

LIVING IN THE CITY: URBAN ELITES AND THEIR RESIDENCES

Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite c.1660-1800

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The last quarter of a century has seen much research which has challenged the prevailing view of urban migration in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. In Britain, the work of Siddle, Pooley and Turnbull¹ has shifted the focus from migration to mobility, suggesting that:

Migrants are now shown to be involved in patterns of mobility, frequently connecting with their place of origin, even when the place of origin is removed by a generation or more.²

The outlines of these patterns of mobility are provided by the painstaking research of historical demographers. The Cambridge Group pioneered large-scale studies based on 'vital event' data derived from parish registers; recently these techniques have been applied to regional and local studies, linking vital event records with other forms of registration, such as apprentice books and hearth tax returns. Additional material has been drawn from individual wills, diaries and biographies to build a more sophisticated picture of patterns of mobility than offered by the crude aggregates of the large-scale studies. This research suggests that mobility can be simultaneously 'local' and 'circular'.

The latter has profound implications for our understanding of the relationship between mobility and urbanisation in late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century Britain. Although much work has been undertaken on migration fields and the inward flow of migrants in this period, far less research has focused on the impact of migration on receiving communities, on intra-urban movement and on the outward flow of returning migrants.³ If much mobility was local and circular, how far did migrants identify with their new place of residence? Alternatively, was their identity bound up with their final resting place? What impact did this have on the development of an urban community? This paper offers a case study from one of the 'new' towns of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century, the relatively neglected port of Liverpool.

Liverpool underwent spectacular expansion during the long eighteenth century, emerging from almost total obscurity to become one of the largest provincial towns in Britain by 1801. It was ideally situated to exploit the output of the Cheshire salt

¹ C.Pooley and J.Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, UCL Press, 1998)

² D.J.Siddle (ed.), *Migration, Mobility and Modernisation* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2000), p.5.

³ In one of the few analyses of the impact of migration on urban communities, David Souden's examination of the deposition records of English ecclesiastical courts suggests that the disproportionate level of female migration from the countryside had a significant impact on the demographic structure of late-seventeenth century towns: 'Migrants and the population structure of later seventeenth-century provincial cities and market towns' in P.Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800* (London, Hutchinson, 1984), pp.133-168.

industry, referred to as its 'nursing mother', in the late seventeenth century.⁴ The Liverpool Port Books reveal that the coasting and Irish trades were gradually overtaken by the growth of the sugar and tobacco trades with the West Indies and North America.⁵ By the last quarter of the eighteenth century Liverpool had outstripped Bristol, its main competitor in the lucrative slave trade, and become the second port in Britain after the metropolis.

This phenomenal boom drew migrants from the surrounding region and beyond, resembling twentieth-century Hong Kong in the rapid shift from a quiet harbour to a thriving commercial centre. From a low point of approximately 1000 inhabitants in the 1660s, Liverpool grew to 88,358 in the 1801 census. Alan Rawling's painstaking analysis of the parish registers of south-west Lancashire suggests that internal migration fuelled approximately 80% of this growth and emphasises the pattern of short-haul migration.⁶ Building on Rawling's study, Fiona Lewis recently attempted a reconstruction of vital event data based on Liverpool's exceptionally full set of eighteenth-century parish registers but admitted that it was almost impossible to reconstruct more than a handful of individual families.⁷ Her attempts at family reconstitution were dogged by the apparent tendency of the migrant population to return to their place of origin in old age: the 'complex, circulatory behaviour' noted by Siddle.⁸ Ascott and Lewis have recently stated that 90% of those married in Liverpool between 1650 and 1750 were not buried there and that there was a strong tendency to retain links with the place of origin.⁹

Lewis' methodology specifies a wide social base for her study, attempting to reclaim the experience of ordinary inhabitants of eighteenth-century Liverpool. It is, however, possible that a narrower focus might begin to offer better insights into patterns of mobility and their impact on late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Liverpool. In response to these methodological problems, this paper focuses on the clearly identifiable elite of urban governors, the members of Liverpool Corporation and covers approximately 180 individuals between 1662 and 1800.

The recent work by Perry Gauci on the associational culture of merchants in the period of the commercial revolution (1660-1720) notes the important role of the mercantile-dominated Corporation in facilitating the trading activities of the growing port.¹⁰ Liverpool had no guilds or other regulatory institutions; the astonishing growth

⁴ Liverpool Record Office (Liv.R.O.), Holt papers, 942 HOL/10. There was a sixteen-fold rise in salt exports from Liverpool (26,000 to 428,000 bushels per annum) between 1670s and early 1720s:

P.Clemens, 'The rise of Liverpool 1665-1750', *Economic History Review*, 29 (London, 1976), p.212.

⁵ National Archives, Liverpool Port Books, 1664-5, E190/1337/16 and 1708-9, E190/1357/8.

⁶ A.J.Rawling, 'The rise of Liverpool and demographic change in part of South-West Lancashire 1661-1760' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1986), p.95. Short-haul migration is defined as the daily walking distance for a fit adult, i.e. up to 30 kilometres (c.20 miles).

⁷ F.Lewis, 'The demographic and occupational structure of Liverpool: a study of the Parish Registers 1660-1750' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1993). Lewis confirms that mariners comprised a significant proportion of Liverpool's workforce (c.30%) but also notes that eighteenth-century Liverpool had a varied industrial base in addition to port-related occupations; the former included watch-making, pottery, sugar-refining, brewing and glass-blowing.

⁸ D.Siddle, *op.cit.*, p.7.

⁹ D.E.Ascott and F.Lewis, 'Motives to move: reconstructing individual migration histories in early eighteenth-century Liverpool', in D.Siddle, *op.cit.*, pp.90-118.

¹⁰ P.Gauci, *The Politics of Trade: the overseas merchant in state and society 1660-1720* (Oxford, OUP, 2001), pp.55-7.

of the town would therefore have been inconceivable without the efforts of its corporate governors. After the charter of 1695 they formed a self-elected oligarchy comprised of 41 members but, even before this date, this powerful group controlled the development of the port and town, managing increasing revenue from town duties and from the rental of its landed estate. The Corporation did not, of course, include all the wealthiest members of Liverpool society, particularly as the town grew dramatically in the eighteenth century. Dissenters were excluded and, during the political vicissitudes of the late seventeenth century, the composition of the Corporation was occasionally altered by the forced inclusion of members of the landowning gentry from the hinterland.¹¹ Nonetheless, the hearth tax returns of the 1660s and 1670s, the rates of 1743 and 1750 and the evidence drawn from wills of individual councillors demonstrate that members of the Corporation were a prominent economic, as well as political, elite throughout this period.

Unsurprisingly, in a port town, the majority of members of the Corporation were merchants, often with diverse commercial interests, from the delicately-termed 'Africa' trade to interests in Lancashire collieries and Cheshire saltworks. Lewis, Power and Ascott's analysis of the occupational structure of the Corporation drawn from the Town Books between 1650-1750 shows that 51% were drawn from the ranks of traders in the late seventeenth century and 72% in the early eighteenth century¹². Between 1750 and 1800 entries in the town books and in the Liverpool series of street directories¹³ demonstrate that the balance of the occupational structure continued to be dominated by port-related occupations. Liverpool's earlier mixed economy had been overwhelmed by the growth of international trade, including the notorious traffic in slaves. By 1800, over half of the members of the Corporation (21) were active merchants, three were retired merchants, four were bankers, four were lawyers and one was a physician.¹⁴

The constant influx of newcomers and the possibility of acquiring (or losing) considerable wealth in a relatively short time contributed to the exceptional social fluidity of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Liverpool. It is therefore helpful to be able to identify a consistent category of the urban elite, if not a consistent membership. It must be stressed that this paper is interested in the residential patterns of the corporate group rather than of individuals. Were members of the Corporation likely to reside in close proximity to the centre of political power, the Town Hall? What was the residential pattern of the corporate elite over this period of 150 years and what impact, if any, did this have on the development of Liverpool? To what extent were patterns of circulatory migration a feature of this group or were they less prone to such patterns than other elite groups in Liverpool, with clear consequences for the stability of urban governance?

A similar approach is used to Peter Clark's study of civic leaders in Gloucester. Clarke analysed the nature of this elite group at intervals of fifty years between 1580

¹¹ M.Mullett, 'The politics of Liverpool 1660-1688', *THSLC*, Vol.124, 1972, pp.31-56.

¹² D.Ascott, F.Lewis and M. Power, *The Liverpool community 1650-1750* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, forthcoming), chapter 5, table 5.5.

¹³ The first street directory was published by John Gore in 1766. Occupational references were cross-checked with entries relating to the admission of individual councillors in the Town Books 1750-1800.

¹⁴ Calculated from Gore's Liverpool Directory 1800, cross-referenced with the Town Books.

and 1800.¹⁵ Here, however, the focus is on the residential patterns of the corporate elite in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Liverpool as a means of testing the extent of circular mobility and offering some insight into the nature of civic identity in this period. How far were they 'Liverpool men' focused on the concerns of the growing town rather than on making a fortune and returning to their place of origin?

Five moments of particular change were chosen: 1662, 1708, 1750, 1766 and 1781. Evidence drawn from: late seventeenth-century hearth tax returns and eighteenth-century parochial rates and street registers, as well as wills, parish registers and the town books allows the reconstruction of the residential patterns of a majority of councillors at each of these points across the period.¹⁶ For the period 1680-1750 I have also used the invaluable Liverpool Community dataset deposited by Power, Lewis and Ascott at the UK Data Archive at the University of Essex.¹⁷ For the later period records drawn from the street directories were cross-referenced with other sources wherever possible in order to overcome the problem of confusion between commercial and residential addresses.

The mid-seventeenth century was a difficult period in political terms: Liverpool had been besieged three times during the Civil War and numbered only about 1000 inhabitants in 1650.¹⁸ The Corporations Act, which was applied in November 1662, removed fourteen dissenters from the council: six aldermen, seven common councillors and the town clerk.¹⁹ Yet, signs of Liverpool's future commercial growth were already apparent: in 1667 there is the first evidence of a transatlantic voyage when the *Antelope* returned with sugar from Barbados.²⁰

¹⁵ P.Clark, 'The civic leaders of Gloucester 1580-1800' in P.Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (London, Hutchinson, 1984), pp.311-345.

¹⁶ The rate assessment of 1708 is printed in H.Peet (ed.), *Liverpool in the reign of Queen Anne 1705 and 1708 from a rate assessment book of the town and parish* (Liverpool, Young, 1908).

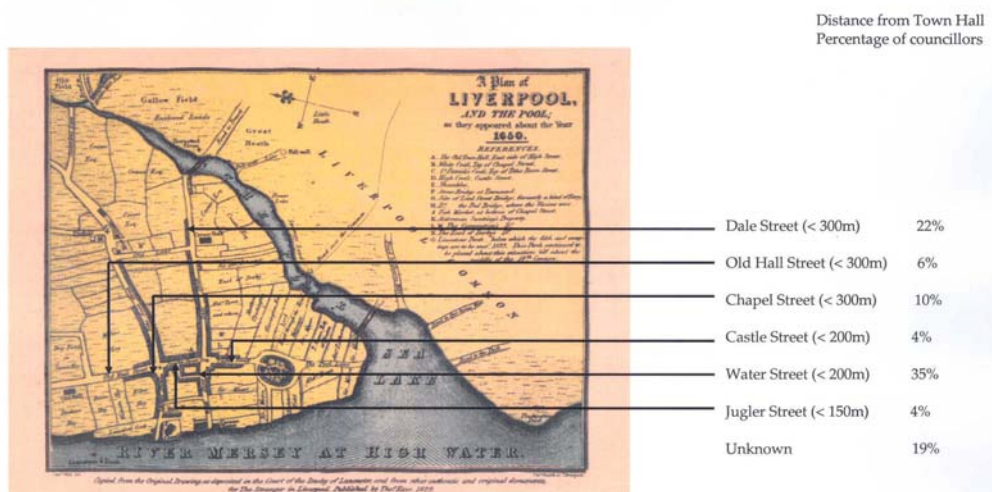
¹⁷ D.E.Ascott, F.Lewis and M.Power, *The Liverpool Community 1649-1750*, UK Data Archive, 3882, deposited 1994 (<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk>).

¹⁸ E.M.Platt, 'Liverpool during the Civil War', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 61, 1910, pp.183-202.

¹⁹ J.R.Jones, *Country and Court: England 1658-1714* (London, Arnold, 1978), p.37.

²⁰ M.Blundell, *Cavalier: Letters of William Blundell to his friends, 1620-98* (London, 1933), p.119.

Diagram 1 Residential Patterns of Liverpool Corporation 1662



Sources: National Archives, E179/250/8, Heath Tax Return 1663
LivRO, Town Books, MIN/COU 1/3, 10th November 1662
Charles Okill's Conjectural Map of Liverpool c. 1650
(by Courtesy of Liverpool Record Office)

Diagram 1 locates the homes of members of the Corporation listed in the Town Books in 1662 on a (conjectural) map of Liverpool dated about 1650. About 65 % of the 49 individuals identified in the Town books as councillors before the changes of November 1662 are represented in diagram 1.²¹ Based on the Hearth Tax Return of 1663 cross-referenced with the register of freemen admissions from 1650-1708, it demonstrates the clustering of the corporate elite along the central axis of Dale and Water Streets within 275 metres of the Town Hall. Although Liverpool comprised only seven streets at this point and was probably little altered from the medieval layout, there was already an obvious distinction between parts of the town. Despite the listing of 42 households in Castle Street, only 2 members of the council lived there in 1663 compared to the 17 councillors among the 50 residents of Water Street. The latter was the residence of all of the most significant traders, such as John Walls, master mariner, who carried coal, iron and nails to Ireland in the 1660s. Intriguingly, social segregation, seen as occurring almost a century later, may have been evident even at this stage.²²

The physical co-location of councillors in the 1660s may have been an important factor in the development of a strong sense of civic identity in a relatively short period. Clarke noted that, in late sixteenth-century Gloucester, 'elite solidarity was also strengthened by residential propinquity'.²³ Their continuing residence in central locations fifty years later when the expanding town offered a wider range of alternative locations- the 1708 rate listed 34 streets – may have been a further factor in Liverpool's dynamic growth.

²¹ LivRO, Town Books, 352 MIN/COU 1/3, f. 740, 10 November 1662.

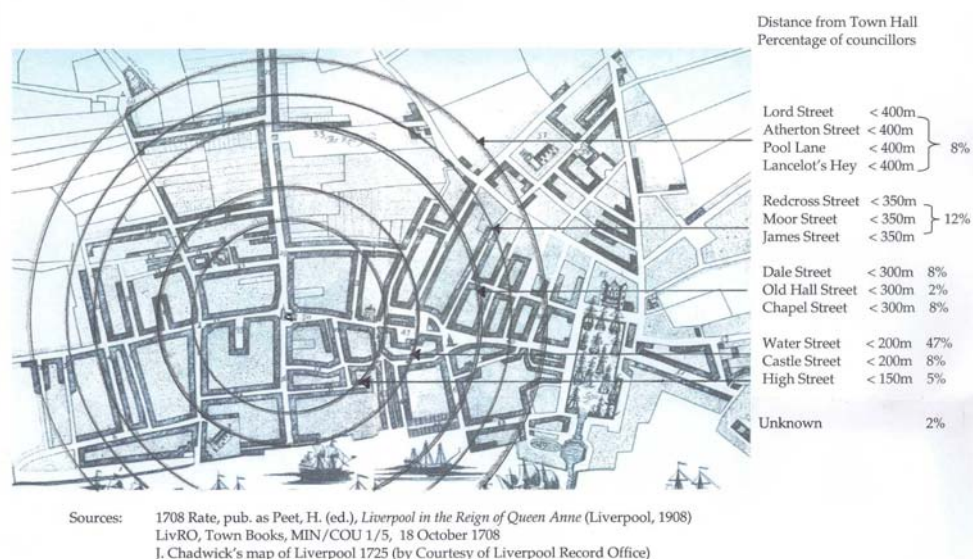
²² J.Langton and P.Laxton, 'Parish Registers and urban structure: late-eighteenth century Liverpool', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1978.

²³ P.Clarke, *op.cit.*, p.319.

The turn of the seventeenth century was a pivotal period in Liverpool's development: the corporate elite had wrested political control through the charter of 1695 which removed the role of the general body of freemen in the selection of the mayor and bailiffs. This elite drove through major developments, such as the separation of Liverpool from the parish of Walton in 1699 and the building of the highly innovative commercial wet-dock between 1709 and 1715²⁴. This extremely risky financial venture laid the foundations for rapid commercial expansion in the eighteenth century. By 1702 Thomas Johnson MP could write to a fellow Liverpool tobacco merchant, 'we are sadly envied, God knows, especially the tobacco trade, at home and abroad'.²⁵

Commercial opportunities attracted migrants: the population had increased nearly six-fold by 1700.²⁶ A significant number of Liverpool's civic leaders in the late-seventeenth century were first-generation migrants. Liverpool merchants in this period drew heavily on the apprenticed sons of members of the gentry of Lancashire, Cheshire and occasionally, beyond, such as the Claytons of Fulwood, Lancashire, the Norris family of Speke near Liverpool and the Poles of Derbyshire.²⁷ Relatively few of the leading members of Liverpool society had actually been born in Liverpool during this period. Unsurprisingly, this pattern altered as the civic succession became established. The families of Williamson, Clayton and Johnson dominated the Corporation, providing extraordinary stability at the turn of the seventeenth century.²⁸

Diagram 2 Residential Patterns of Liverpool Corporation 1708



²⁴ J.Longmore, 'Liverpool Corporation as landowners and dock builders 1709-1835' in C.W.Chalklin and J.R.Wordie (eds.), *The English Landowner in the National Economy, 1660-1860* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp.116-146.

²⁵ Thomas Heywood (ed.), *The Norris Papers*, Chetham Society. Vol. 9 (1846), letter 61.

²⁶ C.Chalklin, *The Rise of the English Town 1650-1850* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.33, provides figures for 1650, 1700, 1750 and 1774.

²⁷ R.Muir, *A History of Liverpool* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1907), p.139; Liverpool Register of Apprentices 352CLE/ Reg/ 4.

²⁸ M.Power, 'Creating a port: Liverpool 1695-1715', *THSLC*, Vol. 149, 2000, p.70.

Diagram 2 is based on the rate of 1708, the register of freeman admissions and the detailed apprenticeship records.²⁹ Out of a total of 41 members of the Corporation listed in the Town books on 18 October 1708, the residences of 40 have been identified. The Water/Dale Street axis is still important with 18 councillors resident in the former. A small number of councillors (under 10) were located slightly further afield but none was more than 400 metres from the Town Hall. Thomas Johnson, Richard Norris and William Clayton, prime movers in the planning and execution of the commercial wet dock, built to accommodate the larger ships with more valuable cargoes, all had homes in Water Street or adjoining Fenwick Street.

By 1750 Liverpool's commercial growth was evident. The population has grown to about 22,000 and the increased volume of trade necessitated the construction of a second wet dock by 1753. At the same date there were 101 merchants involved in the 'African trade' and Liverpool was the dominant slaving port.³⁰ Diagram 3 covers the corporate elite between 1750 and 1766. It is drawn from information in a rental of 1750³¹ and the first street directory of 1766. The names of councillors are listed in the town books and, as the street directories are of variable accuracy,³² wherever possible, the locations have been verified from other sources. By 1766 the town had over 200 streets yet the 57% of councillors listed in 1750 and 1760 whose location could be verified were residing in 20 streets within 400 metres (45%) and 5 streets within 750 metres (12%) of the Town Hall.

Diagram 3 Residential Patterns of Liverpool Corporation 1750- 1760



Sources: LivRO, 920 PLU PT 43, 1750 Rate
 LivRO, Town Books, 352 MIN/COU 1/10, 4 April 1750.
 Gore's Liverpool Directory 1766.
 John Eyes' map of Liverpool, 1765 (by courtesy of LivRO).

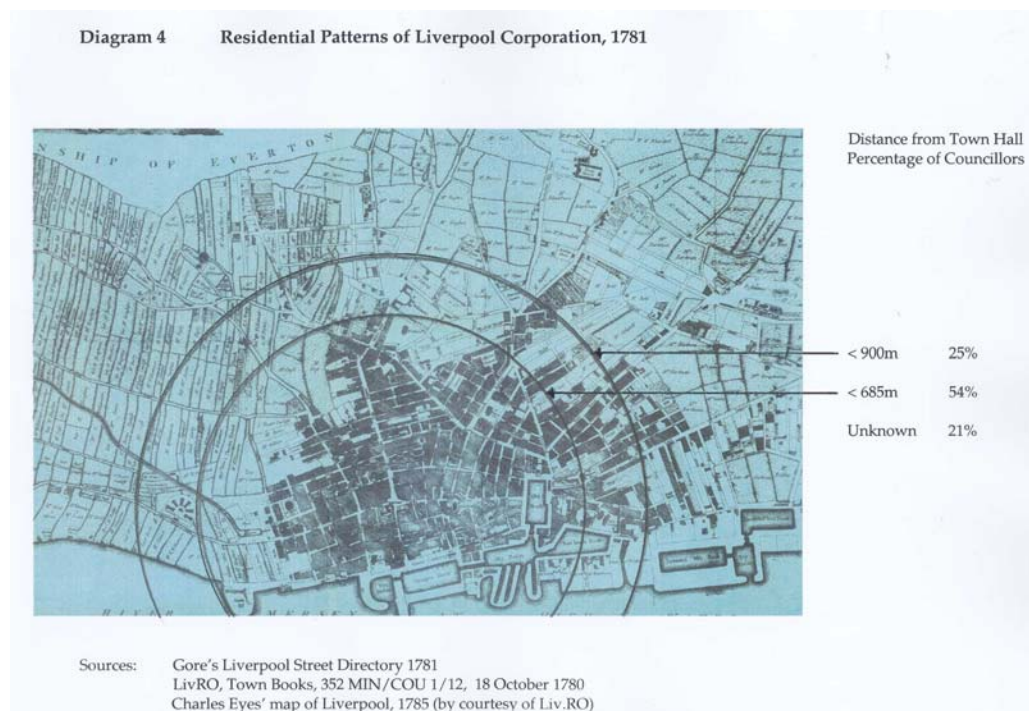
²⁹ Liverpool Record Office, 352 CLE/ REG/ 4.

³⁰ British Library, 10349 e.15 (5), *The Liverpool Memorandum Book* (Liverpool, 1753)

³¹ LivRO, 920 PLU PT43, Rental of the Liverpool Estates of the Plumbe family with plans, undated (c.1750).

³² The street directory of 1781, for example, omits a significant number of names included in both 1777 and 1790.

By 1780 there had been another massive influx of migrants: the population was estimated at 34,407 in 1774. Trade was buoyant: a third wet dock had been constructed in the late 1760s and another two were planned.³³ Diagram 4 is also based on a street directory (1781) matched against the list of councillors in the Town Book. By now the physical expansion of the town was marked, extending for a radius of approximately 1400 metres. To the south east the town was spreading up the hillside with the construction of large houses in Rodney Street, to the north west the area of St Anne's Street and, beyond the town boundary, the village of Everton, were becoming fashionable. Yet, once again, a majority of the corporate elite remained remarkably close to the political centre of the town: of the 79% of the members of the Corporation in 1781 whose residences could be identified 54% were living within 685 metres and the furthest was just over 900 metres from the town hall. Of the eight whose residences could not be identified, one was the Recorder, the Corporation's legal advisor who was not expected to reside in Liverpool, one lived in Seacombe across the River Mersey, three may have been dead by 1781, three were omitted but listed in the 1790 directory as residing in Duke Street, Everton and Chetham's Brow, Wavertree Road.



Both intra-urban movement and circulatory migration appear to have been less extensive among the governing elite between 1680 and 1800. Compared with other merchants who were not members of the council, for example, the corporate elite was not as prominent in the shift to the south-east of the town in the second half of the eighteenth century. Taylor has suggested that, in about 1760, wealthier Liverpool residents began to separate themselves in distinct, new, middle-class areas built on the former roperies and fields enclosed from the Liverpool Common.³⁴ The corporate elite demonstrated a more gradual abandonment of the central business district and a

³³ The King's and Queen's docks were constructed respectively in 1785-8 and 1788-96.

³⁴ I.C.Taylor, 'The court and cellar dwelling; the eighteenth-century origin of the Liverpool slum', *THSLC*, Vol. 122, 1971, pp.29-36.

less obvious interest in returning to their places of origin.³⁵ At the end of the period under scrutiny there is evidence of a limited amount of movement to adjoining villages such as Everton but, once again, within comfortable walking distance (1400 metres) of the town hall. The local historian Aikin noted in 1795 that Everton had become fashionable ‘of late years’ yet only two members of the Corporation were listed out of 13 merchants resident in Everton in 1790.³⁶

Of course, not all of the leading merchants of Liverpool were members of the Corporation either due to dissenting religious beliefs, their more exclusive concentration on business or both. In October 1700 for example, the slave-ship ‘the Blessing’ left Liverpool financed partly by John Ashton. His son, Nicholas Ashton was a leading privateer and owner of a salt-works at Dungeon near Hale. He lived successively in the fashionable new areas of Hanover Street and Clayton Square in the 1760s and retired to Woolton Hall, half-way between Dungeon and Liverpool in 1772.³⁷ Neither was a member of the Corporation. There is also evidence that, as the mercantile community expanded in the eighteenth century, some preferred to delay entry to the Corporation until their business concerns were well established. John Tarleton, for example, was a member of a long-established family of mariners and merchants who had served on the late seventeenth-century Corporation. A surviving set of annual profit and loss accounts for John Tarleton between 1748 and 1763 shows his fortune increasing ten-fold over this period, including the profits from voyages to the West Indies and the value of his sugarhouse.³⁸ Yet he did not join the council until the early 1770s and was dead by 1776.³⁹

It is, of course, possible that a number of councillors had country seats as well as homes in central Liverpool: Tarleton, for example, appears to have purchased Aigburth Hall by the time he joined the council, although he was still listed as living in Water Street in the 1772 street directory. Nonetheless, his Liverpool address remained within sight of the Town Hall. Further analysis is required of the extent of residence at a town or country address. In 1796 a local guidebook commented that ‘men out of business rarely reside in the town; not even those who have acquired fortunes in it’,⁴⁰

It is also possible that those members of the corporate elite for whom residential details could not be traced were living outside Liverpool. Yates and Perry’s map of 1768 shows 32 country seats within a four-mile (6.5km) radius of Liverpool and, in 1795, Aikin refers to ‘places of residence’ and ‘country seats’ of Liverpool merchants in adjoining villages.⁴¹ Although members of the council may have been resident at some distance and no longer attending monthly council meetings, the Town Books suggest that inactive membership was not tolerated. Council membership was clearly a serious commitment rather than an ornamental ritual. As early as 1714 Bryan Blundell, a former mariner and leading merchant, pleaded with the council to spare

³⁵ Further work is required on the places of death and burial of the corporate elite.

³⁶ J.Aikin, *A description of the country within forty miles of Manchester* (1795), p.376 and Gore’s *Liverpool Directory* (1790).

³⁷ LivRO, Holt Papers, 942 HOL/10.

³⁸ Liverpool Record Office (LivRO), Tarleton Papers, 920 TAR/2

³⁹ Liv RO, Town Books, 352 MIN/COU 1/12, f.24, 4 September 1776.

⁴⁰ W.Moss, *The Liverpool Guide* (Liverpool, 1796), p.119.

⁴¹ Aikin, *op. cit.*, p.331.

him the burden of public office after he gave up his sea-going career to devote himself to the development of the Blue-Coat Hospital School.⁴² In 1769 and 1773 there are references in the Town Books to punctuality and compulsory council attendance.⁴³ It is nearly a further half-century before there is the first reference to a resignation from the council due to the distance of the councillor's residence; six years later a councillor was forced to resign on account of residence abroad and non-attendance.⁴⁴ It is also noticeable that the number of resignations from the council increased in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. This may have been linked to members being drawn into a proliferating series of committees for the increasingly complex business of this period. Between 1771 and 1775 alone, 10 new committees were established for specific tasks. Administration of a large provincial port was becoming exceptionally time-consuming.

Yet, despite the obvious burden of office, many councillors had long periods of service. Sixteen councillors between 1650 and 1700 served for over twenty years, 45 before 1750.⁴⁵ There were clear lines of long-term family involvement in the self-elected Corporation. John Earle (1674-1749) from Warrington had established himself as an ironmonger in Liverpool after being apprenticed to William Clayton in 1688. He made (and possibly lost) a fortune through his involvement in the slave trade and served on the council from 1704-1718; his merchant sons, Ralph Earle and Thomas Earle, were councillors from 1760-1789 and 1770-1782 respectively; his merchant grandson, Thomas Earle, served from 1782-1822, living in Hanover Street and moving to Everton in about 1800.⁴⁶ Long service may have contributed to the stability of their residential patterns between 1650 and 1800.

Liverpool had virtually no medieval heritage as the basis for her burgeoning identity, despite the references to her 'antiquity' by local historians, mapmakers and authors of town guides.⁴⁷ Arguably, the long service, cohesion and dynamism of her councillors helped to establish a sense of civic identity over the period 1650-1800. In the majority of cases, especially in the earlier part of the period, this essential public work was grafted on to a busy commercial life. Close residential proximity to the Town Hall would have helped to create a cohesive corporate elite. Across the period this group became remarkably uniform in terms of its political interests (the majority of the corporation was high Tory), Anglican sympathies and commercial focus. In the subsequent battles over the abolition of the Slave Trade they were to be described as 'the Liverpool Men'.

⁴² H.M.Hignett, *Transcripts and introduction to the journal of Bryan Blundell* (Lancashire Record Office, 1991), p.vii..

⁴³ LivRO, Town Books, 352 MIN/COU 1/11, f.611, 3 February 1773.

⁴⁴ LivRO, Town Books, 352 MIN/COU 1/14, f.647, 5 November 1817 and 1/15, f.381 and f.450, 5 November 1823 and 4 August 1824.

⁴⁵ D.Ascott, F.Lewis and M. Power, *The Liverpool community 1650-1750* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, forthcoming), chapter 5, table 5.3.

⁴⁶ LivRO, Underhill papers, 942 UND/3 and Liverpool Maritime Museum, D/Earle/13/2, T.algernon Earle, *Earle of Allerton Tower* (privately printed, 1889).

⁴⁷ See, for example, M.Gregson, *Portfolio of fragments relative to the history and antiquities of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (Liverpool, 1817) or the reference to Liverpool as a place of great antiquity in John Chadwick's map of 1725.

Michael Power has questioned whether there was a 'Liverpool man', given the evidence of extensive circulatory migration in this period.⁴⁸ Although patterns of mobility are clearly more complex than crude aggregates indicate, this study of residential patterns suggest a more stable life-cycle among the Liverpool corporate elite. Is it too much to infer that they possessed a powerful commitment to the town and a strong sense of civic identity? Economic growth requires human agency. This elite was settled and able to maintain oversight of Liverpool's spectacular development from almost total obscurity in 1650 to the position of the second port in Britain with world-class commercial facilities and a six-fold growth in the volume of trade between 1750 and 1790. The real 'Liverpool man' may not have been the slave trader targeted by the abolitionists, who made his fortune in the town and then retired to rural Lancashire or beyond, but those such as William Clayton, the prominent tobacco merchant, who resided in Water Street in the town centre, served as Mayor in 1689, lived to see the completion of the first dock and was buried in St Nicholas Churchyard in 1715 or Richard Statham, a local lawyer, who gave 43 years service to the Corporation (19 as Town Clerk) and who still lived barely 700 metres from the Town Hall at his resignation in 1818.

⁴⁸ Ascott, Lewis and Power, *op.cit.*, chapter 5.