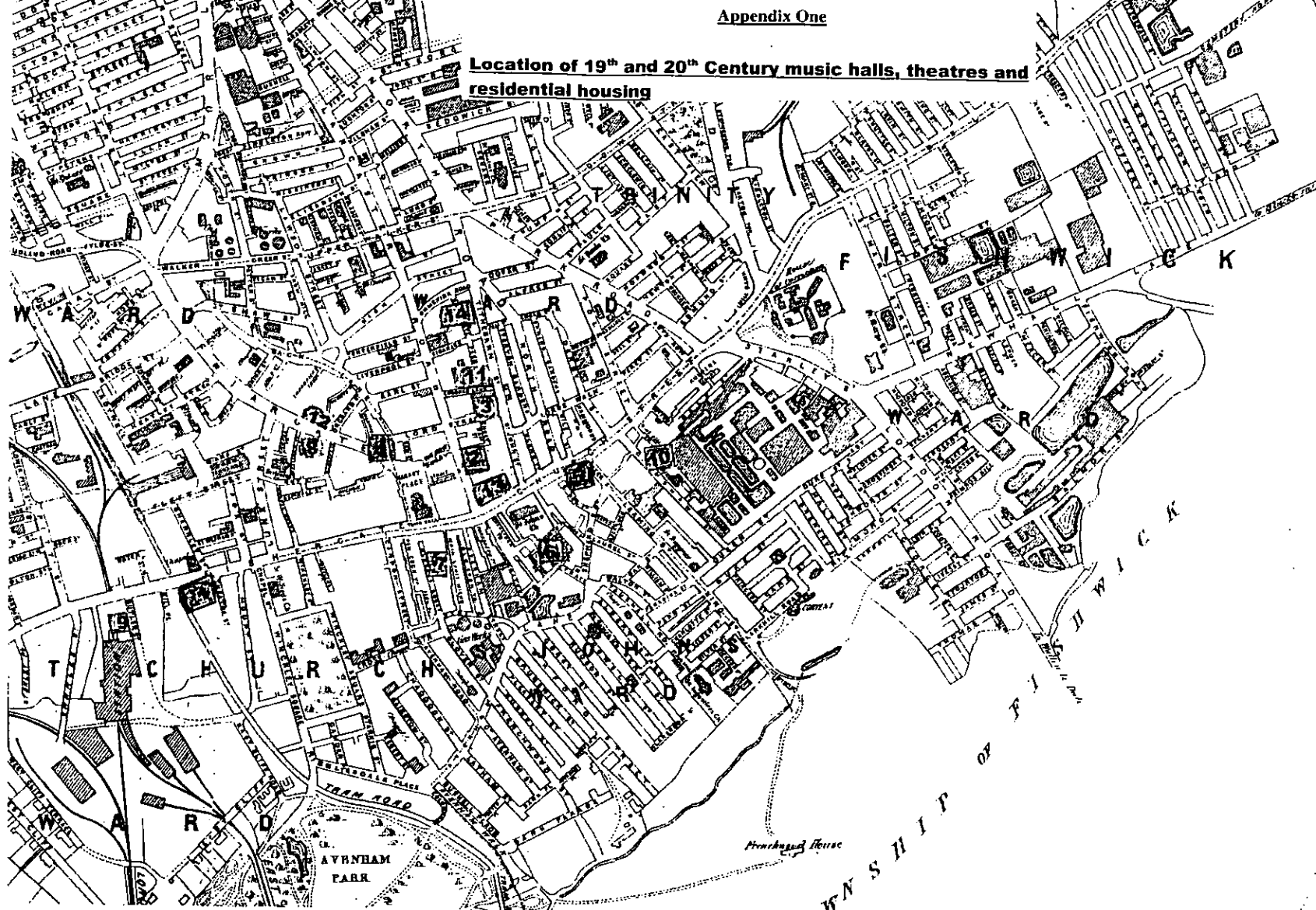
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Appendices – One to Eight

Location of 19th and 20th Century music halls, theatres and residential housing



Key to map of Preston, 1865

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| 1 Theatre Royal | 8 King's Arms |
| 2 The Albion | 9 Newsome's Circus |
| 3 Wagon and Horses | 10 The Clarence |
| 4 The George | 11 The Gaiety (1882) |
| 5 Black Swan | 12 Royal Hippodrome |
| 6 The Guild | 13 The Empire |
| 7 The Sun | 14 King's Palace |

The Guardian
MAP OF PRESTON.

Published by Geo. Faulkner, Station Office, Preston.
Lithographed and Printed by Geo. Faulkner, Station Office, Preston.

4/2/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

A N O T H E R G R A N D C H A N G E .

On MONDAY, February 6th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

Messrs. WRIGHT and SADLER, Great Duettists. Miss LIZZIE GLENVILLE, the Fascinating Serio Comic. Miss FLORENCE WASHINGTON, the great American Clog, Pump, Boot, and Skate Dancer. JERRY FARRISEY, Irish Comedian and Dancer.

This place of amusement is now fitted up with Atkinson's Patent Heating Apparatus, and is acknowledged to be the most comfortable Hall in Preston.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. T. MCARDLE; cornet, Mr. S. COLLINSON; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

18/2/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

G R A N D D O U B L E C O M P A N Y .

On MONDAY, February 20th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

Mdlle. BEATRICE, Queen of the Globe, the only Female Performer in the World. Messrs. LIVINGSTONE and NISH, Negro Comedians, Burlesque Actors, and Pedestal Dancers. The Sisters ADA and LAURA FENOULHET, Burlesque Actresses. Mrs. GUS MAUGHAM, Characteristic Vocalist and Dancer, in conjunction with her talented daughter, LA PETITE BENE, the Infant Wonder.

Notice.—On Friday, February 24th, Mr. GEORGE D'ARCY, Manager, will take his first Complimentary Benefit.

The Hall is now comfortably heated.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. T. MCARDLE; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

11/2/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

S I X S T A R A R T I S T E S .

On MONDAY, February 13th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

The Sisters ADA and LAURA FENOULHET, Burlesque Actresses. Mrs. GUS MAUGHAM, Characteristic Vocalist and Dancer, in conjunction with her talented daughter, LA PETITE BENE, the Infant Wonder. Messrs. WRIGHT and SADLER, Great Duettists.

The Hall is now comfortably heated.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. T. MCARDLE; cornet, Mr. S. COLLINSON; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

25/2/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

G R A N D D O U B L E C O M P A N Y .
RETURN OF OLD FAVOURITES.

On MONDAY, February 17th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

HARRY LOWN, Comic and Author. Mr. J. G. MAJOR, the Great Silver-toned Tenor. Miss EMMA LUNN, Characteristic Vocalist and Dancer. Mdlle. BEATRICE, Queen of the Globe, the only Female Performer in the World. The Sisters ADA and LAURA FENOULHET, Burlesque Actresses.

The Hall is now comfortably heated.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. T. MCARDLE; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

7/1/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

SUCCESS DEFEATS ALL!—GREAT CONCENTRATION OF TALENT FOR NEW YEAR'S WEEK.

This is the largest and most respectable Concert Hall in the town. The highest class talent and great novelties are already engaged, and nothing will be wanted on the part of the management to make the entertainment worthy the appreciation of a really respectable audience.

On MONDAY, January 9th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

Professor ANDERSON, the great Wizard. WATERS MORION, Negro Artist. Mr. and Mrs. BARNBY ROBERTS, and their infant Wonder, the Little Shamrock (Irish Duetlist). Miss ANNIE LEE, Characteristic Vocalist and Dancer. Mr. TEDDY O'RORKE, Irish Comedian and Ventriloquist.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. H. C. CLUCAS; cornet, Mr. S. COLLINSON; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

21/1/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

CROWDED NIGHTLY WITH A RESPECTABLE AUDIENCE.

On MONDAY, January 23rd, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

THREE GREAT STARS.

The great CHAS. SANSOM, the Popular Star Comic. Professor JOHNSON, the African Hercules, in his Great Feats of Strength, &c. Mrs. CHAS. SANSOM, the Queen of Serio Comic. Messrs. HARRIS and KIRKE, Negro Comedians, Dancers, &c.

This place of amusement is now fitted up with Atkinson's Patent Heating Apparatus, and is acknowledged to be the most comfortable Hall in Preston.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. H. C. CLUCAS; cornet, Mr. S. COLLINSON; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

14/1/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

SUCCESS DEFEATS ALL!—GREAT CONCENTRATION OF TALENT.

This is the largest and most respectable Concert Hall in the town. The highest class talent and great novelties are already engaged, and nothing will be wanted on the part of the management to make the entertainment worthy the appreciation of a really respectable audience.

On MONDAY, January 16th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

Mr. and Mrs. EMMETT, the Great Duologue Artistes, with their Performing Newfoundland Dog, "Napier." Miss GENVILLE, Characteristic Vocalist and Dancer. Messrs. HARRIS and KIRK, Negro Comedians, Burlesque Actors. Professor JOHNSON, the African Hercules, in his Great Feats of Strength, &c.

NOTICE.—On MONDAY NEXT, the Great Mr. CHAS. SANSOM will make his Re-appearance.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. H. C. CLUCAS; cornet, Mr. S. COLLINSON; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

28/1/1871

KING'S HEAD NEW CONCERT HALL, FRIARGATE, PRESTON.
Sole Proprietor, Mr. JOHN BLACKOK.

POWERFUL ATTRACTION.

On MONDAY, January 30th, and during the week, the following talented artistes will appear:—

THREE GREAT STARS.

Miss FLORENCE WASHINGTON, the great American Clap, Pump, Boot, and Skate Dancer. JERRY FARRISEY, Irish Comedian and Dancer. The great CHAS. SANSOM, the Popular Star Comic. Professor JOHNSON, the African Hercules, in his Great Feats of Strength, &c. Mrs. CHAS. SANSOM, the Queen of Serio Comic.

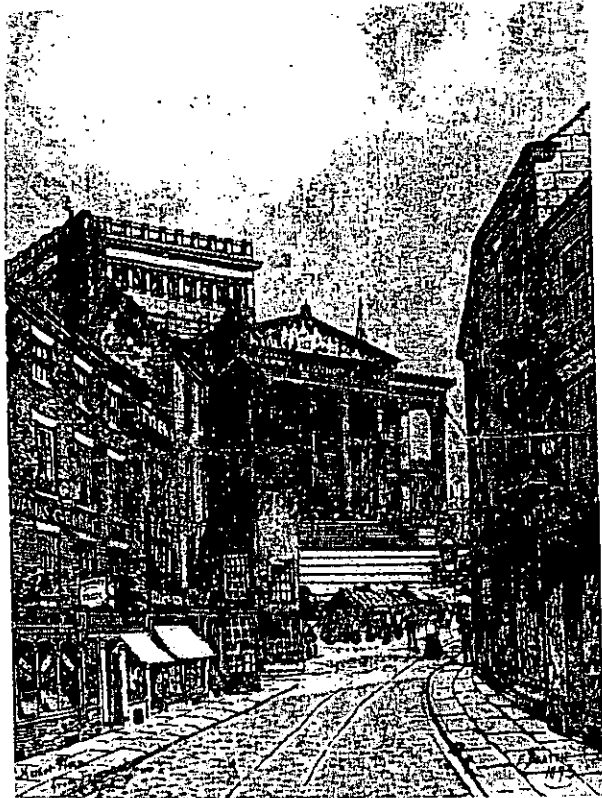
This place of amusement is now fitted up with Atkinson's Patent Heating Apparatus, and is acknowledged to be the most comfortable Hall in Preston.

Leader, Mr. H. F. COLLIER; pianist, Mr. H. C. CLUCAS; cornet, Mr. S. COLLINSON; GEO. D'ARCY, Manager.

N.B.—Select room, with private entrance, commanding a full view of the Stage.

P.S.—The Harmonic Room is open every Evening at 10 o'clock.

Appendix Three



SKETCH PLAN
Showing intended Street
Improvements.

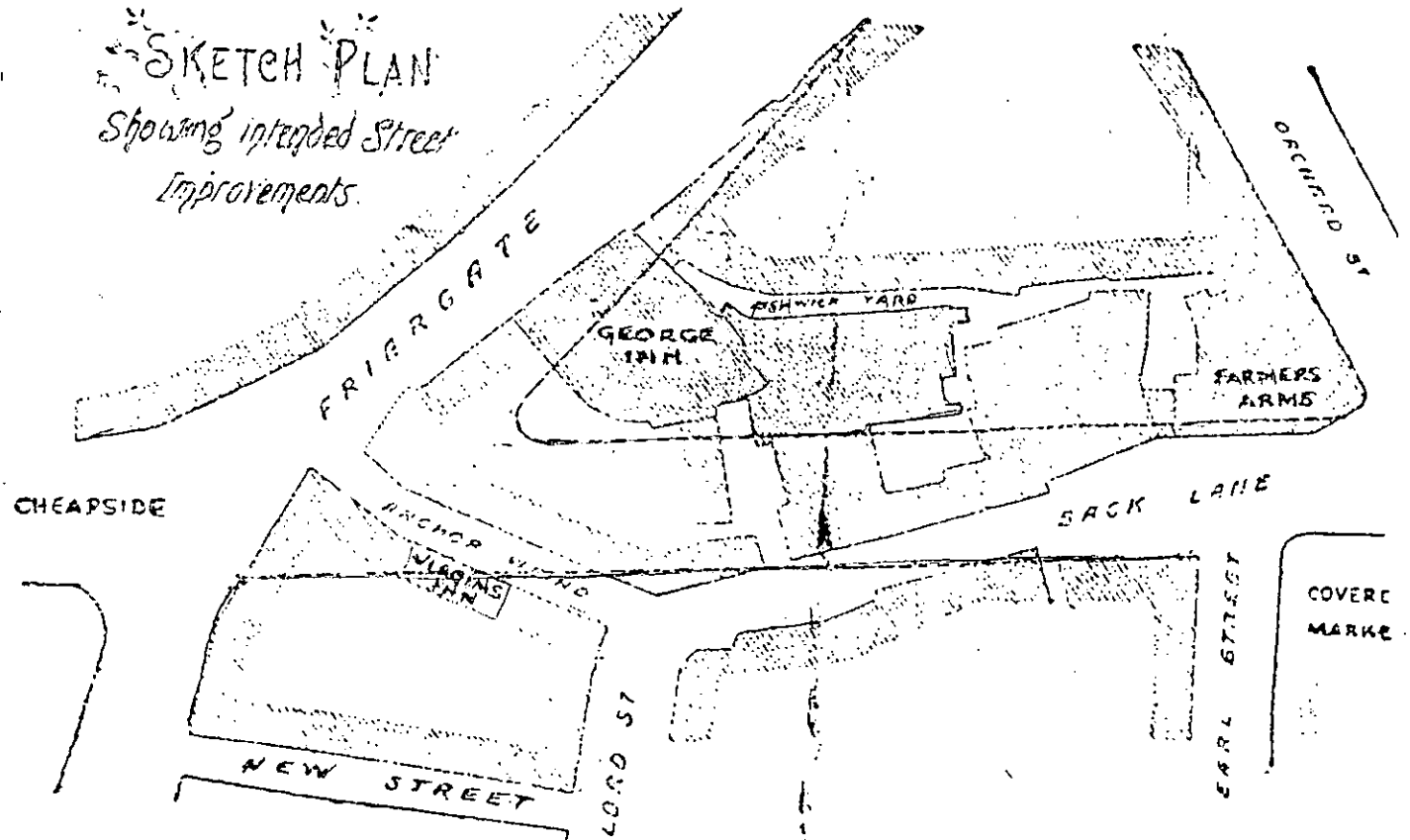


Plate 9. FRIARGATE, 1893.
Harris Museum & Art Gallery Collection.

The George Hotel on the left took its name from one of the Hanoverian Monarchs in the early 18th century. It was demolished in 1895. Anchor Weind, an ancient and narrow passage just visible on the left, was demolished with the surrounding property as part of a scheme to widen Friargate in 1893. In the background is the newly completed Harris Library, Museum and Art Gallery.

**DEAN'S
MUSIC HALL,
Church St. BURNLEY.**
GREAT ATTRACTION !!!

For The
BENEFIT

OF
**HUGH
CLAREMONT,**
COMIC VOCALIST.

ON
FRIDAY NEXT NOV. 10th,
On which occasion will be

GIVEN AWAY !!
A new

**COPPER
Kettle,**

When all persons entering the above Music Hall will receive a (Numbered) Ticket, entitling them to a chance of winning the Prize.

Re-appearance and Flattering reception of
Miss F. HILTON,
The favourite Characteristic Vocalist.

First appearance of
Miss M. Cannon,
Seric-comic and Sentimental Vocalist.

Mr. D. WILTON,
Nautical Vocalist.

Mezzo.
**SILVESTER
AND
DIAMOND,**

The celebrated American Comedians, will introduce some of their favourite Walk-Rounds.

And last tho' not least
Hugh Claremont,

Will for this night only, sing a New Song written expressly for him by a GENTLEMAN OF BURNLEY, entitled,

Ralph Holden's Clothiers Shop,
And present every person with a Printed Copy of the above Song.

ADMISSION:—4d. AND 2d. EACH.

J. Nuttall, Printer by Steam Power, Burnley.

Clarence Music Hall,
GRIMSHAW STREET, PRESTON.

Proprietor - - - - - **HARRY HARKER.**

OPEN EVERY EVENING AT 7-0, SATURDAY AT 6 O'CLOCK.
THE PLACE TO SPEND A CONVIVIAL HOUR.

Great Success of the
PRESTON HAND-BELL RINGERS,

Six in number, will play some choice selections with their beautiful Peal of 104 Silver Toned Bells.
A treat to all lovers of Music.

Terrific success of the
BROTHERS MILTON,
The best Song and Dance Artists in Lancashire. Come and see them.
MR. FRED EDWARDS,
THE COMIC VOCALIST.

Also your Old Friend and Favourite
MR. G. B. BROWNE,

The Author and Composer of the following great Football Song, as sung nightly by him with great success.

Song—"The North End Football Team."

The noble game of football is all the rage you'll own,
And lately in that kind of sport, Proud Preston she has shown;
That in her town, she does possess, the men I'm proud to say
Who now can play and beat some of the crack teams of the day

Chorus

Then hurrah for the North End Football team,
To try and win the English cup they mean.
We will dance and sing with joy when they win the final tie;
Shout hurrah for the North End Football team.

We've Dewhurst on the Left Wing, and Smalley by his side,
With the Ball between them, down the field they very quickly glide.

There's Belger in the centre, the favourite of all,
The lad that put's the shakers on the keepers of the goal.

Chorus: Shout Hurrah, &c.

With Drummond on the Right Wing and the famous Gordon to,
In the whole United Kingdom their equals are but few,
With Russell, Wilson, Robinson, I'm sure it is a treat
When Russell's on the Leather, with his Indianubber feet.

Chorus.—Shout Hurrah, &c.

There's Duckworth at the back, his play is good none can deny
And many is the time that he's protected Billy Joy;
Led on by Ross the Captain, and all admit and say,
That Ross is now the finest back in England to day.

Chorus.—Shout Hurrah, &c.

So let us wish them all success and coupled with it too,
Their umpire Mr Sudell, their friend so staunch and true,
Long life and luck attend their lot wherever they may be;
'And may the team take good advice from one that is Jim Lee.

Chorus.—Shout Hurrah, &c.

This Song is copyright, and the sole property of Mr. G. B. Browne.

Proprietor - **HARRY HARKER.** | Chairman - **MR. G. B. BROWNE.** | Pianist - **MR. J. PORTER.**

ADMISSION FREE.

Children in arms not admitted unless brought by someone. Seats not guaranteed after 11 p.m.

Choice Wines, Spirits, Ales, Old Ben, &c. Football Cigars of the Finest Brand.

Barrett and Parkinac, Printers and Stationers, 31, Church Street, Preston.

Appendix Five

The first performance at the King's Palace, February, 1913

THE NEW KING'S PALACE

THEATRE, Old Vicarage, and Tithebarn Street, Preston.

PROPRIETORS - - - WILLIAM HENRY BROADHEAD AND SON.

Communications to PERCY B. BROADHEAD, Mippodysme, Manchester.

Phone 2,222 and 2,223 City.

Telegrams, "Broadhead's," Manchester.

Free Kithouse 6-40 **Thursday, Friday, & Saturday,** FEBRUARY 6th, 7th, & 8th, 1913. **Second House, 9.0**

CHARLES BARNOLD'S

TALENTED

DOG and MONKEY ACTORS

IN A ONE ACT COMEDY PANTOMIME.

"A HOT TIME IN DOGVILLE,"

INTRODUCING

"DAN," the Drunken Dog,

WHOSE CLEVER ACTING CREATES BOARS OF LAUGHTER.

A WONDERFUL EXAMPLE OF CANINE INTELLIGENCE.

Harry Taft

THE FAMOUS AMERICAN WHISTLING COMEDIAN.

Will Douglas & Co.

IN A COMEDY CONDUCTION, "THE MERRY DEMONS."

Ronald & Carson

Mr and Mrs. America's Favourite Scottish Comedian and his Bonnie Lassie.

J. W. Winton

THE AUSTRALIAN VENTRILOQUIST.

FOUR MUSICAL GARDINERS

AUSTRALIA'S GREATEST STARS.

HARVARD SEXTETTE,

IN MIRTH, MELODY, AND MOVEMENT.

JOHN TILLER'S FAMOUS

SUNSHINE GIRLS

Mary Reed, Midge Reed, Ada Hodson, Gaby Annie, Etta Rowbotham, Louis Hughes, Esie Souza, Lena Jordan, Mabel Faulkner, Ethel Swettenham, Florrie DeLard, Pele Day. DIRECT FROM THEIR ENORMOUS SUCCESSSES AT THE WINTERGARTEN, BERLIN, AND AMERICAN TOUR.

OVERTURE, "WILLIAM TELL" (Revised), STORM SCENE, MARCH MILITAIRES and GRAND FINALE, BY THE PALACE ORCHESTRA, under the Direction of ROBERT PEEL.

General Manager..... HARRY WHESTANLEY
Resident Acting Manager..... WILLIAM J. BOYLE.

District Manager..... P. M. SMERWOOD.
Scenic Artist..... EDWARD LEON.

Per 5... Persons) 10/6	FAUTEUILS. 1/6 May be booked in Advance. Entrance Vicarage.	ORCHESTRA STALLS. 1/- May be booked in Advance at 10. Entrance Vicarage.	GRAND CIRCLE. 6d. May be booked in Advance at 5d. Entrance Vicarage.	PIT STALLS. 4d. Entrance Bishopgate.	PT. Mondays, Saturdays, and Wednesdays. 3d. Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. 2d. Entrance Tithebarn Street.
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BOX OFFICE OPEN 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. to 10 45 p.m. SEATS MAY BE BOOKED BY W.M., PHONE OR LETTER. BOX OFFICE PHONE 317 PRESTON.

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For Sound Entertainment

MONDAY, SEPT. 1st, AND ALL WEEK.

WILFRED LAWSON and ANN TODD in

"DANNY BOY"

with GRANT TYLER and JOAN WARWICK Cert. "U"

Music and Songs that will make your heart throb.

Children's Happy Hours. Doors Open 1-30 p.m. Commence 2-0 p.m.

SATURDAY, 30th AUGUST Community Singing.

EXCITING FEATURE "IRON FIST"

Serial: HURRICANE EXPRESS, Chapter 7, "SEALED LIPS"

SUNDAY, 31st AUGUST. Doors open 7 p.m. Commence 7-30 p.m.

JAMES STEWART and JEAN ARTHUR

MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGTON

Also "KING VULTURE."

PRINCES PICTUREDROME

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Evenings Continuous from 6-0 p.m. Saturdays 6 and 8 p.m.

Matinee Daily at 2-30 (Friday Excepted).

WEEK COMMENCING MONDAY, SEPT 1st. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday:

JOHN HOWARD, HELEN DREW in TEXAS RANGERS RIDE AGAIN Cert. U.

Also George Raft, Carole Lombard in RUMBA (A)

Thursday, Friday and Saturday: ROBERT TAYLOR, WALTER PIDGEON and RUTH HUSSEY in FLIGHT COMMAND (A) And Full Supporting Programme.

BRACKENBURY PLACE. Tel. 4485.

Evenings Continuous from 6-0 p.m. Saturdays 6 and 8 p.m.

Matinee: Monday, Thursday and Saturday at 2-30.

WEEK COMMENCING MONDAY, SEPT 1st. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday:

ROBERT TAYLOR, WALTER PIDGEON and RUTH HUSSEY in FLIGHT COMMAND (A) and Full Supporting Programme.

Thursday, Friday and Saturday: JOHN HOWARD, HELEN DREW in TEXAS RANGERS RIDE AGAIN Cert. "U"

Also George Raft, Carole Lombard in RUMBA (A)

Royal Hippodrome

Week Commencing MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.

ONCE NIGHTLY at 7-15. MATS.: THURS. & SAT. at 2-30.

TOM ARNOLD (by arrangement with Select Theatres Corporation, Ltd.) has pleasure in announcing the PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF

Richard TAUBER

The world-famous Tenor "THE LAND OF SMILES" in Franz Lehár's Operetta

In which Mr. Tauber will sing "YOU ARE MY HEART'S DELIGHT"

Supporting Company includes:

JOSIE FEARON HELLA KURTY
CHARLES GILLESPIE BERTRAM DENCH
JOSE MALONE FRANK ROYDE FLORENCE HUNT

BOX OFFICE OPEN 10-9. BOOK NOW. PRICES: 2/- to 6/-

The PALACE THEATRE

Proprietors: Percy B. Broadhead and Son

6-10 TWICE NIGHTLY 8-15

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.

Britain's Famous Inimitable Up-to-the-Minute Comedian

ERNIE LOTINGA

as "JIMMY JOSSER"

In a Brand New Naval Show in Eight Spectacular Scenes—entitled

Sailors Don't Care

BEAUTIFUL GIRLS!!!
NEW SONGS AND DANCES!!!
TWO HOURS OF RIOTOUS COMEDY!!!
A Superb Cast of 30 Artistes Includes—
THE FAMOUS MODEL from the Paris "FOLIES BERGERE"

EVE

THE MODERN VENUS posing with unsurpassed grace and charm.

See ERNIE LOTINGA AND HAVE THE LAUGH OF YOUR LIFE

Members of H.M. forces in uniform will be admitted at reduced prices.

MR. DAWES

WILL LEND PRIVATELY

£3 £5 £10 £20 AND UPWARDS.

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Daily Service.—
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Telephone 5094, 5095.

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MEN not registered for Military Service are urgently required for employment on work of National Importance in Army and Air Force Canteens to serve on the counters, assist in the stores or to help generally as required. Good wages, with free Board and Lodgings are offered to suitable men under 60 years of age. No previous experience is necessary. Applicants should write in the first instance to the under-mentioned address, when a local interview will be arranged.—Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes (Dept. 179E), Male Section, The Manor, Burton, WIRRAL, Cheshire.

ENVELOPE addressers, etc., wanted. Send addressed envelope.—Youngsons (Dept. 6), Newbald, York.

POSTER Fixer required for Manchester district. Must be accustomed to working with ladders and able to use three-alda ladders. Good wages and expenses. Apply stating age and previous experience, to:—United Sales Organisations Limited, Astor House, Aldwych, W.C.2.

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SEE CAFFINS and See Better.—CAFFINS Qualified Opticians, 180, Friargate (a few doors from G.P.O.), Preston.

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HAZMAC REMOVAL SERVICE. Service with Efficiency; Anywhere; Pianos a speciality with up-to-date appliances; Clean Vans.—W. Mackreel, 7, Eldon Street, Preston. Phone 2248.

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WIRELESS SERVICE

NEW RITZ PALLADIUM

CHURCH STREET. TEL. 3470
Proprietors: Palladium Ltd.
General Manager: E. ANGERS.
MONDAY, SEPT 1st, AND ALL WEEK
PAT O'BRIEN, CONSTANCE BENNETT in
ESCAPE TO GLORY (A)
and Special Supporting Features.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 7th, 7-30 p.m.
TYRONE POWER, DON AMEGHE,
ALICE FAYE in
ALEXANDER'S RAGTIME
BAND (A)
Also Special Supports.

CHURCH STREET. TEL. 3470
MONDAY, SEPT 1st, AND ALL WEEK
Africa Speaks Again.
Osa Johnson Wild Animal Thriller
MARRIED ADVENTURE (U)
Also "ON GUARD" (U)

SUNDAY, SEPT. 7th, 7-30 p.m.
DON AMEGHE, RITZ BROTHERS in
**YOU CAN'T HAVE EVERY-
THING (U)**
Jones' Family in "Safety in Numbers" (U)

THEATRE ROYAL

PRESTON PHONE 3694

Next Week. Continuous from 1-30. Next Week.

ROBERT YOUNG,
LARAINE DAY in
**Trial of
Mary Dugan**
Cert. "A"
2-45 :: 5-40 :: 8-35

DAVID NIVEN,
PAUL LUKAS in
**DINNER AT
THE RITZ**
Cert. "U"
1-30 :: 4-25 :: 7-20

To-day and Saturday: "FOUR MOTHERS" (U)

Sunday next at 7-30 p.m. — Music at 7 p.m.

"REMEMBER THE NIGHT" (A) and "WATERFRONT" (A)

PLAZA

Phone 2357 NEW HALL LANE. Phone 2357

Matinees: Monday and Thursday at 2-30. Evenings Continuous from 8-15.
Saturday, Children's Matinees at 2-30. Evening 6-15 and 8-30.

WEEK COMMENCING 1st SEPTEMBER.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday:
JEAN HARLOW,
BEN LYON, JAMES HALL in
HELL'S ANGELS (A)
The most thrilling drama of the air ever
screened.
Also Charles Starrett in "A Woman's
Vengeance" (U)

Thursday, Friday, Saturday:
DICK FORAN, PEGGY MORAN in
THE MUMMY'S HAND (A)
Terror that waited three thousand years!
The most amazing adventure ever imagined.
NAN GREY, TOM BROWN in
MARGIE (U)
There's fun when the Banana King almost
ruined their young romance.

SUNDAY, at 7-30, Doors Open 7 p.m.

Humphrey Bogart ("The Dead End Kids") in "CRIME SCHOOL" (A)

CASH ADVANCED IMMEDIATELY

FROM £5 UPWARDS

Appendix Seven

The provision of cinemas and theatres during the Twentieth Century

A Celebration of Cinemas & Theatres in Preston

- ABC Cinema, Fishergate (1959-82)
Alexander Picture House, Walker Street (closed about 1926)
Bennett's Electric Theatre (later Dominion, then Rex), Cragg's Row, off Moor Lane
Carlton Cinema, Blackpool Road, Ribbleson (1932-61)
Coronation Hall, corner of Waterloo Road and Wellington Road (1913)
Cosy Cinema, St Peter's Street (1921)
Embee Hall (later Pictureland by 1910), 1 Avenham Street
Empire Theatre, Church Street (1911-74)
Empress Cinema, Eldon Street (1929)
Grand Cinema (later Regal, then Lido), corner of Marsh Lane & Bow Lane (1921-59)
Guild Cinema, Geoffrey Street (1922-59)
Guild Hall & Charter Theatre, Lancaster Road (1972)
Imperial Picture Palace, Mill Bank, Church Street (1908)
King's Palace Theatre, Tithebarn Street (1913-55)
Marathon Cinema, 66 Frank Street (1913)
New Victoria (later Gaumont, then Odeon), Fishergate (1928-92)
Palladium Cinema, Church Street (1915-68)
Picturedrome, Brackenbury Place
Picture Palace, corner of Brook Street & Broom Street
Playhouse, Market Street West (1949)
Plaza Cinema, New Hall Lane (1932)
Theatre, Tithebarn Street (1882-1964)
Public Hall, Lune Street (1882-1973)
Queen's Cinema, (later Continental), Tunbridge Street
Queen's Hall, Walker Street (1940-80's)
Ritz Cinema, Church Street (1937-86)
Royal Hippodrome Theatre, Friargate (1905-57)
Savoy Cinema, Ashton Street (1921-58)
Star Cinema, corner of Corporation Street & Fylde Road (1921-59)
Temperance Hall (later Picture Palace), Elizabeth Street (1908)
Theatre Royal, Fishergate (1802-1955)
Tivoli Cinema, Fleetwood Street (1920-58)
UCI Cinemas, Riversway (1990)
Victory Cinema (later Rialto), St Paul's Road (1920-58)

Appendix 8

Victorian and Edwardian Music Halls in Preston¹

<u>Year/s</u>	<u>Name</u>
1868/69	Guild, George, Royal
1870	Guild, George, Royal & Sun
1871	George, King's Head & Sun
1872/74	Crown, George, King's Head, Sun
1875/80	George, King's Head
1881/82	Gaiety, George, King's Head
1887/90	Gaiety
1891/1905	No music halls recorded during gap years.
1905	Royal Hippodrome
1912	Royal Hippodrome and Empire
1913/14	Royal Hippodrome, Empire, Palace

Research has revealed minor inaccuracies in the *Era Almanac and Annual*. For example in 1888 the Gaiety became the Princes Theatre and Opera House and accordingly is detailed as such in the list of theatres. However, it is also erroneously recorded in the list of music halls as the Gaiety music hall during 1889/90. (See also page 60)

In addition the George is not listed in the *Era Almanac*, during the late 1880s notwithstanding that research of local sources indicates that it continued to present music hall until 1889.

¹ Era Almanac and Annual 1868-1919