

BA (Hons) History

EMA for A329: The Making of Welsh History

Dissertation

May 2024

The Open University

The Inflammatory Influence: To what extent did *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Newspaper* stoke the flames of anti-Irish Hostility in nineteenth-century Cardiff?

Ronan Burke

7024 Words

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
Introduction	4
Chapter 1: <i>The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian's Perpetuation of Anti-Irish Prejudices.</i>	9
Chapter 2: <i>The Guardian's Inflammatory Role in the 1848 Cardiff Riots</i>	21
Conclusion	31
Appendices	34
Appendix 1 – Monthly frequency of newspaper articles containing the word ‘Irish’ in The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian in 1848.	34
Appendix 2 – Number of houses separated by nationality on Stanley Street in 1851	35
Appendix 3 – Average number of occupants in a household on Stanley Street in 1851	35
Appendix 4 – Articles containing the word Irish categorised by type in the Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian in 1848	36
Appendix 5 – Language used in the articles.	36
Bibliography	37

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the tutors on A329 for bringing Welsh history into my life in such an engaging and enjoyable course.

I would like to thank my tutor, Dr. Robert Matthews, for all his passion, energy, and support.

My wife, Kerry, deserves more thanks than is possible. Your support, patience and proofreading have made this all possible. It has been a long road, but we finally made it.

One final thanks to my daughter, Maeve, this was all for you.

Introduction

‘The periodical press of this country is, in fact, the ruler of its thoughts and actions.’¹

On November 12th, 1848, Thomas Lewis, a Welsh man, was murdered by John Connors, an Irish man, in Stanley Street, Cardiff. *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette (The Guardian)* reported that Lewis had been ‘cruelly murdered by an inhuman villain under circumstances of peculiar atrocity and aggravation’.² A week-long explosion of anti-Irish sentiment followed, involving thousands of people³. By the end of the week, a chapel, a priest's house, and the homes of many Irish migrants had been attacked. The local priest had fled the city, and not a single Irish man was employed in Cardiff by the following Tuesday.⁴

The drama that unfolded was nothing unusual for Welsh society or even the Irish in Wales. Twenty separate incidents of anti-Irish violence were recorded in Wales between 1826 and 1882, as Wales came to terms with an influx of migrants that was stretching resources to their limit.⁵ The causes of the outbreak of disorder are said to be due to the interplay of a strong regional identity and the social as well as economic challenges facing the local community.⁶ However, a detailed analysis of the

¹ Aled Jones. *Power of the Press: Newspapers, Power, and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England*. (Brookfield, Ashgate Publishing. 1996) p. 4

² Anon, ‘Atrocious Murder in Cardiff’, *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 10th January 2024.

³ Paul O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000) p. 97.

⁴ Anon, ‘Horrible Murder At Cardiff – A Private Letter’, *The Times*, 20 Nov. 1848, p. 2. *The Times Digital Archive*, Available at link-gale.com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS34111348/TTDA?u=tou&sid=bookmarkTTDA&xid=e3b52f2a. Accessed 13 Apr. 2024.

⁵ Louise Miskell, ‘Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot: Popular Protest and the Irish in South Wales, c. 1826–1882’, in O’Leary, P. *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004). p. 102.; Paul O’Leary, ‘Anti Irish Riots in Wales’, 1826-1882, *Llafur*, vol 5 no.4 (1991), p.31

⁶ Roger Swift, ‘Historians and the Irish: Recent writings on the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 18 2-3 (1999), p. 34.

historiography shows that these reasons seem only skin deep. This dissertation will argue that the root cause of the riot cannot be fully understood without examining the role of newspapers in reinforcing regional identity, exacerbating social and economic tensions, and inciting public action against the Irish immigrant community.

Any comprehensive study of social unrest in the modern era would be incomplete without scrutinising the influence of media narratives, much like how contemporary analyses of civil discontent cannot overlook the framing and rhetoric propagated by influential publications like the *Daily Mail and The Sun*.⁷ This has been especially evident in recent years, with a focus on the how immigration played a role in the UK's decision to leave the EU in June 2016, and the extreme negative stereotyping of some immigrant groups in the USA in the 2016 US presidential campaign.⁸ This kind of media scrutiny of immigrants is not new. For instance, in nineteenth-century Britain, anti-Irish comments among the press, public, and politicians were common and well-documented.⁹ However, the historiography reveals a gap in dedicated analyses examining the effect of the specific newspaper's editorial stances and decisions. This dissertation will fill that gap through a focused case study of *The Guardian's* role in the 1848 Cardiff riots.

The benefit of analysing social unrest involving migrants is two-fold. We can explore the concept of community, how they are formed, and the varieties within them. We can also gain insight into people's lives, whose effects on history would primarily go unnoticed.¹⁰ A traditional view was to dismiss the disorder of the nineteenth century as 'mere impulses' of the lower classes.¹¹ However,

⁷ Jane Secker. *Newspapers and Historical Research: A Study of Historians and Custodians in Wales*. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wales. 1999) p. 4

⁸ Colin Pooley - 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England 1851–1911: Spatial and Temporal Perspectives', *Journal of Migration History* 5, 1 (2019): 31-52, doi: <https://doi-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1163/23519924-00501003>. p. 32

⁹ Colin Pooley - 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England 1851–1911, p. 32.

¹⁰ John E. Archer, 'Introduction: historiography, sources and methods', in *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England, 1780–1840*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1–7.

¹¹ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (London, Penguin, (2013 [1963])) p. 63

that view was revised after the Second World War. Following the work of George Rude, E.P Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm, social disorder is now seen as more organised.¹² These historians are credited with bringing this 'history from below' to the fore in the 1960s. Thompson's moral economy thesis explains eighteenth and nineteenth-century social unrest as 'a highly complex form of direct popular action, disciplined and with clear objectives.'¹³ This action was centred around the 'definite and passionately' held belief that the actors were defending the rights and customs of all community members.¹⁴ This theory will provide the basis to explore the role the press, notably *The Guardian*, played in organising and establishing these passions, which underlaid this outburst of public action in November 1848.

Compared to how often newspapers are used to record and interpret historical facts, the study of newspapers as sources of change has been underrepresented.¹⁵ Professor Kevin Williams states that newspapers are a barometer of any age.¹⁶ They provide a snapshot of the fears, motivations and passions that were prevalent at that point, in that place and at that time.¹⁷ Furthermore, in nineteenth-century Wales, they played a central role in guiding and forging opinions and identities.¹⁸ However, the mechanisms they used to orchestrate and shape society have been missing from the studies.¹⁹ A detailed analysis of a specific newspaper and its ability to consistently reinforce individuals' identities, nationalities, and sense of community, or lack thereof, can offer fresh insights into the underlying causes of social unrest.²⁰

¹²J. E. Thomas, *Social Disorder in Britain 1750-1850 : The Power of the Gentry, Radicalism and Religion in Wales* (London, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) p. 96.

¹³ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 78

¹⁴ E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, (London: Merlin Press, 1991), p.188.

¹⁵ Kevin Williams, *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2009). Available at *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?docID=452326>. p. 2.

¹⁶ Kevin Williams, *Read All about It!* p. 1.

¹⁷ Kevin Williams, *Read All about It!* p. 1.

¹⁸ Kevin Williams, *Read All about It!* p. 13

¹⁹ Aled Jones. *Power of the Press* p. 3

²⁰ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, (Sage Publications, London, 1995) p. 8

There has been a longstanding and wide-ranging debate surrounding issues of disorder involving Irish migrants in Wales. The traditional view of a migrant-tolerant Welsh nation prevailed until the end of the twentieth century. This tolerance was attributed to the relatively low numbers of migrants compared to cities like Liverpool and Glasgow, which experienced migration from a cross-section of Ireland, bringing with it sectarian tensions between Catholics and Protestants.^{21 22} However, this view has been challenged more recently. Paul O'Leary has argued that anti-Catholicism was in fact a 'central' factor in nineteenth-century Wales.²³ Additionally, Louise Miskell has convincingly blamed the violence more directly on traditional Welsh forms of community regulation and the methods of the Ceffyl Pren and the urban equivalent, the Scotch Cattle.²⁴ Furthermore, Neil Evans believes this violence was part of a broader, long-standing hostility towards the Irish in Wales.²⁵ What is clear is this debate has exposed the myth of Welsh tolerance and highlighted the complex and often contentious relationship between the Welsh and Irish migrant communities.

This dissertation will be separated into two chapters. The first chapter focuses more broadly on analysing how *The Guardian's* portrayal and rhetoric surrounding Irish immigrants perpetuated negative stereotypes, prejudices, and an 'us vs. them' divide between the Irish and wider society. It looks at the dehumanising language, associations with criminality, and the constant referencing of Irish nationality used by the newspaper throughout 1848. The second chapter has a more targeted analysis of *The Guardian's* sensationalised and provocative reporting, specifically around the 1848 murder of Thomas Lewis and the subsequent anti-Irish riots in Cardiff. It examines how the newspaper downplayed the dire living conditions of the Irish community, amplified the murder to

²¹ Frank Neal, 'South Wales, the Coal Trade and the Irish Famine Refugee Crisis', in O'Leary, *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004). p. 9

²² Louise Miskell, 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot' p. 106

²³ Paul O' Leary, 'When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56(2), (2005), p. 27.

²⁴ Louise Miskell, 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot' p. 111

²⁵ Neil Evans, *Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence*, p. 131

demonise Irish migrants as moral threats, but then minimised the severity of the anti-Irish violence that followed. Taken together, both chapters explain how the rhetoric, reporting practices, and agenda-driven narratives of the influential *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* newspaper actively contributed to fuelling anti-Irish prejudices, hostilities, and ethnic violence against the Irish immigrant community in nineteenth-century Cardiff. By combining *The Guardian's* widespread negative portrayals of the Irish with a specific case study of how this xenophobic rhetoric was reflected in the 1848 murder and riots this dissertation offers a comprehensive view of the pivotal role played by this newspaper in actively instigating and enabling anti-Irish discrimination and unrest through its biased coverage. The chapters reinforce each other to make a strong case for this and any other publication's impact on shaping public perceptions and catalysing real-world hostilities against a marginalised group. As such, this work provides a foundation to build upon for those seeking to understand the complex relationship between media framing, public perceptions, and the lived realities of marginalised communities both historically and in contemporary contexts.

Chapter 1: *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian's* Perpetuation of Anti-Irish Prejudices.

*'Deliberately to foster antipathy between people, betrays, in those guilty of it, a vulgarity of mind only to be exceeded by the viciousness of their dispositions.'*²⁶

It is widely acknowledged that the media's portrayal of minorities often perpetuates stereotypes and prejudices in society.²⁷ Nevertheless, a single paper's effect on a specific event has been relatively under-researched. The newspaper often depicted Irish arrivals as a perceived threat, reinforcing xenophobic views and contributing to a hostile reality on the ground, such as the 1848 disturbance in Cardiff that left many Irish homes damaged and families homeless. Analysing *The Guardian* will provide insights into how the provincial press amplified prejudices against migrants in nineteenth-century Wales.²⁸ This chapter will examine the reports on the Irish that the paper published throughout the year and aims to answer the questions: how did *The Guardian* portray Irish immigrants? What was the potential influence and effect of the newspaper's portrayal on public opinion and societal attitudes towards Irish immigrants? How did the newspaper's portrayal perpetuate an us vs. them divide and reinforce prejudices about national identities?

The dissertation will examine the newspaper reports using the database Welsh Newspapers Online to provide the data. This chapter will first explore the context of being Irish in Cardiff in the mid-

²⁶ Anon, 'Horrible and Brutal Murder in Stanley Street', *The Principality*, 17th November, p. 5, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613950/3613955/32/>, Accessed 13th April 2024

²⁷ Teun A. Van Dijk. *Race, Riots and the Press: an analysis of editorials in the British press about the 1985 disorders* Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands), 43(3), 229-253. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001654928904300305>. p. 230

²⁸ Anon, 'Horrible and Brutal Murder in Stanley Street', *The Principality*, 17th November, p. 5, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613950/3613955/32/>, Accessed 13th April 2024

nineteenth century and provide a brief overview of the ownership of *The Guardian*. Then, it will use the articles published throughout the year to provide a more rounded understanding of the causes of the riot in Cardiff in November 1848. Through a detailed yet narrow scope of the source material, the chapter will focus solely on *The Guardian* in 1848, using the term 'Irish' for a specific and time-efficient analysis. This methodology is not without its inconsistencies. The collection, preservation, and exhibition of sources are largely down to chance. The influence of those who collected and archived these sources undoubtedly affects the available information.²⁹ Focusing on one newspaper in one year can distort the full picture. However, recent research emphasises newspapers' power to shape narratives through biases, thus, examining *The Guardian's* coverage of the 'Irish' in 1848 can yield important insights into the perspectives and prejudices that may have contributed to the riot, even if the newspaper's accounts were imperfect or skewed.³⁰

In the nineteenth century, Irish immigrants migrated in huge numbers to Britain. Between 1841 and 1851, driven by the devastating famine, their numbers increased by 75 per cent from 415,000 to 727,000.³¹ Wales became a major destination, in the same decade the Irish-born population more than doubled from 8000 to 20,000.³² South Wales saw 86% of all Irish-born residents in Wales concentrated in the metallurgical hubs Merthyr, Swansea, and Newport.³³ Cardiff, rapidly transforming, experienced a significant influx propelled by the dual push and pull forces of escaping famine and employment prospects at the expanding docks.³⁴ Although relatively under-researched compared to other British cities, like Liverpool and Glasgow, which also experienced this rise in Irish migration, Cardiff provides a compelling case study to analyse the experience of

²⁹ Jane Secker. *Newspapers and Historical Research: A Study of Historians and Custodians in Wales*. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wales. 1999) p. 5

³⁰ Jane Secker. *Newspapers and Historical Research* p. 4

³¹ Donald MacRaild. *The Irish diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) p. 34

³² Donald MacRaild. *The Irish diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* p. 34

³³ John Hickey. 'Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff', in O'Leary, P. *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004). p. 34

³⁴ John Hickey. 'Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff', p. 34

Irish migrants in Wales.³⁵ In his 1967 and 2004 articles, John Hickey provided a thorough analysis of Irish settlement in Cardiff in the nineteenth century.³⁶ Additionally, Joanne Cayford delivered a detailed analysis of provincial newspapers in her work on *The Western Mail*.³⁷ This dissertation aims to combine these two approaches to provide a fresh perspective on the causes of the riot in Cardiff.

Despite technically being fellow countrymen, Irish migrants were far from welcome in Britain in the nineteenth century. Contemporary social commentators such as Engels and Carlyle were ruthless in their depictions of the Irish as they made their escape from disease, death, and famine. Writing in 1845, Engels used the following description of the Irish.

‘The Irishman loves his pig as the Arab his horse, with the difference that he sells it when it is fat enough to kill. Otherwise, he eats and sleeps with it, his children play with it, ride upon it, roll in the dirt with it, as any one may see a thousand times repeated in all the great towns of England.’³⁸

Such characterisations not only dehumanised the Irish but also cast them as homogenous, disloyal and filthy. In Cardiff, the areas with the highest concentrations of Irish immigrants, like Cardiff's ‘Little Ireland’ around Mary Ann Street and Stanley Street, became bywords for abject poverty and ‘the full spectrum of social evils.’³⁹ Other Contemporary reports from the highly-controversial Carlyle, deliberately differentiated the Irish, portraying their arrival not just as an economic threat

³⁵ John Hickey. ‘Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff’ p. 38

³⁶ John Hickey, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and Wales from 1829 to the Present Day*, (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1967); John Hickey. ‘Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff’

³⁷ Joanne Cayford. *The Western Mail 1869-1914 : a study in the politics and management of a provincial newspaper*. (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1992).

³⁸ Friedrich Engels. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. (London Lawrence & Wishart Moscow Progress Publishers 1845). pp.81-82

³⁹ Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, *The Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems of Integration*, in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, (Routledge, 1985) p. 16

taking jobs and homes but as an invasive blight that could infect ‘the life, habits, intelligence, and moral statuses’ of the local population.⁴⁰

News publications also had a major influence in fuelling intolerance towards Irish immigrants. In mid-nineteenth-century cartoons, the Irish were caricatured as ape-like sub humans, symbolising their perceived racial inferiority.⁴¹ As Michael de Nie and Perry Curtis have convincingly argued, stereotypes drawing from centuries-old prejudices were deliberately used by the press in times of hardship, allowing them to reaffirm the Irish as a threatening, inferior other.⁴² The press would have been relied upon to provide news to those with little direct knowledge of Irish migrants and this dangerous othering dehumanised the most vulnerable famine victims, inflaming public fears and hostilities.⁴³ These incessant negative portrayals and inflammatory rhetoric directed at the Irish would have played a fundamental role in installing and confirming stereotypes and prejudice.⁴⁴

In the 1800s, Britain had a robust press with popular local papers reaching far beyond their regions.⁴⁵ In Wales, *The Guardian*, under the ownership of staunch conservative Henry Webber, was a mouthpiece for Tory values and a bulwark against liberal ‘poisons.’⁴⁶ On purchasing the paper in 1841, Webber relocated the paper from liberal Merthyr to capitalise on Cardiff’s relatively untapped right-wing audience.⁴⁷ Webber’s ideological crusade was bolstered by influential allies like

⁴⁰ Friedrich Engels. *The Condition of the Working Class in England* pp81-82; Thomas Carlyle at <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/thomas-carlyle> .Accessed 20/5/24

⁴¹ Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy : Irish identity and the British press, 1798-1882*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004) p. 10

⁴² Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy*, p. 5

⁴³ Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy*, p. 10; Catherine Happer & Greg Philo. (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), p. 321

⁴⁴ Teun A. Van Dijk. *Race, Riots and the Press* p. 230

⁴⁵ Colin Pooley - ‘Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England 1851–1911: Spatial and Temporal Perspectives’, *Journal of Migration History* 5, 1 (2019): 31-52, doi: <https://doi-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1163/23519924-00501003>. p. 35

⁴⁶ Newspaper Publishing in Wales, accessed at <https://www.library.wales/catalogues-searching/catalogues/other-resources/newsplan-cymru/newspaper-publishing-in-wales> on 20/3/24.

⁴⁷ Aled Jones. *Power of the Press* p. 129

the local High Sheriff and Marquess of Bute.⁴⁸ Newspapers were structured to criticise political opponents and support political allies. They functioned as platforms for political advocacy, with editors utilising the lead editorial column as their primary means of communication and influencing public opinion.⁴⁹ His paper was widely read and shared, aided by expanding libraries, significantly increasing its influence from a weekly readership of around 1,500 to a potentially far higher number.⁵⁰ Characterised as opposing the ‘insidious Nonconformist doctrine’ of its rival, *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, *The Guardian* served as a vehicle for Webber's deeply entrenched prejudices and biases.⁵¹ Its banal dehumanising rhetoric reflected national depictions such as those often found in popular publications like *Punch*. During the mid-nineteenth century, Irish immigrants were frequently dehumanised by being compared to animals, reflecting widespread negative national stereotypes about them. This assumed inferiority was increasingly represented by depicting the Irish with ape-like or simian characteristics.⁵²

Over the course of 1848, 198 articles contained the word, Irish; 170 of these were news reports, and the remaining were advertisements. These 170 can then be divided into eight further categories.⁵³ The most popular were House of Commons and Local Intelligence reports. The overwhelming majority of the articles are either negative or neutral in their tone, with only one article on 11th March having something positive to say about the Irish.⁵⁴ In the negative portrayals of the Irish, two common themes are clear throughout: criminality and animal-like behaviour. This explicit

⁴⁸ Aled Jones. *Power of the Press*, p. 129; Henry Webber. *A sketch of the life of John, second marquess of Bute. Reproduced principally from 'The Cardiff & Merthyr Guardian'*, (Webber, Cardiff, 1848)

⁴⁹ Kevin Williams. *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2009). Available at *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?docID=452326>. p. 63

⁵⁰ Aled Jones. *Power of the Press*, p. 97; Colin Pooley. ‘Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England’, p. 35

⁵¹ Newspaper Publishing in Wales, accessed at <https://www.library.wales/catalogues-searching/catalogues/other-resources/newsplan-cymru/newspaper-publishing-in-wales> on 20/3/24.

⁵² Michael de Nie. *The Eternal Paddy*, p. 10

⁵³ See Appendix 4

⁵⁴ Observer, ‘to the Editor of the Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian’, *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 11th March 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089169/3089172/28/> Accessed 1st April 2024.

See Appendix 5

comparison of Irish buildings to animal enclosures, reported on the 22nd of January, established the tone of the newspaper's coverage that would prevail throughout the rest of the year.

'If they 'choose to build a kennel and call it Conciliation Hall... stock it with a pack of O'Connell's or any other breed, it is no concern of ours...'⁵⁵

On March 25th, *The Guardian* declared, 'Irish swarming season has commenced' as two hundred landed on Penarth Beach.⁵⁶ The selection of the term 'swarming' further dehumanised the Irish immigrants, portraying them as a pestilent invasion. While the quintessential qualities that the reader need only to know about the Irish were summarised using three words 'impudence', 'beggary' and 'wretchedness'.⁵⁷ This notion of an Irish invasion was echoed in subsequent reports. The paper claimed that 'swarms of Irish' had 'inundated' Chepstow and announced another 'Irish invasion', landing in Penarth in May.⁵⁸ The language evoked imagery of an unwanted, overwhelming force descending upon Wales. Essentially, the newspaper was informing its reader that the Irish were insects, and the Irish were an inundation, which are quite clearly simplistic evaluations of a whole nation. By representing the Irish arrivals in such derogatory and threatening terms, the newspaper opened the possibility of contributing to the creation and perpetuation of a xenophobic climate that not only marginalised and ostracised the Irish community but also had the potential to incite or justify acts of violence and discrimination against them.

⁵⁵ Anon, Ireland, *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 22nd January, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089134/3089136/12/> Accessed 20th January 2024.

⁵⁶ Anon, 'The Coroner's Inquest', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette* 25th March 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089179/3089182/21/>, accessed 24/2/24.

⁵⁷ Anon, 'The Coroner's Inquest', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette* 25th March 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089179/3089182/21/>, accessed 24/2/24.

⁵⁸ Anon, 'Monmouthshire', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette* 20th May 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089219/3089222/20/>, Accessed 1/3/24

What effect these descriptions had on local opinion remains open to question. While newspapers were once seen as ephemeral sources, destined to become tomorrow's fish and chip paper, more recent research emphasises their power to shape narratives and perspectives through the biases and agendas present in their content. Although media audiences are now understood to be far from passive or uniform, challenging earlier assumptions, newspapers play a crucial role in determining which topics receive public attention.⁵⁹ It shapes the boundaries of discourse around those issues, thereby restricting the diversity of viewpoints and arguments that contribute to public debate.⁶⁰ Seminal works like Boyce, Curran, and Wingate's *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* in the 1970s and Aled Jones' *Press, Politics and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* in 1993 have made significant attempts to explore the effects of newspapers further. Moreover, it has been over fifty years since Ian Jackson's 1971 study, *The Provincial Press and the Community*,⁶¹ concluded that provincial newspapers reinforced community attitudes, though studies on local press remain less frequent than national newspapers.⁶¹

A reason for this is that direct consequences of newspaper reporting, and public feeling are extremely difficult to gauge. Research by Pooley argues that Local and national reporting's impact on public opinion varies. Local coverage of national events addressing immigration issues likely influenced sentiments, but research suggests local news wasn't the primary driver of anti-immigrant feelings.⁶² However, a report in a rival newspaper in 1848 offers a revealing glimpse into the potential sway of the press and the effects of their negative portrayals. *The Principality, The*

⁵⁹ Daniel J. Robinson. 'Crime, Police and the Provincial Press: A Study of Victorian Cardiff'. in *The Welsh History Review* Volume 25, No. 4 December 2011, University of Wales Press p. 554

⁶⁰ Catherine Happer & Greg Philo. (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), p.321. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96>

⁶¹ Jane-Louise Secker. 'Newspapers and historical research', p. 32

⁶² Colin Pooley. 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England. p. 31

Guardian's local rival, blamed *The Guardian* for being directly responsible for the outbreak of violence in November 1848.⁶³ The newspaper's imploring of its readers to 'put away their ill-feeling' and become properly acquainted with a people they should pity rather than hate suggests newspapers were aware of the influence they could have on their readers.⁶⁴ This influence of the press was also cited by Miskell in her work on anti-Irish disturbances over the course of the century as being responsible for fear and anxiety amongst the public in relation to the fears of Fenianism that existed in the 1860s.⁶⁵ Despite the challenges in proving causation, the evidence suggests a link between negative press portrayals and societal hostility towards immigrant groups in the nineteenth century, underscoring the importance of further study of this phenomenon.

Beyond being driven by religious, ethical and political motivations, as much as the desire to turn a profit, Webber's *Guardian* served as a vehicle to disseminate particular viewpoints that shaped societal narratives and national identities, as scholars like Benedict Anderson and Michael Billig have argued.⁶⁶ This notion of using print media to construct and reinforce narratives of national identity became especially resonant after the 1847 *Report on Education in Wales*, which brought longstanding issues around the perceived moral worth of different nationalities to controversial prominence.⁶⁷ In this charged climate, Webber's *Guardian* portrayed the arriving Irish immigrants in an overtly negative light, consistently emphasising their nationality in reports of criminal activities to imply an inherent propensity for lawlessness within this community. *The Guardian's* overtly negative

⁶³ Anon, 'National Antipathies. The Guardian and the Stanley Street Murder', *The Principality*, 24th November, 1848, p. 4, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613959/3613963/26/>, Accessed 2/2/24.

⁶⁴ Anon, 'National Antipathies. The Guardian and the Stanley Street Murder', *The Principality*, 24th November, 1848, p. 4, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613959/3613963/26/>, Accessed 2/2/24.

⁶⁵ Louise Miskell, 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot: Popular Protest and the Irish in South Wales, c. 1826–1882', in O'Leary, P. *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004). p. 104.

⁶⁶ Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 2006); Michael Billig. *Banal nationalism*. (London: Sage 1995); Philippe Chassaigne. *Popular representations of crime: the crime broadside – a subculture of violence in Victorian Britain?*, Crime, History & Societies, Vol. 3, no.2 | 1999, pp-23-55 accessed at <https://journals.openedition.org/chs/1039#ftn33>; Aled Jones. *Power of the Press*, p. 91

⁶⁷ Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798–1922*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000, p. 94

portrayal of Irish immigrants contributed to constructing and entrenching a narrative that portrayed the Irish community as a threat to Welsh moral standards and national identity.

Through consistent and deliberate labelling of the Irish, the newspaper exemplified what Billig called the constant 'flagging' of nationality.⁶⁸ Simple words offer subtle cues about the political position a newspaper has. These simplicities ensure that national identity remains unforgettable.⁶⁹ This flagging can be seen in various reports. On February 5th, the paper highlighted the charge of assault against 'Patrick Hurley, an Irishman,' while in the very next line, two individuals involved in a similar crime were described without any mention of their nationalities.⁷⁰ This double standard was evident – Irish defendants were promptly labelled, while others were not. This hypocrisy persisted in cases of similar crimes with no distinction between those belonging to different social classes. On October 14th, three reports of robbery appeared consecutively, with the first mentioning 'Michael, an Irish pedlar,' ensuring attention was drawn to his nationality despite his skilled occupation.⁷¹ In contrast, the following two reports involving 'two tramps' and 'two reputed thieves' omitted any reference to their nationalities, treating them as individuals rather than representatives of a broader group, despite their lower social standing.⁷²

Accusations of criminality or perceived threat cannot justify the newspaper's frequent reference to an Irish person's nationality. In one instance, the term Irish was employed as an insult to describe

⁶⁸ Michael Billig. *Banal nationalism*, p.8

⁶⁹ Michael Billig. *Banal nationalism* p. 93

⁷⁰ Anon, 'Cardiff Police – Friday', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 5th February 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089272/3089274/15/>, Accessed 1st March 2024.

⁷¹ Anon, 'Merthyr and Neighbourhood', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, October 14th 1848, p. 3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089327/3089330/22/>, Accessed 20/3/24.

⁷² Anon, 'Merthyr and Neighbourhood', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, October 14th 1848, p. 3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089327/3089330/22/>, Accessed 20/3/24.

the character of a Welsh deserting soldier as having the 'blundering simplicity of an Irish peasant.'⁷³ Furthermore, through consistent and deliberate labelling, the newspaper exemplified the reminding of nationality, of those who are and those who are not Welsh. This perpetuated the stigmatisation of the Irish, whether they were criminals or not, fuelling the perception of their inherent criminality and reinforcing the prejudices that existed against this marginalised immigrant community.

Amidst the largely negative portrayal of the Irish, the newspaper occasionally displayed a rare neutral stance, thus hinting that they understood the Irish were far from a homogenous group. Still referencing this person's nationality, an advertisement on November 18th promoted the performance of a 'celebrated Irish comedian' at the King's Head Concert Room alongside artists from the Theatre Royal in Bristol and Liverpool.⁷⁴ This recognition of Irish artistic talent contrasted with the degrading rhetoric employed elsewhere on the same page of the paper that declared that 'some of the worst specimens of Irish barbarism' had chosen Cardiff as their place of refuge.⁷⁵ This evidence reveals the complexities and inconsistencies in how the newspaper depicted the Irish population and the lack of sympathy it offered, alternating between blatant negative stereotyping of those it did not want and an occasional acknowledgment of the diversity of skills and talents within that community.

A traditional cause of anti-Irish feelings amongst the Welsh has often been attributed to the economic competition accompanying Irish migration. The undercutting of wages has often been used to justify the reaction of the Welsh to the threat to their livelihoods.⁷⁶ However, this starkly

⁷³ Anon, 'Public Vestry', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 10th June, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089234/3089237/19/>, Accessed 24/3/24.

⁷⁴ Anon, 'Advertisement – Kings Head Concert Room', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24.

⁷⁵ Anon, 'The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24

⁷⁶ Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, P. 94 ./ Louise Miskell, *Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot*, p. 107

contrasts with the economic reality reported in *The Guardian's* pages. By the end of the year, the paper even reported that the people of the local district 'appear to be well-fed... the children tolerably healthy and plump...the Welsh collier drinks beer rather than spirits.'⁷⁷ Additionally, a report on wage reduction at the Dowlais Iron Works earlier in the year did not mention the Irish, instead the owner, Mr. Crawshay attributed the decision to a 'temporary reduction in the orders of railways.'⁷⁸ Such observations undermine potential claims that Welsh intolerance stemmed from Irish arrivals undercutting wages, their criminality, or their disrupting presence. Rather, they indicate that the antagonism was more likely rooted in prevailing prejudices about national identities. Prejudices that Webber's conservative outlet helped cultivate and inflame through its continual negative portrayals.

Based on three key points, it is evident that *The Guardian* newspaper played a significant role in fuelling anti-Irish sentiment and hostility within the local community. Through its dehumanising depictions, emphasis on criminality, and reinforcement of the us vs. them divide, the newspaper effectively created a narrative that portrayed Irish immigrants as an unwanted, dangerous, and inherently criminal other. This persistent negative portrayal and stigmatisation of the Irish community had the potential to shape public opinion and perpetuate existing prejudices. By constantly flagging the nationality of Irish individuals, even in cases where it was irrelevant, the newspaper reinforced the idea that their Irishness was inherently linked to criminality and societal disruption. Such a sustained campaign of vilification fuelled by the influential power of the press, was bound to have a significant impact on public sentiment. It likely exacerbated existing tensions and fostered an environment where hostility towards the Irish community was not only tolerated

⁷⁷ Anon, 'Important Investigation Before the Coroner', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 16th December 1848, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089372/3089376/31/>, Accessed 25th February 2024

⁷⁸ William Crawshay, 'To the Editor of the Times', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 16th December 1848, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089372/3089376/27/>, Accessed 25th February 2024

but also tacitly encouraged. Although, as Walter Lippmann demonstrated in his seminal work on public opinion, people's views and how they are formed and reinforced are complex and subject to many different forces. In most instances, the media, principally the provincial press in the nineteenth century, could play a significant role.⁷⁹ Consequently, the relentless negative portrayal of Irish immigrants by *The Guardian* newspaper created a powder keg of resentment and animosity within the local community. With tensions already high due to economic, religious, and cultural differences, the newspaper's inflammatory rhetoric acted as a catalyst, making an eventual explosion of anti-Irish sentiment and conflict increasingly likely, if not inevitable.

⁷⁹ Colin Pooley - 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England. p. 36

Chapter 2: *The Guardian's* Inflammatory Role in the 1848 Cardiff Riots

'The article that appeared in last week's *Guardian*... has never been exceeded in the annals of the stamped press for coarseness of language, recklessness of assertion, wholesale condemnation and indecent vituperation.'⁸⁰

In November 1848, the murder of Thomas Lewis by Irish immigrant John Connors on Stanley Street in Cardiff set off a chain of events that culminated in a full-fledged anti-Irish riot engulfing the city. As explored in the preceding chapter, this unrest and the subsequent expulsion of Cardiff's Irish workforce did not occur in isolation. Instead, it unfolded against the backdrop of longstanding prejudices and ethnic tensions that had been steadily stoked by one of the city's primary newspapers, *The Guardian*. Through sensationalised reporting, inflammatory rhetoric vilifying the Irish community, and downplaying of the harsh realities they faced, *The Guardian* effectively created an environment ripe for a moral panic to take hold.⁸¹ This chapter will explore how the sensationalising of the murder, the ignoring of socio-economic conditions of the Irish and the downplaying of the riot all contributed to and are evidence of the newspapers intention and role in this riot.

This type of critical examination of Wales' historic treatment of minority groups was virtually non-existent until the late twentieth century. Devolution in 1999 brought a commitment to more inclusive politics, with the reimagining of the national narrative prioritising racial equality and inclusion of ethnic minorities.⁸² Previously, the country's ethnic diversity and societal responses to migrants had

⁸⁰ Anon, 'Horrible and Brutal Murder in Stanley Street', *The Principality*, 17th November, p. 5, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613950/3613955/32/>, Accessed 13th April 2024

⁸¹ Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, p. xi

⁸² Charlotte Williams, 'Experiencing Rural Wales' in Williams, C., Evans, N. and O'Leary, P. *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting Ethnic Diversity in a Devolved Wales*.(University of Wales Press), p. 271

remained largely unexplored topics and the idea of Welsh tolerance prevailed.⁸³ A series of publications exploring the Welsh tolerance myth emerged between 2000 and 2004, catering to newfound academic interest. Neil Evans, Paul O'Leary, and Charlotte Williams' book, *'A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales'* (2003), placed immigrant stories at the forefront, dispelling the myth of a tolerant Welsh nation.⁸⁴ Concurrently, Paul O'Leary's publications, *'Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922'* (2000) and *'Irish Migrants in Modern Wales'* (2004), facilitated a reassessment of the Irish narrative in Wales, which had hitherto been largely neglected.⁸⁵ The latter, with contributions from eight scholars across eight chapters, demonstrated the evident importance of Irish migrants in Wales' history.

Within the field of Welsh immigration history, scholars like Louise Miskell and John Hickey, contributors to O'Leary's seminal *'Irish Migrants in Wales,'* have championed localised analyses to illuminate the nuances of migrant experiences across different regions and communities.⁸⁶ More recently, Donald MacRaild, a leading authority on Irish migration to Britain, has underscored how understanding the specifics of the migrant experience can offer profound insights into the evolving dynamics of the communities that became new homes.⁸⁷ If we are to have a better-rounded understanding of the Welsh history, then it is essential to explore the widest possible spectrum of Welsh society. Building on this historiographical momentum, this chapter will synthesise Miskell's focused study of anti-Irish riots with Hickey's granular examination of Irish settlement patterns in Cardiff. By fusing their regionalised perspectives through the revealing lens of *The Guardian's* editorial stances.

⁸³ Paul O'Leary, *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004). p. 1

⁸⁴ Neil Evans, Charlotte Williams and Paul O' Leary, 'Introduction, Race, Nation and Globalization in a Devolved Wales' *A Tolerant Nation in Williams, C., Evans, N. and O'Leary, P. A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting Ethnic Diversity in a Devolved Wales*. (University of Wales Press), p. 10.

⁸⁵ Louise Miskell, *Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot*, p. 101

⁸⁶ Louise Miskell, *Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot*, p. 101; John Hickey. 'Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff', p. 34.

⁸⁷ Donald M. MacRaild (1999) *Introduction: The great famine and beyond: Irish migrants in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, 18:2-3, 1-13, DOI:10.1080/02619288.1999.9974966 p. 5

To better understand the situation and *The Guardian's* ability to shape public perceptions of the Irish, we must first examine the impoverished reality the Irish residents of Stanley Street endured, which the newspaper downplayed and obscured. Stanley Street, Cardiff, was the scene of what *The Guardian* described as a 'sanguinary and cowardly outrage' as Thomas Lewis was murdered by John Connors.⁸⁸ The living conditions on Stanley Street in Cardiff were appallingly poor for the predominantly Irish residents in the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁹ According to T.W. Rammell's report in 1849, the Superintending Inspector to the General Board of Health, the street, which had between 21 to 32 houses, suffered from severe overcrowding 'unequaled to any other town in the kingdom'.⁹⁰ Census data shows on average fourteen Irish people to a house compared to the average number of Welsh and English at four and five respectively.⁹¹ So numerous and transient were the Irish that it is difficult to give a precise number, but estimates place at least 3,000 concentrated into a small area around Stanley Street.⁹² Inferior housing design and improper drainage left the area plagued by 'floods, swamps, filth, miasma and ague in fearful abundance.'⁹³ Residents struggled to find clean water, and some houses had toilets overflowing into living spaces, creating a sickening stench.⁹⁴ Crucially, Rammell concluded that the Cardiff commissioners were responsible for these abhorrent conditions, stating that 'apart from a desire to avoid expense... (they) had done very little.'⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 10th January 2024

⁸⁹ See Appendix 2 Data on a number of households gathered from 1851 Census of England and Wales, The National Archives, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=gbc%2f1851%2f4278332%2f00633>, p. 50, Accessed 10th May 2024.

⁹⁰ T.W. Rammell, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry Into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Cardiff, (London, 1849) p. 50, Available at <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/schpu3er>, Accessed 14th March 2024.;

⁹¹ See Appendix 3

⁹² John Hickey. 'Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff', p. 41

⁹³ T. W. Rammell, Report to the General Board of Health pp.11, 22, 50.

⁹⁴ T. W. Rammell, Report to the General Board of Health pp.30-36

⁹⁵ T. W. Rammell, Report to the General Board of Health p. 50

Notably, there seemed to be close ties between the Cardiff commissioners and *The Guardian* newspaper editor. The street commissioner C. C Williams and Webber were both present at the inquiry into sanitary and living conditions in Cardiff on the 4th of July, 1849.⁹⁶ Not only does this show they moved in similar social circles, but later, when Williams died in 1860, Webber dedicated a three-column obituary to him. Webber described his love for him so far as a man can 'be loved by his brotherhood'.⁹⁷ The close connections between the Cardiff commissioners and the editors of *The Guardian* newspaper suggest *The Guardian* had a pro-establishment bias that impacted its reporting on the living conditions of the Irish residents of Stanley Street. With ties to the commissioners responsible for the dire living situations, *The Guardian* had motives to shift culpability away from authorities and onto the Irish community through biased reporting, enabling a narrative that criminalised the Irish rather than examining the root injustices they faced. Thomas Rammell's report in 1849 contained numerous references and recommendations related to the poor living conditions in Stanley Street. Yet, similar reports were not as forthcoming in the articles produced in the paper.

When the murder of Thomas Lewis by John Connors on Stanley Street occurred in November 1848, only nine articles had referenced Stanley Street that year. However, in the two months after the murder, eleven articles referenced the area.⁹⁸ The disproportionate focus and coverage on Stanley Street by the newspaper in the wake of the murder would likely have had a significantly negative effect on readers' perception of that street name. In the wake of Lewis' murder, *The Guardian's* reporting exemplified this calculated and demonisation of the Irish populace that formulated the

⁹⁶ T. W. Rammell, Report to the General Board of Health p. 4

⁹⁷ Anon, 'The Death of Mr C. C Williams', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3092254/3092259/13/>, Accessed 23/4/24.

⁹⁸ See Appendix 1

ingredients for moral panic identified by sociologist Stanley Cohen: a suitable marginalised target group, an identifiable victim, and a belief that the condemned actions threatened societal fabric.⁹⁹

The Guardian provided extensive details about the murder of Thomas Lewis but noticeably downplayed the subsequent anti-Irish riot that ensued. The murder was given a three-column spread which stated the events happened in the early hours of Sunday, 12th November 1848. This coverage ensured that it would be a difficult story to miss for any reader or someone listening to the report. Thomas Lewis was coming home with his wife and child from a local pub where he had been collecting money he was owed. He got into an altercation with John Connors in Stanley Street where they traded insults. Interestingly, Lewis is quoted with telling Connors to 'go home', possibly indicating xenophobic undertones.¹⁰⁰ Following that, depending on the witness account John Connors is alleged to have thrown a stone, which either 'hit Mrs Lewis', who then dropped her baby or hit Thomas Lewis 'about the knee'.¹⁰¹ A chase ensued, and Lewis was stabbed four times, one of which was described by the surgeon as causing 'almost instantaneous death'.¹⁰² Over the subsequent days, a manhunt for Connors took place. When it was reported that Connors was hiding in the city and the Irish were concealing him, there was 'very considerable and fearful excitement' as a group of local people searched for Connors within the local Irish community.¹⁰³ Upon reporting about the clashes that occurred following the murder, the newspaper reported that 'some' windows of the Catholic chapel were smashed, 'one pane' of glass was damaged at Fr.

⁹⁹ Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*: p xii

¹⁰⁰ Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 10th January 2024.

¹⁰¹ Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 10th January 2024.

¹⁰² Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 25th January 2024.

¹⁰³ Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 13th January 2024.

Millea's house and 'two doors' were forced open. Despite the damage, the newspaper downplayed the whole incident as being the work of 'boys.'¹⁰⁴

In contrast to the vague and non-existent details of the events and the people that had damaged the homes of whole families and left many homeless, on the preceding page of the paper, the editor devoted a full column to this description of the Irish.

*'Their habits filthy and degrading, having no more regard to the decencies of life than the beasts that perish...they are content to live in misery and idleness rather than exert themselves; and those around them who have acquired the habit of working, spend their money in thoughtless and beastly dissipation.'*¹⁰⁵

The Guardian devoted ten columns over three weeks to commentary portraying Connors and Irish migrants as 'execrable wretches' who were 'content to rot in misery'.¹⁰⁶ It made a call to arms to its readers explaining that the Welsh would not be 'plundered' by allowing such murders.¹⁰⁷ Through this prolonged sensationalism, which fulfilled all criteria for instigating moral panic, the newspaper constructed a narrative of the Irish community's supposed moral deficiency, culpability, and threat to the local people, which required action.

¹⁰⁴ Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 17th January 2024.

¹⁰⁵ Anon, 'The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24

¹⁰⁶ Anon, 'The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24

¹⁰⁷ Anon, 'The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24

Further evidence of this intolerance can be found in *The Guardian's* routine reporting weeks later about the murder of Thomas Edwards. Edwards was a Welsh victim killed by Welshman Thomas Williams, the incident occupied a mere 50 lines, not more than one column, easy enough to miss if not reading the paper in full detail.¹⁰⁸ Interestingly, the article did not mention Williams' nationality, it is assumed that he was either Welsh or English, on the basis of the murder of Thomas Lewis if he had been Irish this would have been clearly detailed.¹⁰⁹ By presenting violence differently based on the perpetrator's ethnicity, *The Guardian* demonstrated its agenda to reinforce prejudices against Irish migrants specifically.

After helping manufacture a perceived crisis around immigrant morality through its coverage, *The Guardian* then downplayed and excused the ensuing anti-Irish violence.¹¹⁰ It is indicative that a three-column report focussed on the attack on one person yet minimised or barely mentioned extensive property damage to the Catholic community and institutions and the clergy's need to flee for safety by falsely claiming only minors smashed windows. This minimisation of the events contrasts starkly with the extensive coverage and inflammatory language used in reporting the murder itself, not only that, but it also contrasts wildly with other contemporary reports suggesting a potential bias in the newspaper's portrayal of the Irish migrant community and the ensuing unrest. *The Principality* wrote that Fr. Millea was 'compelled to seek refuge' such was the fear for his safety as an infuriated mob ransacked houses and destroyed the windows to the Catholic chapel and his

¹⁰⁸ Anon, 'The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24

¹⁰⁹ Anon, 'Breconshire', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 25th November 1848, p. 3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089357/3089360/27/>, Accessed 1st April 2024.

¹¹⁰ Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 27th February 2024.

residence.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, the *Monmouthshire Merlin* reported they had ‘never witnessed a town in a more feverish state’ as the lower classes who had been whipped into a ‘frenzy’ began to ‘wreak their vengeance’ on the unoffending Irish citizens whose only connection to the murdered was their nationality.¹¹² These divergent accounts underscore how *The Guardian's* dismissive rhetoric belied the severity of the anti-Irish unrest. By framing deflected culpability from the Welsh rioters, it maintained its narrative by vilifying Irish immorality as the root issue and the only issue that needed to be addressed.

In his acclaimed work, *‘Immigration and Integration,’* Paul O’Leary critically examines the articles published in *The Guardian* in November 1848. O’Leary argues that while these words undoubtedly reflected the prevalent hostility towards the Irish community, it is unlikely they directly incited the outbreak of violence in Cardiff in November 1848, as they were written after the fact.¹¹³ Instead, he contends that the riot was a ‘product of local circumstances and a culmination of the year’s hostilities.’¹¹⁴ O’Leary attributes the local issues to the migration of Irish individuals to Cardiff, which brought various challenges, including the spread of disease, the undercutting of wages and a significant strain on public services.¹¹⁵ This sudden influx exacerbated existing tensions and resentment towards the Irish community, fuelled by instances of ethnic conflict, such as the murder of two Welshmen in Swansea by a group of Irish navigators and an unprovoked attack on an Irish community in the nearby village of Llantrisant.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Anon, ‘Horrible and Brutal Murder in Stanley Street’, *The Principality*, 17th November, p. 5, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613950/3613955/32/>, Accessed 13th April 2024.

¹¹² Anon, ‘Horrible Murder at Cardiff’, *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 18th November 1848, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3394531/3394534/32/>, Accessed 1st May 2024.

¹¹³ Paul O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, p. 95

¹¹⁴ Paul O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, pp. 95-96

¹¹⁵ Paul O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration* p. 95; Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff, John Hickey, p41

¹¹⁶ Paul O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration* p. 95

While O'Leary provides insightful context on the socioeconomic pressures and isolated ethnic conflicts that created an underlying climate of tension, his analysis underestimates the pivotal role played by inflammatory rhetoric from platforms like *The Guardian* in actively catalysing violence. Aled Jones described the newspaper press in Wales as altering social relationships materially and ideologically.¹¹⁷ Ieuan Gwynedd Jones declared the periodical press represented a monumental development whose impact on the landscape of society and public discourse cannot be overstated.¹¹⁸ Just a week before the Lewis murder, the newspaper ran an editorial advocating for a 'benevolent and enlightened despot' to impose dictatorial rule over the 'ignorant and almost brutish' Irish population, threatening punishment for noncompliant priests.¹¹⁹ This further example of extreme vilification of the Irish is evidence that traditional interpretations for the causes of anti-Irish hostility like O'Leary's and other's may be failing to take into account the underlying effect the provincial press had on public opinion and actions.

By propagating such dehumanising narratives devoid of socioeconomic nuance, the newspaper effectively fulfilled the criteria Cohen outlined for fomenting moral panic - demonising the Irish as a morally deficient suitable target group whose perceived transgressions against Lewis represented an existential threat requiring action. O'Leary's acknowledgement that the press shaped 'composite prejudices' against the Irish population does not go far enough.¹²⁰

In examining the role of *The Guardian* newspaper in shaping perceptions and fuelling violence against the Irish community in nineteenth-century Cardiff, this article exposes the publication's

¹¹⁷ Paul O'Leary, *Immigration, and Integration* p. 95; Rees, R.D. 1962, 'South Wales and Monmouthshire Newspapers under the Stamp Acts', *Welsh History Review = Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 301. and Aled Jones. *Power of the Press*, p. 3

¹¹⁸ Aled Jones. *Power of the Press*, p. 3

¹¹⁹ Anon, 'Ireland', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 4th November 1848, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089342/3089344/28/>, Accessed 24th January 2024.

¹²⁰ Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, p. 95

impact. Through downplaying the dire living conditions forced upon the Irish in areas like Stanley Street while having cosy ties to the very authorities responsible, *The Guardian* exhibited a pro-establishment bias that scapegoated the marginalised rather than addressed root injustices. Its sensationalised coverage of the 1848 Lewis murder served to demonise the entire Irish populace as morally bankrupt threats to society. However, *The Guardian* went beyond just reflecting existing prejudices. *The Guardian's* biased and sensationalised coverage of the 1848 Lewis murder demonised the entire Irish populace and contributed to anti-Irish violence in Cardiff. This study underscores how the press actively fuelled ethnic violence through biased coverage driven by agenda rather than truth.

Conclusion

This dissertation has demonstrated that *The Guardian* not only reported news and catered to its readers' preferences but also created an environment that made events like the 1848 riot inevitable.

It is essential to recognise the complex, multifarious forces that shape public opinion, as seminal works like Walter Lippmann's have highlighted.¹²¹ Although readerships are notoriously hard to estimate due to inflated figures, it is safe to assume that *The Guardian* had a healthy readership of around two to three thousand people weekly, therefore a wide enough audience to be considered a factor in formulating public opinion.¹²² An area for future inquiry is examining how this pattern may have compared to other newspaper publications or immigrant communities beyond the Irish experience in Cardiff. Such analyses could illuminate whether *The Guardian* represented an outlier or symptomatic example of how the nineteenth-century press broadly wielded its influence.

However, this study has made it clear that *The Guardian* consistently dehumanised and vilified the Irish population as not only a criminal underclass but also as an invasion whose very presence represented an existential threat to Welsh society and values. Contemporaries of the paper even noted their shock at some of the language it used and the implications it might have.¹²³ Crucially, it was the newspaper's pro-establishment connections that provided the motive to cynically distort realities like the appalling living conditions Irish residents endured. This pro-authority bias extended to minimising property damage to absolve Welsh rioters, exemplifying how it preserved its damning narrative by prioritising its own agendas over truth. However, it is important to acknowledge that the full extent of potential conflicts of interest or motivations behind *The Guardian's* editorial stances

¹²¹ Colin Pooley - 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England. p. 36

¹²² Aled Jones. *Power of the Press*, p. 95

¹²³ Anon, 'Horrible and Brutal Murder in Stanley Street', *The Principality*, 17th November, p. 5, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613950/3613955/32/>, Accessed 13th April 2024

requires further investigation into its funding sources, ownership ties, and key individuals' backgrounds.

The paper's influence depended on audiences who lacked direct knowledge of events and relied heavily on the paper's own narratives. These audiences were being fed information that was tainted with underlying motives which limited the diversity of perspectives in public debate. In coverage of migration, for example, media stories in the past and today often frame large numbers of migrants as a threat, organising their narratives around this theme and legitimising it through selective quoting, imagery, and editorial comments, thus shaping public understanding in specific ways. This study has shown *The Guardian's* culpability in providing inflammatory rhetoric through selective reporting and language necessary for a moral panic to take effect. This rhetoric laid the foundations for the public to perceive the Irish as a suitable target population whose transgressions necessitated harsh retaliation. When this retaliation exploded into violence on the streets of Cardiff in November 1848, the fuse had already been lit long before John Conners plunged his knife into Thomas Lewis.

Traditional socioeconomic explanations like O'Leary's and Miskell's should not be discounted entirely. Economic and social strains undoubtedly created underlying tensions.¹²⁴ However, the newspaper's distorted rhetoric and coverage served as the catalysing force that instigated and enabled the horrific unrest against Cardiff's Irish community. This work underscores how the nineteenth-century press could wield immense influence not just as passive observers but as active instigators inflaming ethnic violence through prejudiced coverage meant to divide rather than inform.

Therefore, a study of *The Guardian* provides insight into why a single incident provoked such strong and indiscriminate reactions from certain Cardiff society towards the Irish community. Furthermore,

¹²⁴ Louise Miskell, 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot', p.113; Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, p. 95

it shows how if the newspapers of the time could portray the Irish in such ways, it is not surprising that newspapers and governments still rely on similar methods when pushing their agendas on migrants today.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Monthly frequency of newspaper articles containing the word ‘Irish’ in The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian in 1848.

Months	Newspaper Articles
January	2
February	3
March	0
April	2
May	1
June	0
July	1
August	0
September	0
October	1
November	8
December	3

Figure 1 - Data collated from Welsh Newspapers Online

Appendix 2 – Number of houses separated by nationality on Stanley Street in 1851

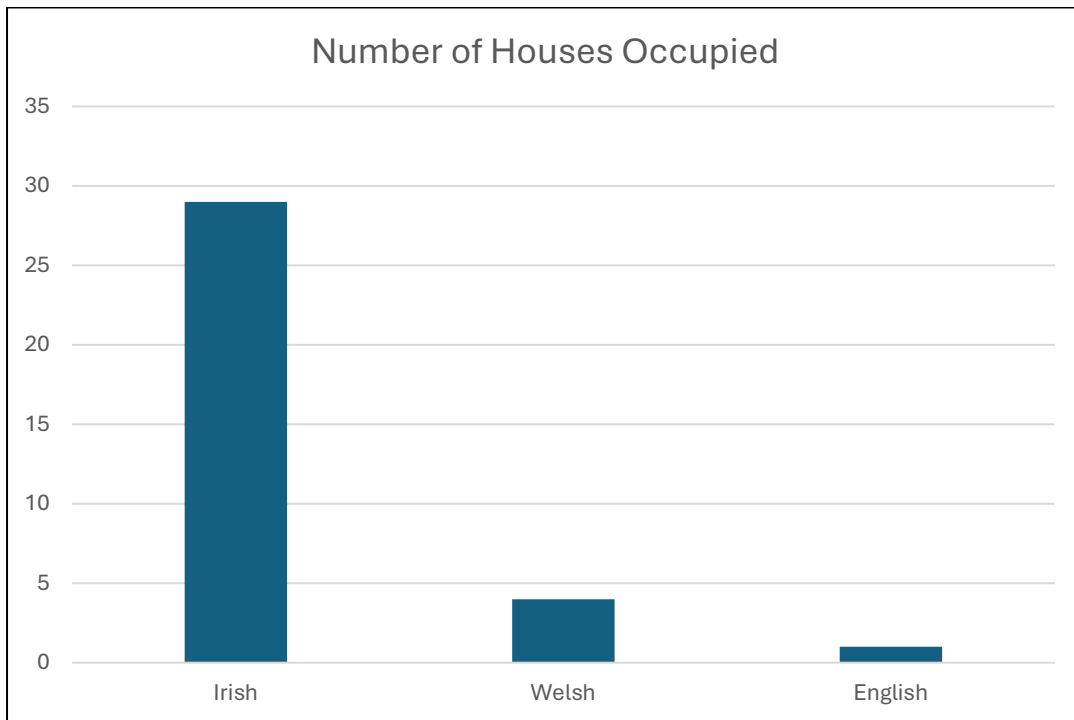


Figure 2 - Data collated from Census of England and Wales 1851

Appendix 3 – Average number of occupants in a household on Stanley Street in 1851

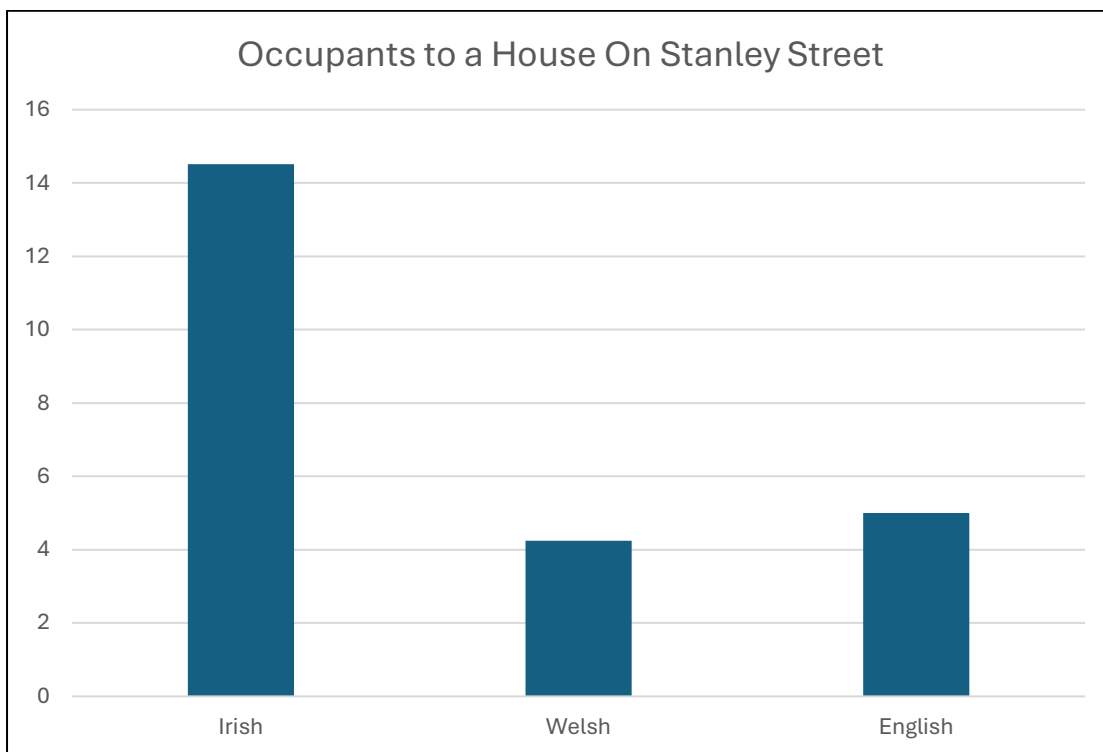


Figure 3 - Data collated from Census of England and Wales 1851

Appendix 4 – Articles containing the word Irish categorised by type in the Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian in 1848

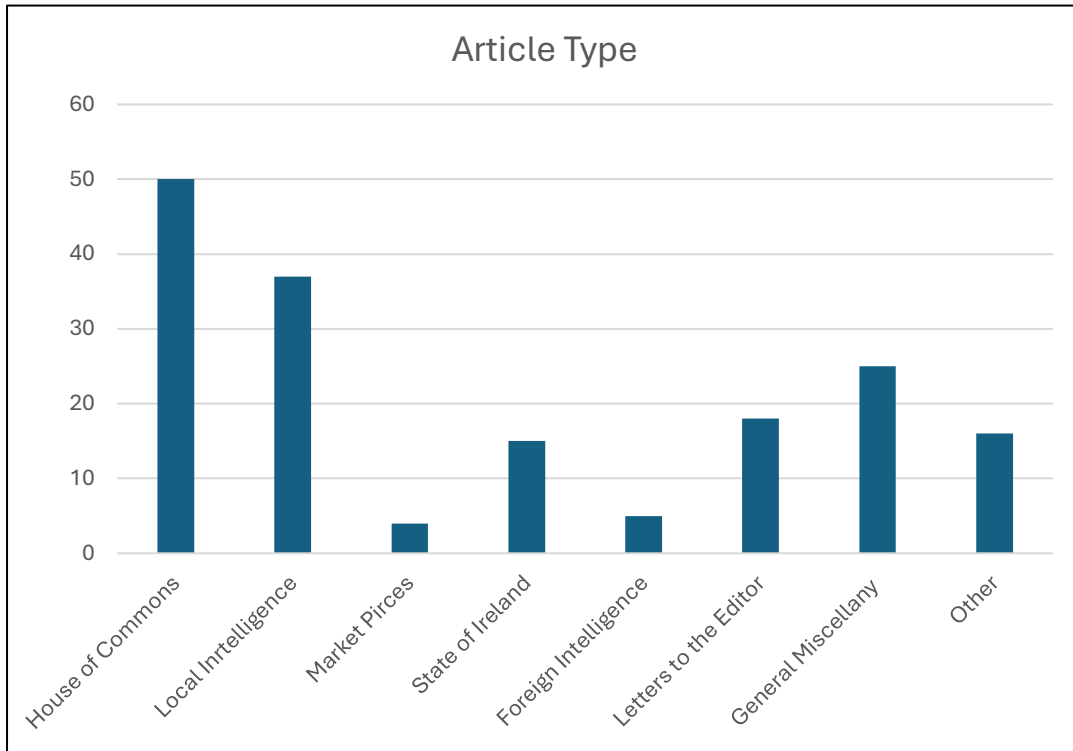


Figure 4 - Data collated from Welsh Newspapers Online

Appendix 5 – Language used in the articles.

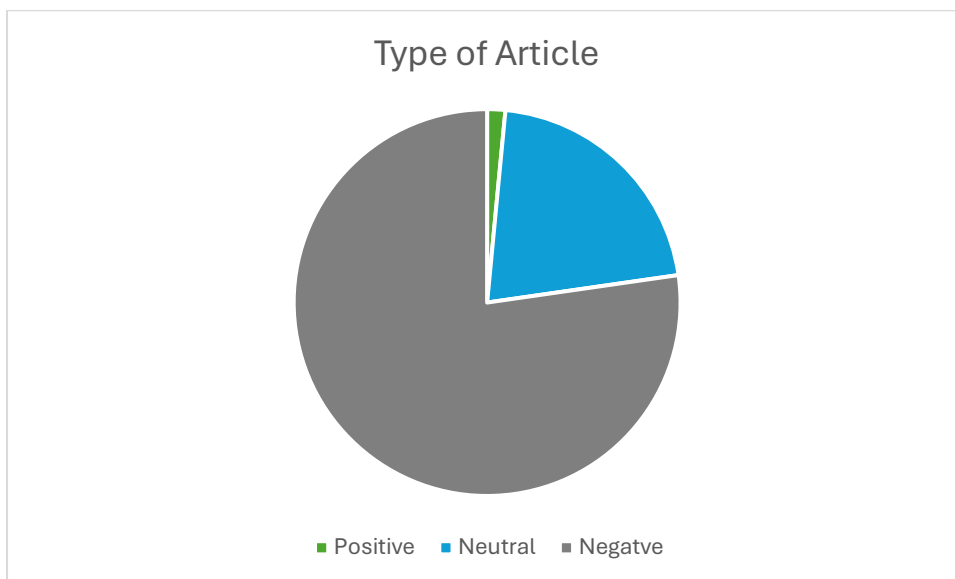


Figure 5 - Data collated from Welsh Newspapers Online

Bibliography

Primary Sources

1851 Census of England and Wales, The National Archives, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=gbc%2f1851%2f4278332%2f00633>, p. 50, Accessed 10th May 2024.

Anon, 'Atrocious Murder in Cardiff', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089355>, accessed 10th January 2024

Anon, 'Horrible Murder At Cardiff – A Private Letter', *The Times*, 20 Nov. 1848, p. 2. *The Times Digital Archive*, Available at link-gale.com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS34111348/TTDA?u=tou&sid=bookmark TTDA&xid=e3b52f2a. Accessed 13 Apr. 2024

Anon, 'Horrible and Brutal Murder in Stanley Street', *The Principality*, 17th November, p. 5, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613950/3613955/32/>, Accessed 13th April 2024

Anon, Ireland, *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 22nd January, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089134/3089136/12/> Accessed 20th January 2024

Anon, 'The Coroner's Inquest', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette* 25th March 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089179/3089182/21/>, accessed 24/2/24.

Anon, 'Monmouthshire', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette* 20th May 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089219/3089222/20/>, Accessed 1/3/24

Anon, 'National Antipathies. The Guardian and the Stanley Street Murder', *The Principality*, 24th November, 1848, p. 4, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3613959/3613963/26/>, Accessed 2/2/24.

Anon, 'Cardiff Police – Friday', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 5th February 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089272/3089274/15/>, Accessed 1st March 2024.

Anon, 'Merthyr and Neighbourhood', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, October 14th 1848, p. 3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089327/3089330/22/>, Accessed 20/3/24.

Anon, 'Public Vestry', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 10th June, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089234/3089237/19/>, Accessed 24/3/24.

Anon, 'Advertisement – Kings Head Concert Room', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 18th November 1848, p. 2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089352/3089354/13/>, Accessed 1/4/24.

Anon, 'Important Investigation Before the Coroner', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 16th December 1848, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089372/3089376/31/>, Accessed 25/2/24

William Crawshay, 'To the Editor of the Times', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 16th December 1848, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089372/3089376/27/>, Accessed 25/2/24

Anon, 'The Death of Mr C. C Williams', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3092254/3092259/13/>, Accessed 23/4/24.

Anon, 'Breconshire', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 25th November 1848, p. 3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089357/3089360/27/>, Accessed 1st April 2024.

Anon, 'Ireland', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 4th November 1848, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089342/3089344/28/>, Accessed 24th January 2024.

Observer, 'to the Editor of the Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 11th March 1848, p. 3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3089169/3089172/28/> Accessed 1st April 2024.

T.W. Rammell, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry Into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Cardiff, (London, 1849) p. 50, Available at <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/schpu3er>, Accessed 14th March 2024.;

Secondary Sources

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Archer, J.E. (2000). *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England, 1780-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Cayford, J., *The Western Mail 1869-1914: A Study in the Politics and Management of a Provincial Newspaper*, PhD Thesis, 1992

Chassaigne, P. (1999). Popular representations of crime : the crime broadside – a subculture of violence in Victorian Britain ? *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 3(2), pp.23–55.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.4000/chs.1039>.

Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

de Nie, M. (2004) *The Eternal Paddy: Irish identity and the British press, 1798-1882*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004

Engels, F. (1845). *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. London Lawrence & Wishart Moscow Progress Publishers.

Evans, N. (2003) *Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826–2014* Williams, C, Evans, N and O'Leary, P. (eds), *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Modern Wales*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press.

Happer, C. and Philo, G. (2013) 'The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change', *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), pp. 321-336. doi: 10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96.

Hickey, J (2004) *Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff in Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*, O'Leary, P (ed) Liverpool University Press. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?docID=380718>.

John Hickey, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and Wales from 1829 to the Present Day*, London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1967

Jones, A. (1996). *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power, and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England*, Brookfield: Routledge.

Jones, A., *Press, Politics and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 1993)

MacRaild, D. M. (1999) 'Introduction: The great famine and beyond: Irish migrants in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 18(2–3), pp. 1–13. doi: 10.1080/02619288.1999.9974966

Macraild, D.M. (2011). *The Irish diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Miskell, L. (2004) 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot: Popular Protest and the Irish in South Wales, c. 1826–1882', in O'Leary, P (eds). *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Newspaper Publishing in Wales, accessed at <https://www.library.wales/catalogues-searching/catalogues/other-resources/newsplan-cymru/newspaper-publishing-in-wales> on 20/3/24.

Neal, F. (2004) 'South Wales, the Coal Trade and the Irish Famine Refugee Crisis', in O'Leary, P (eds). *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

O'Leary, P. (1991). Anti-Irish riots in Wales, 1826-1882. *Llafur*, 5(4), pp.27–36.

O'Leary, P. (2000) *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

O'Leary, P. (2005). When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56(2), pp.308–325. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022046904002131>.

Ó Tuathaigh, G. The Irish in Nineteenth–Century Britain: Problems of Integration, in Swift, R. and Gilley, S. (eds) (2021). *The Irish in the Victorian City*. Routledge.

Pooley, C. (2019). Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England 1851–1911: Spatial and Temporal Perspectives. *Journal of Migration History* 5, 1, 31-52, Available From: Brill
<https://doi.org/10.1163/23519924-00501003> [Accessed 26 May 2024]

Rees, R.D. 1962, 'South Wales and Monmouthshire Newspapers under the Stamp Acts', *Welsh History Review = Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 301

Robinson, D.J. (2011). Crime, Police and the Provincial Press: A Study of Victorian Cardiff. *The Welsh History Review / Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 25(4), pp.551–575.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.16922/whr.25.4.4>.

Secker, J. (1999). Newspapers and historical research: a study of historians and custodians in Wales. Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wales.

Swift, R. (1999). Historians and the Irish: Recent writings on the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain. *Immigrants & Minorities*, 18(2-3), pp.14–39. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.1999.9974967>.

Thomas, J.E. (2011). *Social disorder in Britain, 1750-1850 : the power of the gentry, radicalism and religion in Wales*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris ; Distributed in the U.S. exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan.

Thompson, E. P. (2013 [1963]) *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin.

van Dijk, T. A. (1989). Race, riots and the press: An analysis of editorials in the British press about the 1985 disorders. *Gazette* (Leiden, Netherlands), 43(3), 229-253.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/001654928904300305>

Williams, K. (2009). *Read All About It! !: A History of the British Newspaper*: Routledge.