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Changing Representation of the Industrial Town: an analysis of official guides in Bury from 1925

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Abstract

This paper seeks to complement the extant literature on marketing the industrial town by adopting an overtly historical perspective, through the study of official town guides of an archetypal industrial town, Bury, in the north west of England. This longitudinal approach complements the more usual 'snapshot in time' approach, which provides more general overviews of practice. The changing representation of Bury is considered through an analysis of 20 editions the official handbook/guide to the town, dating from 1925 to date focusing on the stated purpose and rationale, the extent and nature of editorial content and the use of illustrations, maps and advertising.

Keywords

Place marketing, industrial town, town guides, Bury, North West England.

Introduction

Much recent place marketing activity has been implemented by former industrial towns and cities seeking to re-orientate their economic bases towards high-tech and service sectors in order to compete more effectively in the contemporary space-economy (Barke and Harrop, 1994; Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Short, 1999; Ward and Gold, 1994) - in other words, attempting to transform themselves from centres of production to centres of consumption.

Yet while there has been an undoubted explosion in the scale and scope of such activity over the last three decades, 'place promotion', defined as '*the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target market*' (Ward and Gold, 1994, p.2) came into widespread use during the nineteenth century, and its subsequent development has been charted by authors such as Bailey (1998), Kavaratzis (2004), Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2008) and Ward (1994, 1995, 1998a, 1998b). Whilst the practice of place marketing has become more professionalised (Griffiths, 1998; Wilkinson, 1992) and more sophisticated in execution and delivery (Ward, 1998a), many of the factors motivating its use – as well as some of the actual techniques and message content – demonstrate a remarkable degree of continuity (Kotler *et al.* 1993; Paddison, 1993), and particularly with regard to marketing the industrial town (Ward, 1998a).

Whilst, like much of the literature on marketing the industrial town it takes a case study approach, this paper

seeks to complement the extant literature by the adoption of an overtly historical perspective in the study of one particular industrial town in the UK, Bury, in the north west of England - through an analysis of one particular marketing/promotional method, namely, twenty editions of its Official Town Guide from 1925 to the present. Town Guides have been described by Burgess as often forming '*the core of local authority publicity*' (1982, p.5). This longitudinal approach also complements the 'snapshot in time' approach of Burgess (1982) and Barke and Harrop (1994) which provide an overview of practice in this particular context in more recent years.

Town Guides, Place Marketing and the Industrial Town

Town guides/handbooks are a long-standing staple of much local authority place marketing activity (Burgess, 1982; Barke and Harrop, 1994). They can be considered as a form of promotional literature, which is recognised as an important element in place marketing (Kotler *et al.*, 1999; Warnaby *et al.*, 2005a, 2005b). Burgess states that such guides have to '*serve many functions at the same time – residential guide, tourist guide, commercial and industrial directory and planning handbook*' (1982, p.5). In her study of UK place promotion activity in the late 1970s, Burgess (1982) identified nearly 43% of local authorities using guides for promotional purposes, a figure that had increased to 84% of local authorities by the early 1990s (Barke and Harrop, 1994).

However, the production of town directories and guides can be traced back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Corfield and Kelly, 1984; Vaughan, 1974). According to Vaughan (1974) defining the characteristics of guides can be problematic as they have many variations, and the boundaries of what constituted town 'guides' and town 'directories' were often blurred. However, in general terms they, '*provide short descriptive inventories of the places, institutions and monuments likely to be of interest to their users in the judgement of the author, whose personal feelings may emerge by implication or by direct comment*' (1974, p.64). The purpose of directories was as '*immediate handbooks and research tools*', reassuring the user by rendering the town '*intelligible, decipherable and finite, however mysterious, inchoate and vast it might outwardly appear*' (Corfield and Kelly, 1984, p.22). Burgess states that more recently, '*a typical guide contains a foreword by the mayor followed by a brief resume of local history and aspects of the retailing, commercial, industrial and social life of the town. Advertisements are an important part of the publication and black-and-white photographs are interleaved with the text*' (1982, pp.4-5).

Guides were particularly important for resort destinations, which were projected most favourably. Corfield and Kelly (1984, p.22) state that early town directories '*displayed a fresh and almost pioneering enthusiasm for their subjects*'. Such promotion in early directories stood in contrast to '*the more standardised and impersonal directories that followed later*' (Corfield and Kelly, 1984, p.22), and Vaughan describes '*today's dreary 'official' guides*' as '*among the descendants of the early guide books*' (1974, p.74). This 'worthy but dull' theme is developed by Burgess (1982), who described the character of much many town guides as '*dour*', and she cites Whalley who states that much local authority communication was characterised as '*the conscientious dissemination of detailed and often dull information*' (1972, p.40). More recently however, Barke and Harrop state that many places '*do now attempt to present a livelier image as well as containing more practical information*' (1994, p.98).

Moving to the specific context of industrial towns, Corfield and Kelly (1984) emphasise that the nature of the local economy was a factor in the spread of directories in the nineteenth century, with the new industrial towns (along with major ports and holiday resorts), being the locations where directories would be more likely to exist. The '*strong and positive*' early representation of industrialisation in these towns was widespread (Barke and Harrop, 1994, p.96), although other images were also promoted. However, later in the century, the predominant image of the industrial town became more negative, if not hostile, requiring

places to engage in other forms of place promotion such as highlighting opportunities for economic development in specific sites/locations – according to Barke and Harrop, '*the emphasis shifted from celebrating industry to trying to attract it, yet what remained significant were the straightforward and authentic representations of place. Industrial towns were presented as such rather than wrapped up in some disguise*' (1994, pp.96-97). Ward (1998a, p.163) reiterates this point, stating that, '*selling the industrial town was intended to be a down-to-earth, matter-of-fact business*' – with an emphasis on facts rather than generalities, although he goes on to identify evidence of place myth-making, '*to give a picture, typically, of a place of destiny*'. This was accomplished through the use of various place marketing codes to create the desired image, in terms of key words (such as '*centre*', '*hub*', '*gateway*', etc.) and slogans (particularly the use of alliteration and also direct appeal to investors), visual elements (such as maps emphasising locational advantages, and also landmark buildings, skylines, etc.), and emphasis on the 'energy' of the place and the skills and attributes of the populace.

Research Context

The specific focus of this paper is on the town of Bury, situated approximately eight miles north-northwest of Manchester. Bury and five surrounding smaller settlements (Prestwich, Radcliffe, Ramsbottom, Tottington and Whitefield) comprise the Metropolitan Borough of Bury, created in 1974, which has a population of approximately 182,000. There is evidence that a township or parish existed in the area from very early times, with evidence of Bronze age and later Roman period habitation, and some mention in the Domesday Book. In the Middle Ages it appears to have become a centre for wool and woollen cloth, and changed little until the Industrial Revolution, when cotton weaving expanded substantially. Subsequent growth was rapid, facilitated by the development of the Manchester Bolton & Bury Canal, which brought American cotton from Liverpool. The town received its Borough charter in 1876, and became a County Borough in 1889. In the early twentieth century, over a third of the total population over 12 years of age was employed in the textile industry (Phillips and Smith, 1994). Bury was also a centre for paper making – in Radcliffe approximately a quarter of industrial workers were employed in this sector (Phillips and Smith, 1994). However, in the post war period the cotton industry has witnessed rapid decline.

The changing representation of Bury - an archetypal UK industrial town, which has faced many of the problems motivating the recent implementation of place marketing activities - is considered through an analysis of how it

has been represented in 20 different editions the official handbook/guide to the town, dating from 1925 to the present. Basic details of these town guides/handbooks are provided in Table 1.

Analysis of Bury Town Guides

The remainder of this paper considers these Bury town guides in more detail, with regard to factors relating to the manner in which Bury is represented in place marketing terms over this period. These include: their stated purpose and rationale; the extent and nature of editorial content, the use of illustrations (both on the cover and inside the guide), the use of maps and advertising.

Purpose and Rationale

As noted above, town guides were often created to achieve multiple objectives and appeal to multiple audiences (Burgess, 1982), and the town guides in this study are no exception, although the specific focus of the guides' purpose and rationale does appear to change somewhat as time progresses. An 'Editorial Note' inserted into the first edition

of the town guide explicitly identifies the target audience as 'intending visitors and residents', and describes the guide as 'a handy shopping directory for those who are already resident in the district'. The emphasis on what may be termed 'internal' audiences such as residents - in terms, for example, of trying to preventing leakage from the local economy - is overt:

'Residents often make purchases out of the Town, solely because they are not aware of the facilities afforded them by their local tradesmen. A perusal of these pages will show their needs can be adequately dealt with locally...By giving their customer to local firms wherever possible they will be helping to promote the general welfare of the community...This is surely the essence of good citizenship'

No further explicit articulations of purpose and rationale occur until the ninth edition (1962) when the inclusion of a foreword by the town's Mayor (a typical component of more recent guides, according to Burgess, 1982), articulates a change in emphasis towards a more externally-oriented, economic development perspective, focusing on the manufacturing/industrial base of the town:

'Bury can offer special facilities to new industries because of its position with regard to road and rail transport. The

Table 1: Bury Guides/Handbooks – Basic Details.

EDITION	DATE #	TITLE	PAGES	SIZE (mm)	PUBLISHER
1	1925/6	Bury Lancashire - The Official Guide	118	136 x 217	Suburban and Provincial Association
2		Bury - The Official Guide	90	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
3	1933/4	Bury - The Official Guide	70	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
4	1936/7	Bury - The Official Guide	70	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
5		Bury - The Official Guide ¹	62	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
6	1947-9	Bury - The Official Handbook	66	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
7	1951/2	Bury - Official Handbook	66	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
8		Bury - Official Handbook	82	185 x 246	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
9*	1961/2	The County Borough of Bury ²	110	..	Ed. J. Burrow & Co, Cheltenham
10*	1967	County Borough of Bury - Official Handbook	98	..	Bury Borough Council (Printed by the Bury Times)
11*	1970	County Borough of Bury - Official Guide	90	..	Bury Borough Council (Printed by the Bury Times)
12*	1974	County Borough of Bury - Official Guide	88	..	Home Publishing
13*	1977	Metropolitan Borough of Bury - Official Guide	92	185 x 233	Home Publishing
14*	1981	Bury Metropolitan Borough - Official Guide	84	..	Home Publishing
15*	1984	Metropolitan Borough of Bury - Official Guide	84	185 x 246	Metropolitan Marketing Services Ltd
16*	1988	Bury Metropolitan Borough - Official Guide	104	210 x 297 (A4)	The British Publishing Company
17*	1990	Bury - Official Guide	104	..	The British Publishing Company
18*	1994	Bury - Official Guide	100	..	The British Publishing Company
19*	1999	Bury - Official Guide Millennium Edition	84	..	The British Publishing Company
20*	2002	Bury - Official Guide	88	..	The British Publishing Company

* Edition number not explicitly given.

Dates of publications were not given in many editions. Many of the dates above were written on the documents by librarians/archivists. For some editions this was not done and consequently the exact date has not been able to be ascertained.

¹ Explicitly published as one of the series of 'Burrows Grey Guides' to various towns in the UK.

² 'Official Handbook' is printed on inner title page.

Council welcomes inquiries from industrial concerns which are contemplating the establishment of business here. During the past few years, several light industries have established themselves in Bury'.

This emphasis continues in the Mayor's Foreword for the next four editions until 1970 when a very similar - if not identical - message is articulated in these editions (despite the changing personnel occupying the office). However, a further change in emphasis seems to occur in the late 1970s. The thirteenth edition (1977) hints at the de-industrialisation of the period and orientates the 'Introduction' (rather than Mayor's Foreword) towards quality of life issues:

'The Metropolitan Borough lives not on its past industrial achievements but pursues an active policy of development in housing, industry and commerce. The area is rich in history and scenic beauty and there are excellent facilities for education and leisure activities that make Bury such an attractive place to live'.

Subsequent editions reprise this theme using a very similar form of words to the above, although there are some changes reflecting changing economic conditions. Thus, the introduction in the fifteenth edition (1984) acknowledges that, '*although suffering some effects of the economic depression, [Bury] still maintains active industrial, commercial and housing development throughout the area*'. From the sixteenth edition (1988) onwards, the theme of Bury as a '*surprising*' place, '*with bold new initiatives*' is maintained for three editions. The regeneration emphasis is explicit in the introduction to the eighteenth edition (1994):

'Where once there were derelict sites, regeneration has taken place and Bury now has a new look and image. Excellent facilities for education and leisure make Bury an attractive place to live and to look to the coming new century with confidence'.

The two most recent editions seemingly hark back to an earlier economic development orientation (albeit with a more explicit quality of life and tourism focus), with a stated aim of the Guide being '*creating greater interest, not only for those who live and work here already, but for those who may be moving to or visiting the Borough*.' This '*bi-polar*' approach simultaneously appeals to both key audiences for such activity, as identified by Barke and Harrop – inward investors and local residents – and potentially may be problematic, in that they might be '*fundamentally incompatible*' (1994, p.110).

Editorial Content

The changes in purpose and rationale of the guides over time outlined above are reflected in editorial content. Burgess (1982, p.4-5) states that guides typically contain '*a brief resume of local history and aspects of the retailing, commercial and social life of the town*', and these guides are no exception, with these elements being present to a greater or lesser extent

across all editions. There are, however, some changes in emphasis over time. Thus in editions of the guide up until 1977, there is extensive discussion of local economic activity in terms of outlining the main manufacturing/industrial sectors contributing to Bury's economy (e.g. cotton and wool manufacture, paper manufacture and also chemical manufacture, especially linked to the textile industry), and also what the first edition terms '*trade notices*' (i.e. descriptions of the main companies operating in the town), this often constituting more than half the editorial content of the guide. However, from 1977, content relating to industry is much sparser, comprising brief outlines of the key commercial/industrial base of the town (i.e. 2-3 pages only). From the late 1970s, the emphasis within the guides changes from detailing the economic base of the town, to outlining the various departments of the local authority and the facilities and services provided by them. Whilst an outline of such facilities is evident throughout all the guides, it is only from the 1970s that this has assumed major prominence over the previous extensive description the characteristics and components of the local economy (including quite detailed profiles of individual companies).

Whilst the editorial content has inevitably changed over time, reflecting the development of the town (and also the purpose of the guides), there are long periods of continuity of editorial content, where over numerous editions the only change to content relates to relatively minor factual updating or changes occasioned by changes in format, which has adopted '*a livelier image*' (Barke and Harrop, 1994, p.98). However the substantive editorial content of the guides remains the same. Thus, from 1925 to the 1950s (i.e. Editions 1-8), guides focus on the economic base of the town (as noted above) supplemented by an account of the historical development of the town and also the range of facilities and services existing therein (in both public and private sector). In the 1960s and early 1970s (i.e. Editions 9-12), the balance of the editorial content gradually shifts from the town's industrial/commercial character towards a much more explicit focus on the local authority and its range of services/facilities. As noted above, this becomes particularly apparent in the thirteenth edition (1977), where the basic content and format of editorial content changes, and this begins another period of continuity of editorial content (subject to relatively minor changes in terms of factual updating) until the present time, although the actual appearance of the guides has changed substantially as publishing technology has developed. This change in emphasis in editorial content coincides with the creation of the new Bury Metropolitan Borough in the local government

reorganisation of the 1970s, and in all subsequent editions of the guides, descriptions and histories of the six towns that make up the new expanded local authority are included.

Burgess (1982, p.5) suggests that a prime motivating factor in this 'certain conservatism in presentation' is financial, because the town guide 'has to last for several years'. Indeed, in this case the average time between publication of different editions is four years, and as noted above, there is much continuity of content over several editions, with major content changes caused by exogenous factors such as local government reorganisation.

Illustrations

The front cover of the guide is obviously a key mechanism for the representation of the place, in terms of the creation of an appropriate image and identity. An important element of this is the town's Coat of Arms, particularly in the earlier editions of the guides. Indeed, in six editions of the guides (i.e. Editions 1, 2, 5-7 & 12) the Coat of Arms is the only illustration on the cover (see Figure 1), and is included with other illustrations on a further four editions (Editions 8, 9,

13, 14 – see Figure 2). In editions 13 and 14, the Coat of Arms is presented in conjunction with the Metropolitan Borough logo, which appears on the front cover (in its original or updated versions) of all the editions since the creation of the new Metropolitan Borough in 1974 (i.e. Edition 13, 1977 onwards). In the current edition of the guide, the local authority's web address is also prominently featured. In more recent editions of the guides the Coat of Arms is still prominent, with a page near the beginning devoted to a description of its various heraldic elements.

Prominently featured in other cover illustrations is the Town Hall (Editions 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18), either as a sole illustration or a part of a montage of elements designed to project the multi-faceted nature of the town. In such montages of drawings and/or photographs (as demonstrated in Figure 2), various themes emerge including:

- Leisure facilities and opportunities – sailing boats on a local reservoir, swimming pool, cricket match, Burrs Country Park;
- Transport infrastructure – motorways, Bury's public transport tram/bus interchange;

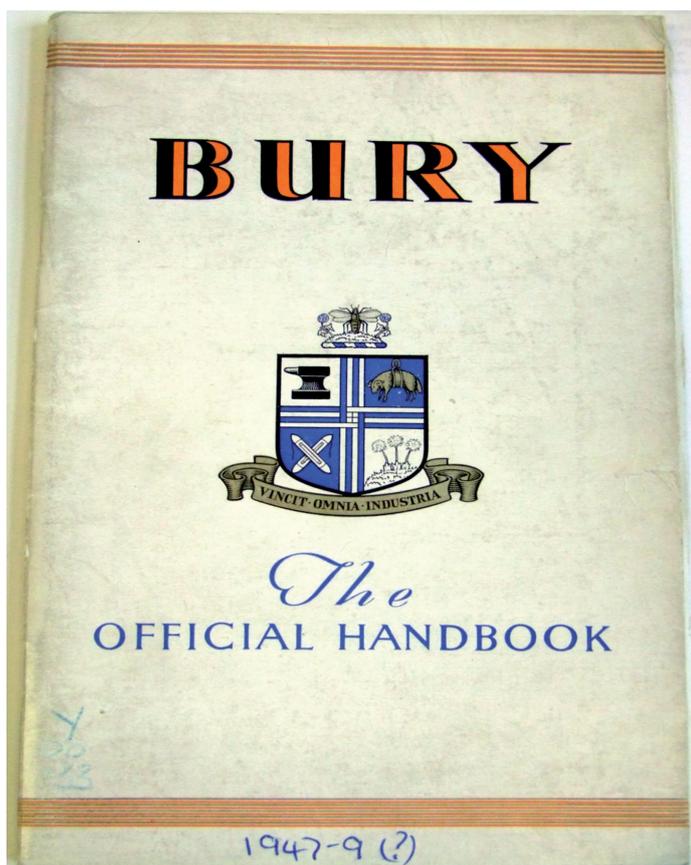


Figure 1: Guide cover showing coat of arms (6th Edition). Photo courtesy of Reference & Information Services, Bury Library.

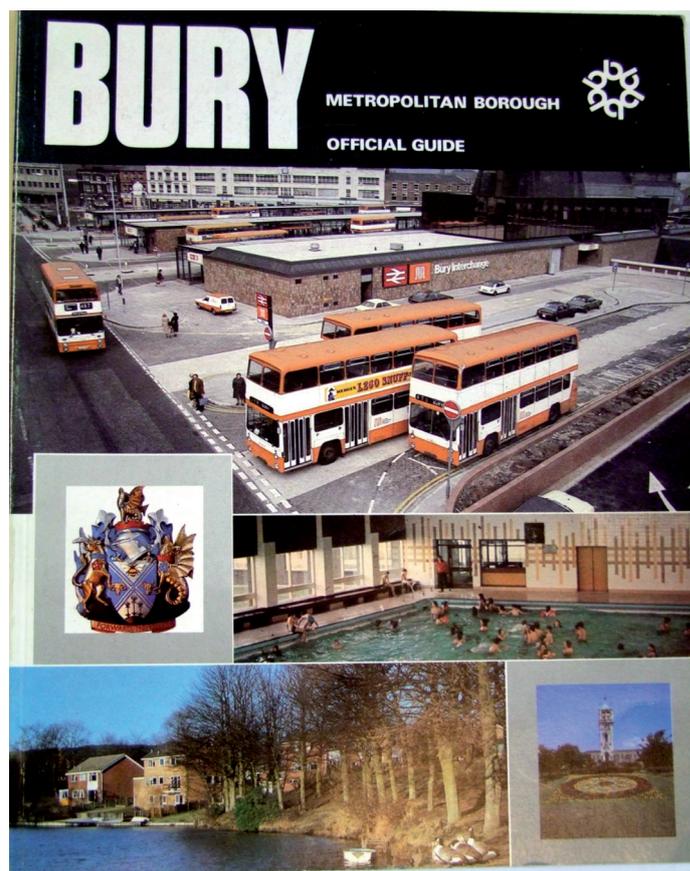


Figure 2: Guide cover showing coat of arms with other illustrations (14th Edition). Photo courtesy of Reference & Information Services, Bury Library.

- Retail provision – new pedestrianised shopping area, Bury's market place, Millgate Shopping Centre;
- Industry – mills, looms;
- Heritage – old street in outlying village; old stone horse trough, public street art, Peel Monument local landmark;
- Quality of life – local countryside (often with views of the town in the distance), modern houses, parkland.

In adopting the montage approach to cover illustrations these guides typify the complexity of the place 'product' comprising a series of 'contributory elements' which constitute a more holistic 'product' (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). However, such 'fragmentary assemblies of place elements' could also reveal confused aims (Ward and Gold, 1994, p.6) in terms of market targeting and positioning, a factor characterising much local authority place promotion of the period (Barke and Harrop, 1994; Burgess, 1982), and an issue already mentioned in relation to these guides with regard to purpose and rationale.

Inside illustrations in the early editions focus on main landmarks, the main shopping/commercial streets, council buildings (especially the town hall), the local technical college, industrial machinery/processes, and also municipal parks and other facilities. The emphasis was on accuracy of representation (Ward, 1998a), and the choice of elements highlighted through illustration, was typical of many such places, which according to Ward, sought 'to show a place that had two facets, a workaday city of modern, busy industries, yet one that was also civilised' (1998a, p.168). Mirroring continuity of editorial content, the same pictures appear in numerous successive guides. There was minimal use of colour until the 1980s when some colour photos groups together on three or four pages were included, and the use of colour has increased since then, reflecting the 'livelier image' typical of more contemporary town guides (Barke and Harrop, 1994, p.98). However, while the creative treatment of illustrations may have improved over time, the subject matter demonstrates significant continuity.

Use of Maps

Given that one of the purposes of guides was to render the town 'intelligible, decipherable and finite' (Corfield and Kelly, 1984, p.22), the inclusion of some form of cartographic representation of the town and its environs is a common theme. Delano-Smith and Kain state that most town directories were 'provided with maps as an aid to identifying a specific street listed in the directory' (1999, p.213). The first ten editions, given their smaller size, incorporate fold-out paper

'street plans' / 'plans' of the town (In Editions 8-10, the larger size enables the inclusion of fold-out maps of the entire Bury district rather than just the town itself). In order to enable navigation around the town, the majority of these maps in the first ten editions have a numbered key which highlights major landmarks and industrial/commercial facilities (See Figure 3). From the eleventh edition (1970) onwards, the use of icons to emphasise certain features begins, and in line with the changing editorial content, the cartographic emphasis changes from industrial facilities etc. towards leisure and cultural activities (e.g. Sports clubs denoted by golfers, tennis and rugby players etc., sailing clubs on local reservoirs denoted by boats). The late 1960s witnessed comprehensive redevelopment of the town centre in terms of pedestrianisation, with the demolition of the area around Princess Street and Union Square and its replacement by a concrete precinct. This is represented cartographically in town guides. Moreover, in the 1960s editions (i.e. Editions 9 & 10), there are visual representations of the proposed redevelopments in terms of a photo of a model of the development (Edition 9) and artists impressions of what the new development would look like (Edition 11).

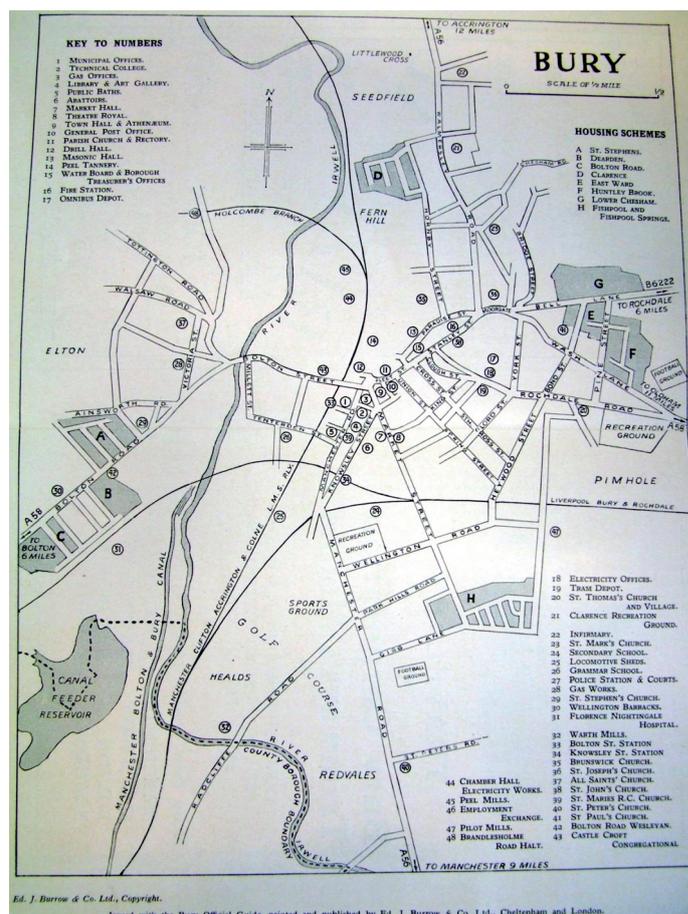


Figure 3: Fold-out street plan of Bury (2nd Edition). Photo courtesy of Reference & Information Services, Bury Library.

Such visual representations are arguably motivated by the desire to represent the town as 'a progressive industrial town' (Edition 11, 1970, p.21). This town centre redevelopment is represented in positive developmental terms, in terms of creating a 'new role' for the town (Edition 11, 1970, p.21), and arising from 'the strengthening of many different ties with the Manchester conurbation'. However, editorial content took pains to emphasise the distinctiveness of the town, in that such closer ties with Manchester:

'...will not however be allowed to remove the present character of the Borough, that of a small town with a strong tradition of independence. The future of Bury will thus incorporate all the advantages of a new town with a modern shopping centre, road system, schools and hospitals, with the amenities and character of an established community' (Edition 12, 1974, p.31).

In addition to the town 'street plan', from the second edition onwards the guides have maps showing Bury's position in a regional and/or national context. Here, reflecting the long-standing use of cartography in place marketing for the highlighting of attractive locational aspects of particular areas (see Ward, 1994, 1998a, Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Warnaby, 2008), the caption for this map



Figure 4: Map showing Bury's locational context and jurisdictional area (17th Edition).

Photo courtesy of Reference & Information Services, Bury Library.

in the second edition emphasises its role in, 'showing the advantageous situation of Bury for the Chief Ports and Industrial Centres'. In addition, distances from Bury to major cities in the UK are also given. The emphasis on the accessibility of the town is dominant in these regional and national maps, with railway, road and latterly motorway and airport locations incorporated into the map to highlight the town's centrality (See Figure 4).

Such devices serve to support claims to locational advantage, especially when many other places were making similar claims (Ward, 1998a). In doing this, these maps manifest an important theme of place marketing messages, namely, highlighting the locational advantages of a particular place (Monmonier, 1996). These regional maps also serve a purpose of highlighting the creation of the new Bury Metropolitan Borough in the mid 1970s through the shading of the expanded jurisdictional area of the new local authority (See Figure 4).

Advertising

The importance of advertising in town guides is highlighted by Burgess (1982), especially in terms of revenue from selling advertising space funding the guide's production. Indeed, in later editions of the guide this role is made explicit in the publisher's acknowledgement of the advertisers, 'whose support has made this publication possible' (e.g. Edition 20, 2002, p.5). The average proportion of the twenty editions of the Bury guides devoted to advertising is 46.4%, with the maximum being 59.4% (Edition 11, 1970) and minimum 33.9% (Edition 19, 1999), as shown in Table 2. In recent years the relative proportion of the guide devoted to advertising appears to have fallen to a little over a third (with some of this advertising accounted for by various local authority departments and services), perhaps reflecting the changing nature of the local economy.

In the early editions, advertising is concentrated at the beginning and end of the documents, with the majority of advertising appearing in the sections relating to industry and commercial activity of the town. Generally in these earlier editions, advertisements are kept separate from the editorial content outlining the characteristics of, and facilities available in, the town. Indeed, the lack of distinction between what constitutes a 'guide' and a 'directory' (Vaughan, 1974) is evident in these earlier guides, with advertisements for companies often placed proximate to the editorial content for the sector in which those companies operated, and with indexes of advertisers ordered by industry/business type. In later editions indexes of advertisers are generally presented alphabetically by advertiser. As before, there is significant

Table 2: Bury Guides/Handbooks – Proportion of Advertising.

EDITION*	DATE #	TOTAL PAGES	ADVERTISING PAGES	PERCENTAGE ADVERTISING
1	1925/6	118	53	44.9
2		90	42.5	47.2
3	1933/4	70	30.5	43.6
4	1936/7	70	30.5	43.6
5		62	24	38.7
6	1947-9	66	31.5	47.7
7	1951/2	66	31.5	47.7
8		82	42.5	51.8
9	1961/2	110	43	39.1
10	1967	98	50.5	51.5
11	1970	90	53.5	59.4
12	1974	88	37.5	42.6
13	1977	92	54	58.7
14	1981	84	46.5	49.5
15	1984	84	44	52.3
16	1988	104	58	55.8
17	1990	104	47.5	45.7
18	1994	100	38.5	38.5
19	1999	84	28.5	33.9
20	2002	88	31	35.2

* Edition number not explicitly given from No. 9.

Dates of publications were not given in many editions. Many of the dates above were written on the documents by librarians/archivists. For some editions this was not done and consequently the exact date has not been ascertained.

continuity with similar, if not identical, advertisements for a company appearing in successive guides.

Discussion and Conclusion

As noted above, this paper seeks to complement the 'snapshot in time' approaches to the study of the marketing and promotion of industrial towns (Burgess, 1982; Barke and Harrop, 1994) and the more general historical overviews of place marketing activity (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2008; Ward, 1998a, 1998b) by focusing on one marketing tool, the town guide, recognised as a key element of local authority promotional activity (Burgess, 1982; Barke and Harrop, 1994). In doing so, it takes an overtly temporal perspective through an analysis of town guides for Bury for over 80 years, from 1925 to the present.

Many of the issues mentioned by previous authors are manifest here. The tone of the guides to Bury can best be characterised as 'worthy but dull' (Burgess, 1982; Whalley,

1972). Later editions have witnessed a livelier approach (Barke and Harrop, 1994), in part facilitated by advances in print technology, but also highlighting a change in emphasis of content from the industrial 'directory' of businesses in the town to more of a 'guide' emphasising quality of life issues, perhaps also reflecting the changing economic base of the area which has obviously been affected by the deindustrialisation of recent years which has motivated much place marketing activity. There is some limited evidence of place myth-making in terms of representing 'a place of destiny' (Ward, 1998a, p.163), through the eulogistic description accorded to town centre redevelopment etc., although the scope for such description is limited given the nature of the place, and the ability of such an approach to be successful in changing perceptions could be regarded as questionable, given that Bury will always be competing with numerous, bigger neighbours.

While all the editions of the Bury guides have been produced for (or by) the local authority, later editions are much more explicitly focused on the local authority, especially after the creation of the Metropolitan Borough in 1974 – for example, the Metropolitan Borough logo is given prominence on the cover of guides and also there is a greater emphasis in editorial content on the various facilities and services offered. Notwithstanding this, there is much continuity in terms of tone and editorial content perhaps reflecting the cost-conscious approach to production (Burgess, 1982), as individual editions of the guide would have to last for an average of four years. Another element to this may also be the desire not to diminish the importance of the town's heritage to residents, even while overtly and explicitly seeking to attract new development and inward investment by portraying a positive orientation focused on the future. This appeal to multiple target audiences - termed by Barke and Harrop (1994, p.100) a 'bi-polar' approach – can potentially lead to confused positioning, and a greater potential risk of failure in marketing terms as a consequence.

This paper has identified various issues and themes in the marketing and promotion of one town over time, through the medium of official guides, recognised as a mainstay of local authority promotional activity. There is much scope for more detailed similar investigations of similar towns to ascertain whether these issues and themes can be applied more generally. Moreover, studies of larger town and cities, or other urban places with different economic bases (such as tourism for example) may also shed new light onto this area.

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